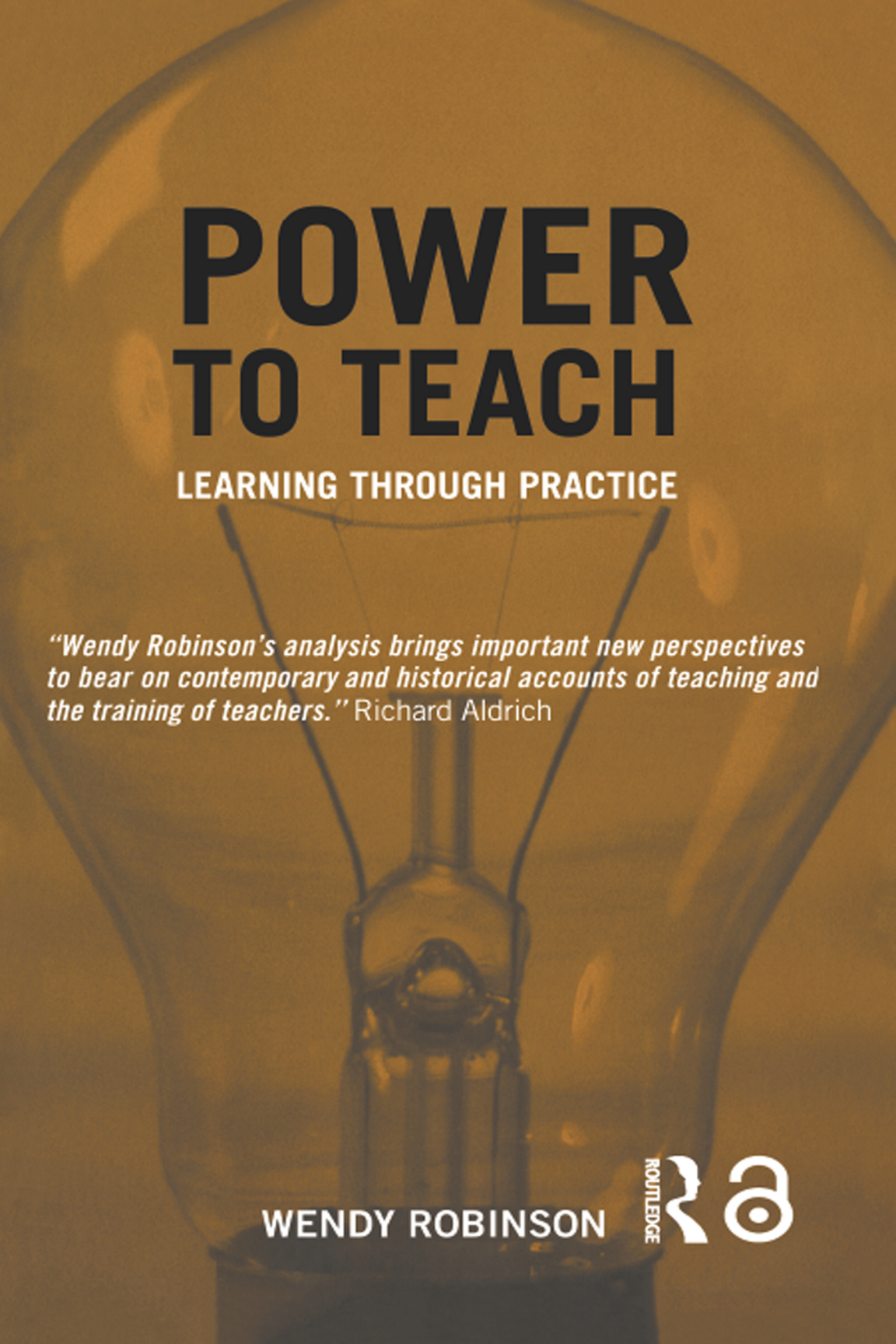
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POWER TO TEACH
Learning through Practice

WENDY ROBINSON
University of Warwick

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For Stephen Oliver

‘The duty of each generation is to gather up its inheritance from the past, and thus to serve the present, and prepare better things for the future.’

Friedrich Froebel quoted in R.H.Quick,
Essays on Educational Reformers
(London: Longmans, 1895, p. 547)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AST	Advanced Skills Teacher
AUT	Association of University Teachers
CATE	Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
CPTC	Council of Principals of Training Colleges
DES	Department of Education and Skills
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HMI	Her/His Majesty's Inspectorate
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEA	Local Educational Authority
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
SCITT	School Centred Initial Teacher Training
TCA	Training College Association
TTA	Teacher Training Agency

1
INTRODUCTION

The nature of initial teacher education is currently contested and has been for many years. This is not the first and probably will not be the last book to begin with such a judgement. Questions as to the form and nature of a professional training, the essential skills, knowledge and attitudes desired of an effective teacher, the most suitable locus of expertise, the relative roles of participants and the balance between theory and practice are certainly not new or recent, but have long been rehearsed by educationists, policy makers, teachers and trainers alike. In the context of teacher training, past and present, any sense of a coherent, consistent or united system of training, in which the various academic, practical and theoretical strands have been successfully reconciled has proved an elusive goal. Arguably the current juncture of teacher education is fraught with fundamental tensions. Increasing government control of teacher education, shifts towards school-based initial training, the threatened position of higher education institutions, the introduction of a technicist and skills-based training, a mandatory national curriculum for trainee teachers and assessment against prescriptive standards and, recently, a set of expected outcomes, have all contributed to a climate of uncertainty, anxiety, hostility and ideological polarization, particularly in relation to higher education institutions, which have long had the responsibility for training teachers.

A distinctive feature of this book is that it moves beyond current tensions over what constitutes a sound and proper start to a career in teaching and seeks instead to locate these within a historical perspective. By exploring the potential merging of principle and practice across key moments in time, this book illustrates hitherto unexamined connections between the present state of teacher education in the United Kingdom and past models of practice. In particular, the book will focus on elements of professional preparation that actively sought to promote a viable working balance between the potentially oppositional strands of theory and practice, art, science or craft.

In his work on the history of English pedagogy and educational theory, Simon identified five key periods, of which the period 1870–1920 stands out for its particular optimism, experimentation and growth.[1] Influenced by Simon's

model, it is from this period that much of the original primary source data that forms the heart of the book has been collected. Arguably, this was a time when the world of teacher education enjoyed a lively period of relative freedom in which to test creatively its practice and understanding of teaching and the difficult relationship between theoretical and practical concerns. Drawing upon some of the critical developments that characterized the training of teachers during this time, the book will review apprenticeship and teacher-exemplar models of training, expert-novice relationships, model and demonstration teaching, school-based practice and the refinement of pedagogy, and core principles of practice in educational debate and research.

Central to this book, as reflected in its title, is the concept of *power to teach*. A historical construct, derived directly from a range of unpublished primary source documents relating to student teacher assessment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that have remained obscure for over a hundred years, the notion of 'power to teach' provides a unique entrance into the substantive issues raised in the book. The notion of 'power to teach' developed throughout the book captures the essence of what constituted effective teaching practice and what shaped the ultimate goals and drive of professional training in the past. Furthermore, it is argued that the concept of 'power to teach' has the potential to add a new and previously missing element from current debates on effective teaching practice.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It is not the aim of this book to present a complete, chronological history of the subject of initial teacher training (ITT). This has effectively been done elsewhere in the works of Jones, Rich, Tropp, Dent and Gosden.[2] Rather, through a closer historical investigation of those hitherto unexplored moments when advances were briefly made towards a more harmonious and integrated pattern of teacher training, the book hopes to provide a critical perspective on current developments. To locate and contextualize the book, however, a brief historical overview of the main trends in the history of teacher training over the past two hundred years is outlined.

Two important themes emerge from the history of teacher training in the past two hundred years. The first, frequently described in the literature with the 'swinging pendulum' metaphor, refers to the dominance at different times of a school-based/apprenticeship or a college- or university-based model of training. The movement between these approaches, largely chronological, with school-based/apprenticeship models dominating in the nineteenth century and college- and university-based models dominating for much of the twentieth century, has witnessed a clear return to a more school-based approach in the past 15 years,

with some transitional overlapping in between. This oscillation raises important questions about the balance between educational theory and practice and shifting priorities in teacher training policy and practice over time.[3] The second concerns the complex relationship of teacher training to much broader educational and social developments and priorities. The history of teacher training is inextricably linked with the history of state education, particularly in relation to the expansion of secondary education for all in the early to mid twentieth century and later to the broadening of access to further and higher education in the post-1960s period. Entwined with these main themes are a range of other complex issues such as the nature, status and control of the teaching profession by the government and other agencies, entry and exit requirements, supply and demand, funding and remuneration and differential expectations for teachers in the range of sectors catered for, such as nursery, primary, secondary and further.

The concept of a formal system of teacher training was a novel one at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Prior to this time, teachers serving the upper and middle classes usually boasted Oxbridge degrees and clerical status, whilst those serving the lower classes merely had to be literate and numerate. From 1805 onwards, the advent of mass organized elementary schooling for children of the working classes, led by the principal religious societies, created an urgent demand for new teachers. This demand provided an impetus for the introduction of a brief and basic form of school-based training in which existing and aspiring teachers alike were able to learn the practical mechanics of the monitorial system —a system which enabled vast numbers of pupils to be instructed by very few adult staff. Throughout the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s a formalized network of denominational residential teacher training colleges emerged to meet the growing demand for qualified teachers. Training was, however, brief with minimal emphasis upon academic and intellectual stimulation.

By 1840, concern had mounted over the ability of the emerging training-college system both to cope with the heavy demand for new teachers and to produce teachers of a sufficiently high standard of academic and professional quality to serve the expanding elementary sector. A major difficulty concerned the relative lack of education of candidates for the new training colleges. A solution to the problem was found in the creation of the pupil-teacher system, formally instituted by the government in 1846. It was designed both to raise overall standards of instruction provided in elementary schools and to boost the recruitment of able candidates for the training colleges. Pupil teachers were usually apprenticed for five years, commencing at the age of thirteen. In effect, the pupil-teacher system operated a closed system of schooling and professional training from within the elementary, and predominantly working-class, world within which it existed. A fundamentally school-based apprenticeship model of initial teacher training, it bridged the age gap between leaving

elementary school and entering training college. Bright, aspiring elementary pupils could learn on the job, through classroom observation and practical experience of supervised teaching, whilst at the same time receiving a certain amount of further personal instruction from the head teacher of their school. Pupil teachers were examined annually by Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) and their progress, both academic and professional, was regularly monitored. At the close of the apprenticeship, trainees were expected to compete for Queen's Scholarships which subsidized the best students to attend residential training college and acquire full certificated status. Not all pupil teachers were formally trained and certificated and many teachers in elementary schools worked as uncertificated assistants, their pupil-teacher apprenticeship having been their sole form of professional training. With the expansion of educational provision in the 1870s and 1880s, under the newly constituted school boards, the original pupil-teacher system was criticized for its narrowness, quality and standards of recruitment, levels of professional and academic instruction and vision and there was a movement either to reform or replace it with a better alternative.

By the late 1880s, motivated by a desire to remedy the weakness of the original pupil-teacher system, small-scale, collective, central classes for pupil teachers had evolved nationwide into fully-fledged pupil-teacher centres. Pupil teachers, under the new centre model would experience up to half of their training in school-based practice and half in specially designated centres, staffed by the cream of the elementary teaching profession, where they would receive an academic and professional training. The development of these centres led to a new and more sophisticated model of professional training under the apprenticeship model, with a much more rigorous commitment to the raising of professional and academic standards and aspirations within the emerging profession. Centres were not, however, a standardized national phenomenon. By the end of the nineteenth century, although just over half of the pupil-teacher population was attached to a centre, many pupil teachers, particularly those in rural areas and those attached to less wealthy denominational schools, still served under the old model.

At the same time as the pupil-teacher system was being modernized with the introduction of the centres, another important initiative was being put into place. In 1888, a government inquiry into state education, the Cross Commission, advocated the training of teachers in universities and the setting up of educational faculties to foster the academic study of education and research. The rationale behind this initiative was to drive up academic standards within the teaching profession. In 1890 the government drew up regulations for the administration of grant aid to day-training colleges in connection with the universities and university colleges. These were specifically concerned with initial teacher training but students had access to other university lectures and were

able to take degrees in conjunction with their professional work. A number of training routes subsequently developed, including one-year courses for graduates as well as two- and three-year courses—subsequently extended to four years for those who wanted both graduate status and a teaching qualification. At the same time the old teacher training colleges, separate from university departments, continued to train teachers. Consequently, a dual system of professional training in training colleges and university departments emerged.

The 1902 Education Act, which made newly constituted Local Education Authorities (LEAs) responsible for providing training and instruction for teachers, paved the way for reform in teacher training and sealed the movement towards a more college- or university-based approach to initial training. The pupil-teacher system was abolished in the early years of the twentieth century in favour of an extended secondary education for prospective teachers. Replacement bursar and student-teacher schemes, introduced in the first decade of the twentieth century, retained residual elements of the apprenticeship model of training embodied in the original pupil-teacher system, but the main priorities had shifted towards a college-based hegemony which continued until the late 1980s.

During the inter-war period, there was considerable professional debate about the appropriate balance of theory and practice in teacher training courses, with fears being expressed that the pendulum had potentially swung too far away from the practical requirements of teachers' work. The Board of Education gradually relinquished its control of the examination of student teachers to the universities, signalling a much closer involvement of the universities in the examination and recognition of qualified teachers. Educational reorganization after 1944 marked the abolition of an uncertificated route into the teaching profession, the ultimate vision being for an all-graduate profession.

The post-war period witnessed the expansion of education as a field of study both within the universities and training colleges to embrace broader philosophical, historical, sociological and comparative approaches. Throughout this period the universities tended to be associated with post-graduate, secondary training courses and the training colleges with non-graduate primary training courses. Following the Robbins Report on Higher Education in 1963, attempts were made to bring teacher training into a much closer and coherent relationship with the universities, both administratively and academically. The four-year B.Ed. degree was introduced for selected students in the training colleges. In 1972, recommendations from the James Report meant that teaching was to become an all-graduate profession.

The period from the late 1980s to the present has been characterized by a move towards greater government control of teacher training with the traditional hegemony of college- and university-based provision eroded in favour of a

renewed interest in school-based/centred apprenticeship models of initial professional preparation in partnership with existing and new providers. Reformed models of training include an increasingly prescriptive approach, with the introduction of a mandatory national curriculum for trainees and a standards-driven model of assessment for the final award of qualified teacher status, monitored and reviewed by various new government agencies including the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) and the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED). What was perceived by the government as overly theoretical approaches to teacher training, which once dominated under the university- and college-based hegemony, have now been replaced with greater emphasis on relevant practical classroom skills and techniques.

This book draws much of its material from that period of transition in the history of teacher training, which cut across the late nineteenth/early twentieth-century period, when existing forms of school-based training were still in place, albeit in a modified form, but were being added to and superseded by a more dominant college- or university-based approach.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

Methodologically, research for this book was shaped by traditional historical investigation and is based on substantive archive and documentary analysis. The approach taken was to begin with a loose set of original research questions, which had been generated from earlier work on the nineteenth-century pupil-teacher system and other work on the professional training of teachers, and to develop and extend these alongside a detailed and rigorous engagement with a range of relevant primary and secondary sources. These questions were concerned with definitions of good teaching, the constituents of a professional training, the essential skills, knowledge and attitudes desired of an effective teacher, the most suitable locus of expertise, the relative roles of participants in the training process, and the balance between theory and practice in the training process. The range of sources consulted in the research included official publications, Royal Commissions and annual reports of the Committee of Council and the Board of Education relating to teacher training in the period under review, the teachers' press, educational writings, unpublished local archive material and unpublished life history.

The book has evolved from two key research influences. The first of these was developed for a short research project undertaken by myself, entitled 'The teacher as trainer: pedagogy, practice and professionalism', funded by the University of Warwick, 1998–2001. Data from this project is used extensively in the book. In this project I examined the role, function and influence of the teacher exemplar model of professional transmission through masters and mistresses of method

across a sample of ten different types of teacher training institution. I accessed relevant archival information and gathered a range of evidence from a broad section of institutions, including: Cambridge Day Training College; London Day Training College; Leeds Day Training College; Manchester Day Training College; Southampton Day Training College; Chester Diocesan Training College; Salisbury Training College; Darlington Training College; Ripon Training College; St John's Training College, York. It is the nature of historical research to find that the survival of data can be inconsistent and this can affect the quality and breadth of evidence gleaned to address initial research questions. Whilst I was able to gather much useful data on specific individuals and method courses, I found a frustrating lack of biographical information in places. This was compensated for by the availability of other sources of evidence on the assessment and monitoring of students on school placements. Documentary data on individual training institutions comprised a range of different sources including: staff records; log books of practising schools; examination papers and correspondence; lists of students; school-practice files; student records; testimonials; suggestions for supervisors; diploma reports; student observations; criticism lesson proformas; outlines of method courses; syllabuses; memoirs; magazines; and lesson notebooks. This documentary analysis prompted the refinement of my initial research focus, which was the masters and mistresses of method, and extended it to a broader analysis of the nature of practical training in the training institutions and, more specifically, the particular role of model, practising and demonstration schools. Hitherto unexamined teaching-practice proformas and school-practice reports on individual students from six training providers offered revealing insights into the assessment of students' practical performance and the criteria against which they were appraised. These in turn helped me form a much stronger sense of the values, ideals and expectations around the constituents of the effective teacher held by teacher trainers in the past. To supplement individual archive data, relevant government files on individual institutions and related matters were consulted at the Public Record Office, Kew.

One strand of the project was to identify and collate a biographical database of key individuals and their institutional affiliations. In this study the educational backgrounds and career development of 73 individuals were examined. This included 29 masters of method and 44 mistresses of method, 15 men and 10 women in the university sector and 14 men and 34 women in the training colleges. A major source of information for this database was the official staff register available for most training institutions, which provided details relating to educational background, previous employment, current responsibilities, salary and future positions of members of staff. Other less direct sources such as applications and documentation for specific posts, minute books, memoirs and registers were also useful. The *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy and Training*

College Record and minutes of meetings and conferences of the Training College Association (TCA), accessed at the Warwick Modern Records Centre, provided useful data on key individuals as well as information on the professional networks in operation at the time.

Another strand of the research was the analysis of manuals of method and school management books written for student teachers by masters and mistresses of method and other educationists and to assess these in relation to existing debates on pedagogy and effective teaching. A range of these works was located and accessed and is listed in full in the bibliography.

A final strand of the project was to negotiate access to former student teachers and to undertake oral history interviews to find out about the role of masters and mistresses of method in the training process. Using alumni records of institutional archives I was able to make contact with a number of former student teachers who trained during the 1920s and 1930s. Significantly, it was during this period of time that the particular emphasis on method instruction was waning and because of the time span under review I could not access any surviving students from the turn of the twentieth century, though I was able to access useful student memoirs from Lincoln and Ripon Training Colleges. Whilst six interviews with former teachers who trained at Ripon and Lincoln Colleges between 1928–35 were undertaken, this aspect of data collection was less fruitful in terms of the richness of data generated in relation to the particular focus of the project. The level of detail in terms of recall about actual method courses, school method and practical teaching was less transparent in the interviews than more general information on individual teachers' careers, general experience of training and professional identity.

The second influence on the research undertaken for the book was more nebulous and reflects my wider research interest in developing a sharper historical focus on the vexed relationship between theory, practice and pedagogy over time. The following generic questions lie at the heart of the book and together shape and inform its content and structure:

- How has the wisdom of best teaching practice been defined and conceptualized over time and how has this contributed to expectations for pre-service training and education?
- How were teachers formed, prepared and initiated into the theory and practice of their profession?
- What role did expert practitioners play in the initial training process and how did this promote a growing sense of professional autonomy and identity?
- What models of professional transmission operated to promote best practice?
- What core principles of pedagogy underpinned professional preparation?

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF BOOK

There are seven chapters in the book, each of which addresses some aspect of the history of teacher training in the period 1880–1920 which sought an integration of the theoretical and practical dimension of training. Distinctively, Chapters 3 to 7, demonstrate important links between historical and current policy and practice and raise questions about the relationship between the past, present and future. Chapter 2 investigates the nature and locus of professional difficulties which have informed developments in teacher training. Arguably the root of much of this anxiety lies in late nineteenth-century debates over the status and definition of teaching as an art, craft or science which resonated with notions of professionalism, identity and autonomy. These debates in turn shaped attitudes about professional preparation and best practice. Such ideas however, could not then and indeed cannot now be separated from the broader social, economic, political and ideological context of education and schooling and thus invoke further dilemmas around ideals and lived reality. In seeking to penetrate the complexities of this subject the chapter examines definitions, conceptualizations, meaning and metaphors of the good or ideal teacher to which the profession aspired and which in turn influenced the nature of training. The concept of power to teach, which reflected an important set of understandings about the essence of teaching and cut across the art, craft and science dimensions is explored, providing a foundation for the rest of the book.

Chapter 3, building upon my earlier research on the nineteenth-century pupil-teacher system, focuses on the role played by serving teachers in initial teacher education. For most of the nineteenth century, professional training had an overriding school-based theme. It is argued that the pupil-teacher apprenticeship scheme, for all of its numerous weaknesses, did, by the end of its life, have something important to offer an emergent teaching profession in search of autonomy, self-regulation and control. New departures in apprenticeship through the pupil-teacher centres promoted an embryonic form of partnership between teachers and trainers and celebrated the expert-novice relationship. From the early years of the twentieth century, the increasing alienation of the teaching profession from the training of future teachers can be identified as a contributing factor to the damaging polarization between professional sites of expertise—between those who teach in school and those who train teachers. Links are made with current models of partnership and mentoring which, whilst seeking to redress some of this professional alienation, continue to struggle with deep-seated cultural and attitudinal barriers.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 have as a central theme the idea of student teachers learning through practice. Chapter 4 examines in detail the role and function of masters and mistresses of method in training institutions as teacher exemplars

who bridged the theoretical and practical divide. Links are made between the role of these historical personnel and current policy regarding specially designated 'super' or advanced skills teachers (ASTs) in schools. This analysis of masters and mistresses of method challenges traditional historical stereotyping of the narrowness and pedantry, often associated with the role, drawing upon a range of hitherto unpublished sources.

Chapter 5 analyses the place of practising, model and demonstration schools in the training process with particular reference to innovative practice in the Manchester Fielden Demonstration Schools. The history of schools attached to training institutions which served to provide a readymade teaching environment in which to train novice teachers, through the modelling of good practice, is limited and largely negative. This analysis offers a more detailed account of the work undertaken in these schools than earlier historical studies. Current policy developments in relation to the possible contribution of training schools to initial teacher training are examined against this historical phenomenon.

Chapter 6 evaluates models of school practice, the relationship between schools and training institutions and the nature of student teacher assessment. A particular focus for this chapter is a consideration of the way in which judgements about a student's teaching competence were formed and formalized in a final teaching grade. Comparisons between excellent, middling and failing students is examined in an attempt to understand what standards were expected and tolerated of student teachers and the key professional factors which were valued in this monitoring process. This analysis also illustrates further the concept of 'power to teach', as it related to the potential of novice teachers. Current assessment of student teachers' performance against government standards is considered against the historical model outlined.

Chapter 7 traces the theoretical articulation of teaching method, pedagogy and educational principles which developed alongside professional training. Moving away from a conception of teaching as a mere commonsensical art and critical of over-complicated and inaccessible theories of education which were too removed from actual experience, method books emerging out of the new university day training colleges and some of the older training colleges after 1900 were seeking common pedagogical principles which could underpin good teaching practice and which addressed some of the tensions of the theoretical and practical divide. Such sentiments were also extended to the professional debates between key members of the teacher-training world in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The relationship between the historical quest for core principles in practice and the current preoccupation with pedagogy and effective teaching is tested.

This final analysis will bring the book full circle. It begins with an examination of debates around the nature of teaching and the purpose of training

and ends with a critique of the current search for a consensus on core principles for effective teaching. It would seem that each successive generation of teachers, teacher trainers and policy makers has found it necessary to disregard their professional past as they seek to further and better their own practice in an ever-changing world. Whilst this book neither envisages nor advocates, as a neat solution to current issues, an uncritical re-adoption of old historical models, it does suggest that much might be gained from revisiting a professional legacy in which the wisdom of best practice was as much of a preoccupation then as it is now.

NOTES

1. B.Simon, 'Some problems of pedagogy revisited', in *The State and Education Change: Essays in the History of Education and Pedagogy* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1994).
2. L.Jones, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), R.Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales During the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), A.Tropp, *The School Teachers* (London: Heinemann, 1957), P.Gosden, *The Evolution of a Profession* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972), H.Dent, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales 1800–1975* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977).
3. See P.Gardner, 'The early history of school-based teacher training', in D.McIntyre, H.Haggar, M.Wilkin (eds), *Mentoring: Perspectives on School-Based Teacher Education* (London: Kogan Page, 1993), pp. 21–36.

2
TEACHING: ART, CRAFT OR SCIENCE?

This chapter will investigate the nature and locus of professional difficulties which have informed developments in teacher training. These have often focused upon the tensions between the theory and practice of teaching. The root of much of this anxiety lies in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century debates over the status and definition of teaching as an art, craft or science, which resonated with notions of professionalism, identity and autonomy. These debates in turn informed attitudes about professional preparation and best practice. Such ideas, however, could not then and indeed cannot now be separated from the broader intellectual, cultural, social and ideological context of education and schooling. Just because conceptual frameworks which described the essence of teaching were constructed did not necessarily mean that all teachers aspired to or reached these ideals.

In seeking to penetrate the complexities of this subject the chapter will examine definitions, conceptualizations, meanings and metaphors of the good or ideal teacher constructed through art, craft or science designations. It will be suggested that these ways of thinking about teaching were interrelated, and whilst emphases on the art, craft and science constructions changed over time, the flow of ideas between them reflected an important set of understandings about the essence of teaching—'power to teach'. The chapter is in four parts. First, the description of teaching as art will be examined. Secondly, the construction of teaching as craft will be analysed and it will be suggested that art and craft designations were difficult to distinguish. Thirdly, the influence of the movement to elevate the study of education onto the level of a rational, scientific basis will be traced. How this movement, which in itself was highly complex and contradictory, shaped a science of teaching based upon rational principles, will then be considered. Finally, the concept of 'power to teach' as representing the interface of art, craft and science designations will be introduced.

TEACHING AS ART

When exploring historically the popular construction and description of teaching as 'art', it is not always easy to elucidate exactly what was meant by this idea. Indeed, as is reflected in the structure of this chapter, the art, or the practice of teaching can often only be comprehended when it is set against that which it is not—the science or theory of teaching. To look at this conceptual construct in isolation runs the risk of further dichotomizing an educational debate with a long and tortuous historical legacy. From the nineteenth century until the 1920s, school method books, various articles on education as well as the teachers' press and government reports variously coined the term 'the art of teaching' when describing the focus and spirit of school teaching. In teacher training, the art of teaching was often discussed in relation to a student's practical experience of teaching, particularly when there were concerns that too little training in this art was available.[1] Examples of this construction are numerous and those cited below serve only to illustrate the prevalence and use of the idea.

Joshua Fitch's well-known lectures on teaching taught that teaching was a 'practical art'.[2]

> The master in an elementary school may sometimes be too mechanical… but in regard to the right ways of teaching, and the principles on which those methods rest, he is a disciplined expert, often imbued, too, with a genuine enthusiasm for the art which he has laboriously acquired.[3]
>
> The art of teaching seems to me so much a matter of personal power and experience, and various social and moral gifts.[4]
>
> Education is an art not a science—it is about practice and the schoolroom.[5]
>
> Our associations have been in consultation about the means whereby the practical training of students in the art of teaching may be improved, with special reference to the provision of adequate demonstration schools associated with the various recognized training colleges.[6]
>
> Teaching is an art that requires long practice for its perfection.[7]
>
> As to the training of pupil-teachers in the art of teaching, for which we ought to rely on the teachers under whom they serve in school, greater care will have to be exercised by inspectors and by managers to secure that this important part of their education is not neglected.'[8]
>
> As in the case of other professions the art of teaching must be based on skilled investigation and the interchange of daily experience, from which general principles are to be established. Such principles the teacher must interpret and apply to the peculiar conditions of his own unique task, which is defined for him by the age, sex, number, environment and future

> vocation of his pupils, by the type and situation of his schools, and by other variable factors.[9]

The art of teaching was clearly something practical and dynamic which was enacted within a real 'live' context—that of the daily toil of the classroom and the school. In 1905, Dexter and Garlick's work on school method, argued that the art of teaching was the medium of the 'what' (curriculum) and the 'how' (method) of teaching.[10] Somehow it represented the repertoire of strategies, devices, methods, aids and techniques employed by skilled and experienced teachers as they worked to bring about learning on the part of their pupils. The idea of the art of teaching captures something of the creativity and individuality of teaching and the ability of teachers to adapt their methods and approaches to the particular and ever-shifting context of the learning situation. Excellence or mastery in this art was not about perfecting the 'routine' and everyday business of class teaching, neither was it just about acquiring skill in technique. It concerned an individual teacher's application of their own knowledge, skills, experience and creativity to any teaching situation. Valentine Davis, Lecturer in Education at Cheshire County Training College, Crewe, in his book, *The Science and Art of Teaching,* published in 1930, urged teachers to, '…establish your own technique in the art of teaching, basing your practice on those general principles which you know to be sound'.[11] E.T.Campagnac, Professor of Education at Liverpool University, offered a detailed critique of the relationship between teaching and art in 1934. He tried to compare the teacher with the painter and argued that, 'the teacher and painter have the common duty of thinking, of striving to discover relationships, of adjusting things separately seen so that they take on a pattern'.[12] For Campagnac, however, the teacher had the more difficult task. The painter thinks in solitude but the teacher has to think with his pupils, working for and with them: 'But the work of the teacher, we often feel, is never done. Each lesson takes up the thread of the last and leads on to the next. And it is very hard to give to any one lesson an artistic unity, to begin, to continue it, and also to end it.'[13]

One of the distinctive qualities in the construction of teaching as art was that, as with all other arts, skill and expertise could only be developed and honed through painstaking practice and with experience. In the 1890s, the words of Fitch reinforced this belief in practice and experience, '…as is the case with every art, proficiency can only be attained by working at it'. Some forty years later, the words of Nancy Catty, a lecturer in pedagogy at the University of London, echoed exactly the same sentiments: 'Teaching to a very great extent is like any other art, learnt by practice, and, as in all cases of learning, some people need far more practice than others.'[14] Only when mastery of the art of teaching had been learned could the teacher really experience joy and personal satisfaction with the teaching process.[15] When discussing the relationship between the art and

science of teaching in his work on experimental pedagogy, Edouard Claparede, a well-known Swiss psychologist who wrote on pedagogy, also pursued the notion of skill in teaching being developed through practice and experience: 'Certainly the value of practice is of the highest importance in the making of a specialist in any given art.'[16] In 1928, Valentine Davis suggested that method in teaching was the teacher's art and craft and that the process of practising the art of teaching could be improved by the constructive evaluation of individual lessons—with teachers developing themselves as reflective practitioners.[17]

TEACHING AS CRAFT

The language of the art of teaching was often used synonymously with that of the craft of teaching. This is reflected in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* definitions of art and craft which both allude to inherent qualities of skill. For example, in their examination of student teachers, Training College Inspectors were looking for the progress of student teachers in the art and craft of their practical teaching, with first-class students being recognized for their mastery of the craft.[18] A.G.Hughes, in an article on play and teaching written in 1923, used the two ideas interchangeably: 'Joy in teaching will come as a result of mastery in the art of teaching. Just as joy and beauty appear when any craftsman obtains mastery over his material.'[19] In 1907, John Adams identified strongly with the construction of teaching as craft when, in the preface to his book *The Practice of Instruction,* he declared that 'the work was designed to be a tool for the craftsman, for the teacher'.[20] He later argued that, 'Our craft is no longer to be entered lightly or criticized with flippancy.'[21] Clearly, both the construction of the teacher as artist and the teacher as craftsman highlighted the essentially practical, skilled and imaginative nature of their work and it is difficult to distinguish different meanings between the two ideas. Possibly, the craft of teaching referred more to teaching as instruction and art to teaching for education in a more holistic sense, the craft emphasizing the materials and tools used in the business of teaching, and the art a more general refinement of teaching practice in an individual, imaginative fashion. Valentine Davis, in his book *The Matter and Method of Modern Teaching,* published in 1928, referred to the teacher's art and craft.

> Therefore, to be masters of our craft, we must know the child, and know our subject, and, in the refinement of our art, we see that we must adapt our methods to the age and capacity of the learner and the nature of the subject. All good teaching is fundamentally the same in nature, yet every act of good teaching is different from every other.[22]

An examination of the descriptions of teaching as a craft assist a deeper understanding of the art/craft designation.

According to Ward and Roscoe, whose book *The Approach to Teaching,* written for beginner teachers and published in 1928, craftsmanship in teaching consisted of three closely interwoven essentials: subject knowledge; method; and discipline. Technical efficiency in these three elements could only be learned through training and experience and technique was identified as the means by which a young teacher could become a good craftsman. Teaching as craft suggests expertise and skill in the use and manipulation of materials. These would consist of the subject matter to be taught and the pupils for which the teacher was responsible. The tools used to mould and shape this material could be found in teaching method and discipline. Mastery in the craft of teaching would then involve not only a thorough knowledge of the subject matter but also an insight into the working of the minds of the pupils dealing with it.

> A true craftsman knows his material and has the 'feel' of it, a sense of what can be made of it. He knows his tools and handles them with skill and with economy of effort. Moreover, he has before his eyes the result he is aiming at, the completed artistic product, and in essence this means the possession of an ideal.[23]

As with the case of 'art', skill or technique in itself, however, was inadequate and had the potential to reduce the act of teaching to a set of purely mechanistic, soulless procedures: 'A teacher with good technique and nothing beyond may be little more than an instruction-monger.'[24] Whilst craftsmanship in teaching certainly related to skill and technique, it also implied something more complex: 'Craftsmanship implies a great deal more than technique, though technique is naturally an important element in it.'[25] Whilst there was nothing mystical about the acquisition of mere technique in teaching, the true craft of teaching extended beyond technique into the much more abstract realm of personal style, flexibility, consistency, right perception and intuition. Associated with the idea of the craft of teaching was a language which evoked a peculiar and intangible sense of the mystery, magic and wisdom which should inform the ideal teaching process. Novice or trainee teachers had to be initiated into the 'art and mystery' of the craft of teaching and somehow learn the necessary craft knowledge, craft power, craft skills and craft consciousness associated with it.[26] Interesting references to the classroom as the 'workshop' in which teachers should be striving to attain mastery of their craft, further underpin the strength of the craft connection with teaching and its essentially practical nature.[27]

> The teacher is a craftsman, and the true craftsman must be free to express himself within the principles which govern his work. The teacher is governed by the nature of the human material with which he works, by the nature of the material he teaches, the activities he promotes and by the ultimate aim which he accepts as the goal of his efforts. Yet within these limits he must be free to vary his procedure, to adapt his methods to circumstances and to experiment, or he will be in danger of sinking into a routine which will destroy the sprit of craftsmanship, and depress the spontaneity of pupils.[28]

Embodied within the construction of teaching as a craft was a further association which began to locate the individual teacher within a broader collective identity —the membership of a group of others who had developed the same craft skills and powers, akin to the ancient tradition of medieval craft guilds. Membership of this craft group would therefore carry with it some responsibility for initiating apprentice and beginner teachers into the collective craft conscience. Both constructions of teaching as art and craft suggested that mastery could be learned, through careful training, induction and experience. In the real world not all teachers would be master craftsmen or artists—many would be journeymen, qualified in the basic skills but not yet having true teaching mastery.[29] Others would function like skilled artisans—useful and efficient, but lacking in personal style, insight and expertise—the mechanics and technicists so abhorred by those seeking true craftsmanship or artistry.

Taken even further, the analogy of craftsmanship with teaching also tapped in to debates about teaching as a profession. Some educationists were unhappy with the overuse of the idea of craftsmanship in teaching because of its association with the idea of trade, as opposed to professional status. In 1913, J.A.Green, editor of the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* suggested that in the past too much attention had been paid to the mere craft of teaching, and '…too little to other qualities which would tend to lift the teacher from the position of craftsman to that of the professional man.'[30] He compared the status and position of the teacher with the expertise and status of the medical practitioner (a common comparison in debates about professional identity) and argued that:

> Of course there is and always must be such a thing as craftsmanship in teaching, as there is a craft in the handling of patients by a medical man. It is probably also true that a teacher's craftsmanship will very largely determine his professional success, just as it does in the case of the Doctor. But Doctors at any rate have managed to persuade us that the mysteries of their profession rest upon special knowledge relevant to our condition.[31]

This recognition that the art or craft of teaching was conceptually incomplete coincided with a much more pressing call for the art and craft of teaching to be underpinned and supported with special scientific knowledge and principles. Green went on to suggest that unlike doctors, teachers had not yet persuaded the public that there is any specific scientific knowledge associated with teaching and that it was essential for the profession to take hold of this deficiency: '…a sound knowledge of principles would carry the practitioner much further, particularly in dealing with individuals in his class'. For John Adams, the 'quickening of the craft conscience' towards embracing and developing a science of teaching and education was critical for the growth of the profession.

TEACHING AS SCIENCE

The movement towards constructing a scientific basis for education in the United Kingdom can be traced back to the latter quarter of the nineteenth century and the history of this phenomenon has been variously considered by writers such as Aldrich, Depaepe, Selleck, Simon, Sutherland and Wooldridge.[32] In particular, it has been noted that the increased emphasis on the study of education as a science was strongly linked with the movement to elevate both the professional status and identity of teaching per se and the location of education as a serious academic subject within the universities. In examining this development and the way in which it went on to influence ideas about teaching in the early years of the twentieth century, however, it is important to distinguish between general ideas about a science of education and more specific ideas about the science of teaching. Clearly the two ideas are closely related, but existing literature on the subject does not always make this distinction. Selleck, for example writes: 'Clearly educational theories may refer to many issues. They may have something to say, for example on the construction of the curriculum, on the methods of teaching, on the organisation and administration of a school system, and on the manner in which teachers should be trained.'[33] His work focused on the influence of theory on curriculum development and not on methods of teaching. If the art of teaching broadly refers to its practice, then the science of teaching broadly refers to its theory. The art or craft of teaching implies an ad hoc approach whilst the science of teaching implies something very different—an a priori approach with a clearly articulated set of methodical rules and principles underpinning the practice. In June 1914 an article on educational research in the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* asked whether the science of education really existed and whether the art of education should be based on it?[34] The construction of teaching as science suggests an attempt to lift the practice or the art of teaching onto a different level. The question as to whether this different

level was higher than, equal to, or complementary to the art or craft construction of teaching has remained a source of professional tension ever since.

The relationship between art and science, or between practice and theory, and how this was translated and understood by teacher practitioners and educational theorists was subjected to some serious scrutiny in the period 1870–1920. In 1875 a society for the development of a knowledge of the science of education was formed which provided a base for educationists and psychologists, such as Joseph Payne, R.H.Quick, Alexander Bain, Charles Lake and James Ward, interested in the cause. In 1879 Alexander Bain, Professor of Logic at the University of Aberdeen from 1861–80, published his book *Education as Science.* By 1883 C.H.Lake wrote to the *Journal of Education* and argued that:

> If the art of education is to advance, and the practice of education to improve, it is desirable that the present generation, educated as it has been by experiment, should be familiarized with the notion that education is a science founded upon intelligible and certain principles, which may through ignorance be violated, but cannot be violated.[35]

In the late 1890s, Joseph Cowham in a new book on school method wrote: 'The advance in educational science and the expansion of the school curriculum have created a demand for corresponding expansion and advance in school methods.'[36] R.H.Quick, in his essays on educational reformers, written in 1895, viewed science as the hope for the future of education and teaching and urged teachers to '…endeavour to obtain more and more knowledge of the laws to which their art has to conform itself'.[37] Fitch, though famous for describing teaching as an art, also identified the double nature of teaching as both an art and a science. 'It aims at the accomplishment of a piece of work, and is therefore an art. It seeks to find out a natural basis for such rules as it employs, and is therefore a science.'[38] Similarly, Garlick and Dexter's 1905 primer on school method was not just concerned with elucidating the art of teaching. It also highlighted the 'double-nature' of education with its art and science dimensions and suggested that the science of education should examine the laws of the mind and its development, lay down rules and methods in accordance with those laws and provide a rational basis for teaching. By 1901 education was admitted as a branch of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and existed side-by-side with other well-established sciences.

One of the chief obstacles to the development of a theory of teaching fully integrated with its practice, however, lay in the difficulty in finding an appropriate branch of established applied science with which to identify. Should the science of teaching be located in physiology, psychology, logic, ethics, philosophy, child study or some other branch of scientific inquiry? The

chequered history of the scientificization of education from the 1870s illustrates this problem. Educational theorists had the unfortunate tendency to attach themselves, often in a piecemeal fashion, to outdated, defunct or contested scientific models, usually in the various branches of psychology, in an attempt to find a scientific 'home'. Wooldridge's substantive and wide-ranging study of the history of educational psychology points to the intellectual and cultural scientific 'minefield' with which the educational theorist was faced, particularly when psychology itself was an emerging branch of science and had to cope with the snobbery and scepticism of more established scientific traditions. Aldrich has argued that the origins of the movement for a science of education have received scant attention from historians, though most attention has been paid to Alexander Bain.[39] It was Bain who popularized the later discredited faculty psychology for teachers, based upon an eighteenth-century theory of learning known as associationism. This theory emphasized the physiological basis of mental functions and suggested that all educational practice should be about the training of the various senses or faculties of memory, imagination, perception, judgement and reason. It offered a scientific approach to curriculum and pedagogy which dominated late nineteenth-century educational theory and practice and sought to develop the intellect and character through a careful system of teaching. According to Simon, Bain's book was reprinted six times in the 1880s and a further ten times before 1900 and his ideas were commonly applied to student teacher manuals of the period. Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of the dominance of faculty psychology was its divorce from experience and the way in which it was often misapplied to the mass system of elementary schooling, thus shaping a dreary curriculum and an artificial pedagogy designed to train up the faculties. The empirical writers, the handicraftsmen of the time…were doing the work of the schools, apart from men like Bain, who were trying to write the theory of the same business, apart from school life.'[40]

Aldrich has uncovered an alternative influence on the movement towards a science of education through the pioneering work of Joseph Payne in promoting an interest in education as both a science and an art, through his lectures, writings and professional activities during the 1860s and 1870s. Unlike Bain, Payne was seeking a much broader understanding of the science of education, drawing from a range of other fields of human knowledge such as physiology, psychology, philosophy, history, ethics and logic in an attempt to work out an educational theory to under-pin educational practice. The influence, in the 1890s, of Herbartianism replaced the earlier emphasis on Bain and modified faculty psychology. Herbart, a Prussian philosopher interested in psychology and education, had published his work on the science of education in the early years of the nineteenth century but his ideas did not become fashionable until they were later taken up and modified for practical use by followers at the University

of Jena, such as Karl Stoy, Tuiskon Ziller and Wilhelm Rein. Herbart drew his own ideas from associationism and tried to explain the process of human development through a different model of a staged, systematic and sequenced approach to teaching. Herbart constructed a method derived from psychological analysis, the starting point for teaching to be found in the pupil's own experience and knowledge. Herbart showed the different contributions to be made to the learning process by the teacher and pupil and he emphasized the fact that the aim must be related to the pupil's purpose and guide the activity to its end. Significantly, Herbartian theory placed considerable emphasis on the role and importance of the teacher in the process of education. His ideas were taken up enthusiastically by the new University Departments of Education and teacher trainers in the first decade of the twentieth century, particularly J.J.Findlay, Catherine Dodd, John Adams and J.W.Adamson, and were held up as the potential solution to advancing a science of education which united both theory and practice—a practical pedagogy. At the same time that it took hold of ideas about pedagogy in the United Kingdom, Herbartianism was also highly influential in America and Europe.[41] Subsequent criticism of Herbartian psychology found his analysis over-intellectual, assuming learners who are eager for knowledge.

Both Selleck and Depaepe have traced multiple scientific trends which shaped educational theory in the period 1890–1914, drawing upon the child-study movement, paidology, the naturalist movement, the child-health movement, experimental pedagogy and experimental psychology and then the all-pervasive role of intelligence testing. By the early years of the twentieth century, the scientific pull on educational theory moved towards a much stronger experimental/scientific model, reflecting changes within the intellectual culture of science itself. Depaepe's account of the conceptual confusion and incoherence of this development, both in the United Kingdom and across Europe and America offers fascinating insights into this period and helps to explain the ongoing tension between the scientific and practical dimensions of education and conflict between teachers on the one hand, and pure scientists on the other hand.[42] Charles Spearman, influential child psychologist in the early years of the twentieth century was certainly not so keen for teachers to engage in the scientific study of education and worried about the dangers of letting teachers loose, untrained on pedagogy.[43] For Thomas Raymont, however, it was his firm conviction that the dependence of education upon psychology was vastly overrated and there had been too much of a tendency to regard educational theory and applied psychology as synonymous.

> Educational theory must indeed seek the assistance of psychology, as well as that of some half dozen other sciences: but if it is to be brought into

> vital and helpful relation to the problems of the school room, and therefore worthy of the respect and attention of teachers, it must no longer be content to trot at the heels of psychology, but must vindicate its claim to an independent position.[44]

Furthermore, for Raymont, the forced and premature applications of psychology to education were reflected in a general failure to establish any vital connection between the so-called theory on the one hand, and the practical problems of the school room on the other hand. This failure generated a culture of mistrust towards theory amongst serving teachers, resulting in a theory of education which lagged behind practice.

If the combination of scientific method and practical experience was lacking in the earlier attempts to set education on a scientific footing, by the early years of the twentieth century teacher educators were calling for a science of teaching which was rooted in, not separate from, the art or craft of teaching. Previously, the gulf between teachers who practised the art or craft of their business, and theorists who developed erudite but inaccessible and remote theories was seemingly intractable and formed the heart of a professional tension between theory and practice in teaching. According to J.J.Findlay, the combination of scientific method and practical experience had historically been lacking.

> The sharp separation between theory and practice in the examination papers merely emphasizes the wide gulf which has severed 'the theory' of the lecture-room from 'the practice' of the daily toil in the classroom. This gulf somehow must be bridged; so long as it exists it remains as a standing reproach both the those who practice and to those who theorize.[45]

For Findlay, any science of teaching had to be drawn from its practice,

> we are seeking all the time for links by which we may bind together the Theory of Education with the Practice of it. We see that in our science, as in every other principle, abstract principles can only be attained by the slow process of experience; books on Education, lectures on Education and Psychology have their value, but only so far as they touch the practical experience and observation of the student. Hence then the importance of assigning a due place to that portion of the student's work which is called Practical Training; for Practical Training is essentially Laboratory Training, the lecture room and the text book can do nothing apart from this constant experience in the schoolroom.[46]

For those educationists seeking, amidst the flurry of scientific interest and activity in the various paradigms of child study, applied psychology and intelligence testing, a stronger connection between the science and practice of education, experimental pedagogy offered some sort of solution. In 1907 Adams urged the profession to seek to answer pedagogical questions by engaging in systematic observation and experiment conducted upon scientific principles.[47] Experimental pedagogy was just one branch of the movement to place educational theory on a more secure scientific basis.[48] A committee under the presidency of Findlay and Green reported to the 1910 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in an attempt to promote the cause of experimental pedagogy. Experimental pedagogy was different from child study or observation because it specifically sought answers to questions of educational method and was concerned with processes of teaching. Wooldridge has argued that the experimental pedagogy movement, which spread rapidly through Europe and America, anticipated the most important features of educational psychology. He is critical of its amateurish nature—drawing as it did on a mixture of applied psychology and amateurish pedagogic teaching. For Findlay however, teachers had to develop the 'scientific habit' in their work, and engage critically with investigation, observation and experimentation in teaching practice. Whilst the atmosphere of the schoolroom did not readily lend itself to the habit of patient observation, this was necessary for pedagogy to be advanced.[49] In 1914 the TCA debated the place and value of experimental psychology on teacher training courses and concluded that, 'Educational problems, therefore, cannot be solved by applying to them the generalisations of experimental psychology. We need a new science which we may christen, according to our predilections "educational psychology", "experimental education" or "experimental pedagogy"'.[50] The critical issue was that the problems of teachers would be worked out in the schoolroom under regular school conditions and not in the remove of the scientific laboratory.

For C.W.Valentine, who succeeded Green as editor of the *JEP* in 1922, under its new title *Forum,* if the study of education was to be lifted above the level of a mere interchange of opinions and if it was to become a science, then it must be based on a rational, evidence-based model. The onus was on teachers and scientists working together to devise and revise methods of investigation and experimentation. It was important for the status and development of the profession that teachers, and not just psychologists, should help to contribute to educational theory and guide its growth. Teachers, with their practical experience and art and craft knowledge would temper the pure theorist. Teachers could not, however, build up educational science alone. They required the expertise of educational scientists who could collect facts and experimental data, and also educational philosophers who could set forth broader aims and purposes. In

reality, however, the relationship between educators and scientists, usually educational psychologists, was fraught, mirroring, in fact, the tense relationship between the general construction of the art, craft and science of education. Simon has argued that the inter-war period 1920–40, represented a very different climate in relation to pedagogy or the science of education, when it became heavily dominated by a new branch of psychology entirely preoccupied with the measurement of intelligence—psychometrics.

Any consideration of the movement to locate teaching within a scientific framework has to take account of the parallel movement to raise the professional status and academic reputation of both teaching per se and education as a respected field of study. This is clearly reflected in studies of the subject and has been discussed extensively in literature on the professional status of elementary teachers, their mobilization through union activity and attempts to bring the profession in line with other self-regulated professions such as law and medicine through raising social, cultural and professional aspirations.[51] The main difficulty for the elementary teaching profession with regard to its professional status lay in the fact that it was controlled by the government and not the profession itself. Linked to the thorny question of status was social class. The elementary school world, as described by Tropp, operated a closed system where teachers of the masses were drawn from the respectable ranks of the working classes themselves. Many of their peers would have been skilled artisans or craftsmen—this in itself raising interesting connections with the struggle over the art/craft or science construction of teaching. A profession which could lay claim to a proper and distinctive scientific knowledge base was more likely to be respected and given greater powers of control and self-regulation than if it remained associated with mere art or craft conceptions. For Wooldridge, 'above all, science endeared itself to teachers largely because it appealed to their perennial anxieties about status.'[52] According to Selleck, 'To prove their study's respectability, some educationists could think of no better way than to marry into the scientific family.'[53] The marriage was clearly a difficult one, but the high prestige and 'certainty' commonly associated with scientific laws might better enable teachers to establish more control over the education process. As Green pointed out in 1913, '…every member of an educational committee, every man in the street, knows, or thinks he knows, what is good for the children' and the key to professional autonomy and greater respect from other more established professions was through a clear sense of scientific principles for teaching—'…a more systematic study of pedagogics'.[54] For Adams, who wanted teachers to embrace the principles of their work, 'The professional spirit urges him on to acquire such a mastery of his realm that his authority will be recognized by sheer force of conquest.'[55]

This brief overview of attempts to construct a science of teaching in the period under review, whilst reflecting the often muddled and incoherent nature of this enterprise, also demonstrates an emerging construction of teaching which was something more than art and craft but at the same time embedded in the art and craft identity. There was a definite mood of optimism amongst teacher trainers and educationists in the early years of the twentieth century that the potentially polarized dimensions of art, craft and science could be united to form a coherent whole based on sound principles. According to Selleck, '…perhaps the scientific educationist's most valuable assets in these early days were his enthusiasm, his confidence, and his conviction that he held the key to the future'.[56] Findlay was aware of the embryonic nature of the identification of this coherence in teaching when he wrote:

> Let it be borne in mind that the Science of Education is still in its infancy, and it will take shape with us far more slowly than has been the case in other departments of knowledge because we are exposed far more than they to outside influences, and we depend, far more than other professional men, on the joint corporate action of many co-workers. All minds are not moulded alike, and the same goal of truth, the same happy product of intelligence in thought, combined with skill in execution, may be achieved in many ways. Some can best attack Education from the point of view of history or social science; others find a more congenial approach through observation and experiment in Psychology; others, again, gain more by spending the bulk of their time in the school with scholars.[57]

'POWER TO TEACH': THE INTERFACE OF ART, CRAFT AND SCIENCE

In seeking to understand what the essence of teaching was as it was represented by art, craft and science, it is possible to identify a fourth, and even more conceptually slippery dimension—'power to teach'. This was the nub of what all the other three designations were trying to describe. It was a term frequently used by teacher trainers, inspectors and teachers when judging a teacher's person, capacity and effectiveness. The notion of 'power to teach' somehow welded together art, craft and science elements and embraced the personal, professional, practical and theoretical components which together formed the ideal of the good teacher. It also touched upon the contentious idea that some teaching qualities are innate and natural, not learned or acquired through training. The language of 'power to teach' is prevalent in government reports, books on teaching method and in individual reports on a student teacher's performance during the period under review. Sometimes it was explicitly articulated, but more often was used

inadvertently as a common epithet to describe students' command of different aspects of teaching.

As with art, craft and science designations it is quite difficult to locate an exact definition of the term 'power to teach'. According to Dexter and Garlick, The power to teach implies adequate knowledge on the part of the teacher, a sympathetic nature and good methods of teaching.'[58] For teaching to be most effective, those teachers who were able to exhibit 'intellectual power with teaching power' were likely to obtain the best results. This definition cuts across the art, craft and science definitions considered above. Whilst there was some acknowledgement that certain individuals had natural powers of teaching, the belief in the role of training to assist in the appropriate harnessing of such power to teach was strong.

> There are, no doubt, very many 'born' teachers, with a natural knack of managing children, and with natural powers of teaching. But the greater number of those who actually teach in schools have to acquire the art, sometimes easily, sometimes with labour…Even the 'born' teacher requires training and experience before he can employ his native powers with effect.[59]

Unfortunately, as with the art or craft analogy of teaching, not all teachers could be master teachers and some would be deemed inadequate or lacking in power to teach. Often the language of 'power to teach' was expressed in the negative form. If the 'power to teach' was represented across a spectrum of the profession it would have to incorporate the master teacher at one extreme, whose 'power to teach' was impressive, the useful or serviceable teacher in the middle, whose 'power to teach' was adequate, and the downright useless teacher at the far extreme, whose powers were extremely limited—with various degrees of 'power' in between. An analysis of the language of teaching power, whether expressed as positive or negative attributes, offers some useful insights into the kind of qualities and skills which were being sought of teachers. My research has identified four broad categories of 'teaching power'. These, represented with examples of their use in Table 1, are: power in key teaching skills; power in disciplining, managing or influencing children; intellectual and academic power; and personal power.

Power in key teaching skills refers to the art/craft and science of teaching and was concerned with the repertoire of strategies, devices and methods used by a teacher in the formulation of pedagogy. These included the delivery of lessons through the different tools of exposition, narration, questioning and blackboard demonstration. Narration had the potential to be dull and lifeless, to go on for too long and to be pointless. Questioning could fail if it was unnatural and

Table 1: 'Power to teach'

Power in key teaching skills	Power in managing children
Teaching power/ power to teach Driving or compelling power in voice Power of adapting lessons to the needs of pupils Power of adaptability to the age and emotion Knowledge of her pupils Good narrative power Questioning power Power of exposition Power of putting oneself in the mental place and attitude of the pupils	Stimulating power Power over class Power of attention Power to interest children Power of preserving discipline Disciplinary power Powers of control Power of stimulus
Intellectual/academic power	**Personal power**
Power in criticism Intellectual power Deficient in power to comment or expand a textbook Little power of comment or of interpretation or of imagination Critical power Power of applying knowledge beyond his subject	Character and power Attractive powers Power of resource Power of command Natural powers of teaching

unchallenging for children. The use of teaching aids, particularly blackboard illustrations, could lack emphasis, clarity or be contrived. True teaching power would avoid these pitfalls. Central to power to teach was the ability of the teacher to adapt material to the age, experience and needs of different children. This suggests a flexible and imaginative approach to teaching which was something more than an unthinking, mechanical or stereotyped act which enabled the teacher to direct the teaching situation as it developed in line with the children's responses.

Power in disciplining or influencing children referred to a teacher's ability to capture and maintain the respect, attention and imagination of children, through effective classroom and behaviour management strategies as well as their own personal charisma. This kind of power was not just about the ability to discipline children through authoritarian or routinized forms of management, but was concerned with the creation of an appropriate environment and set of relationships which were conducive to the genuine stimulation of children's thought, interest and inclination for learning.

Intellectual or academic power concerned the teacher's own approach to learning and mastery of the subject matter to be taught. It referred to a teacher's academic ability and interest in subject matter and required an engaged, critical and inquiring approach. Powerful teachers were those with a continued interest in their own learning. Only when a teacher was mentally stimulated by the material to be taught could pupils be stimulated. Personal power is perhaps the most difficult aspect of teaching power to characterize. It is implicit in the other more technical, managerial or intellectual powers, none of which could properly function without some individual personal flair, instinct or intuition. It is perhaps in the quality of personal power that the intangible mystery and magic of teaching, alluded to in art or craft designations can be found. Clearly, personal power embodied much of the personality, character and individual style of the teacher. As Smith and Harrison remarked in their work on teaching in 1939.

> The most important factor, yet the one least open to change, is best expressed by the term personality, which itself includes a perplexing number of attributes. Personality evades all generalized description, for it is individual and unique, and the qualities which attract us in one person make little appeal to us when shown by another. Yet the teacher's personality should include certain necessary gifts for his work. His speech and manners should be commendable, for they will be imitated by his pupils. He needs a strong sense of sympathy towards children, an insight into their modes of response, for without it he will labour in vain. He should have a sense of humour which will enable him to laugh at his own mistakes and help to protect him from the absurdities of the pedant. Above all, he should have a physical and mental vitality which companionship with the young demands.[60]

In personal power can be found something of the natural, born or innate qualities of teaching—those qualities often referred to as gifts. Personal power in teaching might be understood as the mysterious 'x factor' without which the other essential skills and qualities were incomplete. In one very important respect it was very different from the other three teaching powers identified in that it would be much more difficult to train or influence. Significantly, current policy on the necessary skills and competences required of trained teachers has recently re-emphasized the importance of personal qualities, previously neglected in the National Curriculum for Initial Teacher Training (ITT) and one of the challenges in incorporating this dimension of teaching into a training scheme is measuring its presence or impact.[61]

This chapter has examined the conceptual constructions of teaching as art, craft and science in an attempt to probe deeper professional meanings and

understandings about the essence and nature of teaching. The concept of 'power to teach' has been introduced as a fourth element in what has traditionally formed a three-way or even two-way model, often dichotomized into discussions about the divorce of theory and practice in teaching. Unfortunately the very act of categorizing and analysing the various strands inherent in the 'power to teach' risks greater dichotomization. Smith and Harrison's attempt to bring together in writing the complex and varied elements of teaching in 1939 demonstrates the importance of synthesis.

> In concluding this survey of the teacher's task the warning should be repeated that the experience of the classroom is more complex than the separate aspects which a general analysis must offer to the reader. To know, to feel and to do are the ultimate of living, and they are indissolubly bound together. Any analysis of method is so far formal and artificial, and the teacher together with his pupils must achieve the synthesis which reunites the component in experience. The teacher is greater than the method he uses, and the child is greater than the teacher, for the teacher is to serve the child and to help him to achieve his freedom. No formal steps of teaching and no particular label of method will suffice for all the situations that emerge in the school, since life will not conform to the limitations they would impose. The teacher may learn from them, and develop his own power of self-criticism with their aid, but he, too is both artist and craftsman, claiming the freedom of the expert to fashion the material in ways that he discovers best suited to the nature and to the development of his pupils.[62]

In 1904 Thomas Raymont argued that '…good teaching, like the efficient practice of any other art, is a function of many variables, of which the study of the principles and methods is only one'.[63] Somewhere at the heart of the tangled web of these many variables, variously located in art, craft and science designations and shaped by chronological developments and the wider influences of scientific advance, professionalization, degrees of experience and expertise, lay a set of fundamental understandings and assumptions about the essence of teaching—or 'power to teach'. Furthermore there was a firm belief that novice teachers could be trained in the art, craft and science of their work. Just how professional training was developed to promote a viable working balance between the potentially oppositional strands of art, craft or science or theory and practice and initiate novice teachers into the knowledge and understanding of this 'power to teach' is the main question which provides the focus for the rest of this book.

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3
THE TEACHER AS TRAINER

This chapter will focus on the role played by serving teachers in initial teacher education. Historians have tended to give serving teachers little credit for their direct contribution to initial teacher training. For example, Dobson has suggested that, '…teacher education has indeed seemed narrow and conservative in the past, rarely finding its own initiative'.[1] For most of the nineteenth century professional training had an overriding school-based theme and was firmly rooted in an apprenticeship model of initial preparation. It will be argued that the pupil-teacher apprenticeship scheme, for all of its numerous weaknesses, did, by the end of its life, have something important to offer an emergent teaching profession in search of autonomy, self-regulation and control. New departures in apprenticeship through the pupil-teacher centres promoted an embryonic form of partnership between teachers and trainers and celebrated the expert-novice relationship. From the early years of the twentieth century, the increasing alienation of the teaching profession from the training of future teachers can be identified as a contributing factor to the damaging polarization between professional sites of expertise—between those who teach in schools and those who train teachers. Links will be made with current models of partnership and mentoring which, whilst seeking to redress some of this professional alienation, continue to struggle with deep-seated cultural and attitudinal barriers.

There are four parts to the chapter. First, the long historical tradition of the teacher as trainer through the apprentice pupil-teacher system of the nineteenth century will be outlined. Secondly, the refinement of this model through partnership between schools and pupil-teacher centres in the reformed pupil-teacher system of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will be discussed. Thirdly, residual notions of the teacher as trainer throughout the remainder of the twentieth century will be examined. Finally, these historical developments will be set against the recent revival of school-based mentoring and partnership schemes which have shaped initial teacher training since the 1990s.

THE TEACHER AS TRAINER: HISTORICAL LEGACY

The concept of learning on the job at the feet of an experienced, practising mentor, had its roots in the original pupil-teacher system, established in 1846 by James Kay Shuttleworth.[2] This system was designed very much as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent need for trained teachers in a rapidly expanding elementary education system. A predominantly school-based apprenticeship model of initial teacher training, it bridged the age gap between leaving elementary school and entering training college. Bright, aspiring elementary pupils could learn on the job, through classroom observation and practical experience of supervised teaching, whilst at the same time receiving a certain amount of further personal instruction from the head teacher of the school. Pupil teachers were examined annually by Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) and their progress monitored. Under this model of initial preparation, pupil teachers were entirely reliant on the interest, patronage and skill of their head teachers both for their initiation into the practice of school teaching and for development of their own personal education. Head teachers were expected to nurture and supervise their pupil teachers as they learned, through practical experience, the business of school teaching. They were also expected to provide pupil teachers with at least one and a half hours daily personal tuition to prepare them for annual examinations and the final Queen's Scholarships examination. Success in the competitive Queen's Scholarships examination at the end of apprenticeship enabled the best of the pupil teachers to enter residential training colleges and earn full certificated status after a two-year course of further training. Since former pupil teachers had so much practical experience, the main focus of their college training was designed to improve their own academic standing. Many former pupil teachers, however, continued to teach in an uncertificated capacity, their only formal training having been completed under their apprenticeship. Right from its inception, the role of the head teacher as professional mentor, to instruct, advise and supervise the novice teacher, was at the heart of formal training. Conceived in these terms, the pupil-teacher model of apprenticeship formed the backbone of teacher training and supply right through the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century.

For most of the nineteenth century, when elementary school teaching, associated as it was with the working classes, and only very basic forms of culture and instruction, was aspiring to greater professional recognition, the notion of a strong bond between experienced practitioner and apprentice teacher was premised on the belief that teaching was a craft whose mysteries and practices could be learned like many of the other traditional apprentice crafts. Indeed, the language used to describe the nature of this bond conveys a powerful sense of an almost sacred relationship in which the craft of teaching could be

modelled and learned through the direct influence of the expert practitioner. At its best, the special relationship between apprentice and practitioner was highly regarded and conceived as being imbued with intensely personal, intimate and moral qualities. If head teachers took their responsibilities seriously and were able to convey to their apprentices some of the mysteries of practical school teaching, then this model of initial preparation formed a powerful form of induction.[3] Matthew Arnold, in his evidence before the Cross Commission, set up in 1886 to investigate the workings of the elementary education acts, described this relationship as being, 'intimate and quasifeudal', constituting the greatest advantage of the pupil-teacher model of training.[4] Taking a similar line, one faction of the Cross Commission, which was particularly concerned with preserving the traditional model of pupil teaching, described the traditional relationship between head teacher and pupil teacher as embodying, '…very real bonds of affection, as well as of responsibility and duty'.[5]

The crucial personal element of mentoring, in which novices were given individual care and attention according to their needs, was clearly deemed central to the effective training of elementary teachers. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly the constituents of such a relationship, as there is limited documentary evidence detailing its nature, but it was one which was clearly valued by many with a fervent intensity. There was a profound sense that the moral relationship between teacher and apprentice conveyed the skills of teaching in an almost magical way. Whilst the rhetoric or professional lore around this relationship was extremely positive, in practice, however, this relationship often fell short of the ideal. The system depended upon the wholehearted and consistent support of individual head teachers. Many rose to the challenge admirably but others often fell short of expectations. Right from the start of the pupil-teacher system complaints abounded about the widespread abuses and weakness of the apprentice-practitioner model suggesting that, in practice, it was often fundamentally flawed.

Two major criticisms were launched against head teachers. The first sprang from neglect on the part of those who failed to take seriously their side of the bargain in the pupil-teacher agreement, merely using pupil teachers as cheap teaching fodder. The second was attributed to head teachers' own lack of academic training and shortage of time for instructing their pupil teachers in additional academic work. Underlying both of these criticisms was the wider problem of inconsistency between individual head teachers. Some pupil teachers working under conscientious head teachers would have enjoyed a positive experience of pupil teaching whilst others, under less capable direction, would have experienced a less fruitful period of apprenticeship. Either of these experiences could determine a pupil-teacher's attitude and ultimate capacity for teaching.

Looking closely at the first of these criticisms, it was suggested that some head teachers exploited their pupil teachers by using them as cheap teaching labour.[6] In his evidence before the Cross Commission, Canon Daniel, Principal of Battersea Training College, reported that he frequently heard complaints that schoolmasters did not sufficiently instruct their pupil teachers in the craft of teaching. When asked whether schoolmasters used their pupil teachers more as a relief to their own teaching than as apprentices to be formed in the art of teaching, he firmly replied that many masters failed in their responsibility to train their apprentices.[7] Similar evidence was heard from HMI the Rev. T.W.Sharpe, who was concerned that many pupil teachers, particularly those in the smaller voluntary schools, were exploited at the hands of unscrupulous head teachers. He suggested that if pupil teachers had the misfortune to be apprenticed to such head teachers they would receive very little instruction in the art of teaching and would merely serve as drudges for particular classes.[8] Likewise, the Rev. Canon Warburton reported that many pupil teachers were used rather than improved and he believed pupil teachers were the most overworked class of the teaching profession.[9]

A second criticism launched against head teachers was that many of them were unable or incapable of adequately instructing their pupil teachers.[10] It was not uncommon for head teachers to apprentice more than one pupil teacher. This practice significantly affected their work-load and restricted the availability of time for instructing individual pupil teachers on a one-to-one basis. Frequently, head teachers had to snatch time to instruct their pupil teachers early in the morning, during the lunch hour, or after school and at weekends. Some head teachers were accused of failing to instruct their pupil teachers at all and many were found to have given out private reading with no follow-up instruction or explanation. Private study was often substituted for proper instruction leaving many pupil teachers to struggle on alone with their studies. Mr C.Twiss, a teacher at Warrington British School, informed the Cross Commission that conscientious head teachers, particularly in urban schools, found it difficult to find the time to instruct their pupil teachers properly because increased administrative, teaching and management pressures had gradually encroached upon time previously reserved for pupil teachers.[11]

The success of the traditional apprentice-practitioner model was therefore heavily dependent on the commitment and experience of individual head teachers. But there was no standardization of good practice. Experience varied across schools with some pupil teachers receiving an excellent apprenticeship and others being systematically exploited.[12] As early as 1863, HMI Mr Laurie questioned the wisdom of leaving all the training of pupil teachers to individual head teachers. He was unable to express confidence in the role of many head teachers, finding the existing system too unsystematic and haphazard.[13] The Rev.

Sharpe summarized this inconsistency before the Cross Commission, 'Some have evidently been overworked drudges in ill-staffed schools, others have evidently been taught before experienced and kindly teachers.'[14] Similarly, reflecting on his experience of the traditional pupil-teacher system, HMI Mr Airy suggested that sometimes the relationship succeeded and sometimes it did not.[15] Writing a review of the pupil-teacher system in 1908, Frank Roscoe, Lecturer in Education at Birmingham University, discussed the benefits and pitfalls of the classical pupil-teacher system. He suggested that the original plan had been capable of producing teachers with remarkable skill in class control and school management. Such teachers, however, were often sorely lacking in their own general education because they had left school at such an early age and were dependent for guidance in their later studies upon a head teacher who was usually overworked and sometimes ill-qualified to direct the efforts of his juniors.[16]

TOWARDS A PARTNERSHIP MODEL OF TRAINING: 1880–1910

Whatever its flaws, the traditional pupil-teacher system placed a heavy responsibility on experienced teachers to play a central role in the initiation of apprentice teachers into the craft of school teaching. In this role the teacher had to juggle the normal everyday demands of their job and also act as a teacher trainer. This worked with varying degrees of success and was heavily dependent upon the individuals concerned. By the late nineteenth century, the intrinsic flaws of this system were becoming increasingly apparent. Of particular concern was the tendency towards the overworking and exploitation of pupil teachers in schools which clearly did little or nothing to further their professional or intellectual attainments. In other words, there appeared to be a serious breakdown in the original conception of the apprentice-practitioner relationship. As a result, the larger urban school boards began to experiment with a new form of collective organisation in pupil-teacher centres where all the pupil teachers in a town or region would combine in a separate location for academic and some professional instruction. This meant that pupil-teacher centres and elementary schools could work together to hone and refine their novice teachers. This had the effect of significantly raising academic standards. As the pupil-teacher centres developed, the advantages of higher standards, better teaching and reduced exploitation of the novice teacher were recognized. There was, however, a fundamental shift in the conception of training. The previously closed two-way relationship between apprentice and practitioner was infringed by the introduction of a third and novel element—the pupil-teacher centre. Arguably, however, it was under the centre model of pupil teaching that the role of the

teacher as trainer was enriched and formalized and that embryonic forms of partnership training were introduced.[17]

Under the centre model, head teachers were no longer given sole charge of their apprentices, their work being shared with other agencies. Central instruction instituted a new model of pupil teaching in which centres and elementary schools had to work together to bring about the effective practical, professional and academic training of their pupil teachers. Fundamental to the success of the reformed centre model of instructing pupil teachers was close co-operation and partnership between the staff of the centres and the head teachers of the practice schools. The system could not be fully effective if pupil teachers were pulled in different directions by separate or competing demands. The centre system inevitably brought about changes which diluted the traditional relationship between head teacher and pupil teacher. This established, but flawed, relationship was replaced with a reformed and potentially dynamic interaction between centre and school, from which pupil teachers could gain the advantages of working with specialist subject teachers in the centres, together with continued practical work alongside experienced teachers in the schools. Supporters of the centres stressed the efficiency gains for pupil teaching brought about through an enriched and mutually beneficial three-way responsibility between centre, school and pupil teacher. If a correct balance of support was established between centre and school, head teachers would not be excluded from the instruction of their pupil teachers, as it was felt that a more efficient approach to practical school management could be taken within the schools. Head teachers were given a specific set of responsibilities in co-operation with the centres which were intended to supplement and not to supersede their individual responsibility for pupil teachers.

Discussing the issue of shared responsibility before the Cross Commission, Mr W.B.A.Adams, Principal of London's Fleet Road Senior Board School, described the necessity for harmony between the centre and the school. He said, 'You have the teacher of the centre and the teacher of the day school, and I think that those two authorities must work in perfect harmony for the good of the pupil teacher.'[18] Similar views were expressed in the 1898 Departmental Committee and National Society Enquiry.[19] Before the 1898 Departmental Committee, Mr William Taylor, Principal of the Walter St John School and Master of Method at Battersea Training College, argued that, '…the connexion between the centre teacher and the school teacher is really the very pivot on which the whole matter turns'.[20] Likewise, in her evidence before the National Society Enquiry, Annie Evers, Principal of the Kennington Church Centre emphasized that the work of the centre and of the head teacher of the school was essentially co-operative. She suggested that there was no division of interest, both being concerned to do what

was best for the pupil teacher.[21] In addition to this, Dr T.J.Macnamara talked about the 'dual control' between head teachers of centres and of schools.[22]

Clearly, a coherent system of partnership between centre and school was seen as fundamental to the smooth running of the centre model. For this coherence to be achieved, a number of important steps had to be taken. These included the formal definition of areas of responsibility and agreed syllabuses of work as well as the maintenance of close lines of communication between centre and school.

By formally defining areas of responsibility between centre and school, local school boards sought to guard against confusion, duplication and repetition of work. Many of the school boards which operated the centre system formulated regulations which explicitly divided the labour of centres and schools. The Leeds School Board, for example, published in its annual year books the various obligations towards pupil teachers of each agency. Head teachers were instructed to take special interest in the actual class teaching of their pupil teachers and to encourage them in the study and practice of the best methods of school management, as well as to supervise weekly criticism lessons and model lessons. The centres, on the other hand, were instructed to take responsibility for the academic work of pupil teachers.[23] Similar definitions of responsibility were formalized under the London, Liverpool and Birmingham School Boards.[24] Head teachers operated mainly in the realm of practical and professional expertise whilst the centres took over the intellectual and academic training of pupil teachers.[25] Sometimes, head teachers retained some of the academic work of their pupil teachers with female staff usually being held responsible for supervising needlework instruction. At Salford, for example, in addition to exercising a general supervision of the teaching of their pupil teachers, head teachers were also expected to view and correct systematic exercises in analysis, parsing and paraphrasing, check that the maps given weekly in the schedule of the centre were adequately prepared and correct notes given of lessons.[26]

As well as clearly identifying the responsibilities of centre and school, it was common for the two agencies to confer over syllabuses of work. This allowed a reinforcement of the work undertaken by both centre and school. For example, A.L.Cann, Principal of the Bolton Centre, passed on a copy of the syllabus of work to be accomplished in school method to local school head teachers. The latter were then expected to base their criticism and model lessons around the centre syllabus. If, for example, third year pupil teachers were scheduled to take the teaching of grammar at the centre at a particular time, local head teachers were asked to plan the subject of school-based criticism lessons in accordance with this.[27]

One insight into how this shared responsibility for pupil teachers worked in practice can be found in the evidence before the 1898 Departmental Committee of Miss Davy, Headteacher of Westville Road Board School, Shepherds Bush,

whose pupil teachers attended the Tottenham Centre. Her duty was to instruct her pupil teachers in the art of teaching and to keep in touch with the work of the centre. She stated, 'I always make a point of knowing what my pupil teachers are doing at the centre. I talk to them of their work, inquire what books they read and about their recreations and where they spend their evenings when not studying and their Saturdays. I know generally how they spend their time.'[28]

In addition to clarifying and formalizing the obligations of centre and school in the training of pupil teachers, a further important means by which coherence and co-operation was made possible was through the development of systems of communication and accountability.

The most obvious way in which communication was established was through the pupil-teacher's journal or report book, in which head teachers were expected to record the progress of their pupil teachers in practical teaching and centre teachers to record progress in academic subjects. Blank report books allocated to all pupil teachers were officially published or lithographed. They usually contained double pages with one side referring to school work, the other to centre work. Space for dated and signed weekly comments on all aspects of the pupil teacher's teaching performance and academic progress was available.[29] For example, when the London School Board introduced its central scheme in 1884, it stipulated that a journal was to be kept for each pupil teacher formally to record attendance and head teachers' comments on notes of lessons. The journal was to be examined weekly by school managers and was expected to regularly move between school and centre.[30] By 1897, owing to pressure of work, London modified these regulations, so that each report book was examined monthly and also included comments on the academic performance of pupil teachers.[31]

Other centres adopted similar arrangements. Alfred Cann described how the report book system worked at Bolton, reporting that:

> We have monthly examinations and the marks are entered every month. The principal of the centre makes a report in the report book, on the work of each student during the quarter. There is a space left for criticisms on lessons given in school and the head teacher has to fill up also a report on the school work during that time. These report books are subjected to the managers every month regularly, and are signed by the managers every quarter.[32]

Likewise at Sheffield, the report book only worked with any success if the book was regularly filled in and passed between the centre and the head teacher of the practice school.[33]

The report book, in addition to providing an ongoing record of progress, was also a critical means of communication between centre and school. It symbolized

the nexus between the two agencies. With its explicit page divisions and sections each showing clearly the work of centre and school, the report book was a tangible manifestation of shared responsibility. It enabled head teachers and centre teachers to monitor the work of their pupil teachers and to be aware of various aspects of work undertaken by the other partner. Moreover, if pupil teachers were struggling, either academically or practically, the report book offered both an indication of the difficulty and a mechanism through which it might be addressed.

The report book kept centre teachers and head teachers informed of the work and progress of individual pupil teachers. Supplementing it were regular meetings between head teachers of schools and centres. These took place after annual examinations, but commonly occurred throughout the rest of the school year when specific problems emerged with individual pupil-teacher's academic or professional performance and behaviour. Pupil teachers were required to reach satisfactory standards in both academic and professional aspects of their work and this was reflected in the seriousness with which any imbalance between these two areas was considered. Some of the larger school boards introduced detailed procedures which made provision for the opinions and judgements of representatives of both school and centre to be weighed in any disciplinary case. For example, under the London School Board, head teachers were required to report on the progress of their pupil teachers at Christmas, but to make contact with the centre and local board inspector if at any other time they had cause for concern. In 1903, London's procedure was reviewed and a particular emphasis was placed on the importance of considering the pupil teacher's work and progress, both at the centre and at their practice school. It was suggested that the first few years of a pupil-teacher's apprenticeship were crucial, for it was in this period that head teachers might best judge whether the pupil teacher would succeed as a teacher. It was also seen as appropriate that pupil teachers should be given an early indication of their progress, should they need to be advised to seek other employment. In the later years of apprenticeship, the Board was unwilling to dismiss pupil teachers unless their conduct or teaching ability were poor.[34] Bristol operated a similar scheme and held regular meetings chaired by the managing subcommittee responsible for the work of pupil teachers.[35]

Under the traditional apprentice-practitioner model of training, pupil teachers spent the whole working day in school with only one and a half hours additional personal instruction outside of normal school hours. Throughout the school board period, as conditions of pupil teaching changed, the amount of time spent by pupil teachers in school was gradually reduced as was their teaching responsibility and the number of children for whom they counted on the staff. Prior to the centre system, the teaching load of pupil teachers amounted to between 15 and 30 hours per week. In 1882 this was reduced to a maximum of

25 hours. By 1903, the maximum time spent in school during the shortened apprenticeship of three years was 20 hours per week, not more than 5 hours in any one day.[36] Nevertheless, under the centre system, the practical side of pupil teaching was increasingly systematized to ensure that all pupil teachers had regular access to criticism lessons and opportunities for observation.

Of the centre model of pupil teaching, G.A.Christian wrote, 'Time and opportunity were afforded for observation and criticism lessons, and the pupil teacher was regarded not as a scholastic drudge but really as an apprentice, to be systematically trained in teaching and school-business.'[37] Under specific arrangements with individual school boards, head teachers were required to exercise a strict moral supervision over their pupil teachers but most importantly, were held directly responsible for instructing and exercising them in the best methods of teaching and school management.[38] These obligations were fulfilled in a number of ways. The most important method involved head teachers in observing pupil teachers teach criticism lessons across a range of subjects and then formally assessing and discussing these lessons with the pupil teacher in question. In addition, head teachers made regular general observations on other lessons taught by pupil teachers and discussed with them their notes, planning and preparation. Pupil teachers would often submit their lesson notes and plans in advance and discuss with head teachers the best means of delivering certain lessons.[39] For example, Michael Gareth Llewellyn, in his recollections of centre pupil teaching in Wales, described how his headmaster had taken a personal interest in the development of his teaching, had given him many practical hints and tips, lent him school method books and discussed the preparation of object lessons.[40] Head teachers would comment on the ability of their pupil teachers as teachers, with particular reference to confidence, efficient use of the blackboard, discipline, interest, planning, organization and delivery. Sometimes they would give model lessons or allow the pupil teachers to observe good practice.

Undoubtedly problems did arise between centres and schools, but built into the centre model were formal mechanisms which allowed such problems to be identified and dealt with more systematically and effectively than had ever been possible under the traditional closed apprentice-practitioner system. The centre model dealt with pupil teachers and staff in large groups rather than depending solely on an intense one-to-one relationship between individuals. Moreover, it formalized obligations and established strict procedures for monitoring, encouraging and assessing the progress of pupil teachers and the contributions of those involved with their training. Head teachers were encouraged to participate in and share responsibility for the professional preparation of pupil teachers but if they neglected to fulfil their specified roles, they could be coerced into action.

However much the pupil-teacher system was criticized for its educational and professional narrowness of aim, it was generally regarded as having turned out

competent and efficient teachers for the elementary schools. The moment of transition from pupil to teacher implied within the concept of pupil teaching must have varied between individuals and according to experience. Exactly how, and at what stage this transition took place it is impossible to know. But a central aim of the centre model of training, dependent as it was upon a shared professional partnership between centre, school and pupil teacher, was this fundamental process of initiating pupil teachers into the skill of teaching. Perhaps the most obvious contender in the formation of pupil-teacher identity was its parent identity. Ingrained into the pupil-teacher system was an assurance that pupil teachers would be fully immersed in the world of their parent or model identity—that of elementary school teaching proper. Pupil teachers were able to observe, imitate, model and shape their own teaching skills on those of serving practitioners. Before the establishment of centres, teachers were wholly responsible for both the educational and professional development of pupil teachers. The powerful relationship that could exist between pupil teachers and their teachers was indeed likened to that of child to parent, so close was the involvement on both sides.[41] Under the centre system, teachers continued to play a fundamental role in the practical and professional development of pupil teachers.

The emerging pattern of training conceived in the pupil-teacher centre model promised, in principle and in prospect, the germ of a coherent system of professional partnership between trainees, trainers and practitioners. This partnership offered chances not only to break down potentially divisive and sterile institutional barriers, but also went some way to reconcile the academic, practical and theoretical strands of teacher training.

THE DECLINING INFLUENCE OF THE TEACHER AS TRAINER: 1920–90

Significantly, the pattern of reform in teacher training after 1900 placed the education of intending teachers under much firmer central control and supervision. Between 1900 and 1907, Board of Education policy decisions marked the end of the pupil-teacher centres and the pupil-teacher system was gradually phased out, with pupil-teacher centres either closed or absorbed into the new municipal secondary schools, established by the 1902 Education Act. The practical and professional aspects of pupil teaching were gradually eroded until, in April 1907, the introduction of a new set of regulations for the ‘Preliminary Education of Elementary School Teachers’ replaced pupil teaching with a radical new bursar scheme—removing any remaining practical component from the intending teachers’ education. Following an extended period of secondary education, bursars could enter training college straight away or

become student teachers in local elementary schools for one year prior to entering training college.[42] A major consequence of this policy shift was that serving practitioners were gradually excluded from the initial preparation and training of intending teachers. From the early years of the twentieth century, the increasing alienation of the teaching profession from the training of future teachers can be identified as a contributing factor to the damaging polarization between professional sites of expertise—between those who teach in schools and those who train teachers. By 1928, Herbert Ward, former Chief Inspector for Training Colleges, found the gradual erosion and decline of teacher involvement in the training process a cause for regret. He called for the unification of theory with practice through institutional partnership.[43]

By 1928, the shape and form of teacher training had changed drastically from earlier apprenticeship-based models. With the improvement and extension of secondary education and the gradual abolition of the pupil-teacher system, including the centres, by 1910, new recruits for the profession entered training college or university following an extended period of secondary schooling. Bursar and student-teacher schemes did operate in some areas where candidates for the profession could work for one year in an elementary school prior to entering training college. However, an influential report of a departmental committee, set up to investigate the training of elementary school teachers, discouraged any idea of apprenticeship training, arguing that secondary education should be complete before professional training and practice began.[44] Experience of school teaching prior to college training became more and more unusual and the role of school teachers in the training process was limited to supervision of school practice, which comprised between six and twelve weeks of a two-year training course.

Gardner and Cunningham's detailed study of the student-teacher scheme in the inter-war period suggests that residual forms of apprenticeship, which valued the input of expert practitioners, continued in part until 1939.[45] Drawing on interview data from former teachers, Gardner has argued that notions of apprenticeship were deeply ingrained in the professional consciousness, in spite of the swing towards a more college-based model of training. The student-teacher scheme, introduced in 1907 as a replacement for pupil teaching and a rural pupil-teacher scheme to meet the shortage of teachers in rural areas, retained a strong element of school-based experience, in which serving teachers played a key role. Under this scheme prospective teachers would complete full-time secondary schooling at the age of 17 years and then be attached to a local elementary school, where they would serve as apprentice teachers for four days a week, returning to secondary school for further academic work for one day a week. Like the traditional pupil-teacher system and centre system before it, the student-teacher scheme emphasized the value of the relationship between novice and practitioner. It

afforded opportunities for the student teacher to observe practice, to try out different forms of teaching and to gain confidence and experience in front of a class. This model, which embraced craft-based conceptions of the teaching profession and the transmission of professional expertise, was similar in sentiment to that of the pupil-teacher system, but did not enjoy quite the same benefits of institutional partnership, which was beginning to emerge under the pupil-teacher centre model of training.

Whilst the embryonic forms of partnership promised in the pupil-teacher centre model of training and subsequent residual forms of apprenticeship in the student-teacher and rural pupil-teacher schemes did not take root in the advancement of college-based training in the inter-war and post-war period, it is important to recognize the way in which the notion of the teacher as trainer has continued to shape professional consciousness and identity, albeit in a much less overt way. Tensions over the appropriate balance of the practical and the theoretical in ITT have been present since formalized training began. Even when the colleges and university departments appeared to be dominant, serving teachers were still central to the process. In 1926, around the time that the Board of Education was endorsing less practical experience for student teachers it also agreed that, '…the success of the training depends usually on the interest and skill of the teachers under whom the students are placed…most ordinarily efficient schools can be fruitfully used for practice, and most teachers of experience have a good deal to impart to the novice'.[46] The role of the teacher as trainer under the college-based hegemony was one of school supervisor. Different institutions set up different arrangements for the working out of this role. At Cambridge Day Training College, for example, clear expectations for school supervisors were drawn up of their responsibilities including the practical arrangement of school experience for students, the observation of lessons, the direction of reading and the induction of the student into the routine life of the school.[47] At Cambridge regular meetings were held with teacher supervisors to provide opportunities for sharing of good practice and a scheme was set up to release teacher supervisors to visit other schools to broaden their experience.[48] At Leeds Day Training College, teachers selected for their experience and competence in schools were identified to take direct responsibility of the practical teaching of the student.[49] At Darlington Training College, clear guidelines for teacher supervisors were drawn up and it was recognized that they played a major role in influencing the practical and professional development of students.[50] For student teachers, the interest and commitment of teacher supervisors could make or break success in a school placement and make a real impact on confidence and progress in practical teaching.[51]

Arguably the role of the teacher as trainer and supervisor of students' school experience was one in which the balance of power and responsibility was skewed

in favour of college or university authorities. In this role, vestiges of the expert-novice relationship, so respected under earlier models of training, were clearly present though in a diluted form. Some notion of partnership between school and higher education institution (HEI) was necessary for the effective management of this role but such a partnership was not based upon mutual responsibility or control. Support in terms of funding, time, training and consultation was largely absent from this model, suggesting a somewhat careless disregard of both the professional value of the teacher as trainer and the value to the profession of this role. Historically, the period of college-hegemony might be regarded as a wilderness for the teacher as trainer. But, the teacher as trainer was still present—one part of a longer historical continuum of involvement in ITT. The unsung role of the teacher as trainer during this wilderness period deserves greater attention than it has hitherto enjoyed. Not only might more research into this role offer a deeper understanding of the nature of professional transmission and the influence of the expert practitioner, but it might also offer insights into professional identity and status during this period.

REINVENTING THE TEACHER AS TRAINER THROUGH SCHOOL-BASED INITIAL TEACHER TRAINING

The shift in the early 1990s away from the hegemony of college or university-based ITT towards school-based models based on partnerships between schools and HEIs has been well documented. Within a decade, since the speech by Kenneth Clarke, the then Secretary of State for Education, at the North of England Conference in January 1992, ITT has been subjected to numerous legislative and policy changes which have increasingly emphasized the value of school-based practical training. In 1992 Clarke argued that the training of teachers should be 80 per cent school based and that schools should be selected for this purpose according to government-based criteria. The model would only work effectively with much closer, formalized partnerships between schools and HEIs, based upon a more equitable distribution of funding, with schools being paid for taking student teachers, and the development of a new professional role for serving teachers—the school-based mentor. Circulars 9/92, 14/93 and 10/97, which established the frameworks for partnership and set out the criteria against which student teachers should be assessed legislated for this change. The Teacher Training Agency (TTA) was set up by the government in September 1994 to regulate the framework of partnership between schools and HEIs and to draw up new standards for the training of teachers. Currently the TTA is pushing further its commitment to school-based teacher training. All providers must work in partnership with schools and actively involve them in the planning and delivery of ITT, selection and assessment of trainee teachers. ITT providers are

responsible for drawing up partnership agreements which make clear to everyone involved each partner's roles and responsibilities and setting out arrangements for preparing and supporting all staff involved in training, making clear how resources are divided and allocated between the partners. In addition to a model of ITT based upon partnerships between schools and traditional providers in the HEI sector, the TTA is committed to developing more diverse routes into teaching through entirely school-based programmes, such as school-centred-initial-teacher-training (SCITT) schemes and the graduate teacher programme. Central to the initiatives in ITT during the past decade, and closely aligned with broader developments in the modernization of the teaching profession, is the relocation of the serving teacher to the heart of the professional preparation of the next generation of teachers. Arguably this is a fairly radical departure from much of the established practice and policy of the twentieth century.

The politics and rationale for this shift towards school-based training have been much debated.[52] Generally, commentary and analysis of developments in ITT in the past decade, mostly generated by professional teacher trainers from within the HEI sector, have been negative and critical at worst and cautious and sceptical at best.[53] Indeed, critics of HEIs might argue that much of the critique of new departures in teacher education policy has been undertaken by self-interested members of the higher education community, with a vested interested in their own position. Nevertheless, the rigid government control over the nature and outcomes of training, brought about without adequate consultation with HEIs or schools has been one focus for concern. The apparently wholesale rejection of educational theory and the expertise of the HEI sector in favour of a highly technicist skills-based framework, have been criticized. The nature of the relationship between higher education and schools in respect to teacher training has been debated and the diversity in the degree and nature of partnerships between schools and HEIs highlighted. Recent research raises important concerns about the viability of school-based training for purely practical reasons and cites problems with support, time, expertise, commitment and priorities.[54] In essence, the rhetoric of partnership has been called into question. This critique and counter-critique of current developments in ITT will doubtless continue as providers and stakeholders affirm and reaffirm their respective roles, positions and responsibilities and as government agencies continue to implement reforms which are by their very nature politically and ideologically driven.

One interesting element of the critique of school-based ITT, is the idea that it somehow reverts to an inadequate and flawed historical legacy—that of the pupil-teacher system of the nineteenth century.[55] Similar arguments, which dwell on the current futility of resurrecting the failures of the past, have been used to denigrate other policy initiatives, such as performance-related pay, the articled teacher and SCITT schemes.[56] From a historical perspective, this type of

critique, designed mainly for its sensationalist impact, is unhelpful. Not only does it demonstrate the lip-service paid to the historical dimension in education, but it draws upon inadequate and untested historical 'myths' about earlier models of school-based teacher training in order to undermine recent developments. In the context of school-based ITT, the historical myth resurrects the lore of the atheoretical, unprofessional and crude 'sitting by Nellie' school of learning to teach. Clearly, developments in school-based ITT since the 1990s do resonate with earlier historical models of training and this is cause for regret by some commentators.[57] However, rather than viewing the historical version of the story of ITT as deficient and lacking, this chapter has uncovered some of the more positive aspects of embryonic forms of school-based partnership in ITT. This is not to suggest that historical models were not without their own weaknesses and flaws. It would be impossible as well as ahistorical to seek to transpose the concept of the late nineteenth-century pupil-teacher centre into current practice. Yet, rather than present the historical in terms of retrogressive, unfavourable comparisons it might be more helpful to rethink the recent shift towards school-based training as part of a much longer historical and professional tradition of the teacher as trainer.

This chapter has shown how apprenticeship models of training characterized the first century of formalized professional preparation. This model was refined under the pupil-teacher centre regime of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and was evident in residual forms of school-based training in the bursar, rural pupil-teacher and student-teacher schemes until 1939. During this extensive period the teaching profession itself played a major role in the preparation of the next generation of teachers. For much of the remainder of the twentieth century the locus of control in ITT rested with colleges and university departments, but the serving teacher as supervisor and adviser to trainee teachers was still a critical feature of the training process, as were links between schools and HEIs. Long before the Conservative government of the early 1990s commandeered the shape and form of teacher training through a programme of legislative reform, there had been calls for the greater involvement of schools and teachers in the training process. This has been traced by Wilkin.[58] In 1972, the James Report suggested that schools be more involved in planning and supervising practical work and in the early 1980s, HMI proposed the strengthening of partnerships between schools and training institutions.[59] This was carried through in practice with the well-known partnership initiatives of the Oxford internship scheme and the Sussex partnership model. Developments since 1992 have a well-established historical legacy.

If a more positive version of historical models of school-based teacher training exists, then what might it offer to current practice? The answer to this question lies in the reconstruction of the teacher as trainer in the form of school mentor

and in the nature of partnerships between schools and HEIs. Husbands has argued that, 'At the heart of the development of the "partnership" model of initial teacher education lies the role of the "mentor".'[60] This role, and perceptions of it by mentors, students and HEI tutors has been subjected to some scrutiny in recent years and the research findings raise some interesting issues. On a positive note, professional mentors value opportunities afforded by their role for professional and career development, either through structured mentor training, work with students and HEI tutors and stronger links with the research culture of HEIs. The benefits to the profession of close involvement with intending and new teachers is celebrated by the TTA in its drive to develop more school-based training.[61] The professional benefits to teachers of close involvement with the initial training process and the opportunities for refining their own practice, sharing expertise and meeting a broader constituency of professionals engaged in the process is not a novel concept and has long been recognized. Research has also suggested that the mentor-trainee relationship and affective and interpersonal factors is crucial to the success of school-based training. The difficulty with this situation is the potential for a lack of consistency or standardization between schools and training situations, based upon highly personal considerations. It was the unique and special relationship or bond between apprentice pupil-teacher and expert practitioner that was deemed so important to the success of nineteenth-century apprenticeship training. However, it was also recognized that in practice this relationship often failed, depending on the personalities involved. The introduction of the pupil-teacher centre, almost as a broker in this relationship brought about considerable benefits and took the pressure off the teacher as trainer yet still retained a strong relational element. Much of the research on mentoring draws attention to the difficulties faced by mentors in terms of time, workload and divided loyalties. Partnerships where mentors are fully supported and time for mentoring is adequately funded are usually more effective and influence the quality of mentoring in schools. Other research suggests that mentors are uncomfortable with delivering on theory and would be happier for students to be located in an HEI for the more theoretical aspects of their training.[62] This suggests that a balanced model of ITT which draws upon the craft and art expertise of the schools and the science expertise of the HEI is preferable. This resonates with ideas put forward at the turn of the twentieth century by educationists seeking a science of teaching which was fully rooted in its art and craft, discussed in detail in Chapter 2. This was the kind of model which was emerging under the pupil-teacher centres over a century ago, but which was not allowed to develop. Neither was it applied consistently or in a standardized fashion. Existing research into current forms of school-based ITT all points to the need for highly sophisticated partnerships between schools and HEIs—partnerships which go

beyond formalized administrative arrangements and allow genuine participation, involvement, decision making and creation of effective training situations. Whether or not such partnerships can be properly developed and sustained remains to be seen, but if they do they will represent another important chapter in the long history of the teacher as trainer.

NOTES

1. J.Dobson, The Training Colleges and their Successors 1920–1970', in T.Cook (ed.), *Education and the Professions* (London: Methuen, 1973), p. 50.
2. For a more detailed discussion of the history of the English pupil-teacher system see, W.Robinson, *Pupil Teachers and their Professional Training in Pupil-Teacher Centres in England and Wales, 1870–1914* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).
3. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Working of the Elementary Education Acts* (England and Wales) (Cross) (hereafter cited as Cross Commission), (1886–1888), Final Report, p. 279.
4. Cross Commission, First Report, 6 April 1886, p. 188,
5. Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 280.
6. Such concerns were expressed annually by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) in *Annual Reports of the Committee of Council on Education* (hereafter cited as RCC). See, RCC, 1864, p. 63, RCC, 1874, p. 196, RCC, 1876, p. 427.
7. Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 282.
8. Cross Commission, First Report, 30 March 1886, p. 156.
9. Ibid., 11 May 1886, p. 288
10. Numerous references to this problem were cited annually by HMI. See for example, RCC, 1861, p. 133, RCC, 1869, p. 287, RCC, 1872, p. 49, RCC, 1874, p. 169, RCC, 1876, p. 427, RCC, 1877, p. 521.
11. Cross Commission, Third Report, 23 June 1887, p. 450.
12. See for example M.Llewellyn, *Sand in the Glass* (London: John Murray, 1943), pp. 146–7.
13. RCC, 1863, p. 90.
14. Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 280.
15. *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System* (1898), (hereafter cited as the 1898 Departmental Committee), vol. II, 4 March 1897, p. 153.
16. *The SchoolMaster,* LXXIII, 1898, 6 May 1908, p. 979.
17. W.Robinson, "'Expert and novice" in the pupil teacher system of the later nineteenth century', *Journal of Educational Administration and History,* 28, 2 (1996), pp. 129–41.
18. Cross Commission, Second Report, 11 November 1886, p. 50.

19. 1898 Departmental Committee, vol. II, 5 April 1897, p. 506.
20. 1898 Departmental Committee, vol. II, 15 February 1897, p. 65.
21. National School Society, Committee on the Pupil Teacher System, *Report and Minutes of Evidence* (1898–9), (hereafter cited as National Society Enquiry), 9 November 1898 p. 49.
22. National Society Enquiry, 16 November 1898, p. 83.
23. Leeds District Archives, ACC, 1917.
24. Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 91.
25. Ibid…See National Society Enquiry, 30 November, 1898, p. 168, for details of the Manchester Centre, 1898 Departmental Committee, vol. II, 15 February 1897, pp. 71–3, for details of the Birmingham Centre system, for details of the Sheffield Centre system, 1898 Departmental Committee, vol. II, 22 February 1897, p. 127.
26. National Society Enquiry, 23 November 1898, p. 103.
27. 1898 Departmental Committee, vol. II, 8 April 1897, p. 333.
28. Ibid., 18 March 1897, p. 242.
29. Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds, HD 15221/1 and ADB 528/3/6. See also, Essex County Record Office, Colchester and N.E. Essex Branch, E/Z 36/1, London Metropolitan Archive, (hereafter LMA), SBL 1624. A blank Pupil Teacher's Report Book published by Waddington & Jackman was consulted at the Cambridge University Library, reference 1906.10.46. *The Guide: Pupil Teacher Register and Record Book For Use in Elementary Schools* (Birmingham: Davis and Moughton Ltd, 1916).
30. LMA, SBL 734, 21 January 1884. See also *The SchoolMaster,* LIV, 1390, 20 August 1898, p. 287, in which an article on the London centres described the report book as, 'The tangible nexus between school and centre.' For further details on the working of the report books see: Cross Commission, First Report, 24 March 1886, p. 152; Cross Commission, Second Report, 23 March 1887, p. 882; Cross Commission, Third Report, 23 June 1887, p. 464; Cross Commission, Third Report, 6 July 1887, p. 560; Cross Commission, Final Report, p. 89.
31. LMA, SBL 735, 7 November, 1887; LMA, SBL 735, 5 December, 1887. See also 1898 Departmental Committee, vol. II, 18 February 1897, p. 90.
32. 1898 Departmental Committee, vol. II, 8 April 1897, p. 333.
33. Ibid., 22 February 1897, p. 127.
34. LMA, SBL 748, 23 February 1903.
35. Bristol Record Office, MB/Pl, 10 April 1902, p. 80.
36. Board of Education, *Memorandum on the History And Prospects of The Pupil Teacher System (Circular 573)* (1907), p. 16.
37. G.A.Christian, *English Education from Within* (London: Wallace Gandy, 1922), p. 34.
38. See LMA, SBL 1624, Mary Munro's Report book listed the responsibilities of the head teachers on the inside cover.

39. P.Heard, *An Octogenarian's Memoirs* (Devon: Arthur H.Stockwell Ltd. 1974), pp. 58–9. Percy Heard, a former London centre pupil teacher, described the workings of the report book as follow: 'Each pupil teacher at the commencement of his career was presented with a fairly large book resembling a ledger. This book, the pages of which were ruled into three columns—matter, method, and teacher's remarks, was affectionately known as the 'Notes of Lessons' book. Each lesson must be prefaced by its own private "introduction".' The idea of this introduction being to arouse the attention of the children, and prepare them for the worst.'
40. Llewellyn, *Sand in the Glass,* p. 165.
41. Cross Commission, First Report, 30 March 1886, p. 165; Final Report, p. 91; Final Report, p. 227.
42. For a fuller discussion of the demise of the pupil-teacher centres see Robinson, *Pupil Teachers and their Professional Training in Pupil-Teacher Centres in England and Wales, 1870–1914,* and W.Robinson, "'In search of a plain tale": rediscovering the champions of the pupil-teacher centres 1900–1910', *History of Education,* 28, 1 (1999), pp. 53–72.
43. J.Dover Wilson, *The Schools of England* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1928).
44. Board of Education, *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools* (Parliamentary Paper, 1924–25, cd 2409, 1925).
45. P.Gardner, 'Intending teachers and school-based teacher training, 1903–39', *Oxford Review of Education,* 21,4 (1995), pp. 425–45, and P.Cunningham, P.Gardner, B. Wells and R.Willis, 'McNair's lost opportunity: the student-teacher scheme and the student-teacher's experience', *History of Education,* 24, 3 (1995), pp. 221–9, P. Gardner, 'The early history of school-based teacher training', in D.McIntyre, H. Haggar and M.Wilkin (eds), *Perspectives on Mentoring* (London: Kogan Page, 1993), pp. 21–36.
46. Cambridge University Archive (hereafter CUA), Educ. 13/117, Board of Education Report on School Practice, 1926, p. 12.
47. CUA, Educ. 21/26, Instructions for students on school practice, 1927.
48. CUA, Educ. 33/4, Minutes of scheme of practice meeting, 17 February 1910, p. 2.
49. Leeds University Archive, Education Department memorandum on practical teaching, 1922.
50. Darlington Training College Archive, School practice: suggestions for supervisors, 1935.
51. Respondents interviewed for the project confirmed this view. See Chapter 1 for details.
52. C.Richards, N.Simco and S.Twiselton, *Primary Teacher Education: High Status? High Standards?* (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1998).
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54. Furlong and Smith, *The Role of Higher Education in Initial Teacher Training',* A Campbell and I.Kane, *School-based Teacher Education: Telling Tales from a Fictional Primary School* (London: David Fulton, 1998); T.Maynard, 'Learning to teach or learning to manage mentors? Experiences of school-based teacher training', *Mentoring & Tutoring,* 8, 1 (2000), pp. 17–30; A.Hobson, 'Student teachers' perceptions of school-based mentoring in initial teacher training (ITT)', *Mentoring & Tutoring,* 10, 1 (2002), pp. 5–20.
55. T.Wragg, 'Two routes into teaching', in Booth, Furlong and Wilkin, *Partnership in Initial Teacher Training.* See also T.Maynard, 'Learning to teach or learning to manage mentors'.
56. See for example, T.Wragg, *Classroom Teaching Skills* (London: Routledge, 1984), and for a fuller discussion of this, W.Robinson, 'History of education in the new millennium: retrospect and prospect in teacher training', in R.Aldrich and D.Crook, (eds), *History of Education into the Twenty-First Century* (London: University of London Bedford Way Occasional Paper, 2000), pp. 50–62. See also, G.McCulloch, 'Privatising the past? History and education policy in the 1990s', *British Journal of Educational Studies,* 45, 1 (1997), pp. 69–82.
57. A.Pollard, *Changing English Primary Schools: The Impact of the Education Reform Act at Key Stage One* (London: Cassell, 1994).
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62. Furlong and Smith, *The Role of Higher Education in Initial Teacher Training.*

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LEARNING THROUGH PRACTICE I
BRIDGING THE THEORETICAL DIVIDE: MASTERS AND MISTRESSES OF METHOD

This chapter will examine the role and function of masters and mistresses of method in training institutions as teacher exemplars who bridged the theoretical and practical divide. Links will be made between the role of these historical personnel and the current development of the role of specially designated 'super' or 'advanced skills' teachers in schools. Masters and mistresses of method traversed both the practical world of school and the theoretical world of training institution, and had the potential to span that seemingly intractable gulf between theory and practice in formal teacher training. As demonstrators of good practice, giving 'master classes' to their student teachers, it is not too difficult to see links between the method masters and mistresses of the past, and the advanced skills or superteachers of the present.

Masters and mistresses of method have received limited attention in the history of teacher training. Where they have been considered, they have often been disparaged for offering narrow, limited and mechanical models of practice for unwitting students to copy.[1] Introduced into the new training colleges for elementary teachers by James Kay Shuttleworth in the 1840s as one part of his grand plan to expand teacher training and the supply of elementary teachers, masters of method became critical to the formal training of would-be teachers. Yet, it was the potentially crude, imitative model of theoretical and practical instruction which historically has tarnished the professional reputation of these masters and mistresses of method. Indeed Rich, arguing that 'the normal master was nearly always a man whose experience was limited to the training college and elementary schools, and his methods, good enough in their way, did not merit exaltation as models of general and exclusive imitation', held masters of method responsible for the narrowness and stereotyped quality of professional training in the nineteenth century.[2] This historical perception of masters and mistresses of method has continued to influence educational thinking on the subject. In 1984, for example, Wragg, apparently influenced by Rich, in a general text on classroom teaching skills discussed the 'rudimentary commonsense and mechanical competence fostered by the normal school of the last century' and

argued that the master of method was employed to perpetuate stereotypical and normative teaching methods.[3]

An exception to this historical neglect of masters and mistresses of method can be found in the work of J.B.Thomas and Alex Robertson who have considered mistresses of method in the context of the emerging day training colleges of the late nineteenth century, the expansion of university positions for women academics, and the emergence of education as a university subject.[4] In 1997, Thomas reported on a study of a sample of 58 women staff in day training colleges. This study, focusing on the biographies, educational backgrounds and career development of such women, does not consider in any depth their role and function in the professional training of students but does offer a useful starting point for further analysis, both of men and women method tutors. Robertson, in his work on teacher training at Manchester University, provides valuable insights into the pioneering work of Catherine Dodd who was Mistress of Method at the Day Training College from 1892–1905.[5] Importantly, these brief studies begin to challenge prevailing negative historical stereotypes and suggest that when individual cases are closely considered, then a blanket dismissal of narrow practices is inaccurate. Furthermore these studies raise interesting questions about the educational backgrounds and experience of masters and mistresses of method, differentiation between university and training college practices and gender differentiation. Traditional histories of teacher training refer to method personnel as masters, whereas in the highly feminized world of elementary teaching, mistresses of method were also in place and played a key role.

The chapter is in four parts. First, the personal and professional profiles of masters and mistresses of method are examined. Secondly, their role and function in the professional training of student teachers is outlined. Thirdly, the importance of the powerful personal influence of masters and mistresses of method, not only on their students but also within the broader educational community is examined. Finally, the idea of professional ‘mastery’ as it transcends historical and current practice in teacher education, particularly in relation to recent initiatives in ‘advanced skills teaching’ is explored.

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL PROFILES OF MASTERS AND MISTRESSES OF METHOD

In this study the educational backgrounds and career development of 73 method personnel, 29 masters and 44 mistresses of method, have been examined. Fifteen men and ten women represented day training colleges and 14 men and 34 women other training colleges. A major source of information for the study was the official staff register available for most training institutions, which provided brief details relating to educational background, previous employment, current

responsibilities, salary and future positions of members of staff. Other less direct sources such as applications and documentation for specific posts, minute books, memoirs and registers have also been useful. If the conventional historical view of a master of method is that he was a narrowly educated, inexperienced pedant, then this study would argue that a more complex analysis is required. In particular, the personal and professional profiles of masters and mistresses of method operating in both day training colleges attached to the universities and the traditional training colleges towards the end of the nineteenth century were much more sophisticated, especially in terms of their own education and training and in their broader experience and professional interests than has previously been recognized. In spite of representing a diversity of professional backgrounds, two core characteristics are common to all the masters and mistresses of method reviewed. These made it possible for masters and mistresses of method to move between the practical world of school teaching and the more theoretical world of professional training and to offer students insights and experiences which sought to harmonize both worlds.

The first and most obvious characteristic for both men and women method personnel was their experience of either elementary or secondary school teaching, often to the level of headship. A number of them had been trained to teach through the elementary school, pupil teacher, training college certificate route and had worked in the elementary sector, though often in higher elementary or pupil teacher work.[6] A number of female method personnel had come to teaching through a different route, being drawn from the private, secondary girls' school sector and often educated at Cambridge University and trained to teach through the Cambridge Teachers' Diploma. In the women's training colleges there was a trend for former students who had excelled in their college and teaching work to be appointed to teach in practice schools attached to the college. This gave them the experience and connections to move into method teaching themselves at a later stage. For example, Isabella Valentine who was appointed as Mistress of Method at Darlington Training College in 1904, was a former student and had been governess in Darlington Training College's Practice School. Similar appointments were made at Salisbury and Lincoln Training Colleges.

In conjunction with this practical experience, there was usually some recognition either by peers or HMI of high levels of teaching skill. For example, testimonials for J.W.Iliffe in his application for the appointment of the position of Master of Method at Cambridge Day Training College, were particularly glowing in this respect. Walter Flack, treasurer of the higher-grade school at which Iliffe was a headteacher and a member of the Cambridge Town Council wrote, 'he has been very painstaking and has achieved higher results than any former headmaster. He is the most successful teacher of science, and especially

of mathematics, that I have met during my office.' In a similar vein, A.E.Humphreys, fellow and tutor at Trinity College and secretary of the school at which Iliffe taught, wrote that, 'a singular clearness of exposition and method, a thorough grasp of the aim and purpose of the school as a whole, a genial interest in the general life and happiness of the scholars' marked Iliffe out as a teacher of some repute.[7] This aspect of their experience qualified them to 'master' or 'mistress' the practical dimension of students' professional training with credibility.

A second characteristic was a commitment to the advanced study of education or education-related subjects. In harmony with the practical aspects of their experience discussed above, this academic orientation gave them credibility in the theoretical side of their work. Many had higher degrees or advanced studies' certificates and were distinguished in their practical qualifications having, for example, been awarded places in the first division of the teachers' certificate examination. At the London Day Training College, for example, a number of masters and mistresses of method had studied for a diploma in pedagogy at the University of London. At other institutions some individuals spent time at the University of Jena to study Herbartian methods of education, and others were trained in Froebel or Montessori methods. Catherine Dodd, famous for her work at Manchester University, had spent a number of years working with Professor Rein at Jena, as had Iliffe at Cambridge.[8] At Darlington Training College, Miss Walker, the Assistant Mistress of Method, proposed a study visit to some of the German schools at Jena, and was supported by the College in her endeavours.[9] Agnes Bibby, Mistress of Method at Darlington Training College in 1904, had the higher Froebel certificate in addition to other professional qualifications, as did her successor Ellen Ashley and Maud Lloyd Davies, Mistress of Method in Infant Training at Ripon Training College.[10]

By way of illustration, the following brief career vignettes of a sample of three masters and three mistresses of method from a range of institutions studied, exemplify the varied practical and theoretical/academic qualifications and experience of method personnel and afford some insights into the type of professionals who operated in this role.

William Parker Welpton served his apprenticeship as a pupil teacher in Leeds in the 1890s, before training as a teacher at Yorkshire College. He occupied two teaching posts and in 1896, was appointed as Method Master at York Training College. More celebrated at York for his high standards of professional training and his enthusiasm for classroom practice than for his academic prowess, he later moved to the University of Leeds, Department of Education, where for over 30 years he served as Master of Method in charge of the practical training of student teachers.[11] He built close links between the University and local schools and was heavily involved in the Training College Association and the

Association of University Teachers.[12] In addition to his practical training work and administrative duties, Welpton was the author of two influential education books on artisan education and physical education and also contributed to other works on school method.[13] Upon his retirement in 1934, special tribute was paid to his contribution not only to teacher training but to the wider educational world in which he had served upon numerous school governing bodies, examination boards, education committees and professional associations. Above all, however, it was his belief in the high standing and heavy responsibility of the teacher's calling and in the importance of practically equipping young teachers for the job, which warranted special mention.[14] When he died in 1939, an obituary in the *Yorkshire Post* confirmed earlier reports of his considerable reputation as a demonstrator of teaching practice.[15] Although his professional base was the university department of education, Welpton, himself a trained and experienced classroom practitioner, managed to successfully penetrate both the theoretical and practical sites of professional expertise.

A somewhat different career trajectory can be observed for J.W.Iliffe. Iliffe was primarily a teacher practitioner who maintained his professional identity as a schoolmaster throughout his period of office as Master of Method at the Cambridge Day Training College. He trained as an elementary school teacher at St Mark's Training College where he subsequently took charge of the junior department of one of its large, attached practising schools. In addition to routine teaching duties, he was also responsible for monitoring student teachers and demonstrating good practice. He later moved to Cambridge, where he studied part time for a degree at St John's College gaining a first class in 1883 in classics and mathematics and became principal of the Cambridge Higher Grade School, where his excellent reputation for effective teaching was documented.[16] It was Iliffe's professional skill and experience in both secondary and elementary school work which earned him the post of assistant inspector of schools and later earmarked him for the job of Master of Method at the new Cambridge Day Training College. Whilst serving in this role to the Cambridge student teachers, Iliffe continued to run the Higher Grade School. At seven o'clock each morning of the week, students would meet at Iliffe's house for method lectures on education and for English and oral reading, which was part of their course. Whilst he himself admitted that this was a severe test of their determination, he judged the scheme a success. School practice was taken under Iliffe's watchful supervision and each week students taught a criticism lesson and he gave a demonstration lesson. In August 1897, keen to broaden his own professional education, Iliffe travelled to Jena to observe the pedagogical practices and Herbartian methods being taught by Professor Rein. He was involved in the running of the Cambridge Pedagogical Society where invited speakers led discussions on issues of teaching and learning. He knew his students very well

and was closely involved in their practical training but, ultimately, found the tensions of juggling his own teaching in school with the demands of the training course too much. In April 1899 Iliffe moved to Sheffield, where he took up a headship of the Central Higher School. He continued to keep abreast of developments in teacher training, acting as an examiner in the practice of teaching.[17]

In May 1911, William Stratford Levinson, temporary Assistant Master of Method at Chester Training College, applied for the post of master of method at St John's College, York. Details of his application, which was unsuccessful, are available and provide useful information on his professional background, experience and career aspirations. Educated privately at Aberdare School he went on to study history at the University of Wales where he was awarded a high second class honours degree. He also trained as a secondary teacher at the day training department of the university. His teaching experience included two years as an assistant master in a private secondary school and a temporary post as senior history and English Master at Farnham Grammar School. A keen sportsman Levinson had Swedish Drill Certificates and experience of the cadet corps. Testimonials from Professor Foster Watson, Master of Method at the University College, Aberystwyth and the Principal of Chester Training College, indicated that in addition to his high academic ability he was also able successfully to apply his theoretical studies to practical teaching. Clearly ambitious to move into college work, Levinson, at a young age, but with varied experience, was mapping out a career in which he could harness his teaching skills and academic interests in the training of teachers.

Like Welpton and Iliffe, Sarah Agnes Webb Grist, who worked as a Mistress of Method and Lecturer in Education at Lincoln and Salisbury Training Colleges, also began her teaching career as a pupil teacher. She trained at Salisbury Training College, 1893–95, and was placed in the first class division of the certificate examination. After completing her 'probationary' period in an elementary school in Southampton, she moved to a post at the Rochester Pupil Teacher Centre. From there she moved to Lincoln Training College and, by 1907, she was appointed to the staff at Salisbury at the age of 32 years. In the interim period she had studied part time for the LLA (Lady Licentiate in Arts) at St Andrew's University. This academic award enabled her to proceed to the Cambridge Teachers' Diploma, which specialized in the history, theory and practice of education for would-be secondary and higher-grade school teachers. She remained at Salisbury for the rest of her career and retired in 1937 aged 61 years.[18]

From a non pupil-teacher background but with experience in secondary high schools, Dorothy Margaret Genner was appointed as Mistress of Method, specializing in school practice and the theory and practice of education, at

Darlington Training College in 1911. She had not been a pupil teacher but was educated privately at Brighton High School and Worcester Park High School. She went on to train as a teacher at Edge Hill Training College 1904–07, where she was placed in the first-class division of a three-year certificate course. On completion of her training she embarked upon a three-year full-time course of study at Liverpool University where she studied Latin, French, English Literature and Modern History and was awarded a BA in 1907. She gained teaching experience as Assistant Mistress at Firs Hill Higher Elementary School Sheffield (1907–08), and Brighton Municipal School (1908–09). In 1909 she was appointed as Assistant Mistress of Method at the Norwich and Ely Diocesan Training College, where she remained for three years until her appointment at Darlington. In 1913 she left Darlington to take up a post as Lecturer in English and History at Truro Training College.[19]

Florence Jessy Davies was appointed as Mistress of Method at the London Day Training College in 1909 before she moved to a similar appointment in 1912 at the London County Council Moorfields College. She had been educated at Cheltenham Ladies College and Newnham College, Cambridge. In conjunction with her studies at Cambridge she also studied part time at the University of London and was awarded a first class BA degree in Classics and French in 1891. In 1895 and 1896 she was placed in the first-class division of the Cambridge classical tripos. On completing her studies she took up an appointment as Second Mistress at King Edward's High School, Birmingham. In 1900 she was appointed as Headmistress of St Winifred's School, Bangor, North Wales. Between 1904–08 she worked as Mistress of Method at the London County Council Training College at Graystoke Place. In 1906 she was awarded the Diploma in Pedagogy from the University of London. At the London Day Training College she was responsible for supervising students in school and for providing tutorial work and lectures on methods of teaching.[20] Similar educational backgrounds in the academically ambitious girls' schools and Cambridge, can also be observed for Hannah Robertson, who became Mistress of Method at Leeds University, and Catherine Dodd at Manchester University.

From this analysis of the professional backgrounds and experience of masters and mistresses of method, two important questions emerge. The first relates to possible differences in quality of staff between the university departments and the ordinary training colleges. The second refers to differences in educational background and teaching experiences between men and women. Those women who were appointed to the universities tended to have been educated privately and had studied either at Cambridge or London Universities. This suggests that they were likely to have been drawn from more middle-class backgrounds than those women and men who moved into method teaching from the elementary tradition of school teaching and training. This interpretation is supported by

Thomas' study of mistresses of method in the day training colleges. The sketchy nature of the evidence available makes it difficult to undertake a wholly systematic or comparable study of the educational and career profiles of all method personnel. Nevertheless what this analysis has shown is that whether or not the staff had training and experience in the elementary or secondary tradition, they did have both practical and academic credentials. Masters and mistresses of method were academically able, experienced practitioners with a firm grasp of the theoretical and academic aspects of educational study. College or university work offered career opportunities to ambitious men and women teachers who were keen to advance their own educational and professional standing and also to influence the development of the teaching profession through training. The educational backgrounds, experience and career trajectories of masters and mistresses of method suggest that existing historical stereotyping of them may be inappropriate.

ROLE AND FUNCTION OF MASTERS AND MISTRESSES OF METHOD

Responsible for the induction of trainee teachers into practical teaching, masters and mistresses of method were well versed both in professional theory and practice. For John Adams, Principal of the London Day Training College, the master of method functioned as an important intermediary between theoretical and practical elements of a teacher training course, '…the master of method, in fact, holds an intermediate place between the teacher in the school classroom and the professor in the University classroom'.[21] Their role and function in the training of students consisted of three main elements: formal instruction in school method and principles of teaching; the supervision of demonstration and criticism lessons with student teachers; and the organization and supervision of school practice.

In the fulfilment of the theoretical or academic side of their role, method personnel were responsible for the delivery of systematic courses on the principles of teaching and special methods in the college or university setting.[22] Students were taught how to prepare and plan lesson notes, the various means of successfully imparting new subject matter to children, how to stimulate and maintain their interest and how to question and elicit responses from them. They also learned how to keep records, how to make their own teaching aids, how to write on a blackboard and how to stand and conduct themselves in front of a class. Advice on school management, organization and discipline was also included. By the early years of the twentieth century, child study and psychology also formed part of the courses on teaching method. It was not uncommon for

method tutors, mainly masters of method, to publish work on school method and principles of teaching.

In constructing courses of teaching method, individual method personnel pursued different emphases but were concerned to lecture on various aspects of education and the art of applying its principles. It was this emphasis on the adaptation of theoretical knowledge to the practical needs of a class of children that distinguished the general method course from subject based method teaching in different curriculum subjects such as English, History and Geography or Physical Exercise, which would have been taught by subject specialist staff. At Leeds University, for example, Welpton developed courses on the psychology of education, the development of health and physical activities and the intellectual, moral and social bases of education as well as the principles of education and methods of instruction. At Manchester University, W.T.Goode, who later became Principal of the London Day Training College, lectured on the theory of education as well as taking classes on the special demands of reading and recitation.[23] At Chester Training College, detailed school management notes were printed to complement a lecture course on the subject and included sections on psychology, practical school work, timetables, home lessons, and suggested schemes of work for criticism lessons in different curriculum subjects. Detailed advice was provided on the use of the blackboard, questioning, the correction of errors and the instruction of children in class, group or individual situations according to ability.[24] At Darlington Training College, final-year examination papers on 'Principles of Teaching' for 1913 provide some indication of the content of method teaching. The paper contains a number of problems which might occur in everyday teaching situations relating to individual, groups and classes of children. Its emphasis was upon the teacher's ability to clarify, explain and convey information to children, cross-curricular connections, questioning and practical work. Questions included, for example, 'lf you were in charge of a class of 45 children below the age of nine, what means would you adopt to ensure that no child is neglected—in a reading lesson, in a drawing lesson, and in a conversation lesson? What are the necessary qualifications of a good teller of stories to young children? How far and by what means can these be developed in a teacher having no natural gift for story-telling?'[25]

Masters and mistresses of method straddled the theoretical and practical domains of teacher training and moved between school and training institution. At the heart of their work lay their ability to demonstrate good teaching and to monitor and assess the teaching capacity of their students, whether this be through the vehicle of student criticism lessons or during more extended periods of teaching practice. Under the careful supervision of method tutors who at first demonstrated elements of good practice, students would teach in front of their peers and were later subjected to constructive criticism—undoubtedly a daunting

but salutary experience. Sometimes open discussion sessions were timetabled to follow a demonstration or criticism session. Students were generally expected to keep detailed notes of the main points arising from both demonstration and criticism sessions and use these to inform their own planning of lessons.

At Leeds, practical training led by Welpton consisted of criticism and demonstration lessons held weekly in the university and in neighbouring schools. Divided into classes according to year of study and experience, students would take it in turns to teach criticism lessons, observed both by their peers and Welpton. They also observed demonstration lessons in various subjects which took place in special demonstration schools in Leeds. Written reports on the discussions which followed a criticism were produced by students, marked and annotated by Welpton, and kept, along-side reports on their teaching and observation practices, as a record of their ongoing professional development. Students' critical power and their performance in criticism sessions contributed towards their final teaching practice mark. Considerable emphasis was placed on the production of clear and comprehensive lesson notes, produced in advance of lessons so that any subsequent criticism by staff and students could be focused and informed. Similar schemes were in operation elsewhere.[26] At Lincoln Training College, for example, weekly demonstration lessons were given by the mistress of method in the attached practising school, watched by students. Students were then selected to deliver criticism lessons in front of their peers, which were later discussed under the supervision of the mistress of method.[27] Significantly, where method tutors observed students who were deemed to be effective and competent teachers, they too were used for demonstration purposes. Oral history testimony from former Lincoln, Darlington and Ripon Training College students confirmed this informal practice. The organization of practical training through demonstration and criticism lessons required careful timetabling and planning. In 1914 at Lincoln, Agnes Bibby, the then mistress of method, was unhappy with the hour slots allocated for such sessions. One-hour slots provided insufficient scope for the expansion and elaboration of key points and also made it difficult for students to arrange for anything in the form of a correlated or application lesson. She devised an experiment in practical work in which for each year group, a whole morning each week would be devoted to either demonstration or criticism work. The plan, made with the full approval of HMI, provided opportunities for more systematic and profitable work and integrated the demonstrations of specialist subject staff with cross-curricular links and plenty of time for discussion of the methods employed in demonstration lessons.

During the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, the criticism lesson remained the 'kingpin in the training of students to teach', as it had done in previous years.[28] In spite of attempts to encourage cross-curricular and integrated

programmes of study, particularly with the growing emphasis on individual work and child study in the early years of the twentieth century, the main focus of the criticism lesson was a student's performance in the individual unit of a class lesson. Allocating students to individual criticism lesson slots was a practical approach to providing students with a real basis for discussion, illustration and even at times experimentation in relation to teaching method and provided a useful way for method personnel to link the theory on principles of teaching with the practice.

Students had to be inducted and trained to make the most of criticism lessons, what to look out for and how to focus their observations. Professor Welton at Leeds University advised that it would be

> a good plan to train a class of beginners in reasoned analysis of lessons before criticism is attempted. Analysis of good teaching profitably precedes criticism of poor teaching. Such an analysis should set forth what has been done, seek reasons for it, and note its effect. Demonstration lessons are most usefully discussed in this way. After some practice in this the class may be divided into two divisions, each of which takes in succession different parts of the criticism.[29]

Welton also suggested that all students' written criticisms should be carefully examined by the master or mistress of method at the end of the lesson.

The practice of using a proforma for criticism was common to many training institutions, and school method books or even special forms for criticism outlined general criteria essential to constructive criticism and observation.[30] At Cambridge, Iliffe laid down a proforma which students were required to follow in their observation of criticism or demonstration lessons. First, they had to consider the selection of the matter, its quality, its quantity, its relevancy, and its accuracy. Then they proceeded to analyse the method adopted by the teacher, following the five Herbartian steps (preparation, presentation, systematization, application and recapitulation). The questioning technique of the teacher was considered, as well as any illustrations or visual aids. The final aspect of the criticism concerned the relation of the teacher and the class. This embraced an assessment of the sympathy, tact and power shown by the teacher, his manner, language and tone and the position in which he stood. Hands in pockets was definitely frowned upon! The attention, activity and order shown by the class and the benefit they received from the lesson were also considered. Finally the students were invited to estimate the causes of the success or failure of the teacher. Notes on these points would be taken by students and kept in a special book intended for the purpose. The role of the master of method in such criticisms was that of a moderator and leader of discussion.

Formal supervision of school practice was another essential element of the master or mistress of method's role. The frequency, length and arrangements for each school practice undertaken by student teachers varied between training institutions, across time and according to the changing recommendations of the Board of Education. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 6. Whatever the school practice arrangements, a common convention was for masters and mistresses of method to be in daily contact with their students in the planning and execution of their teaching. Every evening or early in the morning before they went off to school, students would be required to have any lesson notes checked and monitored by the master or mistress of method. Sometimes, their assistants or individual subject tutors became involved in this process. Students would be visited in school on a regular basis and it then fell to the method master or mistress to produce written reports on students and to judge their teaching capacity, in liaison with school teachers and head teachers. Numbers of students for whom masters or mistresses of method were responsible varied between institutions, but would have not been less than 50.[31]

Overseeing and assessing a student's performance on school practice, liaising with schools and serving teachers and keeping abreast of the most current developments in teaching theory, masters and mistresses of method occupied a very prominent position in the teacher training culture. Whilst vestiges of demonstration, model and criticism lessons continued into the 1930s, these eventually disappeared as did the specific function and designation of master or mistresses of method as the more general term 'lecturer in education' was adopted. There was a shift towards more subject-based method teaching, with much of the school experience taking place in local schools.

PERSONAL INFLUENCE OF MASTERS AND MISTRESSES OF METHOD

In addition to the formalized aspects of their professional work with students, a less tangible, but nevertheless important part of the work of method tutors was their personal influence over the development of individual student teachers. This characteristic is difficult to define, but clearly existed and could be interpreted as one manifestation of the long tradition of professional training through the close relationship between 'expert' and 'novice' practitioners, as discussed in Chapter 3. Working in relatively small institutions in which students and staff often lived and worked in close proximity, masters and mistresses of method would know their students as individuals and would coach individual needs. This close relationship is evident in oral history testimony, where former college students describe their discussions with method tutors of the particular practical circumstances of their own school practice class or lessons

late in the evening or early in the morning before embarking upon teaching. One former Ripon Training College student recalled her dismay at having been summoned to see the mistress of method following a criticism lesson, which had gone well, but in which she had not pushed herself to her full capacities. The mistress of method knew that the student had been coasting, and whilst the results were fine, her full potential was not being realized. The student admitted that she thought she would be able to get away with putting in a minimum of effort on that occasion and was ashamed and horrified that the mistress of method had seen through her'[32] In lectures and formal demonstration and criticism sessions method tutors clearly managed large groups of students, but at the same time, got to know the individual strengths and weaknesses of students under their care. If students were struggling with certain subjects or with classroom management and voice production, it was the method tutors who would help them overcome such difficulties.

Whilst it is in the nature of formal testimonials or obituaries of masters and mistresses of method to be fulsome, these do afford some interesting perspectives on their personal influence on students and other members of the teaching professions. A sheaf of testimonials for J.W.Iliffe consistently remarked upon his energy and powerful personal influence over students and his high professional ideals. Upon the resignation of Hannah Robertson as Mistress of Method at Leeds University in 1921, the University Council expressed their regret and wished to place on record its strong sense of the value of the service which she has given since her appointment in 1905. 'By her wisdom, tact and fine example, she has had an admirable influence upon the students committed to her care.' A special presentation from staff, students and former students was deemed 'an indication of deep and widespread feeling of respect and affection entertained for her'.[33] Also at Leeds, when Welpton retired, the University Council issued the following statement, 'As Lecturer in Education and Master of Method he has helped to train a succession of students for the teaching profession, and upon them his vigour of mind, strength of character and tireless energy have made a deep impression.'[34] A former colleague of Welpton, C.M.Gillespie, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Leeds, suggested that:

> Mr Welpton has produced a deep and lasting influence on the students who have passed through his hands, and if I were asked what are the chief features of this influence I should say that by teaching and example he instils into them a belief in the high standing and heavy responsibility of the teacher's calling and in the importance of equipping themselves thoroughly for its exercise. Many a young man among his students who

started his training merely with the aim of making a living must have completed it with a new idea of the dignity of the profession.

When Alice Martin, Mistress of Method at Lincoln Training College retired in 1917, it was noted that her 'good intellectual standards, coupled with her great abilities as a teacher of children enabled her to make most valuable contributions to the professional training of the students from whom she expected, and invariably obtained, a high level of technical competence'.[35]

As well as influencing the personal professional development of their students, masters and mistresses of method were also involved in the wider educational community, either with local teachers or in the dissemination of good practice through publications, lectures, external examination and scholarship consultancy work and professional organizations. This quality of being able to reach beyond the immediate college or university situation into the wider educational culture, reflected the ability of method tutors to gain credibility amongst serving teachers, students and academics. Also, by working within a broader professional constituency, method tutors were able to keep abreast of new developments in schools and amongst teachers. Throughout his career at Leeds, Welpton acquired a considerable reputation as a demonstrator of teaching practice. He lectured for many years to teachers' classes for the Education Authority of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and also to their mining instructors on teaching method. For several years he was in charge of the educational side of the University Summer Schools at Whitby and Redcar, and also lectured for the Board of Education at their summer School in Durham, in special teachers' courses at Bingley and to technical school instructors in London. He regularly gave lectures and demonstrations of teaching to the Leeds Association of Sunday School Teachers and the Educational Handwork Association. He was an active participant at the annual North of England Conference and an external examiner in other institutions. Less detailed information is available for method tutors in other institutions, but there are numerous references to similar practices and in particular to mistresses of method giving additional lectures or talks to local teachers and students on new developments in infant method and child study.

MODERN ADVANCED SKILLS TEACHING: MASTERY AND EXPERTISE

Concepts of professional mastery in school teaching internationally are, within current educational thinking, becoming very fashionable. In America, for example, the professional development school movement, introduced in the 1980s to promote collaboration between teachers and professional learning,

prides itself on its 'mastery sites of learning'.[36] In Australia, the somewhat controversial advanced skills teacher initiative has focused upon the designation of 'master teachers' in the teaching career structure since the early 1990s.[37] In Britain, the language of mastery has emerged in recent years as part of the teaching reform programme launched by the Labour government, first in 1997 in its White Paper, 'Excellence in Schools', and later in its Green Paper, 'Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change' in 1998.[38] The creation of a league of superteachers or ASTs, to act as beacons of good practice from the classroom, was just one of the many proposals forwarded to strengthen teaching through better leadership and training and the reward of excellent classroom practice.

ASTs, introduced into the teachers' career and pay structure since 1999, are a late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century phenomenon. It would be misleading, oversimplistic and ahistorical to view them as modern-day masters and mistresses of method. The main duty of an AST is excellent classroom teaching and ASTs spend 80 per cent of their time teaching their own classes. Their main responsibilities, professional remit and firm location within the school clearly renders them different from the masters and mistresses of method of the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. Yet, there are certain characteristics of the AST role which resonate with those notions of professional mastery formerly inscribed in the role and function of masters and mistresses of method in the training of teachers. As leaders of teaching and learning, respected by their colleagues and government, these special teachers, in addition to 'demonstrating good classroom practice both in person and through ICT links to other schools and teacher training institutions', are also expected to give 'master classes', model and demonstration lessons out of school hours.[39] Their function is to share good practice in imaginative and innovative ways within the immediacy of their school environment but also to be engaged in 'outreach' work in the wider educational community. It is envisaged by the government that ASTs should play an important role in teacher training through a close involvement in partnerships between HEIs and schools and in helping with the induction and mentoring of newly-qualified teachers.[40] Recommendations include the appointment of ASTs, as models or exemplars of high-quality teaching, to fellowships or even chairs of HEIs involved in the training of teachers. Masters and mistresses of method had a similar function to that of the modern AST in relation to professional training. They moved between the world of school and HEI, albeit with a different balance, and were responsible for sharing effective methods of teaching and demonstrating good practice. Their professional credibility arose from their teaching experience and strengths as well as their academic interests. A number of masters and mistresses of method went on to develop their careers as professors in university departments of education whilst others returned to the world of school. What is interesting about the new model of rewarding excellent

classroom practitioners and involving them closely in initial teacher training and the historical model of appointing masters and mistresses of method to work across schools and training institutions, is the idea of fusing potentially diverse professional practices and also the idea of flexible career structures which maintain and value strong links with everyday classroom life as well as with broader educational constituencies.

Quantification of professional mastery and teaching excellence remains hotly contested and has not taken off within schools with quite the alacrity anticipated by the government. For many teachers and educationists, the whole idea, as it is being centrally imposed and with its negative associations with elitism, competition or separatism, is riven with difficulties and is fundamentally flawed. The main teacher unions were extremely hostile to the initial proposals for the AST scheme, fearing that it would be divisive and unable to deliver on its promises.[41] Results of the 'Advanced Skills Teachers Survey', conducted by the 'Excellence in Teaching Research Project', at University College, Chichester, found that overall, teachers felt that the majority of government proposals for the AST grade were contradictory and badly thought through. Issues about the selection criteria and process, the potential divisiveness within schools, career development and unreasonable expectations were raised. It is interesting to note, however, that this survey found that younger teachers were much more positive about the scheme, viewing it as an alternative career path to the traditional management route.[42] Initially, take up for the scheme was slow and the government's target of 10,000 ASTs by 2002 was not reached, reflecting some reluctance on the part of head teachers to become involved in the initiative.[43]

As a relatively recent development, it is difficult to assess the impact of the introduction of ASTs either on schools or on teacher training. Generally positive and optimistic, an HMI survey conducted in the summer of 2000 on a sample of 21 schools found that ASTs were having more of an impact on raising standards of teaching and learning in their own schools in 'inreach' work, than on the wider educational community. Significantly, there were some concerns over the role of ASTs in teacher training, with only half of the sample being involved in ITT and usually only in the role of school mentor. Only two of the sample had been occasionally involved in ITT in an HEI. Work in ITT was not an explicit core task for any AST. The report recommended that ways of capitalizing the rich potential resource of ASTs for ITT should be further explored.

The promotion of the idea of ASTs and the importance the government places on trainees working in schools alongside practising teachers surely lends itself to some reinvention of the teacher exemplar model of professional transmission. Today, even with the school partnership and mentoring models of training in place, student teachers are rarely exposed to more than a limited range of teaching styles, and are therefore unable to systematically critique them.

Moreover, with the exciting expansion of the use of ICT in education, particularly in the technological break-throughs in video-conferencing, there is clear potential for a new and more refined use of the teacher exemplar in training novice teachers. This could be much more broad-based and less invasive than it was formerly.

Perhaps also the inclusion of ASTs into programmes of teacher training offers a timely opportunity for recapturing some of those crucial relational and collegial aspects of professional practice which have arguably become impoverished in recent years. Systematic opportunities for novice teachers to be brought into a more regular and closer contact with experts, and where reflective sharing and experimentation with different facets of pedagogical practice is built into the training process, is needed in the context of current developments.[44] This might be seen as a natural extension and refinement of existing mentoring schemes or it might be conceived of in a totally new way, in which different roles and responsibilities are created for a wider range of teachers. By harnessing the specialist expertise of teachers who are recognized 'masters' of their classroom practice to enrich the theoretical and practical elements of training, a fuller and more interactive partnership between schools and higher education institutions might also be further enhanced. As, no doubt, the future development of the teaching profession and the creation of a cadre of super teachers continues to be debated, lessons from past models should be interrogated to see whether they could contribute to modern policy and practice.

NOTES

1. See for example A.and E.Hughes, *Learning and Teaching* (London: Longmans, 1948), which celebrated the fact that old method courses had long been replaced in teacher training courses. Standard histories of teacher training are also fairly dismissive of the quality of the old method courses. See H.Dent, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales 1800–1975* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977); L.Jones, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924); G.Ogren, *Trends in English Teachers Training* (Stockholm: Esselte, 1953); R. Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales During the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933).
2. Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales During the Nineteenth Century,* pp. 78–9.
3. E.Wragg, *Classroom Teaching Skills* (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 1.
4. J.Thomas has undertaken some very interesting work on the careers of mistresses of method in the universities. See J.Thomas, *British Universities and Teacher Education: A Century of Change* (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1990), and J.Thomas,

'Mistresses of method: women academics in the day training colleges 1890–1914', *Journal of Educational Administration and History,* 29, 2 (1997), pp. 93–107; J. Thomas, 'A note on masters of method in the universities of England and Wales', *History of Education Society Bulletin* 20, pp. 27–9; D.Hamilton, 'a note on masters of method and the pedagogy of nineteenth century schooling', *History of Education Society Bulletin,* 29 (1982), pp. 13–15.

5. A.Robertson, 'Catherine I.Dodd and innovation in teacher training 1892–1905', *History of Education Society Bulletin,* 47, Spring (1991), pp. 32–41, and, 'Schools and universities in the training of teachers: the demonstration school experiment 1890–1926', *British Journal of Educational Studies,* 40, 4 (1992), pp. 361–78.
6. M.Vlaeminke, *The English Higher Grade Schools: A Lost Opportunity* (London: Woburn Press, 2000), and W.Robinson, 'Towards a bi-centenary review? historiographical reflections on the 1902 Education Act', *The Oxford Review of Education,* 2, 8 2/3 (2000), pp. 159–72.
7. Cambridge University Archives (hereafter CUA), Cambridge Day Training College (CDTC) Files.
8. See Robertson, 'Schools and universities in the training of teachers: the demonstration school experiment 1890–1926', and E.Fiddes, *Chapters in the History of Owen's College and of Manchester University 1851–1914* (Manchester: Manchester Universtiy Press, 1937), p. 173.
9. Darlington Training College Archive, E/DAR 1/3/Minute Book 2, 13 May 1904, p. 89.
10. College of Ripon and York St John Archive, RTC/STAFF/1, Staff Register, 1874–1961.
11. G.McGregor, *A Church College for the 21st Century? 150 Years of Ripon and York St John* (York: The Ebor Press, 1991), p. 96.
12. University of Leeds archive, General Education File 1890–1920, ref. 208. F1. See also P.Gosden (ed.), *The University of Leeds School of Education 1891–1991* (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1991).
13. W.Welpton, *The Principles and Methods of Physical Education* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1908). (Note that a Spanish edition was published in Madrid in 1919.) W.Welpton, *Artisan Education* (London: Longmans, 1912); W.Welpton, *The Teaching of Geography* (London: W.B.Clive, 1923). Welpton also contributed chapters to J.Welton, *Principles and Methods of Teaching* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1906).
14. C.M.Gillespie, Emeritus Professor and formerly Professor of Philosophy at the University of Leeds, referred to Welpton's career in a memorandum circulated upon Welpton's retirement in 1938. See University of Leeds Archive, General Education File 208. F1, memorandum, 16 June 1938.
15. *Yorkshire Post,* 26 July 1939, p. 66.

16. Information on the career of J.W.Iliffe can be found in the CUA, CDTC files and also at the University of Cambridge, King's College Archive Centre, where his letters to Oscar Browning are stored. See also [liffc's evidence to the *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher* System, (1898), 27 May 1897, pp. 482–84.
17. CUA, Educ. 20/18.
18. L.Taylor, *College in the Close: Salisbury Diocesan Training College Sarum St Michael 1841–1978* (Wrington: The Woodside Press Ltd, 1978).
19. Darlington Training College Archive, E/DAR 9, Staff Records, 1878–1936.
20. University of London, Institute of Education Archives, Staff Book Register.
21. J.Adams, The function of the training college—Presidential Address to the Training *College Association', Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* 1, 3 (1912), pp. 198–205.
22. From the middle of the nineteenth century school method manuals and readers for trainee teachers were published, mainly by teacher trainers. See for example: J. Boardman, *Practical School Method* (London: Normal Correspondence College Press, 1903); G.Collar and C.Crook, *School Management and Methods of Instruction* (London: Macmillan, 1900); J.Cowham, *A New School Method for Pupil Teachers and Students* (London: Westminster School Book Depot, 1894); T.Cox and R. MacDonald, *The Suggestive Handbook of Practical School Method* (London: Blackie & Son, 1896); T.Dexter and A.Garlick, *A Primer of School Method* (London: Longmans, 1905); F.Gladman, *School Method* (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1898); J. Green and C.Birchenough, *A Primer of Teaching Practice* (London: Longmans & Co., 1911). Some discussion on the history of school method books can be found in B.Simon, 'Education in theory, schooling in practice: the experience of the last hundred years', in B.Simon (ed.), *Does Education Matter?* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985), and D.Hamilton, 'A note on masters of method and the pedagogy of nineteenth century schooling', *History of Education Society Bulletin,* 29, 2 (1982), pp. 13–15; J.Thomas, 'A note on masters of method in the universities of England and Wales', *History of Education Society Bulletin,* 30, 1 (1983), pp. 27–9; N. Hole, 'English Literature in the elementary school 1862–1905: A study of teaching manuals', unpublished MA Dissertation, University of London Institute of Education, August 1997.
23. Fiddes, *Chapters in the History of Owen's College and of Manchester University 1851–1914,* p. 171.
24. Chester City Record Office, Chester Training College Records, CR 86/12/32, School Management Notes: Syllabus of Selected Lecutres on Psychology and Method used in the Practising School, Chester College, printed by W.W.Dobson, Chester, 1885.
25. Darlington Training College Archive, E/DAR/8/8, Final Examination Paper in Principles of Teaching, 1913.

26. CUA, Educ. 21/27.
27. D.Zebedee, *Lincoln Diocesan Training College 1862–1962* (Lincoln: Keyworth and Fry, 1962), pp. 10–11.
28. O.Stanton, *Our Present Opportunities: The History of Darlington College of Education* (Darlington: Olive M.Stanton, 1972), p. 78.
29. J.Welton, *Forms for Criticism Lessons* (London, Macmillan, Ist edition 1897, 2nd edition, 1910).
30. See for example F.Gladman, *School Method* (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1898), pp. 157–8; E.House, *Forms of Criticism for Lessons and Pedagogic Exercises* (London and Derby: Bemrose & Sons, (1899), Welton, *Forms for Criticism Lessons.*
31. For examples of Welpton's reports see University of Leeds, Museum of the History of Education, Day Training College Records, Reports on Students' Teaching Practice. See also University of Leeds Archive, Teaching Practice File, ref. 208.F29, 1910–1940.
32. Oral History Interview, Vera Brown, Ripon Training College student, 1930–32.
33. University of Leeds Archive, letter from G.M.Gillespie, University of Leeds, 14 November 1921.
34. Ibid.
35. Zebedee, *Lincoln Diocesan Training College 1862–1962,* p. 93.
36. See *Journal of Educational Policy and Practice,* 7, 1 (1993), for a special issue on 'Professional Development Schools' edited by H.G.Petrie, F.Murray, 'All or none: criteria for professional development schools', *Educational Policy,* 7, 1 (1993), pp. 661–73.
37. J.Smyth, G.Shacklock and R.Hattam, 'Teacher development in difficult times: lessons from a policy initiative in Australia', *Teacher Development,* 1, 1 (1997), pp. 11–19.
38. DfEE, *Excellence in Schools* (London: DfEE, 1997), DfEE, *Teachers Meeting the Challenge of* Change (London: DfEE, 1998a), DfEE, *Standards Fund Grant for Advanced Skills Teacher Posts (ASTs), 1999–2000* (London: DfEE, 1998b).
39. See above and also M.Baker, 'Invasion of the superteachers', *Times Educational Supplement,* 30 October 1998, p. 20
40. OFSTED, *Advanced Skills Teachers: Promoting Excellence* and *Teacher Education and Training Division* (London: OFSTED, 2000), DfEE, *The Appointment and Deployment of ASTS—a Survey by HMI* (London: DfEE, 2000).
41. M.Baker, 'Invasion of the superteachers', K.Smith and D.Avers, 'Collegiality and student teachers: is there a role for the advanced skills teacher?', *Journal of In-service Education,* 24, 2 (1998), pp. 255–70; National Association of Head Teachers (1998), *NAHT Comments on the Advanced Skills Teacher Grade* (Haywards Heath: NAHT, 1998); National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers, press statement, 'NASUWT reaction to the government's proposals for Advanced Skills Teachers', 2 March 1998; National

Union of Teachers, *News Release: Advanced Skills Teachers, 2* March 1998; Professional Association of Teachers, press release, 'PAT says no to "superteachers", 2 March, 1998; M.Jennings, 'Most heads opposed to "superteachers"', *Times Educational Supplement,* 3 September 1999, p. 9.

42. D.Blake, V.Hanley, M.Jennings and M.Lloyd, '"Superteachers": The views of teachers and head teachers on the Advanced Skills Teacher Grade', *Research in Education,* 63 (2000), pp. 48–59.
43. A.Sutton, A.Wortley, J.Harrison and C.Wise, 'Superteachers: from policy towards practice', *British Journal of Educational Studies,* 48, 4 (2000), pp. 413–28.
44. For a historical perspective on demonstration teaching see A.Robertson, 'Schools and universities in the training of teachers: the demonstration school experiment 1890–1926', *British Journal of Educational Studies,* 30, 4 (1992), pp. 361–78. See also Chapter 5. The government's proposals for training schools, outlined in the 1998 Green Paper indicate a renewed interest in demonstration teaching.

5
LEARNING THROUGH PRACTICE II
MODEL AND DEMONSTRATION SCHOOLS

If masters and mistresses of method represented a physical embodiment of the unification of theory and practice in the training of teachers, then the model or demonstration schools in which they practised their craft must also be viewed as a tangible institutional commitment to this ideal. The history of schools attached to training institutions, variously referred to as 'model', 'normal', 'practising' and 'demonstration' schools is limited and largely negative.[1] These operated to provide a ready-made teaching environment in which to test trainees' competence, mainly through the medium of individual criticism lessons. They were, however, subsequently condemned for offering a narrow, limited and unrealistic practical experience and were later replaced with teaching practice in a wider range of local schools. Nevertheless, a fundamental part of teacher training throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century rested on the belief that effective teaching methods should be transmitted to students through some kind of modelling process in schools organized for this purpose. There were flaws in the practical application of this belief, and various models were developed over the period.

This chapter will analyse the function of model and demonstration schools in the training of teachers with particular reference to the demonstration school initiative in the period 1896–1932. First, there is a broad historical overview of the development and use of college-based schools. Secondly, there is a detailed consideration of the ideal of the demonstration school and its implementation in the Manchester Fielden Demonstration Schools and other places. Thirdly, the weaknesses of the demonstration school ideal will be reviewed. Finally, current policy regarding the role of specially designated training schools in the initial training of teachers will be considered in the light of earlier historical developments.

NORMAL, MODEL AND PRACTICE SCHOOLS: HISTORICAL LEGACY

The notion of modelling effective teaching and school management was an essential component of formalized elementary teacher training from its inception in the late 1830s.[2] Practising or 'model' schools were built on the same sites as the denominational training colleges not only to provide opportunities for students to practise their teaching but also to serve as 'models' of the monitorial plan, then very much in vogue and forming the core of professional training. As pedagogical and educational trends changed, these 'model' schools no longer modelled one particular type of school organization, but continued to operate as the main practical training ground for student teachers. It was in the college model school that criticism and demonstration lessons took place and where inspectors would observe and examine students in their practical teaching. By the 1880s, the Education Department was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the limitations of the model schools. Colleges had not invested in the improvement of buildings and facilities, so that, for example, the move away from gallery teaching towards class teaching was not possible in many model schools whose architecture and design reflected a much earlier era. Moreover, it was argued that students were being exposed to narrow and unrealistic experiences in the college schools which were extremely well staffed in terms of staff-pupil ratios and which attracted local children of a higher social class than normally found in elementary schools. There were also fears that teaching methods were being reduced down to a body of fixed and stereotyped modes of procedure which students were encouraged to imitate, copy or model uncritically.[3] Negative HMI reports on school practice in the training colleges throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s prompted a change of policy in which colleges were induced to send their students to better designed local schools for some additional practice.

An investigation of how individual colleges managed and adapted their use of model schools throughout the period when they came under attack illustrates the inherent difficulties and challenges associated with the system. It also demonstrates, contrary to standard and official government histories of the model school, that training colleges and their model schools were not static entities but that they responded to and adapted to changing ideas and philosophies of education over time. At Lincoln Training College, for example, the practising school was plagued with negative reports from HMI during the 1860s and 1870s. These highlighted problems of overcrowding, particularly when too many students were put into classes to teach, as well as poor quality staffing, inadequate facilities and a failure to expose students to a wide age range. Minutes of the governing body of the practising school and the practising school

log book offer useful insights into the weaknesses of a model which made the College dependent on a single school for practical experience, whilst also ensuring that it remained a financially viable functioning school, able to meet the needs of its pupils.[4] A main problem for the College was staffing the school with highly-qualified staff who could cope with the potentially conflicting demands of student teachers and children and the constant disruption to the timetable by students in practice. Students were used to supplement the staffing of the school in the absence of regular staff and were also used to chase up absentees.[5] Frustration with weak students and the damaging effect of their poor teaching on the children is evident in some of the log book entries. The most extreme of these was reported on 14 April 1880, when first year student L.Cartwright gave her first oral lesson on the subject of 'the cow' to the fourth class and was reported to have, 'asked the most senseless question any one well could', including 'what are its eye? What are its legs? What shape its body, the last of which she answered herself saying "It was round like a barrel"!'[6]

By 1895 the College recognized the problems and actively sought to improve both the quality of staffing and the practical arrangements with the students. New mistresses were appointed to the school and had a much closer relationship with the College, being given time off school to meet staff in the college to discuss timetabling and planning and even to examine students. Care was taken not to overcrowd the school with students and by the late 1890s a much more systematic programme was implemented with three weeks of blocked practice either by junior (first year) or senior (second year) students, supplemented by further placements in other schools in the city. Students were organized into groups of eight, with four teaching and four observing at any one time. By 1898 a programme of child observation was trialled, reflecting the College's desire to keep abreast of new trends in educational thought. A new girls' practising school was built and opened in the College grounds in 1904. Here all model, demonstration and criticism lessons were conducted by the mistresses of method, and some initial practical work was undertaken by first-year students. Moreover, this experience was broadened with subsequent school placements in the city and as far afield as Nottingham, Sheffield and Grantham.[7]

The situation at Darlington Training College was very different and exposes the problems around control and funding which afflicted and subsequently undermined the potential of the model school and its later reincarnations. Initially Darlington did not have its own practising school and arrangements were made with head teachers of local schools who were given annual payments for their services to students.[8] The disadvantage of this arrangement was that the schools were often at too great a distance from the college, creating difficulties in terms of transport and timing. Schools closer to the college had a poor reputation and served locally impoverished communities, thus skewing the nature of

practical experience offered to students. The college was deemed weak by HMI who urged the importance of a college-based practising school. In 1882 the College applied to the Education Department for its own practising school which would be self-supporting and operated on the College premises, but which would be organized in conjunction with existing Darlington School Board provision. After much debate about funding and cost, the practising school was eventually opened in 1888 and consisted of one long room divided into two by a glass screen, with two smaller rooms for class lessons. It was a small school which attracted a wide age range of infants, boys and girls. Its first headmistress, Miss Fanny King, was a former student who had recently been promoted to a headship at Milford British School, Derby. As curricula and methods changed throughout the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century, this was reflected in the work of the practising school. Object lessons, the copybook and the slate were gradually replaced with an emphasis on practical study of local history and geography and nature study.

The idea of a 'demonstration' school, distinct from the 'model' or 'practising' school of the old type emerged in the mid 1890s and was reputedly discussed by the Incorporated Association of Headmasters in 1896 who were charged with investigating the training of secondary school teachers.[9] Subsequently, the idea was taken up by other professional associations, including the Training College Association and was championed by the likes of M.E.Sadler and J.J.Findlay, who explored its potential and purpose in a special report for the Board of Education in 1898.[10] Findlay went on to direct the Fielden Demonstration Schools, attached to the University of Manchester Department of Education. According to Findlay, a demonstration school, controlled and managed by a teacher training institution was essential to the satisfactory instruction of student teachers in principles of teaching and should be, 'expressly designed to correlate the lectures on education with the practical exposition of method, to give reality to the study of Method and of Curricula, to foster the spirit of investigation and to enable the student to come into close contact with individual children for an extended period.' Demonstration schools were a much more sophisticated version of the old model school and were not merely schools in which students could practise. Rather, they were intended to offer structured opportunities for observation and experiment and for demonstrating to students the best methods of teaching. They were designed to bridge the theoretical work of the college or University course and the practical work of the school. Findlay referred to the 'intimate bonds between school and college' if the system were to operate properly. The label 'demonstration school' itself was selected in place of the earlier terms, 'model school' and 'practice school' to indicate that demonstrators, on a par with the demonstrators in a laboratory, would be assisting students to gain continuous and comprehensive experience of educational principles expounded in the

training college and demonstrated week in, week out in the school, where lecturers and demonstrators united to associate theory and practice.[11]

The main obstacle to the widespread establishment of demonstration schools in association with teacher training institutions was the locus of their control and funding. Whilst nine out of thirteen university departments and some of the larger voluntary training colleges such as Homerton, York and Darlington were able to set up demonstration schools, their history was chequered and largely short-lived. The Board of Education offered no special grants for the maintenance and staffing of demonstration schools which had to rely on philanthropic support and endowments. Following the 1902 Education Act, LEAs were made responsible for providing facilities for the practice of training students. This meant that such schools would have to conform to regulations about curriculum, organization and inspection like any other recognized efficient state school. Former model or practising schools now came under the authority of the LEA and not the training institution. Training institutions had to negotiate access to these and the potential for dispute over conflicts of interest was huge. In 1906, after lobbying from Findlay and a group of Manchester MPs, there was a failed attempt at including special provision for demonstration schools in the controversial Birrell Bill, which was designed to overturn some of the legislative requirements of the 1902 Education Act. Whilst the Board of Education supported the idea of the demonstration school it made no grants available to training colleges to run these independently. LEAs did not prioritize demonstration schools or any schools attached to training institutions in terms of funding, staffing and resources largely because the students were likely to move into other authorities on completion of their training. Demonstration schools, acting almost as educational laboratories, required different textbooks, furniture and equipment. If they were to provide the focus for experiments in method and curriculum then they would not be able to adhere to the detailed regulations regarding curricula and timetables which were rigidly applied to recognized schools.[12]

The idea of the demonstration school which functioned both as a test-bed for educational theory and a practical training ground for student teachers was wholeheartedly supported by the TCA which, together with the National Union of Teachers (NUT) and the Council of Principals of Training Colleges, throughout the 1910s, 1920s and early 1930s, regularly lobbied for their independent financing and recognition by the government.[13] The TCA argued that ‘the demonstration school should be to other teachers and educational organizers what garden cities and model dairies are to municipal building committees and dairy farmers. They need specialized staff, equipment and freedom from stereotyped inspection.[14] In 1914, a deputation to the Board of Education from the TCA stated that ‘many colleges felt that they were subjected to a grave disability in not being able to illustrate properly in practice the

principles and theories of teaching taught in the college'. This was considered to be an even more pressing problem, with the changes of policy towards pre-training experience of teaching, with the abolition of pupil teaching and student teaching schemes.[15] Again in 1917 the TCA resolved that the Board of Education be urged to give grants for the establishment and maintenance of Demonstration and Research Schools under the direct control of training institutions. In view of the national importance of teacher training, the TCA wanted sufficient funds to be made available to appoint high quality and skilled staff, as associate lecturers, who could demonstrate methods of teaching and supervise the teaching practice of students. It was hoped that such personnel could be paid higher salaries than those offered on the normal scale.[16] By 1932 the situation had not been effectively resolved. A letter to the Board of Education from the NUT, representing the NUT, TCA and Council of Principals of Training Colleges stated that:

> It is felt that the organisation of periods of school practice is not in itself sufficient to ensure that continual contact with child life without which theoretical instruction in teaching tends to lose significance, and also that it has been proved that teaching institutions undertaking advanced or professional studies benefit if they have well devised opportunities for experimentation and research.

In spite of these protestations there is no evidence to suggest that the ideal of the demonstration school, funded and controlled by training institutions, was ever fully realized. Increasingly, training institutions organized school placements for their students in neighbouring schools. Many of the old model or practising school buildings were either demolished or integrated for general college use. Just as the designation 'master' or 'mistress' of method waned in the 1920s and 1930s, so too did the emphasis on demonstration models of teaching and a singular practice school for experimentation and modelling. The bridging of theory and practice which was embodied both in special method personnel and also in special demonstration schools was for a time a realistic endeavour, but it was not sustained and neither was it systematically applied across the whole spectrum of training providers. Findlay and the TCA recognized the potential of demonstration schools and for a period of ten to fifteen years there was clearly some very interesting and useful educational work and training conducted in accordance with the demonstration school ideal.

THE DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL EXPERIMENT

Findlay and his colleagues in the TCA were committed to improving the quality and nature of teacher training. They were also keen to develop a scientific theory of education which was based on sound principles drawn from the daily realities of classroom life. The demonstration school had two main functions. First it could serve as a model in which students could observe, practice and be exposed to good teaching. Secondly it could provide the basis for some careful experimentation, child study and testing of different methods, modes of organization and school curricula. The demonstration school, not dissimilar to the clinical schools used for medical students, was constructed as an educational laboratory, 'in which the student gets a first-hand knowledge of his subject, while at the same time he is in touch with real scholars in a real school he sees experienced teachers working out methods of teaching and control, his theories are constantly put to the proof of experience, and, above all he keeps in touch with child life'.[17] There is a real sense of excitement and anticipation amongst proponents of the principles of teaching based on scientific research. Findlay wrote,

> When the lecturers describe the great progress in educational methods on which the basis of our modern practices are based, he quotes the teaching experiments of Comenius, Herbart, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Lancaster and so forth. But there is no finality about such things. We are only at the beginnings. Never were there so many persons capable and desirous of carrying on the work of these men as have grown up during the last twenty years.

The extent to which demonstration schools could, in reality, operate as scientific laboratories for the live experimentation on its educational specimens was debatable. Without government grants, and having to conform to the requirements of LEAs, opportunities for any radical experimentation were limited. Then there were the ethical questions around the interference with children's education. Comparable, but different experimental schemes on the continent and in America, such as the Lincoln Schools in New York, the Gary Schools in Chicago and Dewey's famous laboratory school in Chicago were reviewed with interest but also some suspicion by British educationists.[18] Certainly Findlay embraced both aspects of the ideal at the Manchester Fielden Schools, largely because the schools were endowed and fee paying. An inspection report for the schools in 1915 confirmed its experimental function, 'It is understood that the school is not more essentially a demonstration theatre than a laboratory, on an experimental ground and that everything done in it has an understood and definite relation to the needs of the students.'[19] Some

experimentation on a much more modest scale took place at other institutions, but for the majority of training institutions, particularly the more traditional voluntary colleges, the challenge of ensuring that students were in receipt of an adequate practical training was testing enough.

Little has been written on the demonstration school experiment to date, other than Alex Robertson's important article on the work of Findlay and his colleague Catherine Dodd at the University of Manchester Fielden Demonstration Schools, published in 1992.[20] This offers some very valuable insights into Findlay's work and is focused on the contribution of universities to the development of an academic study of education in its own right. It only goes so far, however, in uncovering the actualities of the daily workings of the demonstration schools. There is still more work to be done on this subject, but the historian, as ever, is frustrated by a dearth of surviving material. It is recorded in Board of Education memoranda that demonstration school experiments on a smaller scale than the Manchester model also took place in London, under the auspices of the London Day Training College, in Leeds, Cardiff and Bangor as well as at Oxford, York, Aberystwyth and Cambridge.[21] Little is known about these experiments and the bulk of information relating to the demonstration school idea is linked to Findlay's work at Manchester which he widely publicized.

In spite of a limited evidential base, it is possible to make some tentative observations about the emergent demonstration school of the early twentieth century. By exemplifying the whole of school life—its organization, discipline and the 'social work of the teacher' as well as teaching methods—the demonstration school was ideally placed as the living embodiment of the emerging new educational theory. It was envisaged that in the demonstration school the systematic observation and recording of children's learning, demonstration of good practice to students by experienced teachers and opportunities for teaching practice for students would combine to provide a sound scientific basis for a practical pedagogy. Moreover, the demonstration school would bridge the theory of the lecture theatre with the practice of the school. According to Findlay,

> …the demonstration school is expressly designed to correlate the lectures on education with the practical exposition of method, to give reality to the study of method and of curricula, to foster the spirit of investigation, to enable the student to come into close contact with individual children for an extended period and in the careful study of the characteristics of children.[22]

He wanted training colleges for teachers to become far more than mere 'degree-getting academies' and urged the government to provided the means for real

practice-based research in demonstration schools.[23] Fully staffed by an elite corps of expert classroom teachers who were also able to work with students as demonstrators of good practice, he wanted a national system of demonstration schools controlled by college authorities and inspected by the Board of Education under the regulations for the training of teachers. He used the example of his work at Manchester to demonstrate the advantages of such a model and argued that,'…all alike concur in finding that great benefit is derived from associating theory with practice, and from practice of a sort which involves real responsibilities for results'.[24]

It was Catherine Dodd, Mistress of Method at Manchester University, Department of Education, before Findlay's arrival there, who made the first tentative steps towards the demonstration school ideal at the University of Manchester. At her instigation and with the approval of the University Council, an elementary school and kindergarten were opened in 1902 in a house in Brunswick Street near the college. The school was designated a demonstration school where experiments could be made in new methods of teaching and where students could observe carried out in practice the methods of teaching they were learning on their training course. The school was entirely dependent on voluntary subscriptions.[25] When Findlay was appointed to the Sarah Fielden Chair in Education in 1903, he prepared a scheme for a second demonstration school for boys between the ages of 10 and 15 years. A house was taken in Lime Grove and the school was opened in 1905, with financial support from Sarah Fielden, a benefactress of the University.[26] Eventually a much larger house and grounds in Victoria Park were purchased by Sarah Fielden which meant that the kindergarten and primary departments as well as secondary could all operate together. The school was organized with ten classes of children, ranging from 5–15 years, with an average of 20 children in each class. In addition to the classrooms, there were two large demonstration rooms, equipped for the purpose with chairs as well as the usual classroom furniture and able to accommodate up to 30 students. These rooms were acknowledged to be too small for the purpose, and attempts were made to erect in the grounds a demonstration hall specially adapted for the work. Lack of funding meant that this ambition was never fulfilled. With two acres of grounds there was plenty of scope for the development of nature study and outdoor activities.

As it was financed and managed by a trust, the school was fee-paying, charging between 1s to 1s 6d per week or up to £3 per year. This fee scale was comparable to a cheaper fee-paying secondary school. It was attractive to lower middle-class parents living in the suburbs of the city who were impressed with the small classes, high academic standards and individual attention offered by the school. An inspection report from 1905 suggested that parents were very pleased with the school 'due to the fact that there is such life and intelligence and

earnestness in the whole atmosphere. Everything is, or may be, the subject of discussion. Reasons must be ready for everything done.'[27] Moreover, parents were consulted and fully informed about the experimental work of the school, with regular meetings with Findlay and the rest of the staff.[28]

The staffing of the schools was considered with great care. The Headmaster, Headmistress and demonstrators were all people of wide practical experience in schools. Also, junior posts were filled either by graduate students who had completed the Manchester University training course and showed particular professional promise, or by other experienced teachers seeking to take advantage of the opportunity to pursue their professional studies further. Part of Findlay's plan was to use the school as a training ground for educational research. Former students were handpicked to specialize in educational research, receiving a small salary and operating as research students, with a light teaching load and plenty of time for the advanced study of education in the school. The senior teachers were partly paid by the University to assist in the oversight of students and a share in teaching and supervision was also undertaken by lecturers and demonstrators from the University Department of Education.

In terms of organization and curriculum, the school took children from the age of 4 to 15, offering kindergarten, primary and upper-school courses. In each of these stages there were various experiments with testing out new methods of teaching and curriculum, such as the use of Montessori apparatus in the kindergarten, applying the Dewey curriculum to the primary school and curriculum development in modern languages and mathematics teaching in the upper school. The curriculum and methods were regularly discussed and altered and there was a special emphasis on cross-curricular links and fitting certain subjects to the age range and abilities of children. The branches of teaching comprised the usual subjects taught in public schools, due attention being paid to arithmetic, handwriting and other elementary studies. In addition, special attention was paid to drawing and handicrafts, physical exercise, singing and nature knowledge. Where possible open-air teaching took place. The schools did not undertake to prepare scholars for public examinations or for scholarships but sought to equip both boys and girls for future careers in the mercantile or industrial world.[29] Investigations were also conducted outside the field of teaching proper, on the social and physical and psychological aspects of child life and an annual school camp was organized for this purpose. These experiments formed the subject of seminar discussions by university staff and students.

A well-documented example of experimentation at the Fielden Schools was the application of Montessorian principles to the work of the kindergarten under the leadership of headmistress Miss K.Steel. In a book published in 1914, Steel and Findlay explained how they had studied and discussed the experiment with

colleagues, visitors and students alongside the everyday business of teaching the children.[30] From September 1912, for one year they had set aside the first hour of the school day in the kindergarten with children aged 4–6 years for experimenting with apparatus either copied from Montessori models or designed on similar principles. Adolescent girls from the upper school were also involved in the work as part of their own domestic training. Arguing that their own '… freedom from pedagogic shibboleths' allowed for open debate and constructive criticism, they were not wholeheartedly supportive of the Montessori method. In particular they were unhappy with the commercialism of manufactured Montessoriism and were worried that if the system were widely applied to British schools, then important differences of culture, race, context and environment might hinder its effectiveness.[31] Steel, however, did like the way in which the Montessori method forced teachers to engage in systematic child study and urged the importance of demonstration schools for securing evidence of the value of such educational techniques. Significantly, school inspectors found that the experimental culture of the school did not appear to influence unduly the attention or performance of the children, who were clearly accustomed to being observed and taught by a variety of staff.[32]

Students were introduced to practical study in the schools in two ways: the demonstration lesson; and the constructive criticism lesson. One or two hours in each week were set apart for a demonstration lesson, which could be attended by some 30 students at a time, as well as the normal class of children. The lesson was selected from the regular programme of a class, to exemplify certain principles of curriculum and method, and would be preceded by an account in the lecture room of the aims underlying the work and followed at a subsequent lecture by a discussion of results. Students were required to record the lesson and to seek an interpretation of their observations. At the same time they were encouraged to see the relation of this single lesson to the entire plan of pursuits. A series of such lessons, accompanied by investigation of principles, provided students in further sessions with a practical body of knowledge on the daily work of teaching children in classes. Having gained experience in this way students proceeded to put this knowledge to use by undertaking charge of a class. A few lessons would be observed to gain knowledge of the class and then the student would be made responsible for teaching the class for a school term, guided and supported by a demonstrator or class teacher. All preparation of lessons would be recorded and evaluated.

The oversight and examination into methods was completed in the work of the seminar. This idea was borrowed from the German model introduced by Rein, a follower of Herbart at Jena University. Students were expected, as soon as they had their class under control, to give an open lesson in the presence of the third-year group of diploma students, and thereafter, at a separate meeting, to explain,

and if needs be to defend, their plan of teaching. A well-conducted seminar served to bring into relief the main ideas underlying the plan of teaching, and as, week-by-week, the work of different parts of a school was brought under review, the students were encouraged to make a comprehensive survey of the various groups of school pursuits and of the methods employed to achieve the ends proposed. The ethos of the model emphasized collaboration between children, teachers, lecturers and demonstrators.

Detailed records were logged of the physical and mental development of the children. As well as providing a valuable database for the study of child development and children's learning, they were also an integral part of a child development course taken by students. This course, for example, was planned to provide a practical knowledge of the mental and physical development of children. Selected problems of school life, such as the development of speech, the growth of number ideas, self-expression in drawing, were dealt with in some detail. Students would undertake detailed observations of, for example, a child's speech, recording what was said and the conditions under which the observation took place. Results would then be discussed, classified and examined in seminars. A government inspection of the school in 1908 found that: 'Students there see the whole question of practical education approached in a systematic and scientific manner; they learn the problems involved are more complex and closely related to individual difference than they would find in the ordinary course of practice; in particular they are made to realize the human (or humanistic) side of their work.'[33]

On a more modest scale, other demonstration school experiments were being conducted elsewhere. At Leeds Day Training College, for example, whilst there was not one dedicated or independent demonstration school, an arrangement was negotiated with the LEA for the Blenheim Girls' and Boys' Schools, in partnership with the University to function as demonstration schools.[34] Selected for their high quality staff, who were subsequently paid an honorarium of £10 from the University for their demonstration work, these schools were used for practice and demonstration. Students attended these schools for the purpose of hearing lessons given by the teachers, and of giving lessons themselves. At the conclusion of the lesson a discussion, not criticism, of the lesson was led by the tutor in charge, the head teacher of the school and the class teacher. This was comparable to the seminar which operated at Manchester University. Subsequently, because of pressure of numbers, more schools in the city were adopted as demonstration schools. Whilst the extent of experimentation in terms of curriculum and methods was limited, one of the Leeds Day Training College demonstration schools at Kirkstall Road, under the headship of John Eades, went on to become a centre for the implementation of the Dalton plan and other experimental project methods in the mid 1920s.[35] In London, a similar scheme

operated. Childeric Road School was the designated demonstration school for the University of London Day Training College. Questions of curriculum and methods were determined by college staff in conjunction with the head teacher of the school to ensure that there was a close relationship between the principles of teaching taught in the college and those observed in the school. Head teachers from the demonstration schools in the London area organized themselves into a professional association so that they could discuss the special problems and interests of that type of school.[36] At Darlington Training College, negotiations with the LEA resulted in the College's practising school becoming the Arthur Pease Demonstration School. In 1913 the College narrowed the age range of the school by removing the infants' department and specializing in girls over seven years of age.[37] It went on to carry out experiments in Montessori methods, in the aesthetic development of children as well as trying out some of the philosophies of Dalcroze and Dewey.

THE FAILURE OF THE DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL EXPERIMENT

A closer consideration of some of the difficulties faced by Leeds University in the implementation of a demonstration model illustrates the nature of the practical problems that dogged the scheme as it was applied in the diluted form to that fully envisaged by the TCA, necessitated by negotiation with the LEA. In 1923 the University of Leeds held a conference on its demonstration school scheme at which staff of the schools were consulted and asked for written confirmation of their views. A conference report described the practical working of the scheme, which consisted of eight specially selected schools in Leeds. The schools had 14 students in attendance for most of the week for school practice and observation purposes. On the first Thursday of every month 60–70 students would attend to watch a demonstration lesson given by the school staff. The University staff were not engaged in teaching in the schools but did teach initial demonstration lessons at the University to classes of children sent from the school. During the summer term students would take up to three further weeks of intensive school practice in the schools. Four clear problems emerged from the discussion.

First, there was the question of staffing of demonstration schools. Whilst Leeds eventually recognized that teachers ought to be financially rewarded for their additional services as demonstrators, this did not come without some disagreement and debate within the University. As early as 1917, Margaret Stainton, Headmistress of Blenheim Girls' School, had written to the University to complain that for over a year she had been expecting a financial settlement to be formalized. Arguing that the demonstration work generated more than double the normal workload of her teachers both within and outside of school, she was

strongly of the opinion that if the work was properly valued, then the teachers should be paid.[38] The University wanted the most experienced and competent teachers to work with their students, but teachers were not always willing to engage in demonstration work. A separate survey conducted by the TCA in 1924 suggested that teachers were wary of applying for posts in demonstration schools, fearing the pressure of being on show, the interference in their routine class work by students and the rushes of work that might arise when new methods were being trialled. Ideally, if their contribution to the professional training of students was recognized and valued, demonstration school staff should have been made associate University staff and should automatically have been awarded salaries in advance of the normal salary scales. Financial wrangling within the University of Leeds and with the LEA demonstrated the difficulty of applying this principle.

Secondly, there was the practical management of students in a working school. John Eades described how he had over a hundred students at any one time to observe a demonstration lesson. Whilst the school was physically capable of accommodating such numbers, Eades was worried that demonstration work would interfere with the general work of the school. Similarly at the Blenheim Boys' School, up to eight students would be in attendance at all teaching sessions. In addition to this, on the first Thursday of every month in the afternoon, up to 70 students would come to watch four or five individual class lessons being given by the school staff. Students were spread across the school, but a total of 12 students could be in attendance at any one lesson. Again, there were concerns about the disruption to the children and the teachers from such a heavy student presence. Different models of practice and observation were tested to give schools free time from work with students. At the Blenheim Girls' School, for example, there was a free period from the end of February to the beginning of July when teachers and children were only required for weekly group demonstration and criticism lessons, before an intensive period of school practice during July.

Thirdly, there was the potentially deleterious effect on the education of the children. Weak students could unsettle the work and discipline of classes for which they were made temporarily responsible. Even if students were of good quality, the continuity of work was often broken, many new projects being started by students on a placement and not completed. Whilst the students were primarily motivated by a desire to gain experience and qualify, teachers in the demonstration school were also charged with the responsibility of advancing individual children.[39] Whilst evidence from the Fielden Schools was largely positive in relation to the combined effects of continuous exposure to inexperienced students and an experimental culture, there were still concerns that children would ultimately suffer from such a multi-purpose learning environment.

This potential conflict of interest between the educational needs of students and of children raises the final and possibly the most serious obstacle to the full realization of the demonstration school ideal. It centres on broader ethical issues in educational organization and research which continue to exercise teachers and educationists today. Conducting educational experiments in publicly-funded schools was not and could not ever be properly likened to say medical research in a scientific laboratory, even though Findlay alluded to such an analogy. Having established and set up the machinery to control, monitor and inspect a national state education system it is not surprising that the Board of Education prevaricated over the full implementation of the demonstration school ideal. Whilst the practice and demonstration aspects of the idea were acceptable and necessary to the proper professional training of future elementary and secondary teachers, the experimental or laboratory aspects were much more risky and had the potential to threaten or undermine the status quo. Independently funded institutions, rather like the Fielden Schools, were more acceptable because they did not formally fall under the auspices of a national state system.

The ideal of the demonstration school as envisaged by the TCA and its leading advocates was never fully realized. Many of the reasons for the failure of the demonstration school model to take a serious hold in teacher training establishments have been generally outlined above in the historical overview. Contested control, inadequate funding and conflicting interests made the practical actualization of the ideal virtually impossible. Yet, as an ideal with some, albeit short-lived, grounding in reality through the work of the Fielden Schools and some other experiments, it had considerable promise. Not only did it offer exciting opportunities in the refinement of professional training through systematic and rigorous demonstration and observation, but it also offered a basis for the establishment of a school-based tradition of educational research and theory building which had hitherto been impossible. The demonstration school ideal represented the possibility of a close partnership between working schools and training institutions. It could only work well if staff were sufficiently experienced and willing to work closely with students to demonstrate effective methods of teaching. A demonstration school provided space and time for reflection, discussion and debate about pedagogy and also opened up numerous possibilities for curriculum innovation, research into child development and experimentation. The fact that the potential of the demonstration school ideal was impeded begs a number of questions about its practical viability.

THE DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL IDEAL REVISITED! TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY TRAINING SCHOOLS

Whilst historically the early twentieth century demonstration school was a somewhat transient phenomenon, it is interesting that recent government initiatives to improve standards in initial teacher training have revived some of its main qualities and core principles. In September 2000, the government launched its new 'Training Schools' scheme, which was promised in the 1998 Green Paper, 'Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change', as one strategy for the improvement of standards in initial teacher training, based upon a much more active partnership between HEIs and working schools. In theory, the idea of the twenty-first century Training School resonates with the idea of the twentieth-century Demonstration School. Charged with demonstrating good practice in ITT, training mentors and undertaking school-based research, Training Schools are expected to work in close partnership with a nominated HEI and other schools where appropriate. In the first round of applications for Training School status a total of 130 bids was received, of which 44, mostly secondary schools, were accepted. Selected for their existing reputation for good practice in teacher training and a commitment, along with their named HEI provider, to develop and disseminate more innovative approaches to ITT work, these Training Schools are being funded through the government's Standard Fund for three years in the first instance. A further round of 28 Training Schools was appointed in September 2001. It is envisaged that Training Schools through their close involvement with ITT, will not only contribute to the raising of standards in the professional preparation of future teachers, but because of the nature of their work and research will operate at the cutting edge of new developments in pedagogy. This in turn will have a positive influence on pupil achievement and overall school effectiveness.[40]

One of the projects being undertaken by the Training Schools scheme is the creation of designated teaching observatories so that trainees can observe lessons in 'real time'. Updated in terms of technology and modes of transmission, nevertheless, this idea echoes the ambitions of Findlay in 1908 for a purpose-built demonstration hall in the grounds of the Fielden Schools. Integral to the project is the belief that trainee teachers will benefit from a regulated exposure to model forms of live teaching, which will form the basis of observation, discussion, interpretation and subsequent refinement of pedagogical principles. Other projects include the provision of training in the field of special educational needs and training in innovative classroom management. These projects seek to integrate general educational practices with the needs of trainee teachers and have the potential to remove much of the polarized activities that have taken

place over the years in relation to the research and training activity of HEIs and the daily 'routine' teaching activities of schools.

Two important differences distinguish the current schemes from the old Demonstration School ideal which might make it more viable as a longer-term component of ITT and school-based research. First, as a government-sponsored and funded scheme aimed at improving standards in professional training it is centrally controlled and funded. Schools from all over England representing 59 LEAs, over a third of all LEAs, are working on the scheme which means that some geographical coherence and opportunities for formalized networking are possible. National conferences as well as regular contact through regional and email conferencing ensure that a forum for the dissemination and sharing of successful practice and research findings is readily available. Secondly, there is huge potential for tapping in to new technologies, hitherto unavailable to earlier reincarnations of the model. At an obvious level this radically improves and speeds up communication, and thus generates more immediate opportunities for debate, discussion and further experimentation. In addition, new technologies such as video-conferencing go a long way to address the physical problems of space and time, which plagued the original demonstration school ideal. Training Schools can now 'virtually' link up with groups of students and interact with them, whilst not disrupting the smooth running of their own classrooms and pupils.

The Training Schools initiative is very new and has so far not been externally evaluated. It clearly holds potential for improving standards in ITT and in creating a base from which educational experimentation and reform rooted in close co-operation between schools and HEI providers, might emerge. In 1911, Findlay wrote of the Fielden Schools that their direct purpose was '…to demonstrate by a practical example the principles of teaching imparted to students in training. It is believed that by this means our future teachers will also gain a practical understanding of, and sympathy with, educational reform. Reforms can only be realized when they are based on principles and tested by experiment.'[41] Whether or not the Training Schools will deliver on the government's brief for raising standards in ITT and how far they might fully develop along the lines of the demonstration school ideal as catalysts for educational reform remains to be seen.

NOTES

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6
LEARNING THROUGH PRACTICE III
EVALUATING STUDENT TEACHERS' 'POWER TO TEACH'

This chapter examines the way in which student teachers were introduced to the practical teaching dimension of their professional training and how this dimension was measured and monitored. A particular focus for this chapter will be a consideration of the way in which judgements about a student's teaching competence were formed and formalized in a final teaching grade. Comparisons between excellent, middling and poor students will be drawn in an attempt to understand what standards were expected and tolerated of student teachers and the key professional factors which were valued in this monitoring process. Two previously unused sources of data are used in the chapter. The first is a selection of teaching observation proformas drawn up by individual training providers as they assessed and compared their students.[1] The second is a range of school practice reports on individual students from six training providers in the period 1898–1920. By looking in some detail at the process of assessing students' practical performance and the criteria against which they were appraised, it will be possible to evaluate current ITT policy regarding the assessment of trainee teachers, according to a set of centrally prescribed competencies or standards from the perspective of a much longer historical continuum than is currently acknowledged. This analysis also illustrates further the concept of 'power to teach', as it related to the potential of novice teachers.

The chapter is in four main parts. First, arrangements for practical teaching will be outlined showing how different institutions interpreted government requirements in various ways. What was expected from students by way of responsibility for teaching and recording their work as well as students' perspectives on their practical experience will also be considered. Secondly, in an attempt to assess what professional qualities were being evaluated, the content of a range of observation proformas used by training institutions in the assessment of students will be reviewed. Thirdly, the grading of students' teaching competence on the scale A to E by training providers and by government inspectors and differences between levels of competence in a set of commonly understood criteria will be analysed. Finally, the use of a standards or

competency driven model of assessment in current ITT policy will be discussed in the light of previous historical developments.

PRACTICAL TEACHING ARRANGEMENTS

Whilst the government specified the amount of time which trainee teachers should spend in practical teaching experience, both in the training colleges and in the university departments of education, there was considerable latitude in the way in which training providers interpreted such regulations and numerous permutations on the arrangements for practical experience. Regulations changed throughout the period under review and were published either in codes of regulations for public elementary schools or in the annual regulations for the training of teachers. In 1900 students were required to spend a minimum of 150 hours in teaching practice, which could comprise a mixture of criticism, observation, demonstration or practical teaching activities.[2] The exact specification of hours was subsequently replaced with a set number of days, up to 60 hours to be spent in school practice and later again to a set number of weeks. By the early 1920s the general rule was that students on a two-year elementary course should spend up to 12 weeks engaged in practical school work, with at least half of this experience taking place in the final year of training. For those students who had prior experience of working in schools, either as pupil teachers, student teachers or monitors, the period of practical experience could be reduced to a minimum of six weeks.[3] In practice, most training providers made arrangements for between six to twelve weeks of practical experience. This varied in intensity, according to the facilities available, such as practising and demonstration schools, and the size and location of the training institution. The six to twelve weeks was spent partly in continuous blocked teaching placements of two to three weeks in working elementary schools, and partly in additional experience in practising and demonstration schools.

At St John's College, York, for example, in the period 1898–1906, practical teaching was broken down into three school placements of 84, 56 and 27 hours each in local York schools and up to eight individual criticism lessons in the college practising school.[4] This clearly exceeded the minimum requirement of 150 hours as specified by the Board of Education. During the same period at Cambridge Day Training College, a three-year elementary training course included four blocked school placements of 74.5, 82.5, 25 and 25 hours.[5] In 1900 Lincoln Training College interpreted the government's requirements by providing students in each year of training with an average of 72 hours in blocked three-week practices in local schools in the Michaelmas term, as well as eight hours of criticism lessons in the college practising schools during the Lent

or midsummer terms. Separate subject-specific teaching exercises were organized in local schools and a detailed child study also counted towards the practical teaching experience.

Whilst practical arrangements varied between providers it was common for training institutions to work on a model which gradually built up and extended the experience of students over the two or three years of the training course. A report from Chester Training College in 1913 outlined in detail the practical arrangements for students who were all required to undertake a minimum of nine weeks' practice in schools. If, however, students were deemed weak, in terms of efficiency, ability and thoroughness, then an extended period of practice was required. First-year students began their practical experience during the first term and spent one week in the college school. The purpose of this initial experience was to familiarize students with the general routine of school life and to observe methods of teaching and children. During the second term, first-year students would be sent to one of the nine designated practising schools in Chester and were expected to put into practice some of the methods taught in college lectures and demonstration lessons. A four-week block placement was arranged for the first term of the second year, either in Chester or Liverpool or Birkenhead schools. During this placement students were expected to take responsibility for a whole class and demonstrate ability in class management and discipline, as well as continuing to implement some of the methods taught in the college. In addition to these blocked placements, senior students were also expected to give up to three criticism lessons before their peers and junior students. A detailed child study was also included in the practical teaching requirements. Students were expected to keep all notes of lessons, criticism, and reports on visits of observation, as well as the records of the child study in special exercise books which were monitored and marked by various members of college staff. When on a blocked teaching placement, it was envisaged that students would prepare their lesson notes for the next day's teaching in the evening and have these checked by the master of method.[6] Darlington Training College adopted a similar gradual approach to exposing their students to increasingly more demanding practical experiences. A discussion paper on practical teaching, produced in 1913, recommended that in the first term, first-year students should spend one session a week, preferably mornings, for six weeks in school. The purpose of this initial placement was to acquaint students with the routine of the ordinary school and to give them structured opportunities for child study. Students would be organized into groups of eight and would experience the ordinary timetable of the school with an emphasis on arithmetic and English. During the second term this arrangement would continue, preferably with students observing afternoon sessions and a different range of curriculum activities. These half-day sessions were referred to as 'method work' and focused

on subject-specific teaching, demonstration and criticisms. By the third term students would move to a three and a half week blocked placement. Those students who had not worked as student teachers or uncertificated assistants prior to college training were expected to undertake a further two weeks school practice during the college vacation. During the second year, a similar pattern was followed with a continuous programme of method work in schools and a final school practice of three and a half weeks.

The challenge of ensuring that students were exposed to an appropriate balance of experience has already been discussed in Chapter 5, in the context of the demonstration school experiment. Nevertheless, training providers were clearly committed to improving their practical teaching arrangements and regularly discussed the possibility of modifying existing procedures in order to improve the experience for students. At Lincoln Training College, for example, staff meetings frequently addressed the issue of practical teaching and there were regular discussions about the balance of work between practical and theoretical requirements. In November 1912, the College experimented with a one-week's observation placement in Sheffield for senior students so that they would be exposed to a different type of school and social context. A range of schools participated in the experiment, including open-air schools, infant and special subject schools. This new departure was discussed at length in an article written by students in the Lincoln Training College Magazine. Subsequently, Lincoln students were required to undertake one blocked placement of three weeks and one of two weeks over a two-year course of training. Schools as far afield as Grantham, Nottingham, Louth and Boston were used for such placements as well as the College's own practising school. Prior to each of these block placements the normal College timetable was suspended so that students could plan lessons, discuss subject-specific issues with individual tutors and watch demonstration lessons in various subjects.[7] In 1919, in an attempt to widen the Sheffield experiment, an exchange visit to Whitelands Training College, London, for the purpose of observing script handwriting teaching in the demonstration schools was organized for selected senior students. During 1917–18, Wood Green Home and Colonial Training College conducted an interesting experiment in school practice, details of which were subsequently published in the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy*.[8] This experiment emphasized the value of student self-evaluation in school practice and was aimed at promoting greater reflexivity and self-awareness amongst young teachers. Two blocked placements of one week and two weeks in the first year were organized for students, with additional placements for weak students if necessary. This was followed by two longer placements of three weeks and two weeks in the second year with a regular diet of criticism and observation lessons in between. The College limited the usual close inspection of students by college staff in order to promote self-

criticism by students in formal discussion groups organized at the college in the evenings during school placements. Initially the College was disappointed with the quality of evaluations by students, but with some additional training and demonstration, found that the scheme generated some very fruitful debates and discussion without impeding the overall quality of teaching. The scheme was subsequently modified to include a mixture of self-criticism, renamed 'individual comment', group criticism and inspection by college staff.

In order for their practical and professional skills to be effectively monitored, students were all required to keep systematic records which were available for inspection throughout the training course. By the 1920s training providers were beginning to draw up codes of practice to ensure schools, supervisors and students all understood what was expected of them during periods of school practice.[9] At Cambridge Day Training College, for example, every student was required to keep a written record of school practice in a large notebook. Records would contain general information on the school, the class, the timetable and individual children. In addition, for at least two lessons taught per day, full notes including subject matter and the method of teaching were to be provided. It was advised that these notes should be such that a person who was not present at the lesson would be able to understand clearly the parts played by both teacher and class in each stage of the lesson. From the first day of the school practice, students were expected to get to know the class, learn names and make notes on the position of the class in relation to the school syllabus. A member of school staff was appointed as official supervisor to arrange periods of observation in other classes, the integration of the student into the wider extra-curricular life of the school and to discuss teaching sessions. A member of college staff would visit the students in school to inspect records, discuss general progress with the school supervisor and observe teaching sessions. Students were reminded that they should co-operate with the school and its staff and behave as though they were a fully responsible member of staff.

Student memoirs from Lincoln and Ripon Training Colleges not only corroborate the nature of practical arrangements for school practice outlined above but offer different insights into the experience from the student's perspective. Memoirs emphasize the stress that was placed on the writing of detailed lesson notes that could then be checked and monitored either by college or school supervisors and the keeping of weekly and daily plans as well as individual lesson plans in specially designated record books or school practice diaries.

Students were often extremely anxious about school practice and knew how important their overall performance was to the successful completion of the training course. Clara Smith, a student at Lincoln Training College during the early 1930s, recalled three school placements each of three weeks in length in

Grantham, Scunthorpe and Gainsborough, the first one being a paired practice in which, 'frightened to death we were. All frightened to death about it, so that I think they put two together, so two of you could share the class.'[10] Peer support was an important feature of the overall experience of school practice for students in residential institutions, the evening discussions, shared planning and resource-making sessions all contributing to a sense of camaraderie and confidence-building amongst students on practice. Elsie Armitage, a student at Lincoln College during 1925–27, wrote, 'During the two year's training we had to do three spells of teaching. I enjoyed the work and although teaching practice and the observation lessons which we had to give were an ordeal we had fun and laughter.'[11]

Given that training institutions devoted so much time to setting up school practice and observing students at work, it is interesting that the students themselves were unclear about the process of assessment. In particular, it would seem that they were not given any advance warning of a visit by a college lecturer, the implication being that they should always be in a position to be observed at their best.

> The lecturers would come in and you never knew when they were coming in and they would sit at the back and read your notes and might write something on them and then of course we had the discussions afterward, and they would tell you things then, but nobody knew what their final teachers marks were. All I knew was that I got a job in Birmingham and we all knew that Birmingham wouldn't accept any low grade teachers.[12]

Mrs Timms, also at Lincoln Training College recalled,

> we never knew when they were coming round. There was perhaps a little whisper that so and so was on the warpath. Then you would get somebody come and look at you and sit at the back of the class. But you didn't know they were coming, but you knew there was somebody around and they could just walk in. They went a lot on what your class teacher said.[13]

ASSESSING STUDENT TEACHERS THROUGH LESSON OBSERVATIONS

Whilst students' formal records of their practical school work formed part of the evidence used to assess their professional development, the main source of evidence of teaching ability was derived from written observations of a range of individual class lessons taught by the student under review. Method personnel as well as specialist subject tutors and school-based advisers or supervisors would

be involved in the formal observation of students on teaching practice. To ensure some degree of consistency in the assessment of students, many training institutions developed observation schedules or proformas to assist their staff in making judgements about the quality of a student's professional work. These observation proformas varied between institutions in terms of length, level of detail and order of emphasis but tended to cover very similar ground and identified a common set of professional and personal skills which were deemed necessary for judging teaching competence. There would also have been a variation in the number of observation visits a student teacher might expect to receive. The degree to which students displayed strengths or weaknesses in these core professional qualities determined the nature of their final report and their grading for school practice.

The content of teaching observation proformas from six of the training institutions studied, three university departments and three training colleges, has been analysed in an attempt to understand what formal criteria were being used for the assessment of students' performance as teachers and also the nature of the descriptive language used to articulate the core professional qualities or skills which student teachers were expected to exhibit.[14] By way of illustration the content of these proformas is replicated in full in Tables 2–7. Only one proforma from Southampton Day Training College was found completed and the written comments on the student under review are included alongside the proforma headings. Common to all proformas was an initial section which would contain important factual details such as name of student, period of practice, name of school, class taken, subject taken and any special considerations. These details have not been replicated. Some proformas, such as those from Darlington Training College, Southampton Day Training College and St John's Training College provide greater elaboration of main headings, some with specific examples and subheadings. Clearly, these proformas, represented in Tables 2–4, are more useful for the purpose of trying to understand the finer points of detail of the criteria used to assess students in practice and provide richer material for analysis. Others, such as those for Cambridge Day Training College, Chester Training College and Leeds Day Training College, represented in Tables 5–7, just contain a brief list of general headings under which notes could be made. It would only be possible to flesh out the detail on these general proformas if supplementary written prose reports on individual students were available. This is the case for Cambridge and Leeds, but not for Chester. These will be reviewed later in the chapter when the grading of students is discussed (see Tables 2–7 at the end of the chapter).

Whilst acknowledging the individual differences in layout and depth of this sample of teaching observation proformas, it is, however, possible to identify across the sample eight common broad categories under which student teachers

were assessed. These were: planning; personality; teach ing; class management; discipline; progress of children; relationships with children; professional promise. The language used to describe these broad categories varies between proformas, so, for example, whilst Darlington Training College specifies a clear heading entitled 'personality', the guidance for Chester Training College refers to the slightly more ambiguous headings of 'manner' and 'temper'. Table 8 shows the extent to which these categories apply across the sample. Where individual categories are not present in the proformas, these largely relate to those represented in Tables 5–7, which contain less detailed information. An exception to this is in proforma 1 from Southampton Day Training College which makes no reference to progress of children (see Table 8 at the end of the chapter).

Having established the broad categories of assessment it is possible to begin to define how these were articulated in terms of expectation. The importance of careful planning and preparation is evident in five of the six proformas. At a simple level, lesson plans and notes were reviewed as evidence of good planning. In addition to written plans, students were expected to demonstrate thoroughness and foresight in their preparation for individual lessons including the setting up of any necessary apparatus, illustrations, models or teaching aids and the organization of the class for the lesson. Part of this preparation included an awareness of the particular needs of the class or age-group of children, so that materials were appropriate and pitched at the right level. Some treatment of the personality of student teachers was a category common to all proformas, though it is difficult to quantify exactly what was being monitored in this respect. Somewhat nebulous and highly subjective personality traits under review included manner, temper, empathy with children, which could have a bearing on the teacher-pupil relationship, ability to seek and take advice, self-awareness, tact, general intelligence, flexibility and adaptability. Within the broad category of teaching, a range of skills can be identified, including the ability to draw upon a range of methods appropriate to the lesson and children, the ability to interest, inspire and stimulate children to learn, the appropriate use of questioning and responding to children's answers, appropriate pace and structure of delivery. Class management and discipline appear to be similar areas and included general control of the class, the ability to manage children, the effective use of teaching aids, some attention to the layout and physical teaching space and general classroom presence. The categories 'progress of children' and 'relationships with children' are less clear-cut and only appear in half of the sample. In both instances this might relate to the cross-over between personality traits and teaching qualities. Set against the other eight categories which would possibly have been more easy to quickly identify, either in student records or through lesson observations, these two categories relate to the impact of the teacher on the children's learning and would have been difficult to judge without a thorough

knowledge of the children involved. Nevertheless they indicate some concern with measuring the effectiveness of the teacher. The final category, often subsumed under general comments, provided some indication of the wider impact of the student in the life of the school and his or her potential contribution to the teaching profession when fully qualified.

The categories outlined in these observation schedules formed a fairly loose framework against which student teachers were monitored and assessed. Uncompleted and used for the whole student body in any one institution, these proformas represented a removed ideal and not the reality of student experience. Yet they do offer valuable insights into the professional skills and qualities that student teachers were being initiated into during their course of training. The language used to describe these skills or qualities might have changed in the intervening century, but it is clear that many of the categories discussed above in the context of early twentieth century student teachers, remain central to the training process today. Just as individual training institutions set out criteria for the observation, monitoring and assessment of student teachers a century ago, so too do current training providers as they seek to ensure that their trainees are effectively judged against the government's standards for ITT.

GRADING STUDENT TEACHERS' PERFORMANCE

A further body of material in the form of written prose reports on individual students, together with teaching practice grades, complements and extends the analysis of blank observation proformas. These not only begin to qualify and explain the categories of professional competence in the proformas, but also indicate levels of success or failure and degrees of progression. Written reports on student teachers were available for six groups of students across five of the training institutions studied spanning the period 1898–1920: London Training College, with separate reports on men and women students, Cambridge Day Training College, Southampton Day Training College, Leeds Day Training College and St John's Training College.[15] This sample clearly favours the university day training colleges, with only one example of denominational training college present, but this is a reflection on the survival of these records in the institutions studied, rather than a deliberate decision.

Copies of written reports on individual students were usually kept in a ledger and varied in length between one or two fairly short paragraphs to full-page entries per students. On consulting these documents I noted examples of comments upon students who were classified on the A–E scale by reading through the whole range of reports available. I also noted samples of full reports for students graded in each of the five categories. I then hoped to be able to categorize the range of comments or factors present within the grading system

and test for consistency between insti tutions. A complicating factor in this process of data collection and selection was the subdivision of categories in some places into minus and plus. Also, St John's College used a numerical grading system on a scale up to 160 marks, instead of the more usual A-E scale and I had to try to adapt this scale to make it compatible with the other data. In spite of the unavoidable difficulties of comparison and the small sample consulted, it has, nevertheless, been possible to draw some general conclusions from this exercise. From a starting point of identifying a set of shared positive and negative comments within a range of common professional categories, most of which appear in the observation proformas but are made less explicit in the written reports, it was then possible to break these comments down according to the grading of students and form a sense of what profiles very good (A), good (B), average (C), poor (D) and failing (E) student teachers would have presented.

Significantly, in 1922, the Chief Inspector for Training Colleges, Herbert Ward, grappled with a similar set of concerns when he tried formally to establish recognizable profiles for student teachers on the A-E scale in a descending order of merit.[16] According to Ward the 'A' student '…ought to have something distinctive either in personality, in superior education or in experience. One of the marks of such a student will be the obvious capacity for growth. He will have a touch of craftsmanship and will thus be distinguishable from the journeyman, however skilled.' Independence of thought, adaptability and a willingness to apply their intelligence and knowledge to their work in schools characterized an 'A' grade teacher. Ward suggested that 'A' grade teachers would be few and far between. 'B' class students, also relatively few in number, were classified as good teachers with decided promise, not quite having the panache of the 'A' student. Ward described them as not having 'mastered the whole art of carrying with them all the members of their classes or of selecting and marshalling the subject matter of their lessons. But they will possess some skill in technique and some power of 'getting home' their lessons. They will be on good terms with the children and able to control them with necessary firmness.' With a few years' additional experience after qualifying, it was expected that the majority of 'B' rated students would become 'A' rated teachers—'real masters of their craft'. The main body of students, still with much to learn, would fall into the 'C' category and it was hoped that they would become serviceable teachers. The main weaknesses of a 'C' rated student were listed as imperfect self-control and self-awareness, imperfect class control and management, want of appreciation of the knowledge and abilities of the class, faulty presentation of matter to be taught, an inability to get children to work themselves and various other more minor technical issues. Whilst 'B' teachers were not deemed 'fully skilful', they were different from 'C' teachers by virtue of their promise, independence and the extent of their weaknesses. Ward emphasized, however, that the 'C' grade should

not be viewed in too much of a negative light. Rather, it indicated the 'beginnings of skill and the germ of teacher-like qualities not yet developed'. Experience in a supportive school would render 'C' rated teachers entirely satisfactory members of the profession. In contrast, Ward argued that 'D' rated teachers, about whose future there was some doubt, were markedly inferior but not necessarily failures. Only 'half-grown in personality and maturity', Ward recommended that 'D' rated teachers should be mentored by a sympathetic and wise head teacher. If not, there was a real danger that they would become 'the drudges of the teaching world'. An 'E' rated student was one who, by virtue of natural incompetence or inability, had failed in practical teaching and should not be allowed to qualify for teaching. These general descriptions of student grades clearly valued the importance of personality in the makeup of the young teacher and were influenced by views on the students' future potential and contribution to the profession. They also recognized that student teachers were not fully-fledged professionals and that their future development and ultimate teaching power would be strongly influenced by broader experience and the right kind of supportive working environment. Ward's categories, intended for guidance not prescription, provide a useful benchmark against which to test those from the wider sample and also share a similar time frame.

At the first level of analysis of the wider sample of written reports, common factors were identified and a set of positive and negative comments collated. These largely correlate with the criteria identified in the observation schedules above but also include subject knowledge, with some of the other categories joined together. For purposes of comparison the following seven broad categories were used: planning/preparation; subject knowledge; teaching; class and behaviour management; relationships with children; personality; professional promise. Some of the constituents of effective school practice identified in the comments in written reports, included thorough and intelligent preparation and planning, clear aims and objectives, a firm grounding in subject knowledge, a willingness to experiment with new ways of stimulating children's interest, varied questioning techniques, presenting matter in a logical and systematic fashion and the flexibility to use children's responses to steer the progress of the lesson. Those rather nebulous, but critical, personal qualities of character, combined with professional insight, adaptability and resourcefulness were also assessed. Conversely, negative comments were made on students who were deemed ill-prepared, whose whole voice, manner and bearing was weak and ineffectual, who lacked intelligence in their application of matter to method and in their production of illustrations and blackboard diagrams and whose teaching style took no account of the needs of the children in their charge. Table 9 shows examples of this range of comments against the criteria identified (see Table 9 at the end of the chapter).

Having established the shared criteria and the nature of comments made against them, the next stage of analysis involved breaking these down further to establish how they related to the A–E scale. This enables a deeper understanding of what constituted proficiency in, for example, teaching or class management. Rather than trying to compare whole profiles of 'A' students, 'B' students as so forth, what this analysis does is compare progression within the A–E scale across the seven broad categories of assessment.

It is difficult to distinguish between 'A' and 'B' class students with regard to comments on planning and preparation. A thorough, systematic, effective, methodical and purposeful approach was common to both categories. 'A' class students had the edge in terms of their consistency and 'universal' well-preparedness, suggesting that the distinction was one of degree. 'C' class students might demonstrate satisfactory but insufficiently detailed planning and weaknesses in preparation for individual lessons. 'D' class students had serious weaknesses in their preparation, with meagre lesson notes. What distinguished a 'D' from a 'C' class student in terms of preparation was the degree of ineffectiveness, so that even if planning was in evidence it was not very good. 'E' class students were not prepared at all.

In terms of subject knowledge, it is again difficult to distinguish between 'A' and 'B' class students, whose 'first rate academic ability' and good subject knowledge were noted. In comparison 'C' class students demonstrated average subject knowledge, fitting with their overall 'average' professional persona. They showed lack of understanding when applying subject knowledge to lessons for children and little evidence of an ability to transfer knowledge. 'D' class students were classified with superficial subject knowledge and 'E' class students with extremely limited subject knowledge and no ideas of their own.

The teaching category was multi-dimensional and included skill in method, questioning, exposition, narrative power, the effective use of teaching aids and the ability to pitch work at the right level for the children taught as well as the use of the voice to communicate. 'A' grade students would demonstrate a willingness to experiment with different approaches and methods and would have plenty of good ideas for teaching, with a repertoire of techniques such as narration, exposition, demonstration and modelling. They would know how to utilize the answers of pupils and ensure that the work was pitched at the right level for the age, ability and previous experience of the class. The effective use of a range of teaching aids and illustrations, with particular emphasis on skill in blackboard illustrations characterized an 'A' grade teacher, whose use of voice would be clear with correct pronunciation intonation and variety in tone. In terms of use of voice, questioning and use of teaching aids, there was little to distinguish 'A' and 'B' grade students. However, 'B' students often had a tendency to lecture rather than teach children and were less skilled in adapting to

the previous experience and ability of different groups of children. An example of a 'B' graded student from the University of London Day Training College illustrates some of these points:

> An intelligent teacher and keen worker with a pleasant manner but somewhat diffident and self-conscious. His science lessons show considerable intellectual power and teaching ability, though he has a tendency to lecture and occasionally talks over the heads of his pupils. He is however making good progress and promises to become a very good teacher. He has a good presence, a good voice, handles his apparatus and blackboard well and is on very good terms with his boys.

'C'grade teachers, whilst passing as satisfactory in teaching skills, were often described as being 'mechanical' in the delivery of their lessons, thus rendering them dull, boring and lacking in conviction. They also struggled with pitching work at the right level. Overuse or under-use of teaching aids was reported for 'C' grade teachers. Their questioning skills were underdeveloped and did not follow through with appropriate treatment of answers. Problems with their use of voice were frequently highlighted, including asperity, squeaky and slovenly spoken styles. Reports often criticized 'C' grade student teachers for their dialect or regional accents. 'D'grade teachers had little grasp of method, with limited imagination or originality in ideas for lessons. Their questioning was feeble, illogical and ill-formed and they used teaching aids inappropriately. It was in their use of voice that 'D' grade teachers were most severely criticized. Inexpressive, flat, monotonous, soporific and inaudible use of voice was described. 'D' grade teachers were unable to juggle the various demands on them as teachers and as a consequence could not see the class as a group of individual children. An example of this can be found in a report from Leeds Day Training College:

> Mr A is good natured but weak. He has no control of voice and confuses passivity with attention. He is very industrious but ineffective. His voice is soporific. Lessons are adequately prepared but spoiled by voice and slowness in speech and lack of knowledge of children. Blackboard not intelligently used.

'E'grade teachers had very similar profiles to 'D' grade teachers, with greater severity in the comments. The general comment upon 'E' grade teachers was that they had no teaching power and were unlikely ever to get it!

Class and behaviour management, included a range of skills including organizing a class, setting children to work, managing classroom routines,

maintaining an effective classroom presence and managing children's behaviour. 'A' and 'B' students possessed an easy confidence when managing a class, largely through their own personal influence and powerful classroom presence and natural, but not overblown, authority. For 'A' and 'B' students discipline was not a problem, largely because children responded well under firm and fair control. In contrast, 'C' class students had a more aloof, brisk and 'business like' approach to class management, often experiencing difficulties with class control and commanding less respect from their pupils due to lack of force, presence or from trying too hard to be accepted. An example of this can be found in a report on a 'C' grade student from Southampton Day Training College, 'Miss A has a nervous manner with a touch of asperity. She is business-like in details. She should make a very serviceable mistress.' 'D' class students were frequently deemed 'uninspiring' and 'weak' in terms of their class and behaviour management and these qualities would have been quickly picked up on by pupils. A classroom presence lacking heart and life often caused students to turn to hasty and ill-tempered control strategies. 'E' class students lacked animation altogether, with a dry, formal and inaccessible classroom presence.

In their ability to form good relationships and be on good terms with children, there was little to distinguish 'A' and 'B' class students. 'A' class students might have demonstrated a better understanding of children and taken care to know children as individuals, whilst 'B' class students took a keen interest in children who in turn regarded and respected them. 'C' class students were less tuned in to the individuals in their classes and 'D' class students demonstrated a serious lack of knowledge or understanding of children. 'E' class students were totally incapable of forming any relationships with children and may even have shown signs of positively disliking them.

In the final two categories, personality and professional promise, the distinction between grades is much clearer. Regarding personality, 'A' grade students shone. They were often described as having distinctive qualities of charm, intelligence, determination, enthusiasm for the job, vitality and acumen.

> A man of first-rate character and determination. Full of enthusiasm for his work, working hard and learning fast. Most attractive in himself and certain to have the very best influence on his pupils. Cultured in voice, manner and appearance. Such faults as he had at first e.g. rapidity of speech, a certain restlessness of manner, a tendency to needless repetition and an insufficient awareness of his class, are gone. He teaches now easily and with lucidity. His lessons are universally well prepared. He gets the right kind of material for them and sweeps a wide ground from it. He speaks clearly, using the right kind of words and sentences. Small boys, while he is talking to them, are oblivious of all else. With bigger boys

> when necessary an air of sternness comes over him and he allows no latitude. Out of small and big boys alike he gets attention and a great deal of work. His rough sketches on a blackboard, say of a Chinese house, are done with great skill and are very valuable.

'B'grade students were often described as having 'pleasant' personalities, keen and eager, with a tendency to try too hard to please in an attempt to make a good impression. 'C' grade students were amiable but weak, with a lack of self-control and self-awareness and immaturity. 'D' grade students lacked the delicacy and charm of 'A' class students, with lifeless, inert, uninspiring and dull personalities. Similarly 'E' class students were characterized as dull, lifeless and unhappy with little sympathy for the work of teaching.

'A'class students were often graded as such because they had natural qualities of leadership and an obvious, possibly 'born' aptitude for the profession. They displayed all round abilities and had an obvious capacity for growth. In contrast, 'B' class teachers, whilst promising well, were not quite up to the 'A' grade. They made good progress but tried too hard with a tendency to rush and take life too seriously. They did not, therefore, possess the 'natural' abilities of the 'A' grade teacher. 'C' class teachers, promised to become 'serviceable' or 'useful' to the profession but had only moderate ability and a tendency towards mechanical teaching. 'C' class teachers still had much to learn and would have to work hard to develop better teaching qualities. 'D' class students were markedly inferior with no natural instinct for teaching and few talents. Furthermore, unlike 'C' class students, 'D' class students were unable to see their own faults or learn from their mistakes. At the other end of the spectrum from their 'A' class peers, 'E' class students were deemed naturally incompetent, with everything to learn in the art of teaching. They had no future potential and it was often suggested that they become clerks. A report on an 'E' graded student from the London Day Training College, replicated in full below, exemplifies these weaknesses.

> Dull, lifeless, unhappy, turmoil. Can talk for three quarters of an hour on lert pumps and force pumps and never hint at their every day use. Lectures too much. Does not see his class. Talks into space. Learns nothing about his own deficiencies from pupils' notes of his lesson. Neither can he learn from supervisions or assistant masters, primary or secondary. In mathematics he teaches rule of thumb methods, in geography he cannot show pupils how to use atlases. Confused exposition, in earnestness and analogies. Of Mr B very little that is good can be said, only that he talks easily and writes neatly. He has fatal fluency that has blinded himself and other people to his faculty; few people can talk so much and say so little; there is really nothing in what he says; it is not even good lecturing. What

> he does say he avenges badly. He has no ideas of his own and only a few that he has picked up from books. He has remained blind to his own defects and nothing can convince him that he has any. His classes learn nothing of value and are sometimes so bored and muddled that they are not even disorderly; this condition he considers quite satisfactory. He might make a good copying clerk but it is difficult imagining him doing any good as a teacher.

This analysis of the way in which student teachers were assessed and graded in terms of their competency to teach, further illustrates the concept of 'power to teach' as examined in Chapter 2. 'Power to teach' combined personal, professional, practical and theoretical elements of the ideal teacher. It included teaching skills, intellectual strengths, the ability to maintain effective relationships with children to promote learning and personal qualities. Not all teachers had 'power to teach' and neither did all student teachers. 'A' grade students clearly demonstrated 'power to teach', 'B' grade students were well on their way to it, whilst for 'C' and 'D' grade students, 'power to teach' was a far off, and potentially unrealizable, goal. The metaphor of master craftsmen, skilled journeymen, semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, inferred in Ward's 1922 analysis of student teachers' competence, is helpful for an understanding of the scale and degree of ability represented by the teaching profession as a whole. 'Power to teach', as manifested in 'A' grade students, represented the pinnacle of teaching ability and was not a baseline for assessment of teaching quality. The idea of 'serviceable' teachers and 'drudges of the teaching world', which 'C' and 'D' grade teachers were likely to become, seems to infer an acceptance that at least half of the teaching profession would be mediocre or even poor-quality teachers, which in turn would raise questions about standards of teaching and learning and expectations for the teaching profession as a whole. In reality, both historically and in the current context, the teaching profession would represent a range of teaching competence. Criteria for the assessment of student teachers in this study was not mandatory or formalized. It was easier to assess students on the basis of what they did not do, rather than what they did do in the classroom. Perhaps this goes some way to explaining current policy concerns with establishing a formal baseline for assessing student teachers' competence.

ASSESSING STUDENT TEACHERS TODAY: HISTORICAL CONTINUITIES IN CURRENT PRACTICE?

During the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s the well-documented regulation and control of ITT by government agencies, including the Council for the

Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) the TTA and OFSTED, marked a significant change in the culture of ITT which for decades had enjoyed relative freedom to determine the knowledge base and content of courses for students in training.[17] These policy changes reflected broader concerns with accountability, performance management and the raising of standards across a range of public sector services, of which education and teacher training were a part. Under CATE, established in 1984, the idea of establishing a set of competences against which student teachers could be assessed emerged and these were applied loosely and on a voluntary basis by accredited institutions.[18] Circulars 9/92 and 14/93 formalized a shift towards school-based training through a partnership model of provision and shaped OFSTED inspection arrangements for ITT.[19] Under these arrangements it was important to ensure consistency between providers, not only in the delivery of agreed courses, but also in terms of the expectations and competences of newly-qualified teachers and how these were assessed and moderated across the diverse spectrum of provision.

The TTA was established in September 1994 to regulate the framework of partnership between HEIs and schools and draw up new standards for the training of teachers. It has the authority to award student numbers to training providers based on OFSTED inspection and other performance indicators and thus has considerable power and control. In February 1997 the TTA produced proposals for a training curriculum and standards for new teachers which specified the standards required for the award of QTS as well as amendments to intake requirements and ITT National Curricula for Primary English and Mathematics. These were subsequently published by the DfEE in July 1997 as Circular 10/97, *Teaching: High Status, High Standards*.[20] These were further amended under DfEE Circular 4/98 and incorporated four broad areas of assessment including subject knowledge, planning, teaching and class management, monitoring assessment, recording and reporting, and professional issues, which were broken down into over 80 specific criteria.[21] Students would then be graded against each of these standards on a scale of 1–4 ranging through very good, good, satisfactory and unsatisfactory. OFSTED was then charged with ensuring that grades awarded to students were appropriate and consistent and that training providers were complying with the TTA's requirements. Following a review of Circular 4/98 in 2001, a revised document has been introduced to take effect from September 2002. This latest revision of the standards claims to take greater account of professional values, interpersonal skills and inclusion issues than previous versions. The new standards against which student teachers are to be assessed and graded are broken down into discrete units under three broad headings: professional values and practice; knowledge and understanding; and teaching. It is anticipated by the TTA that these standards 'should ensure that all new teachers have the subject knowledge and

the teaching and learning expertise they need, and are well prepared for the wider professional demands of being a teacher. They will also help to ensure that training tackles issues such as behaviour management and social inclusion.'[22] Within five years, a model of teacher training has emerged which is centrally controlled through inspection, school-based and skills-oriented and which places a high premium on subject knowledge. Never before has there been so much detailed prescription of what student teachers should be taught, should know and should be able to demonstrate in terms of technical skills and competence.

Critiques of this skills-based model, mainly by teacher educators in HEIs, largely refer to Circular 4/98 and viewed it as reductionist, technicist and highly politicized, aimed at 'de-professionalizing' and disregarding the professional expertise and autonomy of the field. Questioning the basis and rationale upon which the standards were drawn up, Richards, for example, has argued that this standards-driven model is more about bureaucratic systems of assessing, recording and reporting and highly instrumental perceptions of teaching and learning than about holistic professional development. According to Richards, Circular 4/98 was devoid of any real intellectual, moral, social, ethical or relational dimension and failed to recognize the extreme complexity of the teaching and learning process. It atomized teaching into easily measurable components which took more account of the end-product rather than the process of professional development.[23] Simco extends this critique to problematize the very idea of viewing the craft of teaching as a set of technical skills, to be easily measured.[24] He argues that technical skill should not necessarily imply an intellectually impoverished model and highlights the profound complexity of developing core teaching and management skills in the classroom, without which any teacher would be unable to function and suggests that the '…straightforward language of the TTA standards is seductive in terms of the amount of expertise which each standard represents'.[25]

Setting aside for one moment, the immediacy and complexity of the political agenda which has shaped recent developments in the provision of ITT and stepping back from current critiques of a standards-based model of assessing student teachers' competence, is it possible to observe any continuities between the more informal assessment criteria used by training providers in the early years of the twentieth century and those used today? Assessment criteria, such as those used in the current standards model and those used historically serve as crucial indicators of what constitutes the basic requirements for effective teaching. Whilst the very process of setting out such requirements necessarily implies some oversimplification or reduction of the process of teaching into a shared set of behavioural skills to be learned, practised and honed by student teachers, surely there has to be some base- line or starting point from which newly qualified teachers can then move forward and develop further their

professional role. Furthermore, the possession of a set of core technical teaching skills, such as the ability to structure, sequence and deliver a lesson, use questions effectively and differentiate work according to the ability of the pupils, does not preclude creativity, imagination and personal influence.

Comparing the current standards with the seven professional categories identified in the historical study suggests a high degree of consistency in terms of what is and what was expected of student teachers, with some exceptions. The historical categories included: planning/preparation, subject knowledge, teaching, class and behaviour management, relationships with children, personality, and professional promise. Given the different wording and ordering of criteria over time, these categories loosely correspond to the current standards in relation to professional values and practice (1), knowledge and understanding (2) and teaching (3). In relation to the historical category, 'relationships with children' it is possible to see some connection with the current model under professional values and practice, 1.2 which requires teachers to treat pupils consistently, with respect and consideration and concern for their development as learners. The emphasis on knowledge and understanding in the current standards relates to subject knowledge in the historical model, though clearly the current model is more detailed and relates to National Curriculum requirements. There is greater correlation between the teaching dimensions, under the current categories of 3.1 planning, expectations and targets and 3.2 teaching and class management. For example the importance of planning and preparation is underlined in both models, with an emphasis on the setting of clear aims and objectives. Under item 3.3, teaching and class management, there is correlation between the ability of teachers to set high expectations for pupils' behaviour and establish a clear framework for pupil's behaviour. The historical model placed much greater emphasis on technical teaching strategies such as exposition, questioning and narration, but this is implied in the current model in terms of the general application of effective teaching strategies. Item 3.2 of the current standards 'monitoring and assessment' is not apparent in the historical criteria, and neither of course is the emphasis on the use of ICT, though it is possible to substitute this in the historical model with the emphasis on blackboard skills.

Significantly, two interconnected areas which exist in the historical model and which are not made explicit in the current model relate to professional presence and professional promise. It is interesting that within the historical context, when assessments were made on student teachers' professional persona and professional promise, the language used to describe such qualities was rich but highly value-laden, so for example, 'vigour, determination and energy' were common descriptors for 'A' or 'B' grade students and 'lifeless, inert and lacking in force' for 'D' or 'E' grade students. Judgements made in this context appear to be highly personalized. There is something about these categories of professional

persona and professional promise which is much less tangible and difficult to define or accurately measure than, for example, in the category of planning and preparation. This is because these categories are less to do with technical skills than they are to do with a much broader sense of what historically was defined as the 'power to teach', a quality which embodied a range of technical competences and personal qualities.

In comparing the broad categories of assessment for student teachers in the past with those of today, it has been possible to observe a range of consistencies which indicate that, in spite of significant changes over time to the social, political, economic and technological context of teaching, there remains a shared basis for defining a baseline of core pedagogical requirements for newly qualified teachers.[26] These relate to good subject knowledge, thorough preparation and planning of lessons or sequences of lessons, appropriate class and behaviour management to create a positive working environment, knowing and understanding the learning needs of individual children, and the ability to communicate effectively in the classroom context to stimulate learning. A major difference is that the historical model was not formalized or mandatory and relied on the sharing of good practice and shared understanding between training providers, guided and moderated by HMI. Also, if the assessment indicators were extended to probe the notion of 'power to teach', it becomes clear that relatively small numbers of student teachers would have been credited with this in its entirety. One of the main issues around the current application of the standards model has been the grading of student teachers against the standards to the satisfaction of OFSTED and the TTA. The historical analysis has looked at the grading of students, and shown that there was consistency between those providers identified in the study in their grading of students. It is not, however, possible to test the accuracy or the degree of this consistency or to comment upon its wider application. A major difference between the historical model and current practice is the extent to which the assessment of student teachers against baseline criteria is part of a much broader political and policy-driven concern to raise educational standards in general and to raise standards of teaching in schools.

Table 2: Example of completed teaching observation proforma, Southampton Day Training College

I. PREPARATION OF WORK
notes and illustrations: *steps carefully thought out but illustrations lacking*
care and intelligence shown: *more care in writing might be given but intelligent presentation is shown*
apparatus etc: *all apparatus required was used*
insight: *fair*
adaptability: *more experience necessary*
thoroughness: *very good*

II. TEACHING POWER
presentation of matter: *steps presented in proper sequence* force, clearness, resource, stimulus: *lessons put very clearly and with resource but more energy required with some boys*
personal characteristics affecting teaching: *engaging manner with boys too prone to talk and repeat answers. Disciplinary powers are very good*

III. CLASS MANAGEMENT
powers of control: *very good*
characteristics as member of staff: *with more experience should prove a useful teacher*

IV. GENERAL REMARKS
The teacher's personality and manner had a good effect upon the boys who for the most part were very attentive. Greater attention should be paid to illustration both on the notes and on the blackboard. With more experience the teacher gives promise of becoming an efficient member of school staff.

Table 3: Example of categories in blank teaching observation proforma, St John's College, York, 1904

Teaching ability: *natural or acquired before entering the school*
Relations with boys: *his way of treating them*
Resulting discipline and order
Progress of class, with regard to work and attainments
Care of teacher in marking work and keeping strict supervision over the books of the boys
Preparation of work in work-book, getting up of matter, securing of specimens and illustrations, making of models and general preparation before lessons etc
Relation to master in charge: *whether amenable to advice, acceptance of criticism, respectfulness to master in charge and willingness to carry out his instruction and proffered suggestions.*
Progress of teachers: *whether he made an advance in style, method and ability to handle and manage a class*
Comments on the following should also be made:
Attention to duties
Tractability
Manner and language
Sympathy and tact
Discipline
Preparation of work
Teaching ability
Organising power
Progress of class

Table 4: Darlington Training College, suggestions for supervisors when observing lessons

PERSONALITY
manner, personal neatness, contact with class, courtesy, etc.

PREPARATION
notes of lessons, provision of specimens, illustrations and pictures, hectographed copies of poems, suitability of script and writing, clearness, adequate number

TEACHING
Introduction to a lesson, whether it grips the children or is dull and uninspiring e.g. like revision of last day's lesson, part played by children in lesson, co-operation of teacher and class.
Questioning: types and purpose of. To test mere knowledge of fact, to lead children to reason etc. Wording simple and concise. Children's own questions as an indication of interest aroused – how dealt with.
Pace of lesson
Use of blackboard writing, diagrams, neatness, etc.
Provision for different grades of ability by group and individual work
Corrections. Analysis of mistakes so as to determine treatment of corrections in class
Common sense displayed in not holding up whole class to deal with one child's peculiar difficulties Written corrections, up-to-date and careful

DISCIPLINE
Secured by keeping children occupied and happy or by repressive measures. How easily class is made to settle down at beginning of a session and after a break.

ORDER OF CLASS ROOM
Outdoor shoes tidily arranged. PE apparatus such as ropes in a suitable place. Speech & posture of students, children – especially when seated and writing
Ventilation of classroom – care and distribution of materials

STUDENT'S NOTEBOOKS
Are notes adequate or scrappy criticisms on own lessons, thorough or otherwise? How many per day? Note books to be left by students in a place where they will be easily accessible to tutors.
Comments to be made under the following headings:
General culture, industry and earnestness as a teacher.
Preparation of lessons
Intelligence, Resource and Stimulating power
Discipline
Power in criticism

Table 5: Example of categories used in teaching observation, Cambridge Day Training College, 1901–08

Comments to be made under the following headings:
General culture, industry and earnestness as a teacher
Preparation of lessons
Intelligence, Resource and Stimulating Power
Discipline
Power in criticism

Table 6: Example of categories used in teaching observation, Leeds Day Training College, 1909–10

General culture	Teaching power
Industry as a student	Improvement
Industry as a teacher	Critical power
Discipline	

Table 7: Guidance for assessing students in teaching, Chester Training College, 1913

Progress and order of class entrusted to each senior student's care	Manner
	Temper
Notes of lessons	Tact
Intelligence in the application of method	Speech
Diligence	Power as a disciplinarian

Table 8: Correlation of categories for assessment across the sample

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6
Planning	y	y	y	y	n	y
Personality	y	y	y	y	y	y
Teaching	y	y	y	y	y	y
Class management	y	y	y	n	n	y
Discipline	y	y	y	y	y	y
Progress of children	n	y	y	n	n	y
Relationships with children	y	y	y	n	n	n
Professional promise	y	y	y	y	y	y

Table 9: Examples of positive and negative comments against the seven professional categories for assessment

Professional category	Positive comment	Negative comment
Preparation	Good, connects past and present work, methodical, systematic, effective, purposeful	Poor, meagre lesson notes, mistaking purpose of lesson, unclear aims and objectives
Subject knowledge	First-rate academic ability. Knows the subject thoroughly	Poor, shoddy grammar, superficial coverage of subject content
Teaching	Technical ability, clear exposition, eager to try new methods to make work interesting. Infuses the spirit of work, clear exposition, bright voice and manner, connects past and present work. Sympathetic, appropriate questioning, handles difficult questions, knows how to utilize answers of pupils, skill in the art of questioning, cheerful teaching	Failure to arouse interest in children, failure to arrest children, mechanical teaching, not blending intellectual and emotional needs of children, slack teaching, harsh, raised voice. Questions leading nowhere, weak questioning, picking on same children to answer questions.
Class and behaviour management	Learning how to set a class to work and keep them at it. Manages a class with ease. Good hold of class. Tactful, firm. Commands respect.	Class drifts into boredom, imperfect class control, not very forceful, lacks authority, hasty in temper, too much punishment
Relationships with children	Knows how to get the best out of children, ability to make friends with children, knowing class as individuals, evokes a keen response	Being of the 'ordering, come along type', giving no opening for initiative on the part of children, giving no evidence in speech or manner that she loves children
Personality	Intelligent, careful, gentle, force of character, vigour, determination, confidence, intellectual and moral strength, energetic	Dull, lacking delicacy and charm, nervous, quiet, chill manner, querulous tone, lacks vivacity, uninspiring and uninspired, lifeless, inert, lacking in force
Professional promise	Natural aptitude for teaching, identifying with life of school, profits from advice and criticism, shows decided promise	Everything to learn in the art of teaching

NOTES

1. The term 'training provider' is used generically throughout this chapter to describe provision from teacher training colleges, either denominational or LEA controlled, and university departments of education.

2. See Lincoln Training College Archive, *Lincoln Training College Magazine,* 1897, p. 28, for a detailed breakdown of how these 150 hours was spent.
3. Board of Education, *Regulations for the Training of Teachers,* (Cd. 854, 1922).
4. St John's College, York, Archive, SJC/SP/1, School Practice Reports, 1898–1906.
5. Cambridge University Archive (CUA), Ed 24/1/2, Record of Primary Students, 1901–1908.
6. See for example, Chester City Record Office, Chester Training College Archive, Report by the Master of Method, June 1913.
7. Lincoln Training College Archive, Minutes of Committee of Management, 1912–21.
8. F.Wood, 'The practical training of the teacher: an experiment', *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* IV, (1917–18), pp. 182–8.
9. CUA, Ed 21/26, Instructions to students for school practice, 14 March 1927.
10. Oral History Interview, Clara Smith, Lincoln Training College student, 1930–32.
11. Lincoln Training College Archive, Memoirs of Students, Elsie Armitage, 1925–27.
12. See note 10 above.
13. Oral History Interview, Grace Timms, Lincoln Training College student, 1930–32.
14. Southampton University Archive, Records of Southampton Day Training College, MBK/9/3/5, loose insert proforma of lesson observation, 1919, St John's College, York, Archive, SJC/SP/1, School Practice Reports, 1898–1906, Darlington Training College Archive, E/Dar8/2, School Practice File, suggestions for supervisors, no date, CUA, Ed 24/1/2, Record of Primary Students, University of Leeds, Museum of History of Education, AD1544, University Day Training College Record Book on Teaching Practice, Chester City Record Office, Chester Training College Archive, Report by the Master of Method, June 1913.
15. London University, Institute of Education Archive, London Day Training College Records, IE/EXN, Diploma Reports, summary reports for men students and women students, 1920, CUA, Ed 24/1/2, Record of Primary Students, 1901–08, Southampton University Archive, Records of Southampton Day Training College, MBK 9/3/5, volume recording students' teaching practice, 1917–19, Leeds University Archive, AD1544, Day Training College Record Book, Teaching Practice, 1908–11, St John's College, York, Archive, SJC SP/1/, School Practice Reports, 1898–1906.
16. PRO, 22/158, Memorandum on the final examination marks for practical teaching, 1922.
17. H.Emery, 'A National Curriculum for the education and training of teachers: an English perspective', *Journal of In-Service Education,* 24, 2 (1998), pp. 283–91, C. Richards, N.Simco and S.Twiselton (eds), *Primary Teacher Education: High Status? High Standards* (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1998)
18. DES, *Initial Teacher Training: Approval of Course (Circular 3/84)* (London: DES, 1984).

19. DFE, *Initial Teacher Training: Secondary Phase (Circular 9/92)* (London: DFE, 1992) and DFE, *The Initial Training of Primary Teachers (Circular 14/93)* (London: DFE, 1993).
20. DfEE, *Teaching: High Status, High Standards (Circular 10/97)* (London: DfEE, 1997).
21. DfEE, *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status (Circular 4/98)* (London: DfEE, 1998).
22. TTA, *Qualifiying to Teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training,* (London: TTA, 2002).
23. C.Richards, 'Primary teaching: high status? High standards? Personal response to recent initiatives', in Richards, Simco and Twiselton, *Primary Teacher Education: High Status? High Standards,* C.Richards, *Primary Education at the Hinge of History* (London: Falmer, 1999), C.Richards (ed.), *Changing English Primary Education: Retrospect and Prospect* (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham, 2000).
24. N.Simco, 'Initial teacher education as the acqusition of technical skills for teaching: a panacea for the future?', in Richards, Simco and Twiselton, *Primary Teacher Education: High Status? High Standards,* p. 118.
25. Ibid., p. 123.
26. Note that earlier attempts at seeking to define core competencies in teaching also reflect similar concerns. See, P.Broadhead, 'A blueprint for the good teacher? The HMI/DES model of good primary practice', *British Journal of Educational Studies,* xxxv, 1 (1987), pp. 57–71, and N.Bennett, 'The effective primary school teacher: the search for a theory of pedagogy', *Teaching and Teacher Education,* 4, 1 (1988), pp. 19–30.

7
TOWARDS A THEORY OF TEACHING

This chapter will focus on the embryonic development of a theory of teaching amongst leading teacher trainers during the period 1900–20. It will argue that during this period of innovation, serious attempts were made to empower teachers with a theory of teaching which was rooted in, not removed from, the realities of classroom life. The basis for this development was a growing interest amongst teacher trainers, many of whom were based in the new university departments of education, in seeking common pedagogical principles which could form a professional consensus on good teaching practice. Moving away earlier conceptions of teaching as a mere common-sensical art and critical of inaccessible theories of education which were too removed from actual experience, professional debates between teacher trainers who were networked through the TCA sought a more research-led and scientific engagement with practical pedagogy. The chapter reflects upon recent educational interest in the power of pedagogy to improve school and teacher effectiveness and seeks to bring a historical perspective on a highly complex and contested subject which for many years has remained relatively obscure, even amongst educational historians.

There are four parts to the chapter. First, for contextual purposes, the potential of historical analyses of pedagogy is considered. Secondly, there is an introduction to the nature of professional pedagogical debate in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Thirdly there is a discussion of core principles of teaching which were being developed by three key educationists, Joseph Findlay, Thomas Raymont and James Welton. Finally, the relationship between the historical quest for core educational principles and the current preoccupation with pedagogy and practice will be considered.

WHY A HISTORY OF PEDAGOGY?

The notion that a theory of teaching could be inspired and guided by a set of core guiding principles raises interesting questions about contemporary relevance and application and historical continuity. Currently, there is a strong research and

policy-led interest in pedagogy as a vehicle for raising standards of effective teaching, but this in itself is a fairly recent phenomenon. Much of the current debate and policy rhetoric about pedagogy, however, fails to take any account of the historical development of educational theory and teaching method.[1] A historical evaluation of the important continuities between past and present approaches to teaching and learning requires a more systematic study of pedagogics and a reclamation of a very long tradition of pedagogic inquiry, which goes as far back as the early works of Comenius in the sixteenth century, but which itself has been pushed to the periphery of educational analysis and discussion. Earlier historians of pedagogy have also been subjected to the vagaries of fashion as professional and government interest in pedagogy has waxed and waned over time. In 1886, for example, Gabriel Compayre in his history of the subject observed that, 'pedagogy, long-neglected…has regained its standing, nay more, it has become the fashion'.[2] This has some resonance with current developments. Compayre's justification for studying the history of pedagogy in his own time, however, raises some important questions for historians of education today. He argued that, The history of pedagogy is a necessary introduction to pedagogy itself. It should be studied not for purposes of erudition or for mere curiosity, but with a practical purpose for the sake of finding in it the permanent truths which are the essentials of a definite theory of education.'[3] The very notion of permanent pedagogical truths might seem at best quirky and old-fashioned and at worst anachronistic to current research and policy on effective school teaching in the twenty-first century. Yet, just as Compayre sought to look back at the history of pedagogy for greater understanding, it is arguably as instructive now to examine pedagogy historically, not least because this might have some bearing upon the current situation.

Simon's well-known critique of the historical denigration of pedagogy, written in the early 1990s, argued that in Britain, 'The most striking aspect of current thinking and discussion about education is its eclectic character, reflecting deep confusion of thought, and of aims and purposes, relating to learning and teaching —to pedagogy.'[4] He claimed then that aside from a brief flourishing of professional interest in pedagogy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain's education system had long suffered from a lack of an all-embracing, universalized, scientific theory of education relating to the practice of teaching.

Perhaps the most important observation to be made about the current situation is the overt politicization of pedagogy.[5] This has happened in a professional climate which, for the past 15 years, has experienced an increasingly centralized and prescriptive approach from the government, first in the realm of curriculum and school governance and more latterly in the training of teachers and classroom practice through the literacy and numeracy strategies. The 1998 Green Paper,

Teachers: Meeting the Challenge of Change, outlined the government's proposals for the modernization and improvement of the teaching profession and stated categorically that, The time has long gone when isolated, unaccountable professionals made curriculum and pedagogical decisions alone without reference to the outside world.'[6] Seeking to determine, develop and disseminate 'proven best practice' these proposals included, amongst others, the identification of advanced skills teachers to act as beacons of good practice from the classroom and training schools to harness professional expertise and pioneer innovative practice. Following the Green Paper, research commissioned from Hay/McBer by the DfEE was designed to provide a blueprint of effective teaching which focused on the combined interaction of core teaching skills, professional characteristics and classroom climate.[7] Without doubt, teaching, learning and pedagogy have now moved to centre stage in the political arena.

Ironically, it is the teaching profession's lack of clear and systematic articulation about the business of effective teaching and learning which might have contributed to this situation. In June 1998, Anthea Millett, then Chief Executive of the TTA, argued that teachers have found it difficult or have even been unwilling to talk about the nature of teaching. Bemoaning the lack of a common instructional theory or pedagogic understandings amongst teachers who for too long had internalized their teaching methods, she signalled that the time had come for the government to encroach upon this aspect of teachers work as part of its mission to raise standards in schools.[8] The following year, an important book edited by Mortimore also suggested that for too long teachers have had to rely on ideological positions, folk wisdom and the mantras of enthusiasts for particular approaches.[9] The inference of recent work on pedagogy is that the rather cosy professional notion of received practical wisdom is inadequate and flawed. Rather, there is a demand for innovation, radical change and a newly applied science of teaching.[10] In particular, effective teacher behaviour is being channelled into interactive whole class teaching. Clearly, the inherent danger of this approach is not only the threat of an externally imposed technicist or mechanistic style of teaching but also a cavalier disregard of a professional legacy in which teaching methods have long been tried and tested.

In order to understand this pedagogical legacy, it is necessary to turn to the historical development of educational theory.[11] Simon has blamed a combination of social, political and ideological factors for the dearth of a truly scientific basis to the theory and practice of education. Yet, he also suggests that there was once a brief moment in our educational past, when a rigorous and coherent system of pedagogy was being developed and refined by the teaching profession itself. This emergent pedagogical system which sought the systematic integration of theory and practice flourished in the late-nineteenth-century pupil-teacher centres and training colleges, and gained momentum in the early university day

training colleges. It was premised on a positive belief in the innate educability of all children and in the central role of the school teacher to facilitate such a process. The interruption of war and the ensuing rise of psychology, psychometrics and intelligence testing in the inter-war period highlighted and categorized the limitations of human potential and destroyed those earlier pedagogical gains whose roots were found in the lowly-esteemed elementary school tradition. A 'laissez-faire', highly individualized, private pedagogy emerged after the Second World War as teachers tried to negotiate their way around a confusing and contested muddle of ideological rhetoric. The unhelpful dichotomization of progressive versus traditional teaching methods and child-centred versus subject-centred frameworks has, according to Simon caused the real question of the integration of theoretical knowledge with the practice of education to be side-stepped.

Inspired by Simon's identification of the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth-century period of pedagogical advance in Britain, the main focus of this chapter is on the development of a practical, experimental pedagogy amongst leading teacher trainers in the UK during the period 1900–20 who were interested in finding a rational basis for teaching, moving it from intuitive craft to a science of pedagogy. Embryonic forms of pedagogic inquiry and research in this period sought an integration of knowledge about teaching and its practical application in an attempt to bridge the already firmly established theory/practice divide.

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY PEDAGOGICAL DEBATE

Professional debates between key members of the teacher training world in the first two decades of the twentieth century focused on the need for experimental pedagogy to underpin a new theory of education. Much of this debate was enacted within both informal and formal professional networks: the TCA and its branch meetings; annual conferences and publications; educational publishing and the construction of training courses for teachers. This phase represented a departure from earlier conceptions of education which tended to reduce the skill of teaching to mere commonsensical art. It was also critical of over-complicated and inaccessible scientific theories of education which were too removed from actual experience.

This interest in seeking common pedagogical principles which could form a professional consensus on good teaching practice is nowhere better illustrated than in the foundation by the TCA of the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* whose whole purpose was to promote pedagogic research. The journal, founded in 1911, was edited by Professor J.A. Green, based at the University of Sheffield, who was highly committed to promoting practical and theoretical

pedagogy. It published articles on research in schools and training colleges on innovative approaches to the teaching of a variety of curriculum subjects as well as more academic articles on theories of teaching, curriculum development and teacher training. It was an important forum for debate on experimental pedagogy and the interchange of ideas about teaching and learning. There was a particular emphasis on the application of psychology to educational theory and a commitment to understanding children as individual learners. In his presidential address to the TCA in 1913, Green summarized the new mission of teacher trainers and teachers to seek out principles for their practice, based upon sound scientific understanding.

> The difference between doctors and teachers is that doctors have managed to persuade us that the mysteries of their profession rest upon special knowledge relevant to our condition and teachers haven't persuaded the public that there is any specific scientific knowledge. A sound knowledge of principles would carry the practitioner much further, particularly in dealing with individuals in his class. It would prevent him from becoming the victim of every faddist. The only protection against ignorance in high places is knowledge, and the teacher who has firm hold of established principles may freely accept or reject the views of those in authority over him so far as they concern his work within the four walls of his classroom. Teachers need to know how to treat new methods.[12]

The emphasis was upon the combined effect of seeking core principles to define effective teaching practice, whilst at the same time using this increased scientific foundation as a springboard for greater professional status and autonomy. Green wanted teachers to enjoy '…a real grip of first principles and with a genuine desire to keep critically abreast of pedagogic inquiry and research'.[13] He envisaged huge potential for the universities and teachers to work together to further the study of pedagogy and hoped that the journal would support and disseminate this work. For Findlay, the challenge was for teacher trainers and teachers to engage in a professional debate which would ultimately 'turn out thinking men and women ready for the professional freedom which is theirs for the asking'.[14] This debate would seek out rule and law and would be based upon close observation and analysis of classroom practice. Any theory of teaching would have to relate to real teachers and real teaching contexts. Indeed, the reason why educational theory was deemed so unpopular and irrelevant amongst serving teachers was its apparent alienation from real practice. For this new movement which sought an interplay of theory and practice, practice was to be the final test. For Findlay, the agency of the teacher was critical to the process of defining a theory of teaching. He argued that, 'We can only establish education as

a professional pursuit by devoting to its study the same elaborate care, the same spirit of devotion to our profession as we witness in other callings which have won the confidence of the public by searching for common principles springing out of and again reflecting upon that daily practice.'[15]

The remainder of this chapter focuses upon the contribution to this systematic study of pedagogics of three particular teacher trainers—Joseph Findlay, Thomas Raymont and James Welton. They were all experienced teachers of children and trainers of teachers and had specialized in method teaching to student teachers. Welton and Findlay were appointed as Professors of Education at Leeds and Manchester Universities respectively and Raymont was Professor of Education at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire at Cardiff. They all contributed to the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* and disseminated their ideas at conferences and meetings of the TCA and in their own published works. They were all concerned with elucidating some sort of rational basis for teaching.

IN SEARCH OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The critical professional issue for Findlay, Welton and Raymont, as it still is for educationists today, was the relationship between theory and practice. They argued that the science and art of teaching had for too long been falsely dichotomized. This had resulted in a confusion of disparate theories of education which consisted either of dubious scientific claims divorced from experience or practical hints and tips for teachers which were unrelated to existing understanding about teaching and learning. Findlay argued that, 'Theory without practice is wind; Practice without theory is quackery.'[16] Raymont was worried about the piecemeal and haphazard application of psychology to education in the name of science. Psychology at this time was itself in a state of flux with the notion of Alexander Bain's faculty psychology and the need for education to train the senses, memory and imagination now redundant. The rigid polarization of what Welton defined as 'knowing' and 'doing' in education was therefore identified as a real hindrance to the proper development of a theory of teaching and learning.[17]

Rather than being set in antithesis to each other, it was suggested that theory and practice should be considered in terms of a symbiotic relationship. Raymont, castigating the disconnectedness of theory and practice in education, argued that, Theory and practice are not opposed, but complementary, not different things, but different sides of the same thing, each meaningless without reference to the other.' The two extremes between theory and practice were to be avoided: 'The mere theorist adept at spinning fine webs of doctrine who then collapses on

contact with the hard facts of experience; and the mere empiricist, or rule-of-thumb practitioner, who seeks no rational basis for his practice.'[18]

Any theory of education which was not rooted in practice and which had not been tested in the mettle of the classroom could not be upheld. What was being sought was a 'sane' theory of education which harmonized the results of experience.[19] This should command the respect and inform the practice of teachers and bear a direct relation to the lived realities of classroom life. As Raymont argued, 'A good practical teacher must have a theory behind his practice, whether implicit or explicitly, and a sane theorist must have constant regard to existing circumstances.'[20] A crucial test for the validity of any theory was whether its proponent could teach. It is significant that these educationists had all served their time in the classroom and had distinguished themselves as practising teachers before moving into higher education. Findlay, was particularly keen to demonstrate that his ideas about education were not proclaimed from the remove of the lecture room, but were drawn from and exemplified by his own practice and experience. He argued that, 'theory is practice become conscious of itself, and practice is realized theory'.[21]

Similarly, Welton wanted to set an ideal of teaching which was practical and argued that the '…true and effective way to train the practical teacher is to imbue him with broad and fruitful principles and he becomes a real educative force just in the degree to which, having incorporated those principles in the living texture of his own thought, he brings them to bear on the living problems which every day in school sets him to solve in such vast numbers'. For Welton, the principles and methods he wanted to put forward were not academic but had to have been proved by the successful working of everyone of them in school.[22] Findlay argued that,

> You will perceive that we are seeking all the time for links by which we may bind together the theory of education with the practice of it. We see that in our science, as in every other, abstract principles can only be attained by the slow process of experience; books on education, lectures on education and psychology have their value, but only so far as they touch the practical experience and observation of the student. Hence then the importance of assigning a due place to that portion of the student's work which is called practical training.[23]

Raymont offered an interesting perspective on the justification for promoting effective teaching through effective training in core principles. He argued that teaching excellence spanned a range of competences from excellent, to good, to tolerably good to indifferent to downright incompetent. For him, the great teacher, rather like the great poet was born not made. This, however, left a

majority of teachers whose gifts were only moderate and for whom training along the right lines was essential. Whilst he saw no urgent need of poets below the first rank, he did see '…an urgent need that teachers of moderate gifts should be trained to turn those gifts to the very best account, and one way of doing this is to lead them to that reflective contemplation of experience which is the essence of healthy theorising' ,[24]

Essence, Rules and Integrity

In elucidating this 'sane' theory of education, Findlay, Raymont and Welton were seeking to identify core principles of teaching and learning. They were concerned with capturing and disseminating fundamental truths or rules of practice which could be embraced by teachers. These generic principles expressed and formulated from experience, practice and research, were to form the bedrock of any proper theory of education.[25] Findlay saw the mission of the TCA as being the search for rule and law in teaching, generated by the proper development of a scientific habit based on the belief that, '…truth in Education as in all other sciences, must be sought, not only by reading and discourse, not only by the intuitions of experience, but in patient, modest investigation'.[26] In the preface to Welton's book for students on the forms of criticism lessons, W. Scott Coward, HMI for Training Colleges wrote, 'Mr Welton does not lose sight for a moment, however, of the necessity of principles; they are luminous everywhere throughout his book, and they form, as should ever be the case, the basis and groundwork upon which the whole of the practical superstructure stands.'[27] In writing this book, it was Welton's aim to produce a proforma for criticising a lesson which would encourage students to record specific applications of general principles. Welton clearly believed that there existed principles which transcended time and context and which had been embodied in the practice of educators who having reflected and meditated upon their work, found a rational basis for the successful application of certain modes of teaching.

Engaged as they were in the business of training teachers, Findlay, Raymont and Welton wanted the generic principles of teaching to be imbued by young teachers. In the relative calm of a period of training away from the immediate responsibilities of a class, trainee teachers could be grounded in the principles and practice of their work. Training provided an opportune time for the problems of school life and work to be thought out in the light of the wisdom both of the past and of the present. The TCA endorsed this belief in the value of learning principles at the training stage so that students should emerge 'with a real grip of first principles and with a genuine desire to keep critically abreast of pedagogic inquiry and research'.[28] Raymont argued that good teaching was the function of many variables of which the study of the principles and methods is only one.

However, he regarded it essential that young teachers should study and assimilate principles and methods to protect them from becoming blind imitators either of their own past selves or of other people and to improve upon bad practice. If young teachers began their professional careers, armed with a firm grasp of the principles of practice and able to engage critically with a theory of teaching, then this, it was hoped, would go some way in raising the status of the teaching profession.[29]

However important the application of generic principles were to Findlay, Raymont and Welton, they were not advocating a mechanistic or imitative mode of practice and were highly suspicious of the notion of neat prescription or rigid formulae. This raised an interesting tension. They recognized that there was a potential conflict between a methodical approach to teaching and an individual teacher's professional freedom. Teachers could not be viewed as mere machines, yet at the same time their teaching needed to be methodical. In seeking to systematize the daily practice of teachers there would be some risk of unthinking, mechanical application on the part of some practitioners. 'Teaching is emphatically skilled work. It may be done mechanically—but then the result is inferior.'[30] The slavish imitation of unthinking method was the antithesis of the theory of education being sought. Welton deplored unthinking prescription and verbal reproductions of textbook methods and rather promoted the need for teachers, both experienced and novice, to develop themselves as critical, reflective practitioners. He argued that the model for a work on teaching should not be like a cookery book, with its detailed recipes directing the reader how to produce by rule of thumb certain specific results. The unique individuality of teachers was to be celebrated and the idea was that thinking and informed professionals would apply principles of teaching according to their own understanding and in keeping with the particular circumstances of their work. The escape from mechanism in teaching, according to Welton, rested on teachers' willingness to engage in earnest reflection upon the purpose and nature of teaching. The outcome of such a process would be a theory of teaching which sprang out of actual school work, '…not an insubstantial vision spun out of the clouds of an untrammelled imagination.'.[31] It was teachers themselves who were to be responsible for the development of a theory of education and who were to secure professional security through their own intellectual, practical and critical engagement with the principles.

Towards a Practical Pedagogy

It was in their discussion of the forms and process of teaching an individual lesson that Findlay, Raymont and Welton began to probe the nature of a set of fundamental propositions about teaching. Whilst they each tackled the issue in a

slightly different way, it is possible to identify common characteristics. They were all influenced by the Herbartian model of a staged, systematic and sequenced approach to teaching, but wanted to move away from what they perceived as a potentially narrow, pedantic and overly teacher-oriented style. Raymont was wary of discarding Herbart's tried and tested maxims in their entirety and sought to draw upon the wisdom of the past and integrate it with a more practice-based analysis.[32] They were all interested in the nature of children's learning and called for more research in this field. They all emphasized the need for interaction between the teacher and the child. Welton suggested that the three chief factors in education were the child to be taught, the subject matter and the teacher. A theory of teaching must bring these into effective union and the role of the teacher as mediator and guide was critical.[33] My examination of their work suggests five broad propositions for effective practice on the part of the teacher. These are: planning; teacher-pupil interaction; lesson structure; core teaching skills; and the power of the individual teacher to teach. These five propositions are interdependent and only really make sense when considered as a whole unit.

The first was based on the need for meticulous forward planning and preparation. Teachers were encouraged to think through the stages of a lesson and write these down in detail. The usefulness of a model or proforma for lesson planning to student teachers in training was highlighted. In particular, teachers were urged to consider how the subject matter related to the class in terms of their previous knowledge, range of ability and interest. Findlay urged experienced teachers to write detailed lesson notes to provide the basis for a systematic evaluation of a lesson and a reworking of planning for further lessons. The keeping of a planning diary or notebook for each course study was advised. The idea was to be flexible, not rigid at the planning stage.

The second concerned interaction between teacher and taught. This demanded an ability to be flexible and adaptable on the part of the teacher. Meaningful planning could only emerge from a thorough knowledge and understanding of the children and an ability to adapt to particular educational contexts. There was no place for old-fashioned, didactic 'chalk and talk' in this model of teaching. Teachers were required to determine the flow, pace and dynamic of a lesson and to respond appropriately to the needs of the class. According to Welton: 'it is the power of putting oneself in the mental place and attitude of the pupils, that marks off the true artist in teaching from the mere mechanical grinder of facts and formulae. To know where the pupils are and where they should try to be are the two first essentials of good teaching.'[34] Teaching was more than the efficient delivery of thoroughly prepared lessons because individual teachers needed to know their pupils and develop effective relationships with them. This clearly required a degree of intuition and sensitivity to individual needs and circumstances.

The third involved the logical construction of a lesson. It referred to the shape and sequence of a lesson in which material was systematically organized into manageable and orderly sections. Each of these sections would be thoroughly revised before moving on with the lesson. Progression between stages was crucial. According to Findlay: '…the quality of teaching, in the sphere of method, is largely determined by the skill with which a teacher is able to analyse and group his subject matter into sections'.[35] This idea was drawn from the Herbartian theory of formal stages from which the five-step model of teaching a lesson was devised. The difficulty with this model was its assumption that the five steps themselves reflected what was going on in the minds of the pupils and that the pupils kept apace with the teacher. Findlay particularly urged teachers not to fall into the trap of constructing staged lessons without an adequate investigation of the needs of the class. An introduction would prepare children for the lesson in which the teacher would offer explicit aims and objectives and show the purpose of the work. Drawing on children's existing knowledge and recapping on previous lessons the teacher would focus and concentrate the children's minds and stimulate their interest. There would be opportunity for cross-curricular links at this stage. The next stage would consist of the presentation of new subject matter. There was particular emphasis on new information being presented in such a way that it connected with existing knowledge. Following the presentation of new knowledge, two further parts of the lesson would seek to systematize and apply this knowledge to the practical needs of daily life. Similar ideas would be compared and dissimilar ideas contrasted with problem solving using new knowledge. Finally, a recapitulation would draw together the main threads of the lesson, rehearsing main teaching points and checking understanding.

The fourth proposition, without which neither of the previous three could exist, highlighted certain core teaching skills. Broadly, these related to questioning, exposition or explanation, narration and illustration. Oral questioning was clearly a critical skill for a young teacher to develop but it was important to recognize that questioning should not be the dominant mode of instruction in a lesson. Different types of question were promoted including preliminary 'experimental' questions usually asked at the start of a lesson to probe children's knowledge, recapitulatory or resume questions to test understanding and interrogatory questions for examination purposes. According to Raymont, good questions should incite a pupil to genuine activity of mind and should cause him to observe, remember and think. The emphasis should not be on a rapid fire and response style and questions should be framed so as not to encourage guess work or simple yes or no answers. Teachers should construct questions in relation to the ability of the children and should distribute them

carefully across the class.[36] The atmosphere of a classroom should be friendly so as to encourage children to ask questions.

The skill of effective exposition was also highlighted as a necessary constituent of effective teaching. Raymont suggested that power to describe clearly, to narrate vividly and to tell a story well was just as important as skill in oral questioning. A fundamental part of the skill was the ability to narrate or tell a story well and to illustrate teaching points in a vivid and lively fashion so as to excite and maintain children's interest. Welton argued that, '…the teacher should therefore, cultivate the power of effective and vivid narrative—terse, pointed and clear'.[37] Like the structuring of a whole lesson, the points of a narrative should also be well structured and orderly with essential points being stressed as appropriate. Teachers should be mindful of their use of language and ensure its relation to children's comprehension. They should enter the spirit of the story and their voice and manner should be varied with a balance between detail, repetition (particularly for younger children) and description. Supporting this view, J.Green, argued the narration and the ability to tell stories was the oldest instrument of formal education, 'The power to tell a story might not unfittingly be regarded as an essential qualification of the teacher. If dealing with issues outside children's own experience, description which leads them to imagine and call up images is important and teachers need to make use of what children already do know.'[38] For Green, effective teaching depended a great deal upon individual teachers' ability to engage in clear and graphic exposition.

The final proposition brought together all of the previous four ideas and focused on the personal characteristics of the teacher. The individual uniqueness of the teacher was the safeguard against slavish imitation and mechanistic teaching. If teachers did not have the power to stimulate and sustain the interest of their class through their use of language, expression, tact, sympathy, tone of voice and overall demeanour, then a well-planned, carefully sequenced lesson would be worthless. The onus was placed on the teacher to harness their professional knowledge and their understanding of individual children to ascertain their readiness for new information and experiences. Whilst Findlay, Raymont and Welton found it instructive to formulate these general propositions for teachers they were not claiming to afford definite and detailed guidance. Rather, they wanted the careful application of general methods to particular teaching contexts and hoped that young teachers would appropriate the 'spirit' of a systematic approach to teaching without becoming enslaved to it. Welton summed up this belief when he wrote: '…teaching, then, is educative as far as it is stimulating. And in this the personality of the teacher counts for more than the method of teaching'.[39] The essence of these five principles for a theory of effective teaching, whch drew upon core technical, managerial, organizational and personal skills and qualities was 'power to teach'. As has already been

discussed in Chapter 2, the personal dimension in teaching is perhaps the most difficult aspect of teaching power to quantify and define. It is implicit in the other more technical, managerial or intellectual powers, none of which could properly function without some individual personal flair, instinct or intuition.

Experimental Pedagogy in its Infancy

In contributing to professional debate about the nature of effective teaching, the TCA through the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* and such educationists as Findlay, Raymont and Welton were beginning to formulate a particular model of teaching which pulled together elements of received professional wisdom but which also sought a scientific, rational basis. The development of ideas around the rudiments of good teaching during the first two decades of the twentieth century, however, only went so far. They were generated as principles based on the experience of practice and to some extent were grounded in scientific research and analysis. But, it was clear, that more systematic research based on observation of classroom life was needed to underpin and validate knowledge and understanding about the relationship between teaching and learning. The broad propositions for effective teaching outlined did not, for example, satisfactorily penetrate the vexed question of balancing the needs of the individual against a whole class in mass schooling. Neither did they engage with questions about the relationship between curriculum development and teaching, nor systematic assessment of pupil learning as we would know it today.

Nevertheless, for a few decades at the turn of the twentieth century, there were the beginnings of a movement amongst educationists and teacher trainers which was pregnant with the possibility of a whole new world of teacher-based research, observation, training and debate around the nature of teaching and learning. There was an embryonic form of 'sane' educational theory which envisioned a teaching profession responsible for the development of a practical pedagogy. There was a call for fundamental pedagogical questions to be solved by observation and experiment conducted under scientific principles. Findlay, somewhat prophetically, in view of current government prescription around the teaching of the literacy and numeracy strategies in primary schools, argued that if teachers did not take upon themselves the responsibility for finding out how best to teach then agencies external to the profession would take over. He wrote, 'if such claims to usurp the teachers' function by prescribing text books, by rigid limitation as to time and manner and method, it should be resisted'.[40]

Findlay recognized the potential for professional tension between research and practice but was persuaded that the way forward was the working through of theory in the classroom. It was to the training of teachers and the concept of a demonstration or experimental school, discussed at length in Chapter 5, that

Findlay looked for a practical realization of his educational vision. Not dissimilar to the clinical schools used for medical students, These schools are the (educational) laboratories in which the student gets a first-hand knowledge of his subject, while at the same time he is in touch with real scholars in a real school he sees experienced teachers working out methods of teaching and control, his theories are constantly put to the proof of experience, and, above all he keeps in touch with child life.'[41] When Green reviewed Findlay's account of the Fielden Demonstration Schools in *The Demonstration Record* for the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* he wrote of it being full of 'pedagogic inspiration', 'All students of education, and especially those who are interested in experimental pedagogy will welcome the appearance of this new collection of material from the Fielden School. The book is an able and honest effort to deal with the school problem in the light of guiding principles and to put to practical test various new ideas.'[42] There was a real sense of excitement and anticipation amongst proponents of the principles of teaching based on scientific research. Findlay wrote:

> When the lecturers describe the great progress in educational methods on which the basis of our modern practices are based, he quotes the teaching experiments of Comenius, Herbart, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Lancaster and so forth. But there is no finality about such things. We are only at the beginnings. Never were there so many persons capable and desirous of carrying on the work of these men as have grown up during the last twenty years.[43]

The *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* through its reporting of meetings and symposia of the TCA, actively promoted the notion of a partnership between teachers and other educationists and psychologists in the development of educational research, publishing examples of small-scale research projects in schools, usually devoted to the teaching of reading or number work, and arguing that scholarships should be made available for teachers to engage in research. It also advertised summer schools on pedagogy designed for teachers.[44] By the early 1920s a number of teacher-based research projects, conducted mainly in association with demonstration schools were being published and reviewed in the educational literature. These included, for example, an experimental scheme for independent work for girls by Miss Palmer at the Childeric Road Demonstration School under the London County Council, a project investigating the teaching of arithmetic at the Crimsworth Demonstration School, associated with Mather Training College, Manchester, and a study into the teaching of English by John Eades, headteacher of Kirkstall Road School, Leeds used by the University for school practice.[45]

By the early 1920s, however, the development of educational research moved much more towards specialist forms of educational and experimental psychology, with an emphasis on the expertise of researchers and psychologists and a mistrust of the research skills of teachers. Symbolic of this shift, which also fits with Simon's model of educational research referred to above, was the relaunch of the *Journal of Educational Pedagogy* in February 1923 as the *Forum of Education.* Following Green's death in 1922, the editorship of the journal was taken over by C.W.Valentine, an established educational psychologist and Professor of Education at the University of Birmingham. In his first editorial, Valentine argued that the word 'pedagogy' had become unpopular and that the journal would henceforth embrace a more rigorous psychological and philosophical based approach.[46] This was different to the original purpose of the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* which was 'primarily to promote pedagogic research' from the perspective of practical experience.[47] To further emphasize its overarching interest in educational psychology, the *Forum of Education,* was again re-launched in 1930 as *The British Journal of Educational Psychology.*

HISTORICAL AND CURRENT RESONANCE

At the beginning of this chapter, Compayre's call in 1886 for the seeking out of permanent truths in educational theory was put forward. As historians of education we are all faced with a startling array of educational myths and misconceptions. This is particularly the case in relation to conceptions of the good teacher. Even early twentieth century educationists, a century ago, were anxious to dispel uncritical, unthinking, mechanical, craft and imitative models of the business of teaching and learning. The idea of historical continuum is largely absent from current analysis of pedagogy. Much of what Findlay, Raymont and Welton had to say about the systematic construction of a good lesson and the qualities of a good teacher makes as much sense now as they must have done then and what is more, much of these ideas have been translated into current models of practice.

The five core principles identified in this chapter, though they refer to a different set of contexts and climates than those of today, do clearly resonate with recent research and recommendations for good practice, found for example in the Hay/McBer report, commissioned by the Department for Education and Employment in 2000.[48] The current model of effective teaching focuses upon the combined interaction of core teaching skills, professional characteristics and classroom climate. Hay/McBer research into teacher effectiveness, based on research conducted by Reynolds et al., identified 35 teaching skills, 9 classroom climate dimensions and 16 professional characteristics. The report suggested that, 'effective teachers are good at planning, setting a clear framework for each

lesson. The effective teacher is very systematic in the preparation for, and execution of each lesson.' The first proposition for effective teaching in the historical model advocated thorough planning and sharing of objectives. According to Hay/McBer effective teachers 'use their knowledge, skills and behaviours to create effective learning environments in their classrooms'. This resonates with the second proposition in the historical model which emphasized the need for positive and purpose ful interaction between teacher and taught. Hay/McBer suggested that the 'effective teacher communicates the lesson content to be covered and the key activities for the duration of the lesson. Material is presented in small steps, with opportunities for pupils to practise after each step. Each activity is preceded by clear and detailed instructions with time for the review of lesson objectives and outcomes at the end of each lesson.' In the historical model the third proposition highlighted the logical construction of a lesson with the structuring of lessons in clear parts, with an introduction, main activity and plenary within a safe climate. The Hay/McBer study found 'Effective teachers employ a variety of teaching strategies and techniques to engage pupils and to keep them on task.' These include teacher-led activities such as the giving of well-paced instruction. The idea of core teaching skills was expressed in the fourth proposition of the historical model. Hay/McBer identified a set of professional characteristics essential to effective teaching, many of which embrace the spirit of the fifth proposition of the historical model with its emphasis on the personality of the teacher. The ideas of Hay/McBer are further reflected in Muijs and Reynolds' book on effective teaching, published in 2001, which identified generic teaching skills which they term 'the basics of teaching'. These also expound the importance of planning, direct instruction, clearly structured and presented lessons, questioning, classroom management, behaviour management and classroom climate.[49] Effective teaching practices proposed in the current climate are not novel.

Fifteen years ago, Neville Bennett, in his article on the search for a theory of pedagogy, referred to the continuing disputes about the purposes of education and conceptions of good teaching, together with the marked tendency for educationists to re-invent the wheel.[50] Aside from the rather obvious observation that current research on effective pedagogy may well be continuing this trend, what else might the historical analysis which forms the basis of this book have to offer? By seeking to clarify and define principles of teaching which rest on a clear understanding of the relationship between teaching and learning and the complexities of classroom interaction, this historical perspective can inform and enrich new departures. In particular, the historical notion of 'power to teach' which incorporated a more holistic approach to pedagogy than is currently conceived, might offer a greater conceptual understanding of the development of

pedagogy over time and calls for a much more critical engagement with these developments by historians of education in the near future.

NOTES

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14. J.Findlay, 'Some problems in the training of the teacher: a symposium, *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* 1, 3 (1912), pp. 232–5.
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17. J.Welton, *Principles and Methods of Teaching* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1906), pp. 10–11.
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20. Ibid.,
21. Findlay, *Principles of School Practice,* p.17.
22. Welton, *Principles and Methods of Teaching,* p. vi.
23. J.Findlay, *The Training of Teachers* (Manchester: Sheratt and Hughes, 1903), p. 23.
24. Raymont, *The Principles of Education,* pp. 25–6.
25. Findlay, *Principles of School Practice,* p. 11.
26. Findlay, *The Training of Teachers,* p. 23.
27. J.Welton, *Forms for Criticism Lessons* (London: Macmillan, 1902).
28. J.Green, 'Teachers, Doctors and Madame Montessori', p. 51.
29. Raymont, *The Principles of Education,* p. 23.
30. Welton, *Principles and Methods of Teaching,* p. 18.
31. Ibid.
32. Raymont, *The Principles of Education,* pp.21–2.
33. Welton, *Principles and Methods of Teaching,* p.19.
34. Welton, *Principles and Methods of Teaching,* p. 57.
35. Findlay, *Principles of School Practice,* p. 268.
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37. Welton, *Principles and Methods of Teaching,* p. 80.
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