

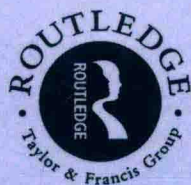
Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England

Authoritative women since 1880

Edited by

Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop

Routledge Research in Gender and History



Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England

Authoritative women since 1880

Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop



London and New York

First published 2000 by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

Editorial material and selection © 2000 Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop

Individual chapters © 2000 the contributors

Typeset in Garamond by
Curran Publishing Services Ltd, Norwich

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Women, educational policy-making and administration in England: authoritative women since 1800 / [edited by] Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Women in education—England—History—19th century. 2.

Women in education—England—History—19th century. 3. Women

school administrators—England—History—19th century. 4. Women

school administrators—England—History—20th century. I.

Goodman, Joyce, 1946– II. Harrop, Sylvia A.

LB2831.826.E5 W66 2000

371.822—dc21

00-030592

ISBN 0-415-19858-5

Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England

The role of women in policy-making has been largely neglected in conventional social and political histories. This book opens up this field of study, taking the example of women in education as its focus. It examines the work, attitudes, actions and philosophies of women who played a part in policy-making and administration in education in England over two centuries, looking at women engaged at every level from the local school to the state.

Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England traces women's involvement in the establishment and management of schools and teacher training; the foundation of the school boards; women's representation on educational commissions; and their rising professional profile in such roles as school inspector or minister of education. These activities highlight vital questions of gender, class, power and authority, and illuminate the increasingly diverse and prominent spectrum of political activity in which women have participated.

Offering a new perspective on the professional and political role of women, this book represents essential reading for anybody with an interest in gender studies or the social and political history of England in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Joyce Goodman is Reader in the History of Education at King Alfred's College, Winchester.

Sylvia Harrop is a Senior Fellow in the Education Department of the University of Liverpool.

Both editors have written widely on gender and education, and are currently co-directing a research project on 'Women and the governance of girls' secondary schools 1870-1997'.

Routledge Research in Gender and History

- 1 The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain**
Ellen Jordan
- 2 Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities**
Edited by Antoinette Burton
- 3 Women's Suffrage in the British Empire**
Citizenship, nation and race
Edited by Ian Christopher Fletcher, Laura E Nym Mayball and Philippa Levine
- 4 Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England**
Authoritative women since 1880
Edited by Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop

Notes on contributors

Robin Betts has lectured at the University of Liverpool Department of Education since 1976. Among his publications are 'The CDU, the SPD and the West German School Reform Question 1948-73' (1981) and *Dr Macnamara 1861-1931* (1999).

Joyce Goodman is reader in the history of education at King Alfred's College, Winchester, where she is director of the Centre for Pedagogical Studies. She has published on women, education and authority, technical education for women and girls, and education, gender and colonialism.

Sylvia Harrop is a senior fellow in the Department of Education at the University of Liverpool. She has written widely on the histories of adult and higher education and women's education, and is currently co-directing (with Joyce Goodman) a historical project on women and the governance of girls' secondary schools in Britain.

Jane Martin is a senior lecturer in sociology at University College Northampton. She has published *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* (1999) and is presently writing a co-authored book on *Women and Education 1800-1980* (with Joyce Goodman).

Angela O'Hanlon-Dunn, a graduate of the universities of Warwick and Liverpool, teaches English at Savio High School in Liverpool.

Wendy Robinson is a lecturer in education at Warwick University and a member of the Centre for Research in Elementary and Primary Education. Her research is concerned with current and historical perspectives on primary education, teacher training, women teachers and professional identity.

Acknowledgements

First, we wish to thank our four colleagues from the History of Education Society who have contributed to this book. We are grateful for the opportunity to include their research. There are many individuals and institutions who have been helpful to us in our researches. We thank the many different members of the staff at a range of record offices and libraries for their professional services: the Public Record Office at Kew, the London Metropolitan Archives, the Modern Records Centre at Warwick; Record Offices at Bristol, Chester, Cumbria, Dorset, Durham, East Sussex, Essex, Lincolnshire and Surrey; the National Society Archive, the British and Foreign School Society Archive, the Wellcome Trust Contemporary Medical Archives Centre; the British Library, Fawcett Library, Manchester Central Reference Library, Liverpool Picton Library and the Department for Education and Employment Library. Miss Janet Friedlander of the library of the National Union of Teachers provided resources for a search for members of the Consultative Committee. The archivists and staff of Manchester High School, King Edward VI Foundation and the Bedford Harpur Trust provided hospitality, advice and encouragement during the research on the women governors of their schools. Many people have responded helpfully to requests for information by post and e-mail; we are most grateful to them all.

We also wish to thank all those who have given permission for us to use the illustrations included here: the Governors of Manchester High School for the notice of election of governors, the Secondary Heads Association for the Deputation to the Board of Education, and the Mary Evans Picture Library for the cartoon of Lydia Becker. Joyce Goodman would also like to thank Taylor and Francis, Carfax and the History of Education Society for permission to draw on material for Chapter Two previously published in the following articles: 'Women School Governors in Early Nineteenth Century England', *History of Education Society Bulletin*, 1995, vol. 56, pp. 48–57; 'A Question of Management Style: Women School Governors 1800–1861', *Gender and Education*, 1997, vol. 9, pp. 149–60; and 'Undermining or Building up the Nation? Elizabeth Hamilton (1758–1816), National Identities and an Authoritative Role for Women Educationists', *History of Education*, 1999, vol. 28, Special Edition,

Education and National Identity, pp. 279–97. We gratefully acknowledge the financial support which has been given for several pieces of research which have contributed to the chapters in this volume. The work on the governance of working-class girls' schools in the early nineteenth century, the women of the Manchester and London school boards, and teacher training for pupil teachers, was supported by grants from the ESRC and Leverhulme. The research on women governors in middle-class girls' schools began with a pump-priming grant from the Research Development Fund of the University of Liverpool, and was enabled to continue with a Small Scale Research Grant from King Alfred's College, Winchester.

Above all, we acknowledge the love, support and encouragement of our families and friends, who have shown a real interest in our progress and tolerated the inevitable demands of producing a book like this against a tight deadline. Joyce Goodman wishes to dedicate the book to her father, Frank Goodman, Head teacher of St Bridget's, Wavertree, Liverpool, and of St Mary's, Beaconsfield, in recognition of his life-long commitment to education. She would also like to thank Paul Lea, for patiently sitting in libraries as a child, Bridget Egan for her support during the final stages of the manuscript and Derek Bunyard for his help with photography. Sylvia Harrop wishes to dedicate the book to her long-suffering family, and especially to her husband John, who has kept her at the task over many months and given way to its overriding demands on many occasions.

Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop
February 2000

Abbreviations

AAM	Association of Assistant Mistresses
AHM	Association of Head Mistresses
BA	British Association (for the Advancement of Science)
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BGS	Blue Girls' School, Chester
BFSS	British and Foreign School Society
CC	Consultative Committee of the Board of Education
CHS	Clifton High School
CR	<i>Contemporary Review</i>
CRO	Cheshire Record Office
CSWSG	Consolidated Sunday and Working Schools for Girls, Chester
DES	Department of Education and Science
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EWB	<i>Englishwoman's Review</i>
FR	Fonthill Road School, Liverpool
GP	General Purposes Committee
GPDSC	Girls' Public Day School Company
HMI	Her (His) Majesty's Inspectors
HT	Harpur Trust
IC	Industrial Schools Committee
ILP	Independent Labour Party
ISCHE	International Standing Conference for the History of Education
KEVI	King Edward VI Foundation, Birmingham
LCC	London County Council
LEA	Local Education Authority
LivSB	Liverpool School Board
LJFCS	Ladies' Jubilee Female Charity School, Manchester
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LMS	Lower Mosley Street Schools, Manchester
LSB	London School Board
LTC	London Trades Union Council

MCGHS	Manchester High School for Girls
MCN	<i>Manchester City News</i>
MCR	Manchester Central Reference Library
MG	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
MoE	Minutes of Evidence
MSB	Manchester School Board
MSBL	Member of the School Board for London
NC	North Corporation Schools, Liverpool
NLEL	National Labour Education League
NS	National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church
NUET	National Union of Elementary Teachers
NUT	National Union of Teachers
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
NUWT	National Union of Women Teachers
NUWW	National Union of Women Workers
OC	Office Committee
PRO	Public Record Office
PCTUC	Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress
RACS	Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society
SBC	School Board Chronicle
SBCP	Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor
SMC	School Management Committee
SMOC	School Management and Organisation Committee
SWSG	Sunday and Working Schools for Girls, Chester
SWTC	<i>Schoolmaster and Women Teacher's Chronicle</i>
TEB	Technical Education Board
TES	<i>Times Educational Supplement</i>
WEC	Wesleyan Education Committee
WEU	National Union for Improving the Education of Women of all Classes (Women's Education Union)
WL	Walton Lane Board School, Liverpool
WLGS	Women's Local Government Society
WSJ	<i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i>



Frontispiece Women's rights, Lydia Becker with Joseph Bright
Source: Mary Evans Picture Library

Contents

<i>List of illustrations and tables</i>	vii
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xi

1 'Within marked boundaries': women and the making of educational policy since 1800	1
JOYCE GOODMAN AND SYLVIA HARROP	

PART I

Women and school governance	15
-----------------------------	----

2 Women governors and the management of working-class schools, 1800–1861	17
JOYCE GOODMAN	

3 Governing ladies: women governors of middle-class girls' schools, 1870–1925	37
JOYCE GOODMAN AND SYLVIA HARROP	

PART II

Women and educational administration at local government level	57
--	----

4 Women school board members and women school managers: the structuring of educational authority in Manchester and Liverpool, 1870–1903	59
JOYCE GOODMAN	

- 5 'Women not wanted': the fight to secure political
representation on Local Education Authorities,
1870–1907 78
JANE MARTIN

PART III

**Women teachers, policy-making and administration in
elementary education 97**

- 6 Women and teacher training: women and pupil-teacher
centres, 1880–1914 99
WENDY ROBINSON

- 7 Women as witnesses: elementary schoolmistresses
and the Cross Commission, 1885–1888 116
ANGELA O'HANLON-DUNN

PART IV

Women and the educational administration of the state 135

- 8 'The peculiar preserve of the male kind': women and the
education inspectorate, 1893 to the Second World War 137
JOYCE GOODMAN AND SYLVIA HARROP

- 9 Committee women: women on the Consultative
Committee of the Board of Education, 1900–1944 156
SYLVIA HARROP

- 10 Parliamentary women: women ministers of education,
1924–1974 175
ROBIN BETTS

- Bibliography* 193
Index 205

Illustrations

Plates

Frontispiece	Women's rights, Lydia Becker with Joseph Bright	xiv
Plate 1	Manchester High School, Notice of Election of Governors, January 1885	36
Plate 2	Report of the Deputation to the President of the Board of Education, 1909	136

Tables

5.1	School Board election results, 1870–1900	81
5.2	Women members who have held School Board office	82
5.3	Radicals and femocrats: women members of the London School Board	84

1 'Within marked boundaries'

Women and the making of educational policy since 1800

Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop

It is not for the public good that those who are educating far more than half the school population of the country should be denied opportunities of contributing their special knowledge and experience . . . to the administrative side of education. . . . There is food for thought as well as room for improvement in a position such as this.¹

In her Presidential Address to the Head Mistresses Association in 1919, Miss Reta Oldham pointed out that although women were 'admitted to possess considerable organising and administrative gifts' no woman, so far as she was aware, occupied an administrative position at the Board of Education and no Local Authority employed a woman Director of Education. Although she saw the recent appointment of Miss Clement as Assistant Director of Education for Warwickshire as 'a hopeful sign in the right direction', she told the assembled headmistresses that this had to be balanced by the fact that applicants for the post of Education Organiser to the Middlesex County Council had recently been told that women were ineligible to apply. Miss Oldham urged the headmistresses present 'to be zealous in using, and in reminding others to use, their privileges as local government voters'.²

Miss Oldham's Presidential Address presented an inter-war strategy to redress what has been termed the 'glass ceiling', an expression which has by now made its way into the dictionaries, being defined as: 'an indistinct but unmistakable barrier on the career ladder, through which certain categories of employees (usu. women) find they can see but not progress'.³ The 1990s have seen a growing output of books (largely by women) on women in administration and management, especially as regards the 'glass ceiling'.⁴ Standard texts on the history of educational policy-making and administration, on the other hand, often omit or marginalise the contributions of women. Yet, as Carol Dyhouse's revisionist account *Girls Growing Up in Victorian and Edwardian England* and her study of Miss Beale and Miss Buss both illustrate, education was one of the areas of public life where women achieved a measure of both status and authority'.⁵ Patricia Hollis, Annemarie Turnbull and, more recently, Jane Martin have explored

the ways in which women exercised authority within what was essentially a male world of local government politics; while Felicity Hunt has examined the gendered politics of the Board of Education and other educational authorities.⁶ These studies form part of a more recent trend, evident in Britain, Australasia, Canada and the United States, which aims to take account of the emergence of modern forms of educational administration in terms of gender; to revisit the role of education in relation to notions of professionalisation, career, bureaucracy, citizenship and the state; and to reconceptualise the notion of educational leadership itself.⁷ Jill Blackmore's *Troubling Women: Feminism, Leadership and Educational Change* illustrates just how important a historical perspective is for understanding the gendered nature of leadership in contemporary educational contexts.⁸

This volume brings together current research, much of which has not been published before, and other material scattered in journals and theses. Its aim is to examine the activities of women at various levels of policy-making and administration, from the local school to that of the state. From the late eighteenth century onwards, as part of their philanthropic endeavours, women played a part in the establishment and management of schools and of teacher training. The setting up of school boards enabled women to pursue their work in and for education within a broader political context. Their activities as members of educational commissions and government committees, and as inspectors and heads of pupil-teacher centres, illustrate the diversity of views, policies and strategies which were adopted by women fulfilling such roles, both within and outside the sphere of state activity. These activities also highlight the questions of gender, power and authority, which were implicit in the work of women from the early days of philanthropic school managers to the later women ministers of education.

From the above, it will be clear that we are using a much wider definition of policy-making than Hughes, who regards policy-makers as 'those who hold the ultimate power over decision-making', that is, 'usually elected politicians'.⁹ A major focus of historians researching policy-making has been on the activities of the state.¹⁰ Yet policy can be made, discussed and influenced at many levels, local, regional and national, by individuals and groups: in educational terms in the school, local school board, professional committee or national conference, Board of Education committee, Royal Commission or parliament. In taking a wider view, we follow Ball, who argues that serious attention needs to be given to the play of state power within 'disaggregated, diverse and specific (or local) sites'. In Ball's view, the state is 'a product of discourse, a point in the diagram of power and a necessary but not sufficient concept in the development of an "analytics of power", which can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations, like racism and patriarchy'.¹¹ Similarly, Jane Kenway sees the state as 'a composite of micro powers', 'an apparatus of social control which achieves its regulatory effects over everyday life through dispersed, multiple and often contradictory and competing discourses'.¹² Much, though not all, of the discussion in this book

operates at the level of what Hunt has termed 'organisational policy': the middle level of decision-making which intervenes between government policy and actual school practice where, Hunt claims, decisions about the aims of education are found and the means of achieving those aims can be explored.¹³

'Policy', like 'administration' and 'leadership', is a highly gendered term that has often been related to activity in the public, or semi-public, arena in sites to which women have had no or limited access. At the level of the state, this was one consequence of legally regulated civic disabilities. In contrast, the everyday decisions taken and implemented at the level of the school by women teachers and governors have been written out of the definitions of such terms.¹⁴ The concepts through which issues of policy-making and administration have been 'thought', and the sources through which historians have sought to identify policy-makers and administrators, have contributed to the absence of women in historical accounts. This absence illustrates Ball's contention that when it comes to policy-making only certain voices are heard as meaningful or authoritative. According to Ball, policy issues inhabit two very different conceptualisations: policy as text and policy as discourse, which are implicit in each other. In his view, because policies are set within 'a moving discursive frame which articulates and constrains the possibilities and probabilities of interpretation and enactment', there are real struggles over the interpretation and enactment of policies and these are represented differently by different actors and interests.¹⁵ As he comments: 'Policy as discourse may have the effect of redistributing "voice", so that it does not matter what some people say or think and only certain voices can be heard as meaningful or authoritative'.¹⁶ In terms of education, such processes have not only shaped the making of educational policy. They have resulted in a repetition whereby the views and actions of women and women's organisations working for educational change have been written out of the historical record.

As editors, we share Hughes' desire 'as a feminist [to] try to rediscover the voices and achievements of women who became educational policy-makers'.¹⁷ Hughes goes on to state that she will try to assess 'whether they were feminists or women who believed in separate domestically oriented rules for women', but this alternative poses a dichotomy that is by no means clear cut.¹⁸ This book describes and assesses the work, attitudes, actions and philosophies of many women, a fair number of whom do not fit comfortably into sociological categories. By one measure they might appear to be one sort of feminist; by another they do not. Essie Ruth Conway, for example, one of the longest-serving members of the Consultative Committee (see Chapter Nine), second woman president of the National Union of Teachers (NUT), with its predominantly male executive, principal of a large mixed Liverpool elementary school, campaigner for elementary schools and their teachers, and for equal pay for men and women, was an opponent of women's suffrage. Her position was by no means unique. While she espoused anti-suffrage, other women who figure in the book did not, yet, neither did all of them openly espouse feminism. Some argued for the widening of women's sphere in the