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The decline of the craft apprenticeship system with particular reference to the construction industry

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The decline of the craft apprenticeship system with particular reference to the construction industry

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This study considers the historical development and growth of the English apprenticeship and follows the transition of a broad based system towards a modular based, vocational structure. In so doing it clarifies the distinction between trainees and apprentices. The resulting analysis distinguishes three distinct training methodologies and three apprenticeship models.

A clear agenda existed between government and industry to replace the apprenticeship system. As a result there evolved a positive move away from the indentured apprentice towards a non-indentured trainee structure which was encouraged within the construction industry by an agreement between the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) and the Construction Industry Training Board (CITB).

A detailed examination is undertaken of the historical evolution of technical vocational education together with an analysis of the post war provision prior to the era of new vocationalism. The position of the apprenticeship within in the new vocational setting, with particular reference to the construction industry, is then quantified. An analysis is made of the number of building apprentices between the period 1953 to 1992, which enables trends in apprenticeship decline in the industry to be established by industrial sector both regionally and nationally.

An effort is made to establish a rationale for the resultant decline in apprenticeship training with specific reference to the demise of the construction apprenticeship system. My thesis suggests that a consistent failure by both government and industry to sustain an effective system of vocational training resulted in the loss of a sound skills base. But although I show there was a serious reduction in the number of apprentices during a period of growing youth unemployment, I conclude that the interventionism of the MSC and its new vocationalism had no significant impact on the construction apprenticeship figures. I suggest, within this industry the growth in self employment was a significant contributory factor and the lack of a compulsory system added to industries apathetic indifference towards training.

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The decline of the craft apprenticeship system with particular reference to the construction industry.

Introduction

1. This study endeavours to establish an identity for the term apprentice and considers the development and transition of a vocational concept which has moved from a system of skilled craft training to one of a codified scheme for job training. In the course of the work an effort is made to establish a rationale for the resultant decline in apprenticeship with specific reference to the demise of the construction apprenticeship system. Later an attempt is made to quantify (in relation to the construction industry) the magnitude of this decline. An important aspect, for obtaining statistical information in terms of apprenticeship numbers has proved difficult. In a personal reply from the Employment Department it was stated " **There is no single comprehensive source for such statistics and there has been little effort to collect them ...**" . As much relevant information as is available, however, is supplied in this study.

2. Chapter One considers the apprenticeship system's historical development and there follows a detailed discussion of the craft guilds which formed an essential element of the economic fabric and early development of this country's occupational base. What is relevant and dealt with in this chapter is the impact the guilds had on the educational provision, development and growth of the English

apprenticeship system. Guild formation developed as a system of occupational association and as a means to protect skills and trades (Dunlop, Thrupp). And although Sylvia Thrupp (Thrupp 1963) states that the guilds were predominant in the area of collective association of the artisan after the thirteenth century, I indicate that Merchant Guilds were well established within the City of Chichester prior to the Norman conquest.

3. Chapter One further considers the suggestion of Dunlop (Dunlop 1912) that the guilds through their dominant positions, maintained restrictive guild cartel arrangements and were able to limit the numbers employed within particular trades. In the fifteenth century the problem of an abundance of labour in the capital was combated by the development of the principles of specialisation and detailed craft training (Thrupp 1963). Thrupp suggests, however, that little over half of the apprentices completed their seven year apprenticeship. Further, there is discussion of the decline in the seventeenth century brought about by the growth of the cotton industry and the resultant impact of industrialisation. Essential to the apprenticeship system was the deed of indenture, Chapter One, therefore, concludes with a discussion of the parish apprenticeship system with illustrations of indentures adopted over the past one hundred years.

4. The purpose of Chapter Two is to establish the distinctive nature of the apprenticeship system within its modern setting prior to contextualising, in chapters three and four, the historical developments of an educational system that became a necessary part of the training process.

5. Chapter Two begins by considering the stratified structure which existed within the modern apprenticeship system. It goes on to suggest that when the voluntary efforts of industry were not effective in reducing the skill shortages of the early 1960s, a major development took place when the Industrial Training Act enabled the establishment of Industrial Training Boards and allowed an element of compulsion to be placed on industry to provide training. Training periods for apprentices had been reduced to 3-4 years, but industry still complained about the structure of the apprenticeship system. So it was, that during a period of rising youth unemployment the Manpower Services Commission was established, radically altering the structure of vocational education.

6. It is indicated in Chapter Two that there was a positive move away from the indentured apprentice towards a non-indentured trainee structure. Encouraged by an agreement between the Construction Industry Training Board (CITB) and the MSC. This was again reinforced when, in conjunction with the Further Education Unit, the CITB re-aligned the training structure with those of the developing National Vocational

Qualification system. Such developments are then followed by a consideration of the process by which individuals reached the level of craftsperson and it is shown that within the terms of indenture there was the stipulation for the individual to undergo formalised training. This is confirmed by the Working Rule Agreements of the National Joint Council for the Building Industry. The Chapter is concluded by defining the term apprenticeship in the modern context and three distinct apprenticeship models are distinguish.

7. Chapter Three traces the evolution of vocational education from the eleventh to nineteenth-century emphasising the essential role it played in apprenticeship training. Although many of the organised guilds established schools for this very purpose, for the poorer working classes education was limited in the main, to the workshop. What is evident is that the various religious organisations were responsible for most of the educational developments relating to the lowest sections of the working class and among these developments there was a slow but increasing vocational element.

8. A central feature of technical education and training in England was the limitation of provision compared with that of France and Germany. Technical education in continental Europe was seen as a vital element in the reinforcement of economic growth and industrial stability. In England the predominant class structure prevented such developments from taking

place. Braudel (1983) suggests the Industrial Revolution had a significant limiting affect on the progress of technical education within England. England's main problem was that its educational reform did not stem from the 'national élite' and although, as Wiener (1985) argues, it played the central role in Britain's power, it was also responsible for its failures. Even the Great Exhibition of 1850, the high point of industrial achievement, failed to overcome this élitist culture. Twait (1882) writing just thirty years after the Exhibition, highlighted the apathetic indifference which existed regarding the provision of technical education. The lack of state technical education is central to my discussion, for it is a major factor in the demise of the apprenticeship system; a system that had no state origin.

9. Chapter Four continues the examination of technical vocational education with an analysis of the provision prior to the era of the New Vocationalism. Emphasis is placed on the importance of evening education which was a major source of further education in apprenticeship training. It is argued, however, that the most significant development this century was the establishment of the technical schools of the early 1920s, which provided for the first time a firm foundation for the academic aspect of apprenticeship training. This Chapter quantifies certain twentieth century educational trends and provides a detailed comparison of the numbers of apprentices and non-apprentices over the period

1950 to 1968. An analysis is also made of the number of building apprentices from 1953 to 1992, enabling trends in apprenticeship decline to be clearly established.

10. The underlying suggestion of Chapter Four is that the socio-economic conditions after the Second World War resulted in the loss of wage differentials between adults and juveniles, presenting a further decline in apprenticeships. In the 1950s the nation faced a shift both in social and spending power amongst the working population. Crowther had shown that while the economic compulsion to leave school had diminished the economic attraction to do so had increased. It was also at this time that a modularised system of vocationalism was visualised, where the broader categories of occupation would be divided into individualised areas requiring specialisation and specific qualification.

11. Chapter Four further highlights the indifference of industry towards training. Even though it has been generally agreed that employers bear the major responsibility for training, the majority of industry has never felt the need to train on any significant scale. The literature (Cotgrove 1958, Carr 1958, More 1980, et al.,) points to evidence suggesting that the lack of co-operation between industry and education was mainly the fault of industry. Even the Industrial Training Council, formed in 1958 considered training to be the responsibility of the employer. The building industry in particular was considered not to be training enough

apprentices. No adequate response, however, was made. The chapter concludes with an examination of the development of the Further Education sector.

12. Chapter Five quantifies the situation regarding apprenticeships in the modern setting of the New Vocationalism. In the recession of the 1970s and 1980s apprenticeships were cut by half, training falling from 7% in 1974 to 4% in 84 (Hall 1990). Most individuals apprenticed in the early 1970s were found in industries in decline. Considerable debate followed James Callaghan's Ruskin speech of 1977 in which it was suggested that the education system had failed industry. Brown and Ashton (1987) indicated the education sector was unable to counter the argument.

13. Thus in a climate of industrial and economic unrest there was a move towards interventionism. The MSC and its New Vocationalism was the result. The White Paper, Agenda for Action 1981 set a target for the replacement of the apprenticeship system by 1995. In 1983 with the introduction of YTS, a system was developed to provide vocational training for all unemployed 16 year olds but the serious reduction in the number of apprentices continued. My conclusion is that the MSC had no significant impact on the construction apprenticeship figures. I suggest, that while between the period 1976 and 1989 growth amongst the 16 to 18 year olds in full-time education was stable, within the

construction industry, apart from a short respite between 1979 and 1980, there was a continued decline in the number of construction apprentices. What was significant was the ratio of apprentices to those employed, which remained constant between 0.7 and 0.8.

14. A theme running through Chapter five is the important distinction to be drawn between trainees and apprentices. The figures would have us believe that while the bound apprenticeship system had all but disappeared, trainees were to be viewed as the "new apprentices". It becomes obvious that there was an agenda established between government and industry to replace the apprenticeship system (which they both considered outmoded) with a new form of trainee training which would develop a skills base through a modularised programme of vocational instruction. My thesis suggests that both the modern and the new trainee training system failed to nurture and sustain any effective system of vocational training. What had been missing was the government's will to provide for proper, structured, career apprenticeships that could be seen as educationally sound, morally workable and economically beneficial.

Chapter One

Establishing an identity for the term apprentice and the antecedence of the apprenticeship system

Introduction

The work ethic, its' socio-economic, historical and psychological aspects are features that, together with industrial development and its associated vocational training, have intrigued and stimulated research for some considerable time. In the search for a better understanding of the vocational training methodology I have made a close observation of the construction craft apprenticeship system and its apparent decline. This work addresses the issue and attempts to formulate a rationale for the causal effects and in the overall context of mapping this decline I later attempt to distinguish the relevance of an apprenticeship structure in a modern vocational setting and to establish whether such a decline has any lasting effects within a modern industrial culture.

The craft apprenticeship system has very well founded historical roots, and to understand some of the reason for the changes that have taken place it is necessary to cover an element of this historical background. It is not my intention however, to elaborate extensively on the history of the English craft apprenticeship system as this subject has been adequately covered by more eminent sources elsewhere, for example Dunlop in "English apprenticeship and child labour". This first chapter attempts

to provide a definition for the term craft apprentice and traces the development of the apprenticeship system. In doing so it becomes necessary to consider the relevant historical aspects that help to clarify the craft apprenticeship as an important element of vocational training, enabling its place within a modern vocational training framework to be established.

Prior to providing a definition for the term craft apprentice and placing it within this modern context it may help If I consider the terminology and establish its derivation.

Defining the term 'apprentice' and 'craft

i Apprentice

A fourteenth century word coming from the Old French **aprentis**, of which the Middle French derivative was **aprentiz**. The Middle to Early French variation **apprentis** evolved into the modern French aprendre, meaning 'to learn'. And the form **prentice** can be found to occur in the late Middle English. These terms have their roots etymologically tied to the Latin and are contracted from the verb apprehendere 'to lay hold of'. Thus one could speculate that originally potential trainees were apprehended by the master to learn something. A truer meaning for the term would be **'to grasp with the mind'**.

ii Craft

Craft is a term derived from the Old English **'cræft'**, and an original notion contained in the word was that of strength, (it was also the meaning of its relatives in other Germanic languages, such as the German or Swedish Kraft). This interpretation however, had largely died out by the sixteenth century, although, it had developed some other meanings which were not shared by its Germanic cogantes; 'skill' and 'trade or profession'. The word gradually evolved into the Middle English **'creft'**, which by the seventeenth century was associated in the sense of 'ship' and the sailors craft or profession but how this developed is not certain. It did, however, retain this meaning in the sense of profession, skill or trade.

The term **apprentice** can therefore be defined as meaning "to learn, or grasp with the mind" and we see the development of the word **craft** coming to mean skill, trade or profession. It follows that a **craft apprentice** is one who learns or grasps hold of the perceptual and motor skills required to undertake a trade or profession.

The Encyclopædia Britanica (1970) however, provides the definition of apprentice as;

> **...the learning of an art trade or other calling by practical experience under the the guidance of a master perhaps also with some classroom study. .cw6**
>
> (vol.2, pg.144)

And the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1964) also defines an apprentice as;

> **A learner of a craft; one who bound by a legal agreement to serve an employer for a period of years, with a view to learn some handcraft, trade, etc., in which the employer is reciprocally bound to instruct him.**
>
> (vol.I, pg.87)

It was this binding element which I discuss later, that distinguished the apprenticeship from other forms of vocational training. Essentially a contractual arrangement evolving from an important and powerful guild system, a system out of which the apprenticeship structure grew.

The development of the guilds

Placing an actual date on the formation of the guilds has proved difficult for the historians, as the records of that early period are somewhat obscure, although it is generally accepted that craft guilds gradually emerged at a local town level within England some time between the eleventh and twelfth century. Even so, the English guild system was not a new structure, for research on the guilds of Italy attempts to place the origin of their formation within the Roman administrative structure, with evidence suggesting that they had been drawn into this system in the fourth century mainly as a 'fiscal expedient', (Thrupp, 1963). The research also indicates that building, along with others, was known to have been among the most widely organised of the trades in Roman towns long before the fourth century.

It is possible to speculate therefore, that at the time of the Roman conquest of England the organisational structure of a guild system would have been brought over with the prevailing Roman administration system, as it is without doubt their own craftsmen operated within such a framework. The fact that a metal work guild (collegium) was established within Sussex, at Chichester, towards the end of the first century, confirms this thesis (Asa Briggs 1991). Asa Briggs goes on to suggests that the Romans would have established mints across Britain at various times and unpublished accounts from the Canal Society of Chichester indicate that the amount and type of Roman coinage found after dredging suggests the existence of just such a mint somewhere within the city. The army also placed a considerable demand on the need for pottery and several workshops were founded under military control during this period. New workshops soon followed but this time they were established without military supervision. It is also confirmed that merchants had a well organised guilds system, for England was certainly trading with France in the sixth and seventh century.

It is not surprising therefore, that Ballard's work on the History of Chichester (1898) suggests some form of Merchant Guild may have been in operation within the City over a thousand years later, just prior to the Norman conquest of 1066. Even though there are no references to the guilds establishment, it is thought one based on a voluntary structure was in existence at this time. Without doubt, one did exist from at least the time of Henry I (1100), and later gained approval of the Crown in the

form of a legal Charter from King Stephan (1135), the earliest such Charter granted to the City. Ballard goes on to provide a translation of this Charter which in part states:

> **Stephen, King of England, to the Bishop of Chichester and the bailiffs, greeting. I ordain that my burgesses of Chichester well and honorably and quietly possess their customs and rights of Borough and Merchant Guild in the best and most honorable and quietest manner .....**
>
> (Ballard 1898, pg.18)

Although no date is ascribed to the Charter it has been assumed from other sources, it comes from 1135, the year in which King Stephen was placed on the throne and the Bishop of Chichester was known to be at court. The details contained in the Charter clearly indicated that the elements of municipal institution were obviously in existence in the form of this Merchant Guild, considered to be one of the oldest in the country; the records showing that older guilds only existed at Burford, Beverley, Leicester and Wilton.

A further two important Charters relating to trade and the guilds were granted to the City, this time by Henry II after his accession in 1154. The second of these, a year later, clarified the position as the first was considered too vague. In this second Charter, the King stated:

> **..... no one in the City of Chichester shall sell cloth by retail unless he be of the Merchant Guild ..... Wherefore I will firmly ordain that they shall have and hold their guild with all the liberties and customs to it .....**
>
> (Ballard 1898, pg.20)

There must have been a considerable upsurge in the formation of guilds or at least their ratification at this time for Owens, (1992), indicates that a Charter was granted for Preston in 1179 by Henry II and considers that one may have been in existence as early as 1100. It has also been found that the wording on both the Preston and Southampton charter, is very similar to that of Chichester's suggesting that the granting of Merchant Charters was becoming a common occurrence across the country.

Such evidence provides a definite indication of the strength and firm hold the guilds were developing or already possessed in towns and Cities across the nation during this period; and still hold today, within London at least, where the Livery companies play a very important role in the government of the City in respect of the election of its Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. This growing strength was not always consistent for there were times when the guilds were not in favour, as Thrupp indicates when she suggests that the guilds were banned in Norwich during 1256 as they were **'detrimental to the royal interest.**

Approximately one hundred years later, some time near the middle of the reign of Edward III, changes took place as the true influence of the guilds as important economic contributors to the wealth of the nation was seen and a company of merchants called the Merchants of the Staple was formed in England, (Hay 1804, 274). These were very powerful autonomous organisations which were beyond the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, only coming under the control of Staple Mayors and constables who were

elected on an annual basis by the Staple town, in which there were six mediators; two German, two Lombards and two Englishmen . The Lombards would possibly have been present because of their financial expertise, having well founded monetary and merchant guilds in the north of Italy, pre-dating those of England (van Werveke 1963).

The setting up of such a system lends support to the theory that the City of Chichester was itself a very important merchant centre and must have had a long and well established antecedent history of Merchant Guilds, for along with London, York, Canterbury, Winchester, Bristol and Exeter, Chichester was itself a Staple City. Together they formed a monopolistic Merchant organisation whose purpose was to gather together all the important surplus commodities of the Kingdom, of which wool, wool-felts, lead and tin were typical. These goods were then placed in regulated stores to which foreign merchants had access and who in turn exported them in return for bullion or other products. The significant factor here being that Chichester had a thriving wool staplers and tannery, and therefore would have developed a well established system of skills training, as tanning in particular required a very high level of skill, only attainable after a long period of training.

A further hundred and twenty years were to pass before the earliest dates of contracts in the form of indentures, established between the Corporation of the City of Chichester and

the City Companies, were to be recorded, the first such indenture being with the Weavers Guild, for which a date of 1479 has been attributed; (appendix 1.1 provides details of the guilds formed in the City between this date and 1698). The very existence of these skilled occupations suggests some form of organised training structure must have been well developed to allow the trade to prosper. Things had obviously improved within England, for it would appear belonging to a craft guild in the thirteenth and fourteenth century was fraught with problems, many in Europe were subjected to frequent attack and in certain instances banned (Hibbert 1963).

From the Patent Rolls of Henry VI in the mid-fifteenth century, it has been established that the Guild at Chichester had for some time been governed through the important structure of a master and four wardens, who were elected annually by the "brethren and sisters" of the guild; women having also been recorded as being associated with the guilds of blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers and other crafts across the country. This was particularly so after the national labour shortages of the fourteenth century, which, as Campbell indicates, were due to the Black Death of 1348 and the violent but short lived Peasants revolt of 1381 (Campbell 1945). The situation was so serious that it resulted in a statute of Labour being passed forbidding workers from leaving their employment and severe penalties being placed upon runaways. It was a statute that would be embodied within major legislation to come almost two hundred years later. Asa Briggs suggests the Black Death caused the destruction of between a third to a half

of the population, which at the time may have been in the order of only 4.75 million. By the end of the century it had been reduced to something like 2 million (Briggs 1991). In certain cases whole villages are known to have died, in others, land owners having lost all their working staff had no alternative but to request their estates be set out as parks, for they no longer had the staff to work the land. It was a situation that caused problems for apprentices, as the act passed in 1388 prevented any individual who had worked on the land until the age of 12 from leaving and taking up any other form employment, or apprenticeship.

It was also during the early part of the fourteenth century that England faced what was considered by some as the **'worst agrarian crisis since the Norman conquest'**. Thus a second act passed in 1406 was even more restrictive in as much as no child was to serve an apprenticeship in any craft:

> **or other labour within any city or borough, except he**[the master] **have land or rent to the value of twenty shillings by the year at least.**
>
> (Lipson 1929, pg.289)

Initially the membership of the guilds that had been established was on a voluntary basis and the Tanners and Cord wainers (leather and boot makers) guild of 1504 indicates that they were to have:

> **...by there Comayn eleccion, honest discreete Wardens...**
>
> (DLACC 1949, pg.22)

The guilds as Dunlop suggests (1912, pg. 28) and confirmed in the Descriptive List of the Archives of the City of Chichester (DLACC) were originally formed as associations, not only to secure trading positions but also for humanitarian and religious purposes, money from the guild being set aside for generally looking after the welfare of the individual members. In a number of cases the guild would provide alms houses for their needy members and it was also common practice for candles to be lit in the local Church or Cathedral, where the guild might have its own chancel. In the case of the Tanners and Cordwainers of 1504, members of the guild in Chichester were to keep:

> **a lyght afore oure blessyd lady Saynt Marye the Virgyn, Within the Cathedrall Church of Chichester yn the Subdenery for evermore.**
>
> (DLACC 1949, 22)

When the rules of a particular guild were broken, for example failure to attend a meeting, a payment had to be made, usually for the upkeep of the candle. In the above guild one pound of "polyn waxe" was the recognised fine. Ballard goes on to indicate that apart from this the main duties of the guild were also to organise and:

> **... generally to represent the trading body of the town.**
>
> (Ballard 1898, pg.20)

It is important at this point to establish that a distinction can be drawn between three types of guild; the merchant guild, the monastic guild and the craft guild. At which point in time the divergence between these three took place is not clear nor is it important for the purpose of this work, suffice to say that

occur it did and at some time around the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. What is clear is that there were associations between the guilds, but as Thrupp indicates the merchant guilds which did form an alliance, tended to look down upon what is referred to as the subordinate artisan guilds, (Thrupp,1963).

Gradually over a period of time the position occupied by the trade guilds replaced by the craft guilds which did not share the same interest as the merchant guilds and by the fourteenth and fifteenth century these had become the dominant institutions. Within such craft guilds there evolved a distinct stratified structure of master, warden, liveryman, and master 'out of clothing'.

These last two terms warrant further explanation. The term livery derives from the medieval practice of the distribution of clothing, food and money to the servants of the the Lord or Baron. Later this became confined to the 'livery' or clothing worn by the domestic staff of the particular household. The term then became applied to the costume worn by the freemen of the particular guilds which in turn distinguished their individual social status. 'Out of clothing' is interesting in that gaining the freedom to a guild did not, as of right, always lead to the wearing of the livery and obtaining the necessary voting powers. The new freeman had, in many cases, to wait until a vacancy occurred, at which point a payment would be made on election to the livery and they would be 'clothed', a practice still in

operation. The masters' shop would also have its own recognised structure of master, servant, journeyman, yeoman and apprentice.

Such structures were important for they also distinguish the rank of the freemen within this society. In the social system that prevailed the master would be considered, along with the merchants, as the highest ranking freeman without title, below that of the knight and esquire, although it was considered and in fact expected in the middle ages, for the freemen to rise to the rank of knight providing they could show they had wealth enough to purchase the position. The Yeoman was also free-born and could rise to the same position under similar condition but as Campbell indicates they were;

> **in the main an inarticulate group. They were better judges of sheep and seed corn than of words and fine phrases.**
> (Campbell 1945)

The apprenticeship system was one way the freeman without skill or trade could gain a foothold in the social order and aspire to higher office. Similarly it was the only route for those not free-born but from the "peasantry" to gain the position of freemen and thus eventually be in a position to own land.

Essentially though, as was the case in Europe at the time, entry to the guild was only open to the free-born individual. In a culture that was at that time agrarian it would have been logical to adopt this route, to become a freeman and purchase a small section of farm land, and become a master in their own right.

The masters of the guilds, those skilled and practiced in a specific art or craft, who owned their workshop employing and training others, became the artisans and as such held a prominent position in society. Technically these artisans did not usually adopt the term guild, preferring instead to use the terms fraternity or brotherhood, because of its religious and benevolent roots.

Limiting the number of apprentices

The original rules of the guilds tended to be prescriptive and went on to indicate that no master was permitted to take on more apprentices, usually the son of freemen, than he could adequately train, as confirmed by Ballard when referring to the patent Rolls of Henry VI:

> **to see that no brother had more than his allotted number of apprentices,**
>
> (Ballard 1898, pg.20)

There were obvious reasons for such actions, which appear more protectionist than restrictive, which, without doubt, they were, as it was important for the guilds to maintain the strong trading positions they held in towns that had populations which, until the revolution in the cotton industry, remained relatively low.

Lipson shows us that the craft guilds were against the growth of industrialised capitalism among their own members. They did not encourage ideas of progress and expansionism, but rather, required order and stability and it is clear they were against

rapid change. He provides an example from the Girdlers of 1435 who alleged:

> **that nowadays there is so great abundance of apprentices in the said craft, that many freemen of the craft** (have) **become water-bearers and labourers, and some of them [have] gone home again to their own country and gone to cart and plough and left this city for ever.**
>
> (Lipson, 1929)

It was a situation that would later reverse itself in the sixteenth century when there would be complaints about the general absconding of apprentices and the lack of time served apprentices taking up their right to become freemen, particularly within the London and Bristol area.

If one also considers that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were periods when the nation was in the grip of an economic recession it is possible to have a better understanding of the importance guilds placed on securing some form of cartel arrangement; the consequence of such action being to provide some level of economic security for the individual locality, (Thrupp 1963). In addition, too many trades following too few people was not good practice, nor did it make economic sense, for as Cunningham (1892) indicates, even in 1688, the combined population of England and Wales was only 5,500,520 and did not rise above 10,000,000 until 1811.

One means of trade control was, therefore, to limit the number of individuals entering the crafts. And, in the 15th century, within the craft trades, where the trainee was bound to a master for a given period, learning the "misterie" (mastery), usually lasted

anything from 7 - 13 years. There was also a restriction placed upon the number of apprentices which was strictly limited to between 1 and 4 depending upon not only the particular craft, but also those already working within that trade. In addition the quantity of apprentices taken on was also dependent upon the individual's standing within the guild; if the position of upper warden was held, as in the London Founders, then four apprentices could be taken on, a past warden could hold three, a liveryman two and a master 'out of the clothing' could hold one or two.

An alternative approach adopted was to limit numbers to particular crafts on a 7 year basis, which obviously provides some indication of the average length of an indenture at this time, although, Lipson suggests initially there was no set period for the term of indenture, it being generally left to the discretion of the master. He goes on however, to indicate through the example of the Girdlers of York, how the lengthening of the apprenticeship period increased from four years in 1307 to seven in 1417 (Lipson, 1929).

The age at which apprentices were indentured also varied considerably, with the Worsted Weavers of Norwich not being allowed to take on apprentices below the age of fourteen, while a similar rule is thought to have also applied in London, where the Carpenters of the city commonly took on apprentices at eighteen or nineteen. An attempt was made by the London authorities to combat the problem in 1556 by allowing apprentices to be indentured at any age provided that they were not less than

twenty-four at termination.

The number of apprentices that any master could take on became a very controversial issue between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and two towns, York and Coventry in 1519 and 1524 respectively, removed all restrictions on numbers, a factor that obviously led to abuse amongst many guilds, although some were restrained in this approach; the Fishmongers of London, the Weavers of Hull and the London guild of Founders being typical.

In certain cases the journeymen would hold out against an unlimited number of apprentices being taken on but in one case highlighted by Lipson, it is indicated that at an inquiry into such a dispute in 1424 they lost the day and the masters won. It was obvious that the journey-men wanted to restrict apprenticeship numbers so that they might be better placed to gain employment and thus earn the capital to establish themselves as independent masters. He does go on to show, however, that in a number of cases, rules were gradually drawn up regarding specific ratios and that licences for taking on apprentices were being established by certain companies. In addition, an act passed in 1497 prevented worsted weavers from employing more than two apprentices at a time and the Statute of Apprentices passed in 1563 made it necessary for the clothing and tailoring industries, where three apprentices were employed, to have one journeyman as well (Lipson 1929).

The element of restraining numbers would again be legally determined in 1834 by means of the Chimney Sweep Act, which indicated that masters could not take on more than six apprentices at a time. The reasons for the implementation of this act were, however, very different, as I will indicate later.

Absconders and the failure to complete apprenticeships

The previous work record of a potential trainee was another factor a master had to consider, as they were not permitted to adopt an individual if there was any doubt about their previous work record. Any thought to have been absconders were returned by the local guild to their previous masters. This form of treatment to suspect apprentices continued until the 1850s, as indicated in the descriptive account from a master regarding his apprentice who absconded in 1827 (appendix 1.2). Like many of the rules and regulations of the time, this was another that proved difficult to enforce.

It is a factor that also brings into question the failure of apprentices to complete their indentures, which, in the sixteenth century, was a problem of some concern, for as Ben-Amos indicates, London had a 50 per cent failure or termination rate between the sixteenth and seventeenth century and, citing the London Carpenters company, he suggests that between 1540 and 1590 approximately 45 per cent did not complete their apprenticeship (Ben-Amos 1991).

I indicated earlier that there also existed the problem of those having completed their apprenticeships not taking up the right to become freemen, and in this respect Ben-Amos intimates that in centres such as Norwich and Bristol the figure was almost as high as 66 per cent. Making certain allowances, he goes on to suggest, that of the enrolled apprentices in these cities, 50 per cent were un-accounted for. The general theory is that many apprentices migrated elsewhere due to economic failure and impoverishment and that guild regulations were not such an influential factor. He does suggest, however, the length of service and the need in most cases to become journeymen was a factor that would have been taken into account. He goes on to show that in Bristol, in the mid-sixteenth century, only 20-21 per cent of apprentices took up freemanship and that by the beginning of the seventeenth century it was still only in the order of 25 per cent, rising by just another 10 per cent towards the middle of the century.

Ben-Amos carried out an extensive study on this problem as it related to the Bristol area between 1600 and 1630, in the process carrying out an analysis of the socio-occupational profile of a large sample. Social background he found, was not a major factor nor were geographical origins, suggesting instead there may have been a deliberate choice made to leave the area and migrate elsewhere.

Dunlop (1912), indicates a fixed fee was payable to become a freeman, although it is generally accepted that this was usually

paid by the master (Ben-Amos). It was not, in fact, this fee which caused financial problems for some, but the fact that additional payments were required in the form of large celebratory lunches and breakfasts for members of the guild.

Having gained their apprenticeship in the larger conurbations the other problem facing them was the cost of living and operating premises, of tools and equipment. Craftsmen obviously moved out to become independent tradesmen in the surrounding region but attempting to be independent in the large towns was becoming too competitive. Within the major seafaring towns as well, many were faced with the possibility of emigration to the new colonies of America and are thought to have adopted this option, particularly in Bristol as this was the main point of departure. Many masters having also embarked upon this journey along with skilled craftsmen rather than face the economic competition. Others, it is thought, may have just returned to where they originated and set up shop there, while some elected to go tramping and become journeyman.

From Freeman to Journeyman

I have already shown that it was impossible to sell cloth within the City of Chichester without being a member of the guild and it is documented that no one could practice the craft of Tanner and Cordwainer either, unless they were a guild member.

Such features and restrictions are evident from the histories of other regions where the majority of Cities and Towns had their own organisation of guilds, each holding a monopolistic trading position. If an individual wished to work or trade, then such guild membership was essential. Admission also conferred the important right upon the individual master to teach others, much in the way that the meister system of Germany operates today. But even as late as 1921 the rules of trade unions, such as the National Union of Gold Silver and Allied Trades, placed conditions on members in that "No member under 25 years of age shall teach or take an apprentice.".

Membership of guilds and thus the right to become freemen could be obtained in one of three ways: the main and initially obvious method was by patrimony (the apprentice being introduced to the guild by his father), a system still practiced today, although the individual being introduced need not have been an apprentice and for which the title 'Freeman' is hereditary for both men and women; redemption (the payment of a large sum of money) as indicated by the indentures of Thomas Pelham in 1716-17 where the sum of £860 was paid, although in this case it is thought the payment was also to take account of a share in the the masters business on the completion of the indenture (Rice, 1924).

Finally, there was the method that came to be the main route, the very well controlled trading mechanism of the apprenticeship. The common fee indicated in the records at Chichester for the

eighteenth century amounted to a few pounds and, in the exceptional case, a few pence. In appendix 1.3i - 1.3v I provide an example of a fathers entry to the Goldsmiths guild via the apprenticeship route and the fee paid and his sons entry to the same guild through the means of Patrimony.

Once the apprenticeship had been completed the master took the apprentice before the guild court and for a small fixed sum, usually paid for by the master, the freedom of the guild could be obtained and his or her name would be entered onto the rolls of freemen. A further appearance had to be made, this time before the local council on the next court day so that municipal freedom could be conferred upon them, thus providing the right and privilege to practice their craft, to trade in the town and own property. The fact that the local council were involved was very significant, in-as-much as it stems from a period when the municipal authorities began to recognise that by establishing specific codes and by-laws, they were able to become more instrumental in enforcing greater control over the guilds (Lipson, 1929, Thrupp 1963).

This form of municipal registration was seen as one way of controlling the number of apprentices and their length of service. Because it proved difficult to enforce such enrolment, in certain cases financial penalties were imposed both on the master and more often than not on the apprentice for non-registration.

Even having mastered his craft, it was still difficult for the apprentice to actually rise to the position of master and thus obtain the all important position of status, with the possibility of associated wealth, if he was not a member of the master's family. One method often used was to marry into the family. If this was not possible when the time had been served, the apprentice, in many cases, had no option but to leave his employer and, more often than not, the area. The consequence of such action resulted in them turning to tramping and becoming journeymen.

In only a very few instances were these journeymen then able to establish a workshop in their own right, as in many other situations the cost was too great. Instead, as they moved from town to town, they were employed by a master usually on a daily basis. The word 'journey' comes from the Old French 'journee', which derives from the Late Latin 'jornata', a day's work (Skeat 1910, Ayto 1990). Thus a journeyman was usually a qualified individual who undertake work on a daily basis.

In the sixteenth century, a proposal was put forward in London compelling journeymen to work for their master for a period of three years after completing the apprenticeship before being admitted to the freedom of the city, a practice that was common amongst the Carpenters and Paviours of London. In addition, no one was allowed to take on a new apprentice until three years had elapsed after the end of the old apprenticeship. Alternatively some guilds would not accept a former apprentice as a master

unless he had first served as a journeyman for three years. And later in the fifteenth, although more commonly in the seventeenth century, the requirement also included the making of a 'master-piece' that would be presented before the wardens (Dunlop, 1912). Having died out at one stage it has been re-vitalised and re-instituted in modern times by some of the remaining guilds.

The consequence for the journeyman in not becoming a master in his own right was the fact that he could not become a full member of his own craft guild. There is evidence however, that certain guilds would admit journeymen who had not served an apprenticeship in the particular trade of the guild;

> **for a reasonable fine any honest person being a good workman, although he hath not been apprenticed to the same craft**
> (Lipson 1924, pg292)

but, then, it was a condition of some guilds not to pass on to such journeyman all the secrets of the trade as they would to their own apprentices, an event re-occurring today as I indicate in chapter five.

By the sixteenth century, it was only the masters who could become members of a particular guild, and they, in turn, elected new members to their ranks from amongst their own (Hall and Miller 1975), a cyclical nepotistic-type process that formed a distinct class divide and a structure which could be viewed as containing the elements of the closed shop. This was a system that was, without doubt, the birth-place of the trade unionist

movement that came to emerge later. Although later, when the guilds suffered a serious decline in standing, the door was re-opened to patrimony to provide new life and much needed finances, especially among the poorer of the guilds, for even here there was a division of rich and poor.

Dishonourable trades and rough workshops

The nineteenth century became a period that saw a dramatic change in the employment of individuals into various trades, for which they had been neither trained or apprenticed. It was a system typified by the example of William Lovet, who, although apprenticed as a rope maker sought employment as a cabinet maker when he arrived in London in 1821. He eventually gained a position by winning the men of the workshop over at a shop floor meeting by means of drink and persuasive talk, and in a similar fashion was able to pick up his skills by buying drinks for those who taught him. It is ironic that later the Cabinet-Makers Society, (of which he actually became president), shut the door to this method of entry to the trade and insisted that only those apprenticed as cabinet makers could carry on the craft (Thompson 1991).

It was a factor that obviously stems from the considerable influx of what came to be known as the dishonourable trades and rough or garret workshops. Here un-apprenticed workers or those out of their training but without the means, would produce and sell

goods that were cheap and of low quality. This was a feature that came about as one result of the repeal of the Statute of Artificers in 1814.

There was little distinction at this time between the honourable and dishonourable trades, as during the eighteenth century there was a considerable demand for quality items that could only be produced by the skilled craftsmen in shops where they could afford the materials seldom, if ever, to be found in the garret workshops producing the goods required by the working class. And, while there was reasonable employment, this situation was not a problem; for as the wages of the dishonourable men were determined by competition, if such competition was marginal and the economic structure sound, then both were able to co-exist. But this was not to be, for as Thopmson indicates, there was a serious deterioration in both the status and, more importantly, the living standards over the next thirty years.

An expansion of the dishonourable trades took place, many garret masters employed and "apprenticed" their own families to make shoddy goods and those unemployed would try to scrape together materials to make items to hawk on the streets. Thompson continues to give several descriptive accounts of the situation prevailing at that time and there are a number of complex reasons, all interrelated, why such turbulent changes, for turbulent they were, came about. These included changes within the cotton industry, unemployment, the rise of trade unionism and

war, to name a few, but such events are outside the scope of this chapter; similar events, however, were to emerge again and have an influence in the twentieth century. The one overriding factor at this time which did bring about changes altering the whole fabric and structure of society in the process and is important in terms of apprenticeships, was that of industrialisation. The whole of Europe was in a state of readiness for industrialisation. Although it could have taken place in any one of a number of nations, it occurred and flourished, as we know, in England.

Industrialisation

i The Statute of Atificers

Prior to the industrial revolution, England had at least two hundred years of fairly continuous economic growth and development (Hobsbawm, 1990) and it is now well established in the historical literature, that almost all trades and manufacturers in England by the end of the sixteenth century were under the powerful control of the various guilds, which had a well established central trade position of national importance.

This had provided the country with the base it required to move forward. The status of this position was confirmed in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign when the Statute of Artificers (craftsmen) was passed (1563). Known as 'Betty's law' it was one

that made apprenticeships, (which, by 1450 was a system of training that had been adopted by most guilds and guild towns), a necessary requisite for all those wishing to follow a craft or trade, thus making this form of training a compulsory element of belonging to that craft. According to Cunningham it was **'the most monumental work of the Elizabethan age'**, as it constituted **'a great system for controlling both the employed and the unemployed'**. The legislation was so well constructed it remained in force for more than two hundred years.

The statute actually defined those to whom it applied and who might be forced to work;

> **those who neither had lands of the annual value of forty shillings, nor who had ten pounds' worth of personal property, and who were not retained in the household of any noble or gentleman, and who were not tenants of a farm holding, who also were unmarried and of less than thirty years of age must accept offers of work at the trade in which they had been brought up.If not otherwise employed they were to serve in husbandry, and all persons up to the age of sixty were liable to be compelled to labour at tillage;**
> (Cunningham 1892, pg 40)

While this was very similar to the statute of Labour passed in 1349, it was an act that contained very important apprenticeship clauses. Amongst other things, already mentioned, it stipulated that anyone with **'half a plough-land in tillage'** might take an individual as an apprentice until they reached the age of twenty one. It is interesting to note that, after the civil war, Cromwell allowed demobilised soldiers to take up land and enter protected trades without any form of apprenticeship (Wilson, 1965).

The Act was not one in favour of social justice but more of a limiting Act, in-as-much as it caused, yet again, like the guild membership election system, a great deal of social division by providing skill rights to an elite few who already possessed them or who could purchase them. For example, those in industries which served agriculture, (wheelwrights, smiths and the like), could take on any apprentices they could find. Artisans in corporate towns, on the other hand, could only take the sons of freemen, who were not drawn from the land. Market towns were under similar but slightly more restrictive conditions;

> **merchants or shopkeepers in corporate towns might take the sons of forty-shilling freeholders, but in market towns they were restricted to to the sons of sixty shilling freeholders.**
> (Cunningham 1892, pp.41-42)

It was to be a further two hundred and fifty years before the Act was repealed.

ii The growth of the cotton industry and decline of the apprenticeship system

There was, however, an exception to this condition, as Mathias indicates (1989). The nation was at the dawn of a new era of change and the emerging cotton industry of the seventeenth century was one for which no guild or apprenticeship system had been established, for it was founded after the Act had been passed. It had been accepted by the wealthy industrialists therefore, in such cases, the Statute could not be held to apply, resulting in its escape from the grip the guilds had over the employment and training of its necessary labour force.

Such industries and trades that emerged after the Act had been passed were outside this labour law, which only applied to those in existence at its passing. Known as incorporated trades, these nascent industries did much to break up the apprenticeship system. Although it was, as Thompson suggests, not the cotton-mill which caused the change but the loom. Placed in every available location within home and barn, it attracted immigrant workers in their thousands. Towns across the north of England doubled in size.

As demand for cotton outgrew this cottage industry, the spinning mill system, brought about by the introduction of Arkwright's cotton mill, rapidly took its place, with the largest in 1816 employing 1,500 people. An expansion that would, without doubt, have been made up from the importation of the poor from the new workhouses that were springing up around the country, it being the policy in the early days of the mills to select large numbers of pauper children for this work. Arkwright's own mill had, in a 46 year period, more then doubled in size from 300 employees to 727 by 1816 (Mathias 1989) and is indeed recorded as one of those using poor from the villages of Derbyshire (Rose 1989).

The hand weaving industry, of which Mathias suggests there were 250,000 using hand looms, only had a further nine years before it too underwent similar changes. But, as it went, so too went the family traditions of solidarity. And, as Thompson points out, by 1750 the Manchester weavers already had well established trade societies and, according to Hobsbawm, it is possibly here

in Manchester, that we can see the foundation of the Industrial revolution.

Owing to the fact that the new industry had its roots firmly in this type of trade system, the societies within it tried to maintain the rule that only the children or relatives of the adult spinners could be trained in the skill, thus seeking to maintain, as Mathias suggests, recruitment, discipline and earnings, and particularly status largely within a family grouping. Although Thompson implies that, in fact, the workers were reluctant to send their own children into the mill, preferring instead to have pauper children employed in their place. One reason for this could have been to avoid their own having to suffer the appalling conditions. Mathias goes on to suggest, however, that this kinship system broke up with the advancement of technology, indicating that the automatic mules of 1824 increased demand for workers, requiring at least one adult and nine children compared to the two adults that had been used with the old equipment.

It is from such beginnings of the the fifteenth and sixteenth century when trade began to prosper that we can see the emergence of a system of industrialised capitalism that, although requiring a much greater workforce, would ultimately result in a further reason for the decline of the craft apprenticeships for all but a few specialised trades.

The end of a compulsory apprenticeship system

By the eighteenth century the apprenticeship system was, in fact, well into decline. For where, in the periods following the fifteenth century, capitalisation could move into industry, it did. Such changes in the industrial base of the nation also brought with it a considerable and growing dislike from the new industrialists of the restrictive legislation, typical of which was the statute of Artificers, which, as indicated earlier, made it illegal to engage in any craft or manual occupation without having served an apprenticeship, but which, because of the objections was never enforced to its fullest extent, more often than not being broken than kept (Dean 1965).

> **A big Gloucester master manufacturer asserted in 1803 that out of 158 weavers employed by him only twenty-one had served a regular apprenticeship, whilst not one of his cloth workers had been apprenticed.....**
> **..... In Yorkshire only about one in twenty of the men had been regularly apprenticed.**
>
> (Hammond 1979, pg.135)

Even the judiciary did not uphold the act, particularly after the troubles caused by the political activities of the apprentices in London. They based their objections on the grounds that it could not apply to trades that were not in existence at the time of its enactment. This strategy caused;

> **many absurd anomalies and inconsistencies e.g. that a coach maker could not make his own wheels but must buy them from a wheel-wright; while the latter might make both wheels and coaches because coachmaking was not a trade when in England the Act of Elizabeth was passed.**
>
> (Encyclopædiia Britanica 1898 vol.ii, pp212-214)

The economist Adam Smith, when writing his book **The Wealth of Nations** in 1776, also joined the debate, calling for the breaking down of the exclusive privileges of corporations and the repeal of the statute, both of which he considered as **encroachments on natural liberty.**

Even set against considerable objections on the part of the guilds and a national petition of 60,000 names requiring a strengthening of apprenticeship regulations, in 1814 the statutes repeal took place and considerable changes followed, allowing the individual to practice in any craft without the need to have followed an apprenticeship.

Thus, in effect, in one action, it brought to an end a compulsory system. There was considerable reaction to this move from the guilds and one might have expected this kind of response in trying to protect the apprenticeship system. The importance placed upon it is evident when one considers the actual views of a typical craftsman, George Sturt, when he published a semi-autobiographical account in 1923 of the family wheelwrights' shop at Farnham Hampshire, in which he indicates that, at least within his shop, an apprentice;

> **after a year or two, might be equal to making and painting a wheelbarrow. But it was a painful process with them learning the whole trade. Seven years was thought not too long.**
> (Sturt 1923, pg. 19)

The County Records of West Sussex show that this length of apprenticeship was not inconsiderable, as Luke Hewett of Stoughton West Sussex was apprenticed as a wheelwright to Thomas Outon of West Dean (West Sussex) for eight years.

The view of George Stuart however, was one that was in direct contradiction with the philosophy put forward by Dr Adam Smith and his contemporaries who disapproved of apprenticeships and considered;

> **Long apprenticeship are altogether unnecessary. The arts, which are much superior to common trades, such as those of making clocks and watches, contain no mystery as to require a long course of instruction. ..... to explain to any young man, in the completest manner, how to apply the instruments and how to construct the machines, cannot well require maore than a few lessons of a few weeks: perhaps those of a few days might be sufficient. In the common mechanic trades, those of a few days might certainly be sufficient.**
>
> (Adam Smith vol.i, p137. 6th.ed. 1961)

Such views and actions when combined with the mechanisation of the industries, resulted in the gradual loss of craft guild control and power over the apprenticeship (Dunlop,1912), which as a result became marginalised in-as-much as they were confined to trades and professions that contained a high skill element requiring essential training and practice. While in the industrialised setting, apprenticeships were denigrated to a form in which many industries and trades obtained a very simple supply of cheap labour in large quantities by the mass employment of young individuals into a factory system where instruction was given in specific task skills which, being confined to an individual industrial setting, were of no value outside it. This

decline of the guilds in the face of the new capitalist industrialisation thus ensured that the apprenticeship system would never again have the central position of national importance it once had.

The Parish apprentice and contracts of indenture

i The Parish apprentice

The term "apprentice" as Dunlop (1912) indicates, is first mentioned in England in 1261 in the ordinances of the London Lorimers, (it also confirms that the term of indenture was for seven years). She goes on to show that later in 1300 there was an Act of the Common Council of the City of London which dealt with enrolment of apprentices.

In a number of cases it was the town that supported apprentices when the various guilds for obvious reasons did not, although the term "support", in many instances, is inappropriate. As these so-called apprentices tended to be children from the parish workhouse, this lead to the term "parish" or "pauper" apprentice.

These children were sold, "farmed out" or apprenticed, in some cases on a massive scale, to private employers as a means of disposing of them, and I use the term unreservedly. And it was not uncommon, as Land indicates when writing about the Bromsgrove Union Workhouse, for adverts to be placed in local

newspapers notifying the availability of the parish pauper children for apprenticeship when the children where old enough for full time work (Land 1990). This would appear to have been accepted as normal practice, for it is also confirmed by Rose (Rose 1989) who cites the Daily Advertiser as being used by the wardens of St.Clement Danes and the Wheelers Manchester Chronicle displaying advertisements relating to boys and girls between 9 - 13 years of age requiring places as servants and apprentices.

Such arrangements were seen as a means of releasing the burden placed upon the parish, as Longmate indicates when he quotes from a Poor Law official:

> **A parish apprentice is regarded as a defenceless child, deserted by its natural protector and whose legal Guardian, the parish, is only anxious to remove the burden of its maintenance, at the least possible cost.....**
> (Longmate ,29)

Longmate goes on to indicate that local rate payers were, in the eighteenth century, required to take on an apprentice from the parish for a period of one year. In return, they were paid ten pounds. Failure to comply with such a request met with a ten pound fine, a practice that was later outlawed by an Act of Parliament in 1834.

Many of these parish workhouses were themselves appalling places as shown up by an investigation carried out by Jonas Hanway in 1763 (Strange,1982) when he found that in one institution 82% of the children (64 out of 78), died. In another, this figure had increased to 89% (16 out of 18) and, in a further case, not one

child survived over a period of fourteen years. It appears that such places were not appropriate for children and they themselves may have welcomed being "apprenticed out" as a release from the deprivation.

In this respect, the Bromsgrove workhouse would appear to be more caring in that potential employers were interviewed by the Guardians and if deemed acceptable, the child was placed with the master for a trial period of one month, at the end of which all three parties; Guardians, Master and child, met to discuss the possibility of an apprenticeship, which in such cases were usually for a period of four to six years. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 provide an indication of the number and type of apprenticeships served by parish apprentices.

Within the Bromsgrove scheme a number of varying trades and professions were covered including; gun lock maker, engraver, fish hook maker, needle maker, bricklayer, stirrup iron maker and basket maker. Land goes on to recount that an Ann Warman aged twelve was apprenticed as a painter and glazier, while a Nicholas Tilt, in 1841, was apprenticed as a hairdresser - as he was;

> **a weakly boy and not fit for laborious occupation**
> (Land 1990,pg 61)

Within other workhouses the children were not so fortunate, as a number of such children were sold off and apprenticed into the service of chimney sweeps to become "climbing boys". Girls, however, were not exempt from this profession, nor was age a

particular barrier. For as Strange indicates (Strange 1982) a climbing boy, Thomas Allen, is recorded as being **articled at 4.5 years.** The apprenticing of pauper children was carried out on a very extensive scale, as Rose suggests (Rose 1989) in London alone some 2,794 children were dealt with in this way over an eleven year period from 1767 and that for the period 1802 to 1811, this figure had risen to 5,815, an average of 646 children a year compared to 254 previously.

In the first years of the cotton boom it was not uncommon for blocks of 50 or more children at a time to be apprenticed to one mill owner, the suggestion being that it was cheaper to house them, 100 at a time in one unit rather than to provide cottages for families.

Under the acts of 1597 and 1601, local justices of the parish were instructed to nominate up to four freemen who would have the responsibility for poor law administration, which included the apprenticing of orphans and the children of the poor to suitable masters. The guardians of all these workhouses tried to show that by apprenticing children in this way they were in fact benefiting not only the masters, but also the rate payers and the children themselves. Such masters were not always men as I have shown and as Strange indicates, when she describes the case of Anne Wilson, a master sweep whose apprentice of nine years of age died, as so many did, from suffocation whilst in a hot flue (Strange 1982). A number were also burnt to death and a great many boys suffered a very brutal form of cancer.

The nineteenth century, when such atrocities were taking place, was a period when the misuse of child labour was at its worst. At a time when the humanitarians were calling out for the abolition of slavery, the climbing children were themselves slaves, locked into an apprenticeship system that ensured they were bound to a master until their time had been served, when those that survived had little to offer on completion but the skill of climbing. In many such cases these children were initially sold for a few shillings to the master sweep by their parents without any form of contract having been established. A situation later overcome by the passing of the Chimney Sweep Act of 1834, which indicated that boys (or girls) must express themselves as willing to be apprenticed by appearing before a justice of the peace for approval of their indentures, such apprenticeship being signified by the wearing of a large and obligatory brass cap badge.

ii The contract of indenture

Emerging from the craft trades of the middle ages was an important feature, which, until recently, distinguished an apprentice from the unskilled worker; that of the written compact or indenture, a term that owes its antecedence to a form of contract consisting of two identical documents indented, cut, with a jagged edge along matching lines such that each partner could retain a copy which could be rejoined to prove authenticity at any later date. Initially a private arrangement between the master and the guardian of the apprentice, the administration was

later to be taken over by the town or parish, in-as-much as these agreements were to be registered with them. In **"The Rules for The Conduct of Life"** a small book issued to freemen by the Goldsmiths of London **"for the use of such freemen of London as take apprentices"** it is stated:

> **Masters should inroll their apprentices at the Chamberlain's Office within twelve months from the date of binding, as otherwise the apprentice can after then - or at any time during his time of service, sue out his indentures and be absolutely discharged from his master. If the apprentice should refuse to go to the Chamberlain's Office to be inrolled, the Chamberlain if applied to, will summon him to appear before him; and if he does not appear upon such summons, or if he should appear and not show sufficient cause why he ought not to be enrolled, the Chamberlain will make such an entry in the books of his office as will bar the apprentice from discharging himself.**
>
> (pp 39-40)

The contract bound all parties to very specific fixed terms and conditions and having their roots in the early religious role adopted by the guilds they consequently also related to the moral conduct and behaviour of the individual, a feature that was further confirmed in 1802 with the passing of the act on the Health and Morals of Apprentices and continually confirmed in the indentures of that period as indicated by the following example;

> **.... he shall not commit fornication nor contract matrimony within the said Term shall not play at Cards or Dice Tables or any other unlawful Games whereby his said Master may have any loss ..... He shall not haunt Taverns or Playhouses .....**
>
> (The Indenture of William Margetson of Norfolk 1858)

Even in the 1960s,' a clause on an indenture contained a statement to the effect, that no apprentice should be on the street after the hours of darkness.

The apprentice was also bound to work for a fixed period of time, usually as indicated above seven years or longer. A period which in 1340 was an established rule in London and one that gradually became law by the mid-sixteenth century (Leeson 1979). It was also expected that over this period the apprentice would work for very low remuneration which in modern times was usually based upon a portion of the skilled working rate which increased during the period of training, with the employer agreeing to provide instruction and occupational practice leading to the acquisition of a recognised qualification as a skilled craftsman (OECD 1979). Although, in a number of cases throughout history such provisional requirements placed upon the employer tended to be neglected. The greater number of employers, especially those in the industrial sector neither wanted to, nor tried to, undertake the training.

It was a factor which gradually led to the academic and training element being undertaken in technical institutions. The Factories Act of 1802 and later 1833 which tried to enforce factory owners to provide schooling and limit hours were an instrumental influence in this respect, also in the process braking down the prevailing kinship system.

In general however, the employee was exploited as cheap labour, Mathias (1989) suggesting that by 1820 there were 110,000 operatives working in the spinning mills. Thompson (1991) provides an indication of a Manchester cotton spinner in 1818 earning in 1818 £2 3s 4d per week, but he qualifies this by

indicating that over half the payment could be lost by various outpayments including the wages of up to three child workers, who were employed directly by the spinner.

In contrast he shows that by 1825, a "superior journeyman" in Staffordshire could be earning £3.00 per week (Thompson 1991). This can be compared with apprenticeship documents held in the West Sussex Records Office (WSRO), which indicate a William Margetson being apprenticed as a Collar and Harness maker in 1858 for a period of seven years being paid two shillings per week for the first year and increasing by one shilling each year until the seventh, when he was paid eight (appendix 1.4).

This same practice was still in operation seventeen years later when in 1875 James Knight was accepted as an indentured apprentice, provided he followed a triplex scheme of crafts; plumbing, painting and glazing. During his apprenticeship he was paid one shilling per week in the first year, two shillings and sixpence in the second, five shillings per week for the third year and eight shillings for the fourth and fifth year. And this for a ten hour day throughout the whole term, with deductions made for absence through sickness. It may appear to have been a long working week for such little remuneration but in 1899 Frederick Margetson, William's brother, worked a fifty six and a half hour week, during the three year term of his indenture (appendicies 1.5 and 1.6).

Contained in the same records is a letter from James Knight's master making a formal offer of employment at the end of his term:

> **firstly as a skilled plumber, but generally as a three branch hand (plumber, painter and glazier) and I am agreeable and hereby promise to pay sixpence halfpenny for all hours worked subject to the rules of the shop,..**
>
> (appendix 1.7)

This offer was made in 1886 and assuming James Knight still worked a ten hour day then he would have gained £1 7s 1d (£1.29). This was well below that of the 'superior journeyman' of Staffordshire and the cotton workers of Manchester. Yet it was some sixty years further on.

The state, as Hall and Miller indicate, has always recognised and accepted the apprenticeship indenture as a binding agreement (Hall and Miller 1975). So much so that in 1710 Queen Anne imposed a stamp duty upon indentures. A rate which amounted to;

> **six Pence for every twenty shillings, for every sum of fifty pounds or under, and the Duty Rate or Sum of one Shilling, of every twenty Shillings of all and every sum and sums amounting to more than fifty pounds**
>
> (Rice 1924, vol.xxviii)

And all indentures;

> **which shall, within or during the said Term of five Years, be entered into, executed or signed in any part of Great Britain ...,**
>
> (Rice 1924, vol.xxviii)

after this date, were sent to London. Regional centres acted as collecting points where the document was recorded, together with the fees paid, before forwarding within specific time limits

after signing, a time limit that was, however, flexible in taking account of the apprenticeships geographic location. Within West Sussex, Chichester and Lewis were two such collecting regions, as confirmed by the addition in the apprenticeship record book of the initials d.p.c. for Chichester and d.p.l. for Lewis.

Much later a report produced by the Minister of Labour in 1925-26 confirmed that the relationship embedded in the apprenticeship system was formed on a contractural basis. And as Liepmann suggested (1960,14), this contract did not just exist between two parties. She implies that as the trainee would eventually gain entry into a skilled occupation, an extra party, the trade unions, were involved, although they would not necessarily be signatories to it. Such a view is also supported by Haxby, who continues by suggesting that the trade unions;

> **try to define and defend levels of skill, and act in partnership with Joint Apprenticeship Boards, which recommend the content and length of training,**
> (Haxby 1989 pg. 167)

Liepmann does go on, however, to show that as a result of the need for apprenticeships to be registered, the compact was in fact a quadripartite deed (Liepmann 1960) involving a representative of the Local Joint Apprenticeship committee as well as the master, apprentice and guardian, as indicated in appendix 1.8.

Within the United Kingdom, however, there never has been, any mandatory framework established for apprenticeships. Neither has

there been any legislation which made it obligatory for an employer to provide any form of systematic training or associated vocational education (Parkes 1979) a fact that appears to contradict the basic principals of the training bond established between trainer and trainee, and founded in the indenture.

In this instance however Parkes is placing the emphasis upon the lack of a national legal framework endorsed by the state together with the lack of any single administrative body that would have responsibility for it, a fact supported by Haxby (1989,167).

This is evident by the lack of any government body to collect or even hold statistical information on apprentices until the establishment of the Industrial Training Boards under the 1964 Act. Up until that time, it was government policy that the responsibility for industrial training rested solely with employers.

While technically, both Parkes and Haxby are correct, what they fail to mention is that a very well established training system, as I indicate later, was, in fact, in place and insisted upon, at least within the construction industry. In addition The Education Act of 1944 also stimulated the provision of further education for apprentices, the post-war years having seen an increase in the technical colleges providing day-release courses to trainees in employment.

In spite of this, the academic literature tends to suggest that the 'validity' of the apprenticeship system in the U.K. has always been based upon the completion of the 'specified term' of the contract and not on the instruction given. On the other hand the documents of the industry lead bodies, (within the construction industry it is the National Joint Council for the Building Industry (NJCBI)), provide a very different impression and suggest, without any doubt, both training and time serving were very much linked, as I indicate later.

In certain industries for example the electrical contracting industry, this time serving was being replaced by a staged system of apprenticeship which had recognised standards.

I would, however, agree with both Parkes and Haxby that this country did not have, (although in my opinion, it should have had), an organised system of vocational education that also embraced industry and commerce and that should have ben bound within a legal framework encompassing both education and training.

Thus at this stage, it is possible to establish that an apprentice was one bound to a master, by contract of indenture for a specified period and for a specified return - to learn the mystry of the trade. But this was to change.

Table 1.1

Details of Bound Parish Apprentices

Details	male	female	Total	Aged below 8	Aged between 8 and 11	11 and 12	12 and 14	14 and 18	Totals
No. of apprentices from 1802 - 1811	3446	2369	5815						
Of the above bound to Trades, Watremen the sea service and to households	2428	1361	3789	15	493	483	1656	1102	3749
Of this group, bound to the sea service,									
Watermen, Lightermen and Fishermen			484						
Household employment			528						
Various trades and professions			2772						
Those remaining bound to persons in the country	1018	1008	2026	58	1008	316	435	207	2024
note: 2 children not accounted for									
			Totals	73	1501	799	2091	1309	5773
								missing	42

Abstracted from the report of;
The Committee on Parish Apprentices 19th May 1815

Note; The survey was conducted amongst 50 parishes made up from;
17 without the walls of London
10 within the City and Liberty of Westminister
and 23 in Middlesex and Surrey

Table 1.2

General classification of bound parish apprentices
By specific Trade

Trade		Number
Now serving indentures		644
Served thier time now in same employ		108
served and settled elsewhere		99
Dead		80
Enlisted in the Army or Navy		86
Quitted service (mainly ran away)		166
Not bound to person mentioned in		
the Return kept by the company of		
Parish Clerks		58
Sent back to thier friends		57
Transferred to tradesmen in		
different parts of the Kingdom		246
Incapable of service		18
Not accounted for or mentioned		5
In Parish workhouse		26
Not satisfactorily or intelligibly		
accounted for by the person to whom		
the were bound, or by the Overseers		
where the master s have become		
bankrupts		433
Totals		2026

Note : The above spans a ten year period between 1802 and 1811
for those parish apprentices bound to a particular trade

Abstracted from; The Committe on Parish Apprentices 19th May 1815

Chapter Two

Establishing an identity for the term apprentice within a modern context

A hierarchical apprenticeship system

The apprenticeship system was initially one form of long-term, specific job related skills training that held an élite position in the 'labour aristocracy' (Watson 1987) as it was a means by which the working class could gain an education. And until the Factories Acts brought in the requirement of providing education for factory workers, it was, on a national scale at least, the only means of securing an education for this group. It was an important system non-the-less that also had the effect of setting them aside from their contemporaries. Thompson, quoting Mayhew, indicates that they, the artisans;

> **.... are sufficiently educated and thoughtful to have a sense of importance in the state.....**
> **The unskilled labourers are a different class of people.**
>
> (Thompson 1991, pg266)

In describing the labourers in this way, Mayhew is indicating very clearly that even within that group making up the lower social stratum, the plebeian, there existed the distinction of a working class structure that had its own very well defined boundaries. And it is true, there have always been divisions within every aspect of society, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were no exception. Indeed, the working class itself was very much a divided society.

Such divisions being clearly visible in the apprentice system where there prevailed a similarly distinct social status order, a feature that continued until recently. For embedded within this structure there existed a hidden culture which determined the worth of the apprentice in two ways. First, by the specific occupational type of apprenticeship, which in the construction industry places painters at the lower end of this hierarchical stratification structure, while carpenters and joiners are positioned closer to the top, (even within the wood trades there is a rank order of joiner, carpenter, cabinet maker). Secondly and possibly more importantly, within the same apprenticeship group a further, to some extent more élitist structure existed in which the emphasis was placed upon where this time serving had been undertaken. For example, within the north of England, engineering apprentices having served their time with what was then BSA (British Small Arms) were ranked higher in the engineering world than their counterparts, as were those without doubt from the workshops of the esteemed Rolls Royce, which held its own élitist position. An engineering apprenticeship with Rolls Royce, for which there was a high academic entry requirement, was held as the national pinnacle of this apprenticeship order, and, within the garage system, in which I worked as a young man, I observed that a time served Rolls Royce apprentice was always paid the highest and would expect to have exclusivity over high grade work.

The introduction of an Industrial Training Act

The apprenticeship system of the 1960s and on through the 1970s aimed at providing a highly developed craft skills training, but once again it was only for a select minority of the workforce, the majority of whom were trained, as it transpired, in industries which declined rapidly from 1973 onwards. By 1979 it was clear that within the manufacturing and industrial sector in general, this decline was to be a permanent factor (Haxby,1989) as exemplified by the continued recession a decade later. When it became clear that the voluntary efforts of employers were not meeting the needs in terms of reducing the national skills shortages that prevailed in the early 60's, the government intervened in a positive way by introducing the Industrial Training Act. An Act responsible for the setting up of 26 Training Boards to effectively re-structure, co-ordinate and in general look after the training needs of specific industry sectors; in short to do what industry had failed to do and has always failed to do, at least at a national level. Even in 1983 Ian Strath the assistant education officer for Sheffield, writing in the Coombe Lodge report on engineering training, stated;

> **the success of the scheme depends upon maintaining the periods of time spent within college. The time spent in employers' premises allows development of skills and gives practical experience, but employers show a marked reluctance to be involved in the training and teaching process.**
> (Strath 1983, pg 268)

It was still an industry, non-the-less, that persisted in a blind belief in radical reforms and demands for a skilled workforce without ever saying what it actually wanted, or just as importantly, how it could be achieved. One might question, however, whether the burden of responsibility for establishing a national framework of training should be left to an industrial sector that has, since the Industrial Revolution, indicated its lack of interest and inability in the main to deal with training. The complexity of such a task would perhaps be better served and organised through government or its agents, who would be able to cross the complex and restrictive boundaries that exist between respective parties.

The Industrial Training Boards (ITBs)

It would appear that the instigation of the ITBs was just such a radical solution for vocational training and the apprenticeship system, as the greatest rise in this area took place in the period between the mid 1960s and 1970s.

The Industrial Training Act of 1964 thus enabled the establishment of Industrial Training Boards thereby reflecting (albeit late) the need for statutory intervention in the area of vocational training, (Brendan Evans 1992). It was also instrumental in providing an administrative framework for training, and unusually for this country, an element of

compulsion upon firms to provide training (Tipton 1983). Two years later the first Schools Industry Liaison Officer was appointed. An employee of the LEA, he acted as an advisor/facilitator between both the schools and the schools/industry organisation.

By 1969 there were some 27 statutory training boards in operation. And in 1973 the Education (Work Experience) Act opened the way to work experience for school pupils. There was by now a definite move towards an industry led curriculum initially established between the schools and industry. It would appear however, that such developments were not sufficient for the government, (Jamieson 1985).

It was obvious that within the country there was a rising interest in vocational training and steps were underway to improve the workforce of the nation. But there was at the same time the problem of raising youth unemployment, although as Horne points out this was not a new situation, it being referred to as the 'second slump', (Horne 1983). Also the 'new' schemes brought about to ameliorate conditions were not new, as indicated by the Juvenile Instruction Centres of the 1930s.

An important feature of the Act enabled the publishing of detailed training recommendations together with the standards to be reached, and vocational courses to be followed (Haxby 168). These were recommendations and no more; they were not a legal obligation. Such schemes were developed to meet the changing

industrial base of the nation and the demands of the industrialists, who still complained about lengthy training periods (by now reduced to 3-4 years), which, in their eyes, led to a shortage of an adequately skilled workforce. Thus indicating industry's continued dislike of the basic structure of an apprenticeship system, which still did not supply, in the industry's view, the answer they needed to solve skill shortage problems. Although a number of large organisations which could afford the necessary investment provided well structured apprenticeships (Haxby 1989), the majority could not, and if they did exist they tended to be of a transient nature, disappearing when economic circumstances were not favourable; training being the first to suffer during periods of economic decline. Many organisations did not believe in the training philosophy, looking instead to others to provide a trained workforce. In many instances, a common policy of poaching was adopted, as I observed myself, at a County level whilst undergoing my own training.

In some respects the ITBs had been established as a government response to industry's fear of poaching (Twining 1989). It is a fear, which is current today, especially when labour shortages make skilled workers a rare commodity, means that many small company's do not and will not become involved with training. Thus at the outset contributing to a fragmented system.

Under an apprenticeship system, such practices would be an infringement on the laws of contract and would have been rare. In

general industry was keen for a radical review of the training system, and it was about to happen, but not as a direct result of their endeavours.

For although there had been a significant increase in the number of individuals taking up apprenticeships, there was still a much higher percentage of school leavers not undergoing skills training. It was indicative of an educational system that provided the off-the-job element for the apprenticeship system, to be locked into this vocational structure and to be unable to offer an alternative strategy. There were obvious and valid reasons for this situation. It was also a government problem for not having established a framework of vocational education that enabled the system to deal with this event. In an attempt to try and address the growing problem of youth unemployment during this period and in going some way to meet the demands placed upon it by industry, the government established, under the 1970 Industrial Training Act, the Manpower Services Commission, resulting in a system that became known as the 'new vocationalism' and it could be said that in this respect the U.K. underwent a training revolution. It was a system that combined a much shorter training period, with a large element of deskilling amongst both staff and students and heralded a distinct move away from an apprenticeship system, to a point where apprenticeship contracts and the associated training methods tended to be rare. The term apprentice came to have a very transitory meaning, as it did towards the end of the eighteenth century.

By the early 1980s the revival had lost its momentum and most of the training boards had been replaced or had gone.

A further Industrial Training Act of 1981 aimed to reduce the degree of government intervention by the replacement of 16 of the original 26 Training Boards with non-statutory Voluntary Training Organisations. Haxby (1989,167) indicates that amongst those remaining, the Construction, Engineering and Road Transport Training Boards between them sponsored two-thirds of the modern form of apprenticeship training in the U.K.

The Construction Industries Training Board (CITB), by the end of the 1980s, had been responsible for some 723,000 trainees, of which just over 37 per cent in terms of being indentured were apprenticed trained. Table 2.1 indicates the CITB student intake into FE for the period 1989 to 1992. It is obvious that a decline occurs with each first year cohort and if we track the 1989/90 students across each year there is a loss of 42% by year two, followed by a 45% loss in the final year. Following the second year students from 1989/90, the loss by their third year is 48%. And the first year students of 1990/91 present a loss of 42% by the second year (1991/92). This is a trend amongst craft students we will meet again in more detail in Chapter five.

The importance in the use of the term modern apprentice cannot be overlooked, for even in an industry that had strived to maintain the indentured apprentice a change was taking place. The CITB,

the last bastion for the apprentice within the construction industry, reached an agreement with the MSC in 1983 to train 21,470 trainees under what had been established by the MSC as the Youth Training Scheme (Haxby 1989), a number much larger than it had previously dealt with but where it proved very successful in the way in which it achieved its goals, the importance being that these young people were trainees, not apprentices. There was of course, the requirement for them to be registered, but not for them to become indentured. It was only a suggestion rather than a condition that employers might adopt this approach after the first year. From the records few appear to have followed the recommendation.

To some extent, in reinforcing this trend away from the apprenticeship system there was a move to re-align the structure of the CITB training system along those of the developing National Vocational Qualification structure. For in 1989, together with the Further Education Unit and five selected colleges, the CITB collaborated on a pilot scheme looking into the possibility of implementing this validating system. A shift which has been accompanied by an increasing emphasis on competence based testing of specific skills and activities and a move towards shorter training periods, resulting in the introduction of a modular training approach.

Because of the continued dominance of the CITB the vast bulk of new entrant construction craft training was, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, undertaken through the auspices of the CITB YTS

national Managing Agency to a national pattern of training laid down by the CITB, with a subsidy of funding from them raised by a levy on the industry.

Very few employers would have been outside this system and selected students would follow an approved course of study, which meant those recognised by the CITB. Or at a centre run by CITB at a company training centre approved by the National Joint Council for the Building Industry (NJCBI) (Stewert 1990).

A large element of the classroom based training was still carried out through colleges of Further Education founded on centrally negotiated terms (Cormican 1990), although, the CITB also undertook a large element of training itself through its own skills training centres located around the country. The colleges through their construction departments, however, had no effective control in this negotiation process and operated essentially through a directive procedure, although this fact, while upheld by lecturing staff, would be denied by CITB.

There was to be, however, a planned shift of emphasis from this central position to a more regionally based system, with the inception of the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), established to take over after the demise of the MSC. The new roles adopted under the Further Education Act, which came into force in mid 1992, led progressively towards a local system where the regional TECs were responsible for their own training

budgets. The envisaged aim of this being to negotiate and establish contracts with training and educational organisations at a local level. This approach reflected a much greater emphasis towards a trainee system rather than apprenticeships becoming the established method of gaining a 'skilled workforce'.

The CITB may have adopted the trainee approach but originally, in an attempt to protect its own industry through the traditional pattern of apprenticeship skills training, the Engineering Industries Training Board had no such arrangement with the MSC. Recruitment under this scheme was 25,240 in 1975. Unfortunately on reflection, it appears to have been a futile attempt by a training body that seemed to be out of touch with changes occurring not only at a national level but also within its own industry.

Such moves were reflected in the drastic decline that transpired over the following nine years leading to a recruitment in 1984 of 6,040. It was a devastating blow, for as Haxby, in his detailed account of the effect YTS had on the ITBs indicates, from a consistent figure of 10,000 those reaching craftsman status by completing two training modules in this branch, fell to only 2 individuals. It is my contention that the CITB although trying to modify and adapt its training approach will follow a similar route.

A number of colleges in 1992 were withdrawing from the partnership they had developed with CITB and were attempting, in some cases successfully, to establish their own local training schemes within the NVQ structure to meet local needs. The hidden agenda for this action was, however, a case of self survival amongst the colleges in a climate of economic depression within an industry (construction) that was itself in deep recession. These trends indicated very clearly that the apprenticeship system was losing its validity as a means of gaining an occupational skill, primarily because there was no coherent system to administer it. The previously established method of becoming a crafts-person was being successively eroded.

Achieving the level of crafts-person

Most countries which continue to have a strong apprenticeship philosophy, specify the method of instruction the apprentice should undertake and in Europe, unlike the United Kingdom, this tends to be a compulsory element of the training period. Within the U.K., according to Parkes (FEU 1979), there is no national mandatory instruction method, the emphasis being on mandatory. Neither has there ever been a final examination, test or certificate of competence, except when a trainee has joined a professional body that has its own examination structure for various grades of membership. I have shown, however, that there gradually evolved within the terms of indentures a requirement for the individual to undergo formalised training. And later,

when vocational training had become established in educational institutions, written into the indentures was the requirement that the apprentice would follow a recognised scheme of training appropriate for the craft at the local technical institute.

According to the literature, apprentices having served their time under such a system were technically accepted as a crafts-person by the employer and, as Liepmann would agree, by the trade union. They were then entitled to regard themselves as a trades person merely by the fact of having served that period; time served apprentice. Although it is difficult to say in every case what would happen to the apprentice who failed the craft examination, it would appear from terms of the apprenticeship (appendix 1.4 clause 10) that the Local Joint Apprenticeship Committee could cancel the Deed for persistent non-performance. So one could assume that, from at least 1944, the completion of an apprenticeship was conditional, not only upon time serving but also on the passing of an approved training scheme for which a craft examination would be held.

Voluntary vocational education schemes, usually operated within a technical institute and related to craft apprenticeship which, until the middle of 1993, led to a final examination. Although, according to Parkes, the result of such examinations have no effect on the final elevation of the apprentice to the level of crafts-person (Parkes 1979). Parkes however considers that schemes of attendance at a college would be atypical. The

evidence, however, as I have shown indicates the contrary. Considering clause 6 in the apprenticeship document provided in appendix 1.4, it would appear that there was in fact a requirement to attend specified courses of technical and general education at a technical college or similar institution and that this should continue until the end of the school year in which the apprenticed reached the age of eighteen. Such conditions still applied to apprenticeship documents in 1963.

Even the form of attendance was specified; two half days or one whole day each week of term and any evening classes reasonably required by the college provided that they related to studies in the craft. In addition, the apprentice should study for the craft examination in the craft or to sit for any other examination approved by the National Joint Apprenticeship Board. Within the U.K. the vocational FE training element, which, in general, was strongly founded on a tradition of paid day release was, at a craft level, increasingly replaced by a block release system. Even in 1979 the National Joint Council for the Building Industry (NJCBI) Working Rule Agreement (appendix 2.1) indicated that any individual being trained for a skilled building occupation should be given by the employer, appropriate off-the-job training, and or further education together with appropriate work experience. This was reaffirmed and expanded in the 1988 NJCBI Agreement (appendix 2.2) which goes on to stipulate that this training should enable the individual to take 'job knowledge' tests normally by the end of the first year of training and that practical skills tests should be undertaken **not earlier than nine**

months before the end of the period of training. Thus further providing evidence that a very well established system was in place to provide training and testing at both an institutional and national level for both apprentices and trainees, but without the benefit of a legal framework that made apprenticeships a compulsory form of vocational training.

In Germany, as with other European countries, again with the exception of the U.K., the Government has a more pro-active and positive role, the requirement for the apprentice being to follow a compulsory and more structured form of instruction, bound within a legal framework which spans the whole of the apprenticeship period. At the end of the traditional 'time served' period the apprentices are required to sit an examination and it is only when these examinations have been successfully completed that the trainees are considered as being qualified or allowed to call themselves craftsmen. It would appear that the U.K. was very close to having a similar system.

The New apprentice in a changing social context

Marsden and Ryan (1990) would have us consider that it is the labour market structures of a nation which, in fact, pre-determine the vocational training structure and hence the apprenticeship system and, that such a system operates within an occupational market rather than an internal one, which itself

relies on informal yet task specific 'upgrade training' undertaken at the work place, resulting in shorter training periods. This is very similar to the concept behind the NCVQ system.

They go on to suggest that there no longer exists a clear boundary between apprenticeship and other forms of training. I would tend to agree that the distinction is being eroded, a view formulated as a result of observing the developments of the vocational training philosophy of the Manpower Services Commission.

Within the U.K., the vocational changes that have taken place lead common usage to suggest, as Marsden and Ryan indicate, that the term "apprenticeship" has been taken to denote any system of vocational training which; (i) relies primarily on employer provision and on-the-job training and (ii) involves training in a range of occupational skills and knowledge over an extended period of time and I would add, in a number of cases without any form of contractual agreement.

There is also another position that has to be taken into account, that of the trainee, a term which, like that of the apprentice, has also undergone a change. According to Kate Liepmann it was a term originally reserved for novices in the non-manual occupations but it was also linked to craftsmen who were undergoing retraining. Initially, the next stage below that of an

apprentice was reserved for the "learner". Having completed the training period there was a requirement for the apprentice to undergo a further period of training at which stage they were termed an improver. It was not until they had completed this final stage that an apprentice qualified for the full journeymans rate.

These are now outmoded forms of nomenclature, although, with regard to vocational education, we are still left with the terms "apprentice" and "trainee", the latter being synonymous in modern times with the philosophy inherited from the disbanded MSC. The term "improver" is still in existence but no longer has the same connotation, like "apprentice" and "trainee" it has taken on a more liberal meaning, "learner" obviously being reserved for the educational sector.

It is also necessary to consider that the inherent lack of interest in the long term value of vocational education, resulting in the gradual decline of the apprenticeship system and the rise of the new vocationalism, is closely linked both in a social and educational context to changes that have taken place since the first World War. Coming as they did from an educational system of the late nineteenth century that was differentiated by an entrenched social class structure that had a vested interest in maintaining a classical form of education, which had a limiting effect on the educational progress of the working class, failing as it eventually did to meet the demands of the very same industrialists who supported the classical

élite. A feature which to a considerable extent in a modern setting has declined.

Nor is it possible to overlook the problems resulting from the demographic turn-down of the late 80's, which resulted in fewer young people from social class 3-5, those traditionally forming the craft apprentice, being available. In addition, with the changes that have occurred within society, individual aspirations are causing the modern generation to move out of such class defined work positions, towards a technology based occupational role which presents for them a more acceptable social position.

Conclusion to chapter two

From the historical viewpoint it is possible to distinguish five main phases in the apprenticeship system:

i Guild apprenticeships, from 12th century to 1563

ii Statutory apprenticeships set up by the Statute of Articifers in 1563 - 1814

iii Voluntary apprenticeships since 1814, which if the first World War is taken into account had itself three phases:

a) 1814 - 1914
b) 1914 - 1918 war years apprenticeships disrupted
c) 1918 - 1928 interrupted apprenticeship scheme

iv The apprentice / trainee, which evolved out of the new vocationalism of the early seventies and led to the final demise of the apprentice.

v The revival of the apprentice in the early 1990s

In trying to establish the position and an identity for the term apprentice in a modern context it has been necessary to identify three training methodologies which in turn distinguish three distinct apprenticeship models.

These methodologies are;

i a form of skills learning that consists of both on and off-the-job work related training which is undertaken for a fixed period usually three years and underpinned by some form of contractual arrangement which is registered through local apprenticeship boards, a system having historical roots but which is in rapid decline. **The indentured apprentice.**

ii a similar system of occupational training with an element of associated classroom based technology and related academic instruction; for example maths, science and communication. A system covering a shorter period of time, (currently about two years) and without any form of contractual agreement, although, if undertaken through the CITB there would be a requirement for employers to register the individual if they continued for the second year. **The non-indentured apprentice.**

iii modular based short term training schemes that are totally vocationally skills based in content with very limited, if any, technical provision and again with no form of contract or even registration. Coming as a direct result from the development of the MSC structure with the Youth Training Schemes and Employment Training programmes. **The trainee.** Because this system is based on the modular approach the trainee could cover a range of modules that would enable them to move from a semi-skilled position to skilled and in a social context at least may have the term apprentice placed upon them.

So, from this, how would I define an apprenticeship in its modern setting?

The majority of modern day vocational training falls into category ii and thus an apprenticeship in these terms would, in my opinion, consist of a period of very specific competency based vocational skills training, that may have a modular structure and which may to a greater degree be undertaken and validated at the workplace, with individuals being required to reach level 2 or 3 of the NVQ validating system. There would be no fixed term of training but it may, on current trends be considered to last from one to two years depending on the skill level required by the employer. There would be no written form of contract other than that covered by the current industrial employment legislation.

Such a system still fits in with the initial definition of a craft apprentice but not with that of an indentured apprentice. From this it is possible to make three observations; first, that the apprenticeship system appears to be moving away from the very broad based system that was implied in the definitions relating to indentured apprentices provided at the start of this chapter to a very narrow and selective set of training programmes that build together as and when required to meet the demands of an ever changing industrial base facing decline, not only within itself but amongst those it is trying to train. Secondly, that within this vocational structure, there has evolved three very distinct training methods that require proportionally decreasing levels of skill acquisition, and, finally, it would appear the apprenticeship system in its traditional sense of an indentured process is in rapid decline. I will consider this aspect later.

For the moment, it is the second point I would like to consider in the next chapter. What form of training evolved to deal with craft apprentices, and to what extent has there been an element of deskilling.

Table 2.1

CITB student intake into Further Education Colleges

Craft	1989/90			1990/91			1991/92		
	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr3	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr3	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr3
C and J	13898	9632	6064	11840	8639	5392	10269	7262	5161
Bwk	9937	5909	3013	8076	5295	2958	6690	4270	2960
P and D	5317	3028	1619	4684	2902	1402	4256	2595	1386
Plasteres	1561	859	332	1186	767	406	1270	649	351
Others	3228	2097	793	2505	1952	864	1988	1420	745
Totals	33941	21525	11821	28291	19555	11022	24473	16196	10603

Source CITB New Entrant Report 1993

Chapter Three

Education and Training - the early history, 11th to 19th century

Introduction - From conquest to grammar schools

Prior to 1066 a considerable element of monastic education had been available in this country, through the teaching of the Benedictine monks. And by 1160 Oxford University had finally and firmly, been re-established by Henry II, recalling the scholars from their European sanctuaries, where they had sought refuge after purges at the University.

Such developments however, could not be seen as a move towards a system of education for anyone other than the privileged. It was not an educational institution for the nation as a whole, nor was it the foundation of such. It would be more true to say that the origin and development of the modern vocational education system began with the various forms of craft training, undertaken during the middle ages. And in the larger castles, it would not have been uncommon to find 'schools' for training in the art of combat, from which the knights, esquires and men of arms would have been drawn. Individuals who found themselves in the baronial halls and courts of such knights and nobles, would have been instructed in the day to day activities of their respective household departments. Certain large households might also have had a priest, to provide instruction in reading, writing and

grammar. Although, without doubt, the actual level of academic education available to, or received by any individual, would have been commensurate with his or her particular position in service. Such positions being dependent upon their social standing.

Whatever this social standing, one aspect of society that touched each individual and was fundamental to the foundation of education for the population was the religion available to that eclectic population, outside monastic teaching. In this respect William the Conqueror took a significant lead when he set about the reformation of the English church.

The fact that the church developed such a strong leaning towards educational improvements is not surprising, when we see such eminent scholars as Lanfranc and Anselm being appointed to important positions within it. Both in succession took on the mitre as archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc, an Italian and former teacher in the school he had established in the Normandy abbey of Bec, had come over with William at the time of the conquest as his advisor. Later, in 1070, as archbishop, he set about the rebuilding of the cathedral. And Anselm, who came from a wealthy background, was, after some time as a travelling student, drawn to Bec to study under Lanfranc. While in England he was to succeed as archbishop, four years after his tutors death in 1089 (Poole 1987).

Anselm was selected for the position, one assumes, because of his association with Lanfranc and his reputation for having turned the abbey of Bec, of which he was the abbot, into a European centre of scholarship. In addition Anselm held an important place in the development of Scholasticism, of which he was a champion of realism, a philosophy that led to the term schoolmen being used for its followers. Having previously devoted more than thirty years of his life to learning and contemplation, he was very reluctant to take up the post, which was eventually forcibly placed upon him by William II in 1093 (Poole 1987).

It is well established that all members of the clergy were educated men and as almost every village throughout the land had a church or chantry there was at least one person with a classical education able to pass an element of this knowledge on. The early developments of formal "education" on anything like a national scale, was therefore, by way of religious instruction. A fact confirmed by the actions of King Edward, who in the tenth century required children to be instructed in elements of Christianity. The responsibility for such a task fell primarily upon these parish priests who also had the task of establishing schools to accommodate young boys, (Aldrich 1982). London it is thought, had three such church schools dating from the twelfth century. We are to see much later, at the time of the charity schools, that the priests outside London gradually lost this ideal and felt such tasks were no longer their role.

Later, in 1281, a constitution prescribed a basic summary of the beliefs and teachings of the church, which it was directed all should learn. It was envisaged that this instruction might be undertaken from the pulpit, but it was also considered other means, such as schools, could be used. In addition there was a requirement for song schools to be established to train boys for choristers (Aldrich 1982).

Without doubt the nobility valued and understood the importance of education. Even in the early fourteenth century they made use of boarding schools. For example, the priory of Benedictine nuns at Amesbury in Wiltshire, boarded the children of noble birth. And Aldrich suggests several children of Isabel, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and Eleanor, the daughter of Edward I, were amongst those nobles to be found there, (Aldrich 1982).

Thrupp (1948) suggests, that in trying to emulate the gentry and with apparent aspirations to join, the wealthy merchant class held a similar view towards education to that of the more cultivated of the nobility;

> **An alderman who died in 1312 had wished his sons to stay at school until they could compose reasonably good verse; this might mean staying until they were twenty,**
> (Thrupp 1984 pg.160)

It was considered important by these merchant families that their offspring should gain this form of education for more than academic or religious reasons. Although there were strong convictions that it was important to have an understanding of the scriptures, the more overriding reason, and one not to be

overlooked, was that an educated member of the merchant class would have been better placed to move into the ranks of the nobility or gain a commercial advantage, should the opportunity arise.

For those from the lower orders, who were in service and lesser trade guilds at this time, however, the actual classroom was in most cases the individuals place of work; as Dunlop indicates when she considers the training undertaken by the apprentices in the fifteenth century(Dunlop 1912). In this respect, she is relating specifically to the technical training undertaken within the many workshop and not of the scholastic type, as in general the evidence would indicate that little, if any, form of education was available for anyone other than those high born or of wealthy parentage. In such cases use would have been made of the growing number of universities and monastic institutions. Aldrich suggests (1982 pg.126) there existed five major branches of medieval higher education;

i cathedral schools
ii the order of friars
iii the monastic order
iv the university
v the Inns of Court

Those church schools that had been established during this period stressed, along with grammar, the teaching of moral righteousness, an element considered by certain members of the merchant class to be very important;

> for it inferred not only to the moral values but also training in all those social attitudes that were by convention suited to their role in the community. The child had to learn that the world was organised through authority. The child's state of subordination, involving liability to corporal punishment was prolonged throughout apprenticeship, the masters part in the matter being set out in the indentures as though chastisement of his charge was a duty rather than a right.
>
> (Thrupp 1948 pg.164)

Although for the majority, education was limited, in many instances the apprenticeship was viewed as the best, if not the only method of obtaining some element of education. It becomes apparent when reviewing the literature that even as early as the fifteenth century it is possible to establish that there were two discrete forms of apprentice in terms of their academic standing; those that were required to be reasonably literate before being admitted to a particular craft thus indicating access to education and a wealthy background, and those from the lower trades where particular levels of literacy were not as important or even required.

It did in fact become a requirement of some guilds, that the applicant be educated to a reasonable standard before being considered as an apprentice. The Goldsmiths' had a rule in force in 1478, again reaffirmed in the 1490s, actually forbidding any member from taking on an apprentice who could not read or write, (Thrupp 1948). In other cases further basic schooling in English, and occasionally Latin if required would be incorporated into the apprenticeship agreement.

Aldrich indicates that a number of guilds maintained schools, mainly for the children of the masters, he implies however, that apprentices may also have been provided with an academic education in this way. It is a view well documented by many authors, such as Lipson (1929), who suggests a number of free grammar schools were established by the guilds in the middle ages, and goes on to provide an example with the Drapers of Shrewsbury, who maintained just such a school in 1492.

Monasteries would also have been used in a similar way for the children of the wealthy merchants. For the lowly apprentice however, such provision would have been rare at this time. Even so, it is accepted that a limited form of instruction may have been available at the Parish level where chanteries had been established and the priest may have provided the tuition; in a number of cases, free. Later the requirement for an apprentice to be provided with some form of academic tuition became a condition written into many indentures. And in the twentieth century the type of education to be received, as indicated in chapter one, became more specific.

In certain areas the value of running schools to meet the requirements of trade, had not been overlooked. A number of schools amongst those private schools that existed, had been established by guildsmen, usually scriveners, to meet the needs of the clerical trades and were, according to Thrupp, **developing high-pressure methods of education.** She indicates that in 1415 a member of the scriveners, William Kyngesmill was running a school

in commercial French and taught not only reading and writing but also accounting. The pupils of such schools must have qualified at an early age for she indicates that by the age of twelve, having completed a course at the Kyngesmill school one pupil was ready to take up an apprenticeship in London. Thrupp goes on to suggest that writing schools, most likely run by scriveners, were being established in the 1490's and that goldsmiths apprentices were amongst the student body. By the seventeenth century a number of such schools had been well established in London, (Thrupp 1948).

In her work on the Merchant class of medieval London, Thrupp also provides an indication of the level of literacy in the 15th century as it affected this coterie, when she shows, that of the 116 males who gave evidence at a particular court between 1467 and 1476, 40 per cent were recorded by the clerk as literate, in terms of being able to read and understand Latin, (it was a requirement at that time to record such facts), (Thrupp 1948).

From these records it was assumed therefore, that if such a number could read Latin, then at least, some 50 per cent of the London male merchant class should be able to read English. Thrupp goes on to provide a table showing the occupational groupings of the witnesses, and indicates 45 occupations ranging from baker to whitetawyer, amongst whom 48 were considered literate and 68 illiterate.

The significance of this being that the list was considered to be fairly representative of the artisans in the city at the time, although, it did not contain those thought to be from the professional classes. Thrupp also indicated that a change appeared to be taking place in the common language used in certain documents of the period, and cites the case of the Brewers guild, which in 1422, changed from keeping its records in Latin, as this could no longer be read, to English, which a few members could not only read but also write.

The major setback in educational provision, as seen by the poorer classes in the fifteenth century, and confirmed vividly by Mayhew in his interviews amongst them even as late as 1850, was that families required their children to work. The attitude towards education therefore, was one of requiring a utilitarian rather than a religious base, where parents demanded that their children be instructed within the schools in those skills necessary to follow a trade. It was still to be some time, however, before such a vocational system would be accessible to all at a national level.

Education for the freeman - Grammar schools

I indicated in Chapter one that Chichester was an important trading City in the fifteenth century and being one of 23 medieval dioceses, it could therefore provide a local yet typical indication of educational provision for that period. Ballard

indicated in his History of Chichester (1898), that until the end of the fifteenth century, there appears to have been a distinct lack of educational provision for the children of the locality.

It is thought the local friars provided tuition for a small number of privileged children, and that perhaps private schooling, or tuition, would have accommodated a few more children of the nobility or wealthy merchants and artisans. The first actual school to be established in Chichester, was founded by Bishop Storey in 1497 and was to be;

> **a Free Grammar School for the education of the sons of freemen.**
>
> (Ballard 1898, pg.52)

The school was originally attached to the Prebend of Highleigh and its headmaster appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Chichester Cathedral, a common practice for schools attached in this way.

During the Tudor and Stuart period in England, almost anyone could become a teacher provided they had a licence from the church, a requirement that applied to both grammar schools and petty schools alike, (Cressy 1987). In the case of the grammar school, however, the normal qualification was also a university degree. For most other forms of institution there was no such requirement. It was not until the 1980s was there a requirement for a teacher to have both a degree and licence to teach.

In time the school at Chichester became known as the Prebendal school, a name it holds to this day. And with the main function of grammar schools at this time to teach Latin, religious instruction and music, the Prebendal was no exception. The tradition of religious and musical instruction continues today with the provision of the choir for the Cathedral. It has now however, broken with the historical tradition of being all male by becoming co-educational.

The Prebendal typified the type of grammar school attached to churches throughout the country. Large numbers (many of which had some provision for free schooling) were endowed schools that had been attached to chanteries, which were later to be dissolved in the reformation to come. In this respect the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could be looked upon as the period of the grammar school.

After he broke with the Catholic church in 1532, Henry VIII proclaimed himself head of the church and set about dissolving the monasteries and chanteries. In all, by 1536, 376 religious houses had been dissolved by royal decree, and in 1540 an Act was passed which reconstituted the monastic cathedrals and prescribed in detail the form of new King's schools, as at Canterbury, Ely, Rochester and Worcester (Aldrich 1982).

The dissolution of the monasteries and chanteries continued after Henry's death during the reign of his nine year old son king Edward VI, who came to the throne in 1547. It was in fact the

Duke of Somerset, a staunch Protestant, who, having been given the instructions by the young king's father, actually pursued them with some vigour. The removal of the chanteries on such a scale was an important issue, for with their demise the local parish also lost the priest and the elementary education he had provided.

It appears, however, that there never was any intention under the reformation to reduce the provision of education, but then neither was there any intention to expand it. The only new schools came with the new cathedrals and although some of the grammar schools established under Edward VI were new, many in fact were refoundations. In some respects we should be grateful for the actions of Henry VIII. For although much of the land past into private hands a number of chantry foundations were saved by the trustees. For where these trustees ensured that the chantry had some form of educational role, they were in the main, declared exempt and remained intact to become essentially endowed grammar schools (Briggs 1991).

The dissolution was not necessarily just to reform the church (in some respects, its aim was to enable Henry to obtain a divorce) but also, to gain its wealth in the form of land for the crown. Land which was later to pass into the hands of the gentry for service to the monarchy. Asa Briggs indicates an instance where one Gloucester clothier turned a priory into a factory and in another case at Robertsbridge in Sussex, a furnace and forge were established (Briggs 1991).

Such revisions within the church by the monarchy were also accompanied by reforms to both the bible and prayer book. And as Youings indicates, when the rebellions against the new English Prayer Book took place in Devon and Cornwall, the objection was not only on the grounds of religion but also on those of education, as;

> **children would never learn the words unless they had been to school.**
>
> (Youings 1991, pg 192)

she suggests that due to the reformation, attending school was a remote possibility. The fact that in 1543 a statute had been passed, restricting the reading and knowledge of the bible to noblemen and gentlewomen only, and then in private, may have led to the suggestion that perhaps the lower orders did not require the use of letters. And as Asa Briggs shows, education was expensive at this time, even for those that could afford it. The Inns of Court he suggests, became more exclusive than the universities, indicating an almost absolute class divide in the early seventeenth century, nine out of ten students coming from the aristocracy and the gentry (Briggs 1991).

Aldrich suggest by 1547, opinions had changed and chantry priests were required by royal command to **exercise themselves in teaching youths to read and write.** He goes on to say;

> **This may be seen not merely as a consequence of the Reformation, but also as a logical extension of the developing facilities for elementary schooling of the previous one hundred and fifty years.**
>
> (Aldrich 1982 pg 65)

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the church took on a new position of power, equal to that of the monarchy, and after 1559 it became compulsory to attend church, non-attendance could lead to a fine or imprisonment, (Briggs 1991).

The period of the reformation was a time when we also see a change in the religious role of certain guilds, towards a more structured educational one. For with the removal of the established church under Edward VI, came the disillusionment of the fraternities and religious guilds. Those guilds that had them, lost the priest school teachers although, some of the income gained by the crown from this action was used to re-establish grammar schools, the guild schools.

The guilds also had a direct and major link in two of the three great grammar schools founded in London in the sixteenth century. The first of these was St.Paul's, whose first high master William Lilly took office in 1510 with, according to Aldrich, a stipend of £35, an usher and a student body of 150 boys. Invariably, the students at grammar schools were boys.

John Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's during this period, entrusted the government of the school to the Mercer's company of London, his aim in this action being,

> **to encourage the diversion of lay provision for the church and its clergy into schools for the laity.**
> (Youings 1991, pg183)

There had been considerable criticism both in the role of the clergy as educators and in the philosophy of the curriculum, and Colet saw his action as a move away from the traditional role adopted by the church school system. As it developed, St. Paul's became a prototype in the field of humanistic learning and gained a considerable reputation, attracting the support of the humanist and Dutch scholar Erasmus, whose first visit to England took place in 1499, when he became professor of Divinity and Greek at Cambridge.

Although Youings indicates that St.Paul's was the only grammar school in London to offer free education to all, she suggests that even then, no child was admitted who could not already read and write.

Some fifty years later, the next great grammar school to be established was Westminster, originally intended for 120 boys in the charge of two masters. In fact refounded in 1560 by Queen Elizabeth, it was itself to gain a very good reputation, which it maintains to this day. The third grammar school was again, like St.Paul's, a guild school, the Merchant Taylor's School, established the year after the foundation of Westminster. It followed closely upon the statutes of St. Paul's, and provided for 250 pupils, of whom 100 would have been admitted without charge.

School in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, for those children that attended (and in London at least there was no

shortage) began at the age of six or seven and, as Earle suggests, it was not untypical for pupils to remain at a grammar school until they were between fourteen and sixteen. In some cases they continued to receive a free secondary education before going on to an apprenticeship or university (Earle 1989).

Between 1749 and 1797 two major grammar schools from the north of England emerged, Hull and Manchester. Both developed a considerable academic reputation and were renowned for sending boys to the universities, including Cambridge. The majority of the local day boys, however, as Aldrich suggests, would have left between the ages of twelve and fourteen to enter either a commercial academy, or to take up an apprenticeship.

Another school directly associated with the training of apprentices, and one that pre-dates both Hull and Manchester by some eighty years was the Royal Mathematical School. Established at Christ's Hospital in the 1670s, it was intended to prepare some forty boys for apprenticeship at sea, (Aldrich 1982). The curriculum here would have, without doubt, included mathematics, geometry and navigation.

Returns for the period 1836 - 1860, from the 1861 General Register and Record Office of Merchant Seamen (table 3.1), indicated that some 88,323 boys under sixteen had been apprenticed to the merchant services and 88,942 between sixteen and eighteen were similarly apprenticed. The records also

indicate that the minimum term of apprenticeship for a boy under seventeen during the period 1836 to 1849 was four years. It is also interesting to note that there was a considerable upsurge in the numbers of young merchant seamen during 1845 to 1849, which may have been a result of the corn laws or the increased migration to America.

St.Paul's, however, played a considerable part in the development of the grammar schools system as it existed in London, for, as Thrupp indicates, it was not possible to establish a grammar school in the City without the prior approval of both the bishop of London, and the chancellor of St.Paul's. The object, she suggests, was to maintain the high standard of education attained in the existing church schools, of which three existed until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the number was increased to six (Thrupp 1948). But as we have seen, Colet moved away from this pedagogic philosophy. And Thrupp goes on to suggest, that perhaps it was not so much to maintain standards that such approval was necessary, but the fact that the church wished to avail themselves of the endowments (which in some cases were very large) that came with a number of the schools, and also to maintain a monopoly on the fees obtained from education. For as Earle suggests, considerable sums could be accrued from fees paid to the top schools, such as Westminster;

> **the Newcome family made a fortune out of Hackney Academy, which was the most fashionable of London's eighteenth-century schools.**
>
> (Earle 1991 pg.68)

16th and 17th century literacy

It has been estimated (Aldrich 1982) that in the years 1558 - 1685, at least 358 new grammar schools were founded; 136 in the reign of Elizabeth, 83 in the time of James I, 59 under Charles I, and 80 under Charles II. But as Asa Briggs indicates, these grammar schools;

> **on the whole exaggerated rather than reduced inequalities.**
> (Briggs 1991, pg.129)

thus indicating that such a system was still the prerogative of the ruling classes. Youings does suggest however, that under the reformation there was a marginal increase in secondary education;

> **Children 'meet for learning' were slightly better provided for in 1560 than in 1530, but the general literacy rate had not been anyone's concern and had probably not improved.**
> (Youings 1991, pg. 194)

In this context Youings was referring to the nation as a whole. Briggs, however, implies that the literacy level of the metropolis was high, suggesting that there appeared to be an increase during the 1560s and 1570s. He goes on to make an interesting point about literacy amongst the lower social order, implying that evidence exists to indicate that by the beginning of the seventeenth century 47% of the criminal class of London could read. How this level of academic attainment had been achieved amongst this group is not clear, but a contributory factor to this improvement in literacy may have been the fact that during the Elizabethan period the English language was

becoming more standardised. And, as Briggs indicates, the publication of books and broadsheets increased considerably in 1600, suggesting there was at least a demand from a growing literate population.

To some extent Campbell provides a level of understanding of literacy amongst the important Yeomen class in the early seventeenth century when she indicates that signatures on leases, wills and similar documents, suggested somewhere between 60 - 70% of this group were able to write their name (Campbell 1945). She implies, however, that it was no disgrace in the eyes of one's peers not to be able to read or write. But as time progressed, money and accounting became more important in what was an agrarian economy and there is evidence to suggest that a growing interest and need for some basic education was emerging, if not for themselves, then at least for their children, who could then undertake the bookwork for them. Campbell continues by showing that, in the late 16th and early 17th century, a number of Yeomen were educated enough, not only to read but also to maintain records and she suggests it was not uncommon for them to be called upon to assist their neighbours. The Yeoman, it must be remembered, was the first level of freemen in the ranking of the social order. Education, therefore, occupied an élite position in the institution of this order.

Dealing with the literacy of individuals in the 1640's Cressy (1980) indicates that some 70% of the population in the regions

of England, would, when signing a document, leave a mark, while the records for the London parishes indicated a much higher standard of literacy, as the proportion of those leaving only a mark ranged from 33% to as low as 9%. This would tend to confirm that outside London the greater part of the population were not of a privileged class and did not readily have access to any available form of education. A number of eminent historians, however, doubt that the method of recording signatures on documents is a reliable indicator of literacy levels for particular periods in history.

In either case, perhaps the difference shown up in the London documents is not so surprising, when one considers that London had a very good reputation for its schools at this time;

> **the quality of education available was yet another magnet drawing people into the metropolis ... and the high level of literacy in the capital in all classes and both sexes suggests that elementary education was widely available and reasonable competent.**
>
> (Earle 1991, pg.65)

There was some growth in vocational education during the period 1660 to 1730, Christ's Hospital, for example, was one of the largest schools in London with a population of some 1000 pupils and one that had established its own writing school. Considerable expansion was also taking place in the number of boarding places being offered at grammar schools in and around London. Again St.Paul's and Westminster were amongst the most famous, attracting boarders from all parts of the country. And encircling the city there were a number of lesser boarding

schools mainly for the children of the middle classes.

At the same time arguments were put forward by certain protagonists that far too many grammar schools existed and that these were in truth the root cause of the civil war. It was an argument that Christopher Wade and the like were, in 1678, trying to refute on the grounds that **'a youth brought up at school will be taken apprentice with less money than one illiterate.'** And if one reads the work of Manning (1991), the argument against the grammar schools is a weak one, for although there was dissent amongst the middling classes it was not laid at the door of the grammar schools.

Education for the poorman - Charity schools

i - Foundation for growth

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a steady growth in the independent "school" sector. Such classes as were offered, may have taken place in the front parlour of the housewife, the dame (the dame school), the craftsman or in some cases a scholar (usually the writing school). Each of them were prepared to offer instruction in reading and writing to a small number of those with a thirst for learning. We have an account given by William Lovett, who indicated that such schools were still in existence in the nineteenth century;

> **Like most children, when very young, my love of play was far greater than that of learning, for I was sent to all the dame-schools of the town before I could master the alphabet ...**

> **I was then sent to a boy's school to learn 'to write and cypher,' thought at that time to be all the education required for poor people.**
>
> (Lovett 1876 (1967) pg.3)

Although more modest schools were founded in a number of market towns throughout the country, many of the teaching staff within them had links with their counterparts on the continent and although, in most cases, laymen, were considered well read. Earle indicates that, in addition to teaching, many tutors, in what were termed the 'petty' or 'English schools', were again made up of tailors, shopkeepers and clerks, as well as curates and housewives, (Earle 1991).

Peter Earle suggests that the expansion of the 'petty' school system was aided by the formation of the 'Charity School movement' in 1699. He makes the point however, that this was founded mainly by the middle classes so as to provide;

> **a dutiful and subordinate working class, with just enough education to turn the children of the poor from pagan savages into obedient and Christian apprentices or servants.**
>
> (Earle 1991, pg.65)

He goes on to indicate that in London it was a considerable success, with 54 new schools being founded within the City and Westminster in the first five years. If one considers that at this time London, in its built up form, had not yet reached as far as Hyde Park to the west, or Stepney to the east and was only just forming along the banks of the Thames at Westminster, it is not hard to see that London was a thriving centre of education.

Prior to this expansion, however, Francis Bacon was warning James I, in 1611, that the state was over-supplied with scholars, for whom there was no suitable employment, but short of husbendmen and trade apprentices, (Aldrich 1982).

Towards the end of the seventeenth century there tended to be a questioning of the values of a classical educational curriculum from amongst the middle classes, for as Holmes describes, there was a;

> **rise in parent demand for 'modern' syllabuses at the secondary stage of schooling**
>
> (Holmes 1982 pg.47)

He goes on to highlight this questioning when he aptly quotes Francis Brokesby writing in 1701;

> **Many things in learning the grammar are imposed that are toilsome and needless, several things that may be useful are not taught in the due season;... further, that the learning which is acquired at grammar schools is of little or no use to such as are set to ordinary trades, and consequently that time might have been better spent in attaining some useful knowledge, nay much more profitably in learning to write a good hand, arithmetic, and other things of this nature.**
>
> (Holmes 1982, pg.47)

A picture thus emerges from the seventeenth century that suggests education for the lower order was spasmodic outside London and the major cities; London being the focal point for natural development. There was, however, a growing demand for the right to an education amongst a lower social group whose economic situation, according to Holmes, had undergone a sophisticated change. This is not to say education did not exist, although in

some instances it was freely available, it was not readily available to a certain class. And the standard of teaching within the rest of the country was also something to be questioned.

Perhaps a contributory factor to the lack of expansion and development in education was the poor communication and transportation between the major towns. Cole shows us that even towards the end of the eighteenth century Robert Owen took three days and two nights of continual travel to reach Glasgow from Manchester.

In some regions where communication with the capital was more reasonable and the attitude was more in line with the philosophy developed there, it was also reasonable to expect an improved educational standard. Elsewhere there are reports of poor standards in what was being taught as well as in the competence of the teachers themselves, many of whom had no formal qualifications. The payment of such staff often reflected this;

> **Mathew Elward, who taught grammar at St Dunstan's-in-the-West in London, protested in 1661 that he had 'lost his whole estate and his posterity, ruinated without recovery' in the service of the late King. Now as a city schoolmaster in charge of a general school, he could not even afford a licence, 'his incomes at the most could exceed not five shillings weekly'.**
>
> (Cressy 1987,pg.144)

This obviously works out at £13 a year and as Cressy indicates later, the average salary for a teacher in the West Midlands in the 1640s was £17 2s. He provides a number of examples that

similarly reflect the problem of low pay and provides evidence indicating that certain governors actually encouraged the masters of their schools to charge an entrance and annual fee that, **the traffic would bear**, to supplement their stipend (Cressy 1987). He does however also indicate that not all schools paid such poor salaries, reflecting the importance placed on these institutions and the staff within them.

ii - The emergence of the S.P.C.K.

Some seventy years after Francis Bacon had made his statement to James I, the problem of unemployment amongst scholars still existed, for as Earle indicates, in London the problem was aggravated by the fact that there were also, too many priests without work and desperate to find any form of placement. This problem was reflected in the parish of St.Martins in the Fields, where in 1684, some thirty to forty young men were in just this position. Perhaps it was these conditions that accounted for the considerable upsurge that was to come in school foundations, brought about by the Charity Schools movement.

With such a ready and willing band of ecclesiastical scholars waiting for a position to promote Christian knowledge, and with religious institutions, during the period of the late seventeenth century, advocating that charity was a Christian duty, the time was right, at the start of the eighteenth century, for the formation of a movement such as The Society for Promoting

Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), an organisation founded in 1698 by four laymen and one preacher, (Jones 1938).

Barnard suggests that where a curriculum was in place, it was, in addition to religious instruction, focused upon the vocational skills of spinning, sewing, knitting, gardening and even ploughing; a system adopted later, as I indicate, by the 'industrial schools'. The emphasis was on a vocational theme, because it was generally expected that the children would be taking up positions within domestic service, or the labouring fields (Barnard 1961).

The applications for the teaching posts in the schools promoted by the S.P.C.K. were so many, that the society actually had to dissuade those outside London from applying. There does, however, appear to be some contradiction in this matter, for Cressy would have us believe, from the historical accounts, that the teaching profession, while rewarding in some respects, was, in others, a thankless task, that received little recognition or financial gain, with little if any security or professional status (Priest 1987). The same could have been said of engineers and architects during the same period. In the grammar schools the teaching staff were graduates and paid reasonably well in comparison.

Walter Gale, a failed fabric designer, hop-farmer and sign painter, was according to Porter, appointed as head teacher of the village school by Mayfield Parish in Sussex, for the sum of £12 a year (Porter 1990). Prest indicates that prior the

seventeenth century the academic qualifications of the teaching profession were very high, while towards the end of the century, at the time of the charity school movement they became less common. Even later in the eighteenth century little store was set by the acquisition of paper qualifications. Hence the conditions found in the endowed schools, where as suggested by Cressy, there was a rapid turnover of staff, (Cressy 1987).

It would appear that the middle classes were so taken with the idea of resolving their sins by providing charity, that parishes vied with each other for the privilege of establishing charity schools. These were set up across the London parishes of Southwark, Holborn, Poplar, Whitechaple, St.Martins in the Fields, Cripplegate and Shoreditch. Just a few amongst many other parishes. By 1704, thirty two of them had established charity schools; in total there were 54 schools with over 2,000 children. In the next twenty five years this had risen to 132 schools with 5225 pupils of both sexes. Barnard suggests, that by 1760, although standards had declined towards the end of the century, such schools were catering for some 30,000 pupils. In no uncertain terms this zeal in school foundation can be attributed to the work of the S.P.C.K. in promoting the idea and encouraging subscribers.

It is unfortunate however, that the enthusiasm to establish these schools in London was not so forthcoming in the regions. After the success in London the S.P.C.K sent letters to clergy around

the country, with little response. There were, as Jones suggests, a number of reasons for this. The outlying clergy, felt that such a society was contrary to both civil and ecclesiastical law, and were unable to take on additional duties when the parishes were so far apart and, in the main, poor. In addition it was considered that the children of these parishes and towns could not be spared from work to attend such schools, should they be set up. England was still an agrarian society and depended upon all the labour it could muster to bring in the crops.

A number of clergy also saw the idea as a direct infringement upon their personal parochial independence. We appear to have come a long way since the time when it was seen as the duty of the priest to provide both a school and instruction for the local children.

While in the beginning this was the view of most of the parishes, towns and counties, Bristol and Surrey being an example, it was not the reaction of them all. Jones indicates that the Bishop of Salisbury was active in setting up a number of such schools and in Lincoln by 1714, two hundred schools had been established. In areas where it was not possible for children to attend school on a regular basis, arrangements were made for them to receive instruction as and when possible. The teacher in such situations was then paid by results, on a sliding scale, (Jones 1938). Barnard informs us that by the end of the century the charity school movement was being criticised as **'mechanical**, and **'perfunctory'**.

In 1715, with the establishment of the Little Tower Street Academy, we see a specific development taking place in the teaching of vocational skills to the lower orders, as Earle indicates when he quotes Vincent;

> **The proper age for education here is from about 13 or 14 upwards; and the young gentlemen are not only such as are immediately designed for trades, merchandise, the sea, clerkship in offices and to attorneys, or any other employment in business at home or abroad, but those in general who are not designed for the Universities.**
> (Earle 1991, pg.67)

We later see in 1754, a further development in the promotion of a vocational awareness with the founding of The Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufacture and Commerce, later gaining royal assent to become a Royal Society.

Nor can we ignore, the role Sunday schools played in the education of the masses, which by 1797, were, according to Porter, providing religious education for some 69,000 pupils in 1,086 schools across the country. The charity school movement having lost its impetus was no longer as popular.

The Sunday school movement had started at Gloucester in 1780 by Raikes and Stock (Adamson 1930) but it was mainly organised through the Sunday School Union founded in 1785 by Robert Raikes with the support of John Wesley. The teachers of these schools, who were not usually academics, were, in a number of cases, paid one shilling for a twelve hour day. Porter also suggests that a number of the pupils attending these schools were adults wishing

to learn to read. In many Sunday schools it was the only option; writing not being taught. He goes on to suggest that one way a number of individuals picked up reading skills was from the number of folklore books being published at the time (Porter 1990).

It is well documented that in the late 1780's, a Mrs Trimmer, mother of ten, was so taken with the physical and moral state of children in the factories, she started her own Sunday school. Later she obtained a spinning wheel and embarked upon the vocational side by providing a day 'spinning school' during the week. Armytage suggests that later, other schools were started in knitting and winding cotton, and at least one school was started for boys, (Armytage 1970). Most education in the eighteenth century revolved around learning to earn a living. Adamson suggests that in a twenty five year period 20,000 children, mainly from the families of miners, had been taught in the Mendip schools, (Adamson 1930).

The Factory Schools and the development of educational legislation

As far back as 1697 Industrial schools had been proposed by the English philosopher John Lock. His **Essay concerning Human Understanding** in 1690, maintained that experience was the only source of empiricism, and three years later he published **Some Thoughts concerning Education.** It took however, an industrial revolution and the rise of a factory based system to provide the

impetus for change, which came about slowly and was not necessarily in the direction one would have expected it to have gone.

i. - Schools of industry

'Working' or 'industrial schools', were established during the latter part of the eighteenth century. And in 1833 the parliamentarian, John Roebuck proposed a system of four school types, one for infants, schools of industry, evening schools and finally teacher training schools. He also suggested that the country be divided up into districts, and the whole system to come under the control of a cabinet minister. Roebuck envisaged that the schools of industry would not only teach;

> **the three 'R's' but also art, music, hygiene, natural history, civics, and training in some trade,**
> (Barnard 1961 pg.69)

Unfortunately this scheme never came into effect in the form proposed but it did cause considerable debate in parliament.

Industrial schools were free schools mainly for pauper children who were, according to Barnard, taught to spin, wind, knit, plait straw, sew, cobble shoes and gardening, thus following the vocational tradition established by the charity schools. And an inquiry into the apprenticing of parish apprentices between 1814 and 1815 found that almost three quarters of those in the survey were bound to masters connected with the cotton industry (table 3.2). The survey was carried out on parish apprentices and

workhouses who were, in the main, sent to the industrial schools. In 1796 William Pitt the younger, the prime minister of the day, suggested that parents receiving poor relief should be compelled to send their children to schools of industry (Barnard 1961). Barnard goes on to suggest that this form of action **depressed the status of this type of school** and that **they were also handicapped by competition with child labour in factories.**

England underwent an industrial revolution that resulted in an established factory system which Germany lacked, and although, like Germany, industrial schools were established, they faced competition with the British factory system in its need for child labour. England had for many years based its economy upon this system, and now parents were facing the problem of sending their children to school and suffering the resultant loss of earnings. For many it was a situation which could not been tolerated.

In trying to overcome this problem the Society for Bettering the Conditions and Increasing the Comfort of the Poor, founded in 1796, tried overcome this by attempting to foster schools of industry, but to little avail. For a survey carried out in 1783 and published in 1809 for the society, indicated that of the 188,794 children aged five to fourteen in receipt of parish relief, only 20,336 (10.7%) were in schools of industry and receiving education. A figure that appears to bear comparison with the 30,000 in the Charity schools just 40 years previously (Barnard 1961).

ii. - The first Factories Act

In 1802 the government of the day took the first step in establishing some form of educational provision for the masses of the working class. It was not an education act that paved the way, but industrial legislation, the Health and Morals of Apprentices Bill, brought about by the joint effort of the first Sir Robert Peel and Robert Owen (Checkland 1964). The Bill was presented to Parliament by Peel on the 6th April 1802, which was somewhat ironic, for Peel was himself at the time employing more than 1,500 workers. And at his mill at Bury few of the 136 employees were, according to Mathias, adult males (Mathias 1989).

This Act was important in that it was the first Factories Act and as such the forerunner of state regulation in industry. Placing as it did a requirement upon employers to provide, in addition to a suit of clothing once a year, adequate instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic during at least the first four years of the seven year apprenticeship.

The requirement was for the provision of some basic education to take place for one hour on Sundays; making the point that religious instruction was obligatory. The suggestion was that this educational provision might take place during the day, but the children were so tired that it became fruitless; as Robert Owen was to discover later. The Bill also specified separate sleeping accommodation for boys and girls, and stipulated that

not more than two apprentices were to share a bed. It however, made no provision for a system of inspection and where infringements took place the penalties were so marginal as to have no effect.

Although somewhat limited, in that it applied only to those cotton mills employing twenty or more individuals and workhouse apprentices, and not to those 'free apprentices' sent by their parents to work in the mills, it none the less restricted the working day for pauper apprentices to twelve hours: night work having been banned (Barnard 1961). It was a working day that could not start before 6.00 a.m. nor end later than 9.00 p.m. (Morrish 1970). This Act can thus be viewed as the first to take constructive steps towards a system educational legislation that culminated in the Education Act of 1870.

Robert Owen however was annoyed at the changes that had been made to the Act of 1802 and sought the assistance of the second Sir Robert Peel. As a result in 1815 a select committee was appointed to investigate the 'State of the Children employed in the manufactories of the United Kingdom'. Two further investigations were undertaken before, again in a much revised form, it became the Factories Act of 1819 (Barnard 1961, Checkland 1964). But again it only applied to cotton mills and did not allow for the provision of education. And all reference to inspection had been removed (Checkland 1964); a system which was not to be established until the Factory Act of 1833 provided the power of entry (Armytage 1970 , Checkland 1964).

It was the failure of these first Acts to have any effective power which caused Robert Owen to abandon his ideas of reform through legislation and the governing classes.

The new Act of 1819 also stated that children below the age of nine were not to be employed in mills or factories, and that children under thirteen were not to work for more than eight hours a day. Those workers who were aged between thirteen and eighteen were not to work for more than twelve hours in any day nor more than sixty-nine in one week, (Adamson 1930). The problem was in determining the ages of the children. This was rectified by the passing of an Act in 1837 making the registration of births compulsory (Checkland 1964).

iii. - Robert Owen and the New Lanark Mills

The literature would agree that Owen, while having high ideals, was imprecise in his philosophies of thought. He was also to some extent elitist, if not messianistic (Williams 1985). And it was his isolation from reality and this imprecision that enabled his theories to be adapted by his followers in the late 1820s, the Owenites, to fit different working groups (Thompson 1980). Checkland suggests that dealing with the **passive recruits** at the New Lanark Mills lead Owen to establish a different yet flawed view of society and himself (Checkland 1964).

The belief that an individuals environment determined behaviour led Owen to believe education was the means by which change and social reform could be brought about. It was this philosophy of educational development that the Owenite co-operative communities advocated. Harrison suggests that such institutions were less significant than the **'sustained propaganda of his idea's** .

The idea of establishing co-operative movements was not new. Lanark had a **'Victualling and Baking Society as far back as 1800'**. Long before Owen was to found a new philosophy in social reform at the mills that bore the counties name. Checkland suggests that nineteen similar co-operatives, founded prior to 1937, were still in operation in England and Scotland in 1898 (Checkland 1964).

The Owenite co-operative communities were a failure and Checkland feels that Owen must bear the responsibility for this as he had not considered the fact that those entering the communities, **would be the unregenerate creatures of the system he condemned** (Checkland 1964 pg. 409). The skill and knowledge used to develop New Lanark was lacking in the co-operative communities. He also failed in his endeavours at New Harmony in Indiana during his period in America between 1824 to 1829.

It was a principal, however, that had to come to terms with trade unionism. Owen had returned from America in 1829 at a time when the Spinners were just becoming organised; to be followed a year

later by the Potters. But the first National Union was the Operatives Builders Union founded in 1832. It was a federated alliance of all the building trades, organised into seven trade sections. Within three years its membership had expanded to about 40,000 (Kingsford 1973).

Owen at this time was central to the ideal of reform and change; co-operation and unionism. He was communicating directly to the workers, having been ostracised by the governing classes, in some respects for his views on birth control (Cole 1924, Checkland 1964). Because his theories and teachings had reached the leaders of the working class, Owen was asked in 1833 to address the delegates of the Operatives Builders Union at Manchester, during the height of their conflict with the masters, and called for the formation of the Grand National Guild of Builders (Rule 1991). The builders had hoped to overcome capitalism by a system of co-operative production and self-employment (Cole 1924, Kingsford 1973). It was from Manchester that Owen was called to London to head the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union (GNCTU), which by November had gathered a membership of some 800,000 (Checkland 1964). The Builders Union, when called upon to join, however, elected not to, instead it operated in parallel.

Cole suggests;

> **Socialism was conceived as an immediate thing, to be achieved by one great revolutionary effort. With the Grand National and the other great Unions perished these hopes. The trade Unionism was reduced to impotence.**
>
> (Cole 1924 pg.5)

The euphoric rise of the trade unions between 1832 and 1834 was brought to a head when, in 1834, after a period of industrial unrest (the Sacred Month), a group of Dorchester Labourers from Tolpuddle were sentenced to transportation (Woodward 1988) as a result of forming a trade union:

> **Owen's judgement of the behaviour of the employers was as unrealistic as was his view of the workers.**
>
> (Checkland 1964 pg 348)

It was a turbulent time, for in 1831 at Petworth in Sussex, twenty six men were among many across the country under sentence of death for machine breaking and rioting; in total, nation-wide, nine were hanged, 400 imprisoned and 457 transported (Thompson 1980). In 1836 the Tolpuddle men were pardoned and brought home.

At the demise of the GNCTU Owen was sixty-three.

It was the later period of Owenism, which extended beyond his basic teachings, that became a period of new ideals, providing as it did a forum for social reform. Socialist halls and Halls of Science were established, mainly in the north of England. And 'district' or 'station' lecturers organised meetings often in a series of two to six (Harrison 110).

> **The development of educational theory had been developed by the discussions of the eighteenth century and by the experiments of Owen at New Lanark and of a few other factory masters.**
>
> (Checkland 1964 pg.257)

One of the most important factory schools stemming from the Act of 1802 and one that was to have a considerable influence on

basic educational philosophy was that at the New Lanark Mills. A school, first established by the owner David Dale, who had himself served an apprenticeship as a weaver, before becoming a clerk to a silk mercer. Eventually in partnership with the renowned Richard Arkwright, the mill was purchased in 1783 and began operations in 1784.

New Lanark originally consisted of **'a primitive manufacturing Scotch village and four mills for spinning cotton'** (Cole 1965, pg 83). And Owen first saw it on a chance visit to Glasgow. Later, in 1798-9, in partnership with others, he took control, and in his capacity as resident manager in 1800 he was at last able to put into practice his thoughts on social reform.

His socialistic behaviour modification theory was approached from the humanistic standpoint, considering the whole individual as well as his surroundings; much in the way echoed, many years later, by Carl Rogers. Owen was a believer in the philosophy that character was formed in the individual during the early years of childhood and that this was determined by social environment (Harrison 1961). In this respect his first requirement was for a good pre-school system for the very young. For in addition to the adults working at the mill, there were some four to five hundred parish apprentices between the ages of five to ten (officially the workhouses had the children recorded as being between seven to twelve).

These apprentices were treated no differently to the adult hands and worked a thirteen hour day. Their schooling took place at the end of this long shift, and Owen soon found that this was of little value, even though at the mill, the system established by Dale was far better than that received by other parish apprentices, and was something not available to children of the village.

D.H.Cole suggests that Owen could not accept the conditions placed upon the pauper apprentices and soon stopped employing them, releasing the remainder as their apprenticeships of seven, eight and nine years ran out (Cole 1965). He then set about improving the factory and rebuilding the workers' houses, and in 1809 prepared to erect new buildings to serve as schools for the children of his workers. In the January of 1816, the educational system that Owen had proposed, was finally in place, and aptly named the 'New Institution'.

Owen had a strong belief that his schools should include dance, music, singing and marching, an approach that, according to Woodward, did not go down well, not only with his Quaker partners, but also other bodies who were involved in educational work. In spite of such feelings, the 'New Institution', Cole suggests, became an educational showplace.

It is unfortunate, that even after twenty eight years at New Lanark, very little was to come from Owen's' philosophy of

education, or from the movement that bore his name;

> **Despite frequent tribute to the value of education and emphasis on the need for training socialist lecturers, no solid core of adult (or any other kind of) educational work emerged from the Owenite organisation ... Owen's enlightened views on education were more clearly thought out in their application to infants than to adults.**
> (Harrison 1961, pg118)

iv. Moves towards State schooling

Although Owen took a stand against the employment of apprentices, and tried to improve the education of the lower orders, albeit on a limited scale, very little else was done in the rest of the country. Henry Brougham, however, (founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge) instigated a parliamentary committee of investigation in 1816 which was to **"inquire into the Education of the Lower Orders"**. The committee reported on the great lack of educational facilities, and the very poor and irregular attendance of the children (Armytage 1970).

Further consistent action on the part of Brougham was constructive in presenting the Parish Schools Bill of 1820, **"for the better Education of the Poor in England and Wales"**. Once again the parents were expected to pay for education, through school fees of 2d to 4d per week. But such fees were only to be paid by those parents who were able to afford them. The Bill also enabled the Parish church council to appoint the school masters,

who were themselves required to be members of the church of England. The clergy were also placed in a position where they could veto appointments and had the authority to dismiss masters. Such power was also combined with the right of entry, which enabled them to determine the curriculum of the school (Barnard 1961, Adamson 1930).

With such power over rate-aided education, it is not surprising, that after considerable objections, the Bill was eventually withdrawn (Woodward 1988, Morrish 1970). Undeterred, Brougham, in 1825, produced a pamphlet entitled **"Practical observations on the Education of the People"**. And the year prior to this he was also involved in the formation of an important institution which is dealt with later.

Some thirty years after the first Factories Act the government at last provided a grant of £20,000 for the construction and provision of schools, which was the first time such provision had been made and was a tentative start towards a system of State schooling. And in 1839, by Royal Prerogative, a central administrative authority was established for national education this time with a grant of £30,000 (Dent 1963).

A further inquiry in the 1840s, into the conditions of children working in the mining and factory industries, resulted in the proposal of the Factory Bill of 1843 being sponsored by the then Home Secretary Sir James Graham. Barnard indicates that children

between the ages of eight and thirteen were to be provided with a staggering three hours instruction a day, minimum, and were not to work for more than six and a half hours. It was a Bill that offered far reaching proposals and one that had very strong opposition, as a result it never made the statute book. (Barnard 1961, Woodward 1988).

Almost forty years after William Pitt had suggested that parents should be made to send their children to industrial schools, there were again calls within parliament to make it compulsory for children to attend school. Morrish states that;

> **Such schools were to be confined to the education of the poor, and were to be classified as (a) infants' schools; (b) schools of industry for children between the ages of seven and fourteen; and (c) normal schools for the training of teachers.**
>
> (Morrish 1970, pg. 42)

The nineteenth century

Introduction

In 1815 the most common method of education in Great Britain, and many other European countries, was one advocated by both Bell and Lancaster. Dr.Andrew Bell, an Anglican chaplain, while in India, put into practice a monitorial system of education when he appointed a young boy to take on the task of teaching fellow pupils. Bell was so impressed by the achievements he published 'An Experiment in Education' in 1797. And although little came of the work he had carried out in this area, the system was adopted

at St.Botolph's Charity School at Aldgate the following year and at the Kendal industrial schools in 1799, (Armytage 1970). Dr.Bell later became head of the National Society, an organisation which promoted the education of poor children in the principles of the Established Church.

It was not until Joseph Lancaster, the founder of the British and Foreign Schools Society, adopted the system that it received much public attention. The difference here was that Lancaster also believed it was important to teach monitors the basic principles of instruction. And in 1805 he began to board monitors he had taken on as "apprentices". By 1808 Lancaster had engaged 24 in this way and within three years the number had risen to 50, (Armatage 1970).

Each of the systems advocates claimed to be its originator, even though it was a method that had been documented in France some time prior to its becoming popular in England (Woodward 1988). In either case, being a very cheap method of teaching, it was one generally accepted within the factory system, and in the school system where, until 1846, little had been done to compensate for the shortage of teachers.

Born in 1771, at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, Robert Owen, like many others, had been brought up in the Lancaster and Bell system of education. And at the age of seven was himself a monitor in his local village school, at the instigation of Mr. Thickness, the headmaster. Working in this way, Owen was able to

pay for his tuition, (education was not yet free) and later to help Joseph Lancaster in his educational campaigns.

The headmaster's aspirations towards educational attainment were limited to basic reading, writing and a knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic. Within a village school this might at the time have been very satisfactory, but not for the young Owen, who was resigned to acquire a great deal of his knowledge from books. And being an avid reader, by the age of about nine, at which age he left school, he was reading books suited to those at least ten years his senior. Three years later, on reaching the age of twelve, Owen was taken on as an apprentice in the millinery trade. Like so many young apprentices he had only the rudiments of an education. Michael Faraday was another example of an apprentice of this period who had only a sparse education. Originally, in October 1805, he was apprenticed as a bookbinder to a Mr. Rieban who had three apprentices at this time; a fact which provides some indication to the growth in literacy. During his apprenticeship Faraday had access to the books in Rieban's library, and it appears that it was the Encyclopaedia Britannica which fired his interest in science.

His reading was centred upon electricity and in particular the papers of John Tatum, a leading member of the London Philosophical Society, which provided many of the lectures to which Faraday went. Faraday was very much aware of his own shortcomings and enlisting, over the next seven years, the aid

of a private tutor, Edward Maygarth, he received instruction in grammar, spelling, and elocution. Drawing lessons were also obtained in a similar way from a tutor. But it was while attending a lecture that Faraday meet Humphrey Davy, who was later to take him on as his secretary, and enable him to change direction. It was after Davy had injured his eye that Faraday, before completing his bookbinding apprenticeship, began work as the laboratory assistant. It was a change he had long sought and one that was to alter his career, (Lewis 1990).

In 1835 a series of resolutions were moved in the House of Lords regarding the lack of provision of elementary education. Lord Brougham suggested that the country was inadequately provided with schools, and that the attendance was poor. Instead of being 1 in 9 of the population between the ages seven and thirteen it was only 1 in 11 over the country as a whole. In the capital it was a little more than 1 in 15, and in the more densely populated regions it was only 1 in 18 or 19, (table 3.3). Suggesting that in these areas only half the children were at school (Adamson 1930).

In 1844 The London Ragged School Union was formed for the poor, and although children had to leave at ten to go to work, no industrial training was provided. Where it was provided was in those industrial schools established for children considered to be potential criminals, and in the reformatory schools for convicted children, (Adamson 1930).

Prior to 1850 a number of schools dealing with the vocational element of education had sprung up and were developing quickly. In the north of England, the Manchester Church Education Society opened schools where in addition to teaching modern languages, book keeping together with accounts were also on the curriculum. It is important to note that the locality of the school also had a bearing upon the curriculum. Urban schools, for example, had a different one from that of the rural schools, where husbandry, land surveying and measurement might be taught.

In 1856 the Education Department superseded the Privy Council's Committee for Education and two years later the Newcastle commission was established under the chairmanship of the fifth Duke of Newcastle, Henry Pelham. Although the report estimated that almost 1 in 8 of the population was attending school (in 1816 it was around 1 in 14 and at the beginning of the century it was 1 in 21) it was critical of the poor standards of attendance and in particular the age at which children left school to take up employment. The commission also considered military and naval education and while the Regimental and Arsenal school for apprentices at Woolwich were thought efficient, the naval schools were not. Dockyard schools had been established at Portsmouth, Chatham, Devenport and four other locations to improve the education of the apprentices, (table 3.4). Entrance to which was through entrance exams conducted by the Civil Service. But although such establishments were considered to have some value there were still shortcomings (Adamson 1930).

The scope of the inquiry was also extended to consider the problem of pauper children, criminals and vagrants. It was also felt by the commissioners, that little consideration was given to the younger children or those who left early and too much was made of those brighter and more able students. It was estimated that of those children attending school only 29 per cent were over ten years old and only 19 per cent over eleven (Barnard 1961).

Even though the commission considered that the system of grant aiding schools (inaugurated in 1833) had not fully achieved its aims, it did not advocate its withdrawal and, in addition, Barnard suggests there was no intention to abolish school fees or to introduce compulsory attendance. The local grant, however, was to be administered by county or borough boards, but these would not have;

> **power in the management of the schools, nor were they to concern themselves with the religious teaching given there.**
> (Barnard 1961 pg.111)

The commission did require however, a more '**regular attendance, sounder teaching, and a wider curriculum for older pupils**', (Barnard 1961 pg.110). Although a valuable report it was considered it did little for what was gradually emerging as the secondary education sector, for it also introduced the system of 'payment by results' through the examination of the pupils by Her Majesty's inspector; a system that was to set back elementary education for many years.

The public school sector was covered by Lord Clarendon and his group in 1861 but on this occasion the commission was mainly concerned with the administrative side of the schools.

The Newcastle and Clarendon commissions on elementary and secondary education were followed in 1864 by the Schools Inquiry (Taunton) Commission. Established to investigate the education provided in schools not included in either of the previous inquiries. It was a massive work, consisting of some twenty one volumes, providing considerable evidence relating to mid-nineteenth century schooling, including a full account of the conditions found in the 942 schools surveyed.

The report identified, three categories of school;

endowed, proprietary and private.

And although the endowed schools included more than 700 grammar schools and over 2000 others, which gave elementary instruction, the commission found that in a hundred towns with 5,000 or more inhabitants there were no such schools. And even though there were so many endowed schools, the commissioners considered that they failed to meet the academic requirements of both the artisans and middle classes. It is significant therefore that neither the Clarendon or the Taunton commissions recommended any change in the 'class' basis of English secondary education. The Taunton commission recommending as it did a system that to some extent reflected the social order of the country.

Of the three schools envisaged in the report, (with leaving ages of fourteen, sixteen and eighteen to nineteen), the lower school it was suggested, should be for the sons of the tenant farmer and smaller tradesmen. Barnard considers however, that what was required were more schools as those investigated by the Clarendon commission, (Barnard 1962). It would be useful at this point to include a quote from the Taunton commission used by Aldrich;

> **We cannot but consider, that it is a matter of national interest, that boys of real ability, in whatever rank of life they may be found, should receive every aid and encouragement that can rightly be given to enable them to rise to a position suitable to their talents.**
>
> (Aldrich 1982 pg.107)

The Taunton report was far reaching and showed the great need for a secondary education system and;

> **recommended nothing less than a national system of secondary education.**
>
> (Aldrich 1982 pg.107)

Lord Stanley, the Foreign Secretary at the time, at the request of the commission also sent out a questionnaire to all H.M. Ministers on the European continent requesting information on the system of both public and technical education systems adopted within each country. The massive five-hundred page report was eventually issued to Parliament in 1868.

While the Taunton commission was gathering its information, the MP Bernard Samuelson undertook a similar european quest and reported back one year prior to the commissions publication. Although, on this occasion Samuelson paid particular attention to

primary education, as it was felt that both secondary and technical education were founded upon this base. He did consider, however, that the development of a sound technical education was marred by the lack competent science teachers.

Lord Montagu, the Vice-President of the Council on Education, raised very important questions on the subject and circulated a questionnaire among the Chambers of Commerce of the country, which related specifically to the effect a lack of technical education was having on industry, and requested their views on the requirements needed to bring about change. The responses reflected an obvious lack of understanding of the problem, but most did agree that without a sound educational base, technical education would be of little value.

The late 1830's play a significant part in the development of the education of both the working and pauper classes with regard to industry and apprenticeships and in this context I would like to dwell on two areas to illustrate the point. The first of these is the education of workhouse pauper children and the reaction that took place as events progressed. The second deals with particular developments that took place in the area of technical education - the growth of the Mechanics Institutes, and the Great Exhibition of 1851.

i - Workhouse and pauper education

In chapter one I attributed some importance to the workhouses that had sprung up across the country during the nineteenth century to cope with the expanding growth of the poor, and their role in providing pauper apprentices. One of the conditions placed upon the Union, in 1834, and one that was directly related to these apprentices was the duty to provide some form of educational structure for the inmates.

> **"Three months' education in a well-conducted workhouse", boasted one Assistant Commissioner in 1836, "was worth to the children almost as many years attending village schools".**
> (Longmate pg.167)

The education, received by the parish apprentice emerging from the workhouse (if any was provided at all) would have been very limited. For where there was a school system, the method of instruction tended to follow the monitorial Lancaster and Bell system. Although generally undertaken by older inmates of the institution, in one case it is recorded that a thirteen year old girl, the daughter of the warden, was in charge of the school. And in another, Land indicates that the first teacher of the Bromsgrove Workhouse school, was a sixteen years old Miss Owen, appointed in 1839, on a stipend of £10 p.a. (Land 1990).

In a great many of these institutions, the instructors themselves were only just literate, many recorded, like the young female school mistress from the Southampton workhouse, as only being able to read the simplest of text, and in others not being able

to read at all. In at least two cases a lunatic had charge of the school, although in one instance this was not discovered until later, after the murder of a pupil. Many workhouse schools, were abysmal. And reports throughout a long period continued to indicate a total lack of educational ability amongst many pauper children. In one case where a workhouse school was inspected, it is recorded that the teacher was reading to the class from a book held upside down and again in another it was the pupils that held their books this way. Numerous cases record pupils being taught to recite particular sections of text without understanding its context or indeed, being able to actually read the words they were speaking.

When the Bromsgrove workhouse classroom was inspected in July of 1848 by a Mr. Bowyer, 'Inspector of Union Schools', Land suggests that his report was barely satisfactory;

> **I have inspected the school and find the children as well instructed in scripture as usual. In reading, writing and arithmetic, however, many of them are not so forward as usual, which is accounted for by the fact of their being either more recently admitted or naturally dull.**
> (Land 1990 pg.54)

Longmate also suggests that generally classroom conditions were not conducive to learning. In some instances not even a basic slate to write on was available. Other common features of the workhouse school that went undetected for many years, were those of corporal punishment, cruelty and rape, on a horrific scale. A general order passed in 1847 did, however, attempt to regulate this facet of the workhouse school. But the numbers at certain

workhouses were staggering and go some way to suggest why such a great deal went by unnoticed. The Tooting Infant Pauper Asylum, for example, housed some 1400 children between the ages of two and fifteen (Chesney 1970).

a) - Kay - Shuttleworth and pauper education

One cannot mention workhouse schools without reference to Dr. James Kay-Shuttleworth who, having been appointed an assistant Poor Law Commissioner in 1835, produced a highly influential report on the apprenticing of pauper children. He also encouraged the recruitment of young parish school teachers from Scotland, where education, it was reputed, was far in advance of that in England. He was in particular, very impressed with David Stow's school in Glasgow.

It could be said of Shuttleworth that he laid the foundations of the English elementary education system and could be considered as one of the most important figures in English educational history. According to Barnard;

> **To him education meant an inculcation of habits, a training of skills, and a development of intelligence; the school was to be a centre of social life and culture.**
> (Barnard 1961 pg.111)

He, like Owen had long regarded education as the key to reform, and was convinced, through his work with the poor, that the education of this group **'was a national responsibility'**,(Barnard 1961 pg.99). In 1839 Dr.Kay (later to be Sir Kay-Shuttleworth)

was elected as secretary of the new Committee of Council for Education, a position he held until 1849 when he retired.

b) - Farm schools and rough workshops

To overcome the problems that had been found in many of the workhouse schools, the inmates were placed at schools outside. And after the Poor Law Board had given permission for union funds to be used to pay the fees incurred, usually twopence to ninepence per week (Longmate), the use of outside schools increased rapidly. Such schools were known generally as 'farm schools'. One, Aubins of Norwood, became a national showpeace.

Dr Kay-Shuttleworth having secured a grant of £500 in 1838, used it at Norwood to pay for the teachers brought in from Stow's institution. The money was also used to construct practical workshops, (known as rough workshops), which provided training in those skills required for work, both of a practical and domestic nature. Another well known farm school was Drouet's at Tooting, although, in 1848, 180 of the 1,400 children were killed by a cholera epidemic that broke out at the institution, (Longmate).

These schools were operated for profit, and in time, the Guardians of the workhouse decided that the interests of the inmates would be better served by attending the district school.

The first district school serving London, Anerley, opened in North Surrey in 1850, and faced considerable problems relating to property damage resulting from the actions of the workhouse pupils during the first few years (Longmate) . Although such problems subsided in time, Longmate does go on to suggest that there was a considerable distrust amongst the Boards of the workhouses against the District schools. This is supported by the Newcastle commission, which found that of the 44,608 pauper children only about 7,100 were educated by this method, while the remainder were taught in the workhouse schools.

Of the three systems on offer, the workhouse school, farm school and district school, the last was without doubt the better option. But again the commission found that these schools only drew in some 6 per cent. of the children from the neighbouring parish, (Adamson 1930).

With the blatant dishonesty and cruelty that prevailed in the majority of the workhouses it can only be assumed that monetary gain and secrecy were the main reasons for not opting to use the district schools. For in the main, the workhouses were closed institutions, inmates rarely being allowed out. When one considers that the warden at Tooting was paid four shillings and sixpence (22.5p,) a week for each one of his 1400 charges (£315), and also received payment for some of them as outworkers, it is not hard to understand that this could be a very lucrative business for some, if an element of control over the inmates could be maintained.

c) - The first Education Act and pauper children

Woodward, amongst others, suggests that England's education was lagging far behind that of many of its European counterparts and in fact it was the wars of 1860-70 in America and mainly in Europe which showed up the imbalance in literacy between the English and other troops.

Even though church schools had tried to tackle the mounting problem of illiteracy, the help they provided was insignificant in terms of a literate nation. The education of the population became an urgent problem. So it was on the 9th August 1870 under the guidance of W.E.Forster, the first Education Bill was passed. It was to be the true beginning of state education for those children between the ages of five and twelve. Even though the government raised taxes and rates to fund the new state system, it was not a free system. Only those parents who could not afford the fees were exempt and in this respect many poor families may have approached the Guardians of the 'board schools' for help.

In June 1873 the Bromsgrove Guardians;

> **"resolved to petition the House of Commons against the Elementary Education Act of 1870 which proposes to compel the Guardians to provide out of the Poor Rate for the education of all outdoor pauper children and also proposed that the school fees of the children of non-paupers who may satisfy the Guardians of their inability or otherwise to comply with the compulsory bye laws of a school Board, shall be paid by the Guardians out of the Rates."**
>
> (Land 1990 pg.55)

In their letter to other Guardians across the country they also stated;

> **"that the results of that legislation** [the 1870 Act] **so far as it operates in requiring children to remain at school after the age of 12 years, prejudicially affect the industrial classes of the country, and is proving a source of serious inconvenience and loss to all connected with either agriculture or mercantile pursuits"**
>
> (Land1990, pg 55)

The letter went on to complain about the worker and his family being deprived of the income that would have been gained from the child and the fact that withdrawing labour between the ages of 12 and 14 was;

> **"prejudicial to the manufactures and agriculturalists in as much as their places must be filled by older persons at an advanced rate of wages...."**
>
> (Land1990, pg 56)

By 1881 the Guardians had decided to send the workhouse children to the Board schools and eventually closed the workhouse school.

The 1870 Act was later reinforced by Sanderson's Act of 1876 which attempted to strengthen attendance by providing for the establishment of school attendance committees in areas where school boards had not been set up. The onus under this Act was placed upon the parents to ensure that their children received an effective basic education in the three rules. There were also new conditions which prohibited the employment of children under ten. And the Act also specified that children between the ages ten and fourteen had to reach specific educational standards before being

employed, (Morrish 1970).

This leads me on to the second area, which is more specifically concerned with the development of a system of technical education.

ii - A 19th century technical education

The first seventy years of the nineteenth century saw a great many reforms in education, although, there was a considerable upswell against such reform as confirmed by Woodward;

> **Self-made and successful men, quick to see the possibilities of a new machine or the importance of a good water supply for their towns, did not show the same alertness of mind in considering the economic advantages of an educated working class. From their point of view an educated working class meant an increase in labour troubles.**
>
> (Woodward 1988, pg.474)

Woodward goes on to suggest that such views were not unfounded, for it was considered that the existing schools and Universities did not provide very good results and did little to improve **the standard of technical efficiency**. It was left to the artisans and engineers of this period to gain the knowledge of their trades mainly through apprenticeships. But, such apprenticeships were not always in the profession later taken up by the individual.

Two examples of this can be provided by the education and training of Thomas Telford the renowned road and canal builder and Isambard Kingdom Brunel, engineer.

Telford was born in a shepherd's croft in Glendinning in 1757, and attended the small parish school at Westerkirk. On leaving school with just a basic education, he was initially apprenticed to a stone mason, but because of ill treatment, Thomas was removed and apprenticed to Andrew Thomas, a master mason at Langholm. On becoming a journeyman he continued his work in Langholm for one shilling and six pence per day (7.5p), building bridges, paved trackways and numerous buildings. Having gained his trade as a mason Telford was not one to remain in the same place long, and it was later, while in Edinburgh that he came into contact with professors Playfair, Stewart, Gregory and Robinson. Frequent meetings which obviously stimulated his thirst for knowledge, for later, writing from Portsmouth in 1786 to his friend Andrew Little in Langholm, he indicates that he was **'now very deep in Chemistry'**. It was Telford's aim to train himself to become an architect and from Portsmouth he later went on to Shrewsbury to supervise the renovation of the castle and later to undertake a great deal of work in the town (Rolt 1969). He later went on to become an established canal, road and bridge builder, both in this country and abroad.

The lengthy and complex training that Isambard Kingdom Brunel underwent before he became an accomplished engineer is very well illustrated in Adrian Vaughan's biography (Vaughan 1991). Initially educated in his early years by his father, who had provided instruction in mathematics and geometry, Brunel later, in 1814, went to a school in Chelsea run by a Reverend Butler.

Here he continued with maths and geometry as well as both Greek and Latin, but was only at the school for a short period before moving on to a boarding school run by a Dr. Morell.

At the age of twelve Isombard was sent to a relative in France, where he was introduced to Euclidean geometry and gained a passion for Latin. Brunel paid a short visit to Hove in Sussex to continue his studies, but very soon after, in 1820, he returned once again to France, this time to Caen college. For it was considered this was the only place to obtain an advanced level of mathematics. It was also from Caen, after a period of preparation at the École Polytechnique, that he went on to attempt the entrance exam for the world's only university of science and engineering, Lycée Henri IV in Paris, which he failed, although this was no disgrace.

It was after this that his father arranged for him to undertake tuition in the workshop of the chronologist Louis Breguet. Brunel returned to England as 'Élève de Breguet' (a student of Breguet) an honour he held dear. And while working on small projects for his father he continued his training in the workshops of Henry Maudslay, a machine tool craftsman. One could say that Brunel did not come into his own until he was made Resident Engineer on the Thames Tunnel project his father had undertaken, although, the position was not officially recognised until nine months later in January 1827, when his father was too ill to return (Vaughan 1991).

From such illustrations we again see, that to gain experience and any form of suitable education, the potential artisan was left to his or her own resources. And such examples are not untypical of many a skilled craftsman or engineer of the period;

> **for many years the backwardness of English technical instruction was due to the number and efficiency of the workshops and factories where a man was taught his business in a practical way.**
>
> (Woodward 1988, pg.475)

It is a statement emphasised by Braudel when he suggests that the great number of factories and the need to employ a vast labour force, with the prospect of mass unemployment, were significant factors that delayed progress. The number of factories to be found in England were a direct result of the Industrial revolution, which had not occurred in Europe. The consequence of this was that Germany and her partners had far fewer factories and technical education was therefore resigned to advance within a school system that had to cater for the vocational requirements of its limited industry, which it did, and at a faster rate than in England.

Braudel indicates (Braudel 1985 pg 431), that two important schools opened in France, the École des Ponts et Chaussées, founded in Paris in 1743, (the school of Bridges and Highways), and in 1783, some sixty eight years before its counterpart in London was established, the École des Mines was founded. This school had been modelled on the Bergakademie of Freiberg, Germany, set up in 1765.

The resultant lack of a good educational base in England also meant a lack of trained, specialised teachers, resulting in long delays before technical education on a reasonable scale could be at all widespread. Owing to such factors, British industry lost considerable ground in relation to Germany between 1870 and 1900, a situation which to this day has still not been rectified in terms of apprenticeship or vocational training. It is a system of training that has, apart from a few isolated cases, remained very poor, having been left with the legacy of industry led training.

a) - To be an engineer.

It is important to note that in the 1780's engineering was hardly recognised as a profession even though there were men we would today recognise as engineers. Fernand Braudel suggested, as do many others, that the **'profession of engineer emerged only slowly'**, and initially, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century the term engineer had military connotations. It would have been normal at this time for an individual with such skills to **'hire out his services as architect, hydraulics expert, sculptor or painter'**.

The great canal builder James Brindley hardly thought of himself as an engineer, although by training he was a mill-wright, as was William Nash, the father of John Nash the builder. It was an occupation considered as the aristocrat of the craft trades

(Kingsford 1973), requiring a high degree of skill and technical knowledge. The first person to actually call himself an engineer was John Smeaton, canal builder and son of an attorney, who adopted what was in fact the French mode and called himself a civil engineer. He later went on to found the Society of Civil Engineers in 1771, although in this instance the society was more of a social organisation, rather than one for imparting knowledge in the field of engineering as it does today.

Braudel also makes an interesting point about the progress of technology when he recounts, that although Newcomen's steam machine was invented in 1711 it took a further thirty years before the first one was working in Britain. During the next thirty years, sixty had been built to lift water in the mines of Cornwall. In France however, only five were in operation. Almost one hundred years later, writing in the 1880s, Charles Twite stated;

> **Thirty years ago Technical Education was scarcely heard of in England, and yet we prided ourselves upon holding the foremost position in the world, in everything relating to manufactures and commerce.**
>
> (Twite 1882, pg.204)

Thereby indicating that although this country had a very sound and well respected manufacturing base it had been established with a total disregard to the development of a sound technical education. Although, there were signs of an effort to rectify this situation. Braudel goes on to indicate that in 1826, a catalogue produced by the London firm of Pigot listed 826 different craft activities in the capitol. Schools providing a

sound technical education for English engineers or technical craftsmen however, did not exist and it would appear that this was the main thrust of Twite's argument.

The main work of any vocational nature at this time was being undertaken within the universities in the areas of the sciences and chemistry. There were very valid economic and industrial reasons for this practice, but they were ones that did not consider the provision, or need, for a system of training for the artisans.

It was while in a lecturing post, and having equipment made for his classes at Glasgow University, that George Birkbeck was able to observe the highly skilled work carried on by the artisans. He was considerably impressed by both their skills and acquired knowledge, and also surprised at their thirst to gain even a greater understanding of their subject. It was with these factors in mind that Birkbeck started a series of lectures for them, out of which eventually grew the Mechanics' Institute although he was not responsible for the first one in Glasgow, which was started after he left.

The growth of the Institute was a major development that was to be influential in helping to establish a foundation for the start of a vocational system of education for the working class. And this leads me on to two major events that were occurring at about the same time as those in the Bromsgrove and other workhouses were taking place.

b) - The growth of Mechanics' Institutes

In 1823 the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute, prompted by what had been seen in the example set by the Apprenticeship Library of New York, founded in 1820, established their own Mechanics and Apprentices' Library and Reading-Room. A similar library was also established at Sheffield in the same year, and like Liverpool, it to had a long and successful history.

Chichester, was also significant, for not only did it have a Mechanics' Institute in the 1830's but it was also the first to establish a travelling library in the form of books housed in wooden boxes that were distributed around the locality at regular intervals. Steer provides evidence which indicates that the foundation of the Mechanics' Institute at Chichester occurred in April 1825, (Steer 1952). And he suggests that around the late 1830's it merged with the Chichester Literacy and Philosophical Society, which itself had been established in the City in 1794. The method of travelling libraries was later to be adopted by a number of other Mechanics' Institutes, particularly in the north of England, (Kelly 1957). The Chichester branch did boasted a library of some 250 volumes. By 1858 the Ewart Act made it possible to have free libraries and local museums maintained through the the rates.

One of the first recorded references to the Chichester Mechanics' Institute relates to a lecture given by Henry Watson, the then

secretary to the Institute, on the 29th of November 1837 on the subject of South Australia. By 1850 both institutes moved into new and prestigious premises within the City.

The lecture topics were varied and in 1837 covered;

> Life and organisations, architecture, geology, acoustics, electricity, galvanism, magnetism and elctro magnetism;

and all this for a fee of £50! What normal, lowly artisan could afford this? One might ask. With members such as the Bishop of Chichester and the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the answer might be, few. Such forms of membership became a problem for many institutes across the country. Detracting as it did from their original objectives.

Thomas Kelly indicates, by 1851,Chichester had a membership between 200 and 499. The institution certainly flourished for it did not lose its identity until 1923 when it became the Regnum Club, which still functions today in the same building.

Kelly provides a very comprehensive list (although, he considers it as only provisional) of Mechanics Institutes throughout each county of England, Scotland and Wales, Two for the Channel Islands and one for the Isle of Man are recorded as being in operation up to 1851

Once the Mechanics Institute had been founded in London by George Birkbeck, Brougham and Francis Place in 1824, the philosophy was rapidly adopted across the country and Kelly suggests that by 1826 over 100 institutes were in existence. Kelly indicates that by 1851 there were 698 Mechanics' and similar institutions which would have had, with a best estimate, some 183,700 members. Kelly goes on to suggest that the institutes embodied three basic elements;

> **the element of technical education by means of lectures and classes; there was the library element, intended initially to subserve the purpose of technical instruction but soon breaking away and achieving a vigorous life of its own; and there was the social club element, which forced its way in rather against the wishes of many of the founding fathers ...**
>
> (Kelly pg.271 1957)

The Institute, in certain cases also provided day-schools for the education of the members children, a provision that was also made available to other local children. In the second half of the nineteenth century the provision of education, libraries and day-schools was taken over by the local authorities (Kelly 1957). A contributory factor, apart from the growing social rather than academic use, that led to the decline of the institutions.

c) - The Great Exhibition - a watershed in technical education

Possibly the major turning point in technical education came with the Great Exhibition of 1851. An event planned by the Royal Society of Arts, the exhibition recorded the technical progress

and scientific discovery of the age and was housed within the giant glasshouse constructed for the purpose in Hyde Park. It was an innovation supported by Prince Albert, who was prescient in recognising the results of not adopting technological change and industrial training. He was an advocate of both cuases and warned of the consequences of neglecting them. This avid support and understanding obviously stemed fromhis Gemanic background.

The structure for the exhibition was designed by Joseph Paxton who had originally been apprenticed to the gardener at Woodhall Park for four years. He later became the foreman at the Horticultural Society gardens adjoining Chiswick House, at 18 shillings per week, moving on later to become head gardener at Chatsworth House where he received £70 per year and a cottage.

It is thought Paxton only had an elementary education consisting of reading and writing at the village school at Milton Bryan near Woburn, which had been built by the local squire. Any deficit in his education was rectified, like so many others, while apprenticed. For his work on the Crystal Palace Paxton was knighted by the Queen (Kingsford 1971).

At this exhibition it was possible to witness the progress made by other countries, and it was soon evident that they were beginning to outpace England in all areas of technical and scientific advancement, an advancement that was due in no small part to the technical institutions that were in existence on the continent. To this end in 1853 Professor Lyon Playfair published

a pamphlet, **'Industrial Education on the Continent'**, in which he pointed out the superiority of the technical instruction in Germany, (Woodward 1988). A condition highlighted by professor Checkland when he states;

> **Damaging comparisons between the theoretical grasp of French and German workmen with those of England were made after the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855.**
>
> (Checkland 1964 pg.91)

He also goes on to indicate that in a lecture given before the Prince Consort in 1855, Faraday suggested that;

> **the training of the mind by the older classical education still left men wholly incapable of understanding simple questions in chemistry or mechanics, and may indeed have impaired their powers.**
>
> (Checkland 1964 pg.91)

Checkland does continue however, by saying that;

> **The traditional landed interest saw no great need to nurture a new set of institutions that would further hasten their own eclipse.**
>
> (Checkland 1964 pg.91)

As a result of the debates that ensued, however, as Twite informs us;

> **it was generally received that provision should be made for the better technical education of the nation.**
>
> (Twite 1882, pg204)

At the time of the Great Exhibition there had been only thirty-eight science classes catering for some 1,300 pupils across the whole country. Within ten years this had risen to seventy classes with over 2,500 pupils. And a census undertaken in 1851 by Miss Erickson, indicated that most of the middle class were literate. But an inquiry into social origins in 1865, however, indicated

that only 10 per cent of the leading steel manufacturers had been to public school, by 1965 this had risen to one in three of the top managers,(Deane 1965).

Twite goes on to indicate that the first industry to be provided with technical educational resources was mining. Although some attention had been given to this area in 1837 the first real and positive step came in 1851 with the establishment of the London School of Mines, of which Lyon Playfair was a professor,(Twaite 1882). Checkland suggests a date of 1845 for the foundations of the School of Mines which was established at the same time as the Royal College of Chemistry, however, both Barnard and Armytage indicate that in the November following the Great Exhibition of 1851 an institution called The Government School of Mines and Science applied to the practical Art was established (Checkland 1964, Barnard 1961, Armytage 1970). This was followed in 1852 by a Department of Practical Art and a year later a science division was added. It at this point became the Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade, to be transferred in 1856 to the newly formed Education Department. There does, however, appear to be some confusion in this area between Armytage and Barnard.

Soon after the formation of the London School, there was a demand for a local school of mines to be established in Cornwall and with the help of the Royal Institution of Truro the Truro school of Mines was established.

Shortly after this, and this time with the aid of the Miners Association of Cornwall and Devon, the concept of classes in every town was put into practice and travelling lecturers appointed. Twite indicates that this practice was successful for twenty years, although two great difficulties had to be faced;

> **the imperfect elementary education of many who were desirous to learn, and the apathetic indifferences on the part of many to whom the young miner is accustomed to look for encouragement, or otherwise, in their acceptance of any scheme, the full importance of which he is unable to at once realise.**
>
> (Twite 1882, pg 205)

The 'apathetic indifferences' is a factor we come across again in Bristol, and is one which may be seen as a significant contributory factor in the demise of the apprenticeship system. He does go on however, to indicate that the role played by the Board School in raising the general education was improving year by year and that;

> **the feeling of indifference has in very many cases either died out, or has been changed into one of approval, and hearty support.**
>
> (Twite 1882, pg.205)

Twite goes on to give a detailed account of what in his mind constitutes a technical education for miners and provides a syllabus prepared by one Mr. Henderson, on which a technical examination on mine surveying was to be based. As one would expect, great emphasis was placed, on mathematics, surveying, mapping, machine construction, the use of air, water and steam as motive powers.