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INTRODUCTION

It has been suggested that every attempt to describe the development of a new university should be accompanied by an intellectual health warning. This is mine.

Most new universities are the result of a series of mergers: in Kingston's case, this involved the amalgamation of the local College of Technology, Art School and Gypsy Hill College of Education. The author was driven by curiosity to attempt to record the evolution of each of its constituent members. However, the story became more complicated when during the course of their evolution these constituents divested themselves of some of their original fields of operation: the concentration on higher education studies, for instance, caused the College of Technology to devolve its further and secondary education provision to the College of Further Education while the Day Commercial, Junior Technical and Junior Art departments eventually amalgamated respectively with Hinchley Wood, Rivermead and Surbiton schools.

The nature of the available primary sources also played a significant role in determining the nature of the final narrative. As one might expect, relatively few eye-witness accounts have survived to enliven the discussion of the institutions' early development. On the other hand, the memories of current staff, including the author, are necessarily somewhat suspect as they are deeply affected by differences in attitude, belief and positioning within the institution. This history provides therefore a largely top-down account of what happened and is mainly dependent upon Governors, Academic, Faculty and Course Board minutes or their equivalents. These are not usually the most enlightening of sources. After all, their main purpose was to record decisions rather than to provide an account of why and how these decisions were made. Consequently, I was strongly attracted towards the lively press coverage of events in spite of its limitations. Additionally, Her and His Majesty's Inspectors reports provided particularly useful summative overviews of institutional progress and attainment as their authors applied national criteria in arriving at their verdicts.

Although the range of available sources may be relatively limited, their sheer size is intimidating. I was faced with the difficult task of selecting what I regarded as the most significant data from a plethora of details. If selecting materials was necessarily problematic, my interpretation and evaluation of these selecta were necessarily even more idiosyncratic.

The history therefore is my attempt to provide a broad ranging understanding of Kingston University's origins, development and achievements. The gloss placed upon events and the appraisals of individuals' contributions reflect my own understandings and do not represent the views of other past or current members of staff. Much of the later content is therefore contentious and occasionally provocative.

Bon appetit.

Michael R. Gibson

IN SEARCH OF A BEGINNING: 1870-1900

The date when Kingston Technical Institute was actually founded is a matter of conjecture and debate. Part of the difficulty lies in deciding how to define an institution. If an institution consists of nothing more than bricks and mortar, historians would have no difficulty in agreeing that the Institute first opened its doors in 1899. Indeed, this date has been accepted without question for most of its history - after all, the Institute's Golden Jubilee was celebrated in 1949. If, however, an institution really consists of students, teachers and study programmes, a strong case can be put forward for a number of other possible natal dates.

Kingston's most eminent local historian, June Sampson, believes the institution's origins can be traced back to 1839 when four residents established a short-lived *Kingston Literacy and Scientific Institute* to provide young men with evening classes. Later, a well-to-do surgeon called George Taylor set up an Institute at the corner of Thames and Clarence streets, in a fine neo-classical house, which possessed a library, laboratory and lecture hall. Unfortunately, this closed after a mere eight years' existence, due no doubt to the prevailing employment conditions, which left young people little time in which to study. However, a contemporary took a much more jaundiced view, putting the disappointing outcome down to *'the disinclination of the young men of Kingston to take part in anything which has a semblance of education or mental improvement about it'*. Although a Mechanics Institute was later set up in rooms above a shop in Church Street, contemporaries were convinced that the working classes' thirst for learning could be assuaged by opening a reading room in the Apple Orchard.

Kingston's interest in technical education probably started in 1870. Forster's Education Act (1870) required local authorities to decide whether they needed to set up a School Board to make good deficiencies in their elementary education provision. After some discussion, the Borough Council decided that they had no need of such a board as their Church schools already contained sufficient places for workers' children. However, this debate probably stimulated the civic fathers to consider the merits of supplying technical instruction. Without doubt, however, the South Kensington Department for Science and Art provided the key incentive by funding technical instruction classes. In 1874, the Department sponsored the teaching of art and science at Tiffin Boys and Girls Schools, Fairfield South; the Kingston Public Elementary Science School; and the Kingston branch of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching as well as at the Kingston National Schools in Wood Street; the Fire Station; and the Assize Courts [The Surrey County Council Technical Committee, 21 July 1891; The Surrey Comet, 1 July 1894]. As all these *'Technical Instruction'* classes were supposed to make *'the principle of science and art applicable to industry'* [The Surrey County Council Technical Committee, 21 April 1891], the fourth annual Kingston Science and Art programme (1878/9) comprised courses in *'Science, Physiology, Physiography, Solid Geometry, Building Construction, Chemistry, Acoustics, Light and Heat, Magnetism and Electricity'* [A poster published by Knapp Steam Printers in 1878]. These classes, it could be argued, were the real foundations of the future Technical Institute.

The little town where these programmes were taught was something of an enigma. An early nineteenth century visitor observed: *'The houses in Kingston are in general low, and rather mean, but it has a spacious market place'*. On the other hand, Frederick Gould, twice Borough mayor, described the town he knew in 1839 as: *'a delightfully situated quaint old town. Many of the houses were then ancient, half-timbered Elizabethan dwellings with overhanging bedrooms. Malthouses were visible in all directions'* [Gould F.'s Recollections in The Surrey Comet, 28 July 1900]. Jerome K. Jerome provided a suspiciously attractive snapshot of Victorian Kingston at the beginning of his novel, *Three Men in a Boat* (1889):

The quaint back-streets of Kingston where they came down to the water's edge, looked quite picturesque in the flashing sunlight, the glinting river with its drifting barges, the wooded towpath, the trim-kept villas on the other side...

In 1870, in addition to its famous market place, with its shops and coaching inns - then exposed to view, now in the main hidden beneath modern frontages - Kingston possessed a wide selection of churches and chapels; grammar, national, private and ragged schools; assembly rooms; banks; baths; water works; shops and bazaars, including Frank Bantall's newly opened emporium; and covering the area

between Wood Street, Water Lane, Thames Street and the Horsefair, a treasure trove of medieval and Tudor houses which time and neglect had reduced to the condition of slums. According to *The Surrey Comet* in 1860, many houses had 'no outlet whatever at the back not even a window, so the air cannot pass freely through and the ceilings of the rooms are so low that a man of ordinary height cannot stand up in them ... They are destitute of the most common necessaries of decency, one water closet being made to serve several dwellings. Some are without a sink of any kind, and the dirty water is brought out and emptied into the uneven gutters of the lane, and may be seen standing in fetid pools.' Following the passage of the 1888 Kingston Improvement Act, these death-traps were pulled down and replaced by solid Victorian villas. In 1866, an irate Kingstonian described Eden Street as a 'nest of hovels, for they are not worthy of the name of houses, which teem with dirt and filth, and swarms with not too cleanly inhabitants. Those who pass the group of buildings cannot fail to be struck with its wretchedly dirty appearance, but those who pass immediately in front must also inhale the foul exhalations' [*The Surrey Comet*, July 1866].

The town's main industries - a large tannery, a tallow chandlery, brewing and malting houses (including the once famous Hodgson's - now Courage's), and linseed and corn mills - generated not only much needed work for the local residents but an all pervading, noisome smell. Turk's famous boat building works, the fishing industry and R. White's well known mineral water works completed the list of Kingston's main employers.

Transport was a serious problem. As no asphalted roads were laid down until 1880, the thoroughfares were either deeply rutted, cobbled streets or muddy lanes - both periodically pock-marked by pools of filth. In spite of many attempts, no effective form of public transport was established until 1906 when tramways were installed: these reigned supreme until 1931 when trolley buses took their place. More serious still, Kingston was particularly slow in gaining access to the emerging railway network, due largely to the city fathers' wrong-headed conservatism. When they rejected the London to Southampton Railway Company's request to lay track through the town, the line was diverted to Surbiton where a station was opened in May 1838. This error in judgement cost the town dear - a period of serious economic stagnation. Desperate to redeem their mistake, the councillors entered into a series of abortive negotiations with various projectors until reaching an agreement in 1858 with the South-Western Railway Company. A loop line was eventually opened in 1863.

Street lighting was sparse and ineffective until 1892 when the Electric Light Company was established. Although a Gas Company already existed, its product was largely confined to domestic and industrial uses. The dumping of effluent in the Thames remained 'a disgrace to the town' until a sewage works was opened in 1888. *The Native Guano Company* then used its products to produce a rich manure which was sold throughout the country.

'By the dawn of the 1880's, as June Sampson has pointed out, 'Kingston was still without a theatre, a concert hall, public library, swimming baths or many of the other amenities established elsewhere' [Sampson J., *All Change*, News Origin, p. 119]. The Fairfield, which was no more than 'an open waste', catered indifferently for most of the local people's basic leisure pursuits until 1888 when it was dug up, levelled and re-turfed. In 1890, the 'dismal swamp' running along beside the Thames was drained to form Canbury Gardens with its popular promenades and 'delectable rustic shelter'. Although the area afforded opportunities for rowing, cricket and dancing, Kingston's dominant sport was still the infamously violent Shrove Tuesday Football which had been banned in 1859 but was nonetheless played throughout the sixties in defiance of the law. Societies devoted to debating (1886) and photography (1893) flourished. Further recreational facilities were provided by the Norbiton Working Men's Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Temperance Hall, the Rifle Volunteer Corps and the Cricket and Rowing Clubs.

While the Institute in Fife Road catered for a wide variety of social activities, it was another Fife Road entertainment centre, the Albany Concert Hall - renamed the Royal County Theatre in 1897 - where Charlie Chaplin gave his very first public performance. From 1912 to 1940, this same building served as a popular cinema. For much of this period, however, it had to face fierce competition from the Elite Cinema (1921-1955) and a lively music hall called the Kingston Empire, (1910 and 1955) [Phillipson's Kingston Directory, 1860s-1890s; Kingston Directories]. Nonetheless, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was the pub, the working men's club and the social institute which provided most Kingstonians with their normal means of escape from the harsh realities of everyday life.

Victorian Kingston exemplified Disraeli's two Englands: up on the hill, the rich and privileged occupied opulent villas while down in the valley, the indigent poor very nearly starved to death in some of England's worst slums. The workhouse dominated what is now Galsworthy Road. Hordes of casual and criminal poor paid fleeting but expensive visits to this grim 'Bastille' on their way up or down the Portsmouth Road. Each summer, 'the swell mob', composed of confidence tricksters and bully boys, played out a game of hide-and-seek with the local constabulary who tried ineffectively to prevent them making their way to the Epsom where naive racegoers provided rich pickings. When large numbers of 'worthy poor' were laid off during particularly severe winter conditions, the local Poor Law Guardians to their credit ignored central government instructions and distributed outdoor relief. Indeed, they so badly misunderstood their role that on several occasions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century they created public works so that the worthy poor could earn their living instead of subsisting on charity. As the central body pointed out with considerable acerbity, this was no part of their duties and consequently threatened to surcharge each guardian an appropriate proportion of the moneys so disgracefully deployed. The local newspaper, however, was sadly disappointed with its civic leaders and their lack of vision. In a famous passage in 1881, *The Surrey Comet's* leader writer protested ... *Kingston is constitutionally inclined to somnolency. Its public men are tediously cautious and the burgesses who, like the police, ought to be the stimulators of activity rarely bid them move on in the name of progress. Kingston has scarcely as yet evolved from a condition of existence suited to the life of half a century ago.* [The Surrey Comet, 22 January 1881].

During the 1880's, however, the inhabitants of this small rather undistinguished town started to exhibit a high degree of civic pride and ambition. Their growing interest in technical education and their desire to reduce the number of able-bodied poor in Kingston led in 1882 to the promotion of an *Exhibition of Industry and the Fine Arts*. Over a ten day period, 28,000 paying customers filed past the turnstiles creating a handsome profit of £343 which was invested so that the proceeds could be spent on promoting industry and art in the area. The years that followed witnessed a long quest to find a suitable headquarters in which to house the district's widening repertoire of technical instruction classes. In July 1889, the Borough Council considered turning Clattern House into a Free Library, School of Art and Museum [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 4 July 1889]. After a few months, however, it thought better of its resolution and dropped the scheme [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 10 October 1890]. Nevertheless, the corporation sought Surrey County Council's permission in December 1890, 'to apply the sums that will come into its possession under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, for the purposes of Technical Instruction' [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 4 December 1890]. This so-called 'Whisky money' derived its name from a Government levy on spirits, the proceeds of which were supposed to be used to compensate redundant publicans. Needless to say, the Temperance Movement was outraged at the suggestion and the embarrassed Government was only too happy to authorize local authorities to employ the controversial funds in promoting scientific and technical education.

Anxious to emulate more adventurous local authorities, Surrey and Kingston decided to create a Technical Institute. A County Council Technical Education Committee was set up in 1891 to seek ways of financing such enterprises. Kingston Corporation followed suit and formed a Special Technical Instruction Committee in 1891 to persuade the County to allow them to extend, coordinate and centralise their technical education services [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 5 Feb 1891]. This special committee soon concluded that what the town needed was 'a school of science and art in connection with the library' [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 19 March 1891]. Harry Thomas Roberts, a master at Tiffin Boys School, was appointed part-time Education Secretary at an annual salary of £65 to coordinate the delivery of technical instruction throughout the Borough - at first, he was unable to look after the Department of Art and Science classes as South Kensington disapproved of practising teachers acting as inspectors! [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 22 June 1893]

Earlier, in 1883, the Rev. Howard Nixon and like minded enthusiasts founded a Young Men's Club and Institute, which later became known as *The Polytechnic*. Initially, premises were rented in St James Road, then when these proved too expensive, the Institute moved to Leopold Hall, before finally settling in Fife Road [The Surrey Comet, 28 January 1893]. The Institute provided a great variety of facilities, including a lending library, and reading, billiards and bagatelle rooms. Moreover, many local associations including cricket and football teams like *the Kingston Rovers*, and swimming, cycling and harrier groups like *the Kingston Amateur Athletics Club* made the Institute their headquarters. From 1887 onwards, its evening school provided courses in elocution, book-keeping, French, wood carving, brass

repousse work, and music [The Surrey Comet, 28 January 1893; Phillipson's Kingston Directory, 1896]. It was managed by a Committee of Honorary and Club Members, chaired by the Vicar of Kingston [Ibid]. Membership was available to young men of 13 to 25 years of age. Within a short time, the Polytechnic hosted evening classes sponsored by the Department of Art and Science. Eventually, in October 1892, the trustees formally agreed to erect new rooms in which to accommodate technical education classes *'in such manner as may from time to time be approved by the (County) Council, or by a Committee appointed with their sanction'* [The Surrey County Council Technical Education Committee, 21 April 1891].

For the time being, the County and Borough Technical Instruction Committees believed the Institute would solve their accommodation problems. With subsidies from both authorities, the trustees erected a new building on the opposite side of Fife Road from their original centre with the sole purpose of holding *'technical education classes in that structure instead of in various parts of the borough'* [The Surrey Comet, 28 January 1893]. On opening this Technical Institute in January 1893, the Right Hon. James Bryce, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (soon to become Chairman of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education), praised the local authority's enterprise as an excellent example of *'local self help'* [The Surrey Comet, 28 January 1893]. He deplored the fact that Britain had been one of the last European nations to recognise the importance of technical education and called on the Polytechnic's managers to develop programmes of intermediate and higher education [Ibid]. Mr Halsey, the County Council's Chairman, confirmed that the new Technical Institute constituted only the local authority's first step towards satisfying its educational aspirations [Ibid]. By 1893 therefore Kingston possessed a Technical Institute, albeit one that was unable to accommodate all its many and varied art, science and technical activities. It could well be argued that the Fife Road Polytechnic and not the later Technical Institute is the current University's true progenitor. Perhaps, the centenary should have been celebrated in 1993 or even in 1991 rather than in 1999.

The quality of the Institute's accommodation and equipment quickly generated adverse comment and relations between the Polytechnic and the Technical Instruction Committee became strained: in February 1893, for instance, the Town Clerk complained that the club's gymnasts created so much noise that they disturbed the Science classes and demanded that the managers *'make good the injury to the ceiling of one of the classrooms caused by fixing gymnastic equipment'*. Nevertheless, in 1894, two Inspectors of Science and Art Schools declared themselves satisfied with the manner in which the classes were conducted *'despite teachers' and students' present disadvantageous surroundings'* while hoping that *'a new building would be pushed on with all convenient speed'*. Whatever its deficiencies, the Polytechnic continued to host Science and other courses throughout the period from 1893 to 1935.

In 1892, Kingston's Alderman Frederick Gridley suggested that a special committee should consider raising a specific rate to finance new technical education projects [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 7 April 1892]. He also recommended that a joint Kingston-Surrey committee explore ways of creating a custom-designed Central Technical Institute [Ibid].

Encouraged by the Polytechnic's success, Alderman Gridley and Mr Halsey worked determinedly during the last decade of the nineteenth century to persuade their parent councils to build new specialist Schools of Art, Science, and Technical Instruction. As early as 1892, the Kingston Technical Committee minuted its desire to open a custom-designed Institute [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 8 December 1892]. The Town Council went further in 1893 and offered *'a free site and local contribution to the amount of £1,000, if the County Council will, as in other cases, contribute £125 for 30 years'* [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 25 May 1893]. Then, in 1894, the Committee for Art and Technical Schools selected a site for the new institute building bordering St James Road - a fortunate choice as the Borough already owned the land [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 19 January 1894]. The Council noted complacently in 1895 that *'with their excellent Endowed Schools and the provision for scientific teaching at the Young Men's Institute, their town only required to make it a complete educational centre, a school of Art and a small Institute for the Domestic Teaching of Women'*. They offered, moreover, to provide *'a free site and local contributions to the amount of £125'* on condition that the County Council made an identical annual grant for a stipulated period of time [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 15 January 1895] - the two local authorities signed the agreement in April 1896 [Kingston Technical Committee Minutes, 28 April, 1896]. The site was divided into three plots: the largest, on which the new Tiffin Girls' School was to be constructed, faced St James' Road; the second, which was identified as the site for the School

of Science and Art and a Technical Institute, bordered Kingston Hall Road; while the third plot, lying between the two, was to remain empty until such time as the Council had sufficient funds to join the original buildings together with a specialist Science block.

The new Institute, it seemed, was as good as built. During that same year, however, the Borough's educational ambitions very nearly upset the delicate accord which had been established with the County Council. *'Unfortunately there has been a great deal of friction during the year between the Corporation and the County Council,'* commented the authors of the local directory, *'which has had the effect of delaying the erection of the Technical Institute, which is badly needed and is much overdue'* [Phillipson's Kingston Directory, 1897, p 66]. Kingston Corporation, led by Councillor Davidson, tried to pass an Education Bill to place non-county boroughs on a par with county boroughs as providers of education services. E.J. Halsey, the County Council's Chairman, penned an angry memorandum, stating: *'The Kingston Corporation thought it wise to move energetically in the direction of being made a separate Education Authority themselves. This, if obtained would in my opinion, have entirely wrecked our Education policy in making Kingston one of our great City centres'* [The Surrey County Council Education Committee minutes, 21 October 1896]. Believing that such legislation would cripple its plans, the County Council refused to consider building an Institute until the controversial bill's fate had been determined [Ibid]. On its failure, however, Alderman Gridley and Councillor Halsey renewed their partnership and managed to resolve what they were pleased to regard as a temporary difference of opinion (February 1896). Mr Paul Chambers was invited to design the new Institute. Ill health, however, prevented him completing the commission which was taken over by Messrs Lainson and Son of Brighton. They presented the completed plans to the committee during the summer of 1896. The proposed building was expected to cost £7,700 of which the County Council was to contribute £4,250; the Borough Corporation, £2,400; the Industrial Exhibition Fund trustees, their investments; and the Science and Arts Department, the balance. Once this had been agreed, there only remained a little matter of £750, the amount by which the Corporation had underestimated necessary expenditure. This had to be made good by entering into tedious negotiations with a Local Government Board [Phillipson's Kingston Directory, 1897, p 67].

At this point, the County Council started to have second thoughts. The provision of technical education was proving to be far more expensive than they had expected and they doubted *'whether results justify expenditure'*. An additional penny rate had to be levied and economies immediately instituted: classes in carpentry, dressmaking, German, and Ambulance (First Aid) were cancelled while no funds could be found either to support a Physiography course or for whitewashing the Polytechnic's classrooms. In an atmosphere of considerable anxiety, a request for tenders was advertised, a bid of £6,350 by Potter Brothers of Horsham accepted, and the contract signed (11th February 1897). Just as the builders were about to lay the foundations, it was discovered that the Town Clerk, Harold A. Winsor, had forgotten to send the final loan application to the Local Government Board [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 7 January 1898]. The unfortunate official was roundly condemned for *'procrastination amounting to negligence'* and compelled to write an abject apology - the error arose, he claimed, as a result of *'an unprecedented heavy year of work with insufficient margin of strength left'* [Ibid]. A hastily convened Local Government Board enquiry, headed by Colonel Durnford, established that no actual wrongdoing had taken place and the loan was finally sanctioned on 1st December 1897. At the same time the Treasury authorised the Department of Science and Art to contribute £500 towards the building costs. Work actually began on the site facing Kingston Hall Road in January 1898 [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 21 January 1898], but not before Potter Brothers had squeezed £250 compensation for the delay out of a very reluctant Council.

As the new Institute's walls started to rise above the ground, the 1882 Exhibition Fund trustees pointed out a number of, as they saw it, fundamental deficiencies in its plans. They called for the provision of a large lecture hall; rooms for art, repousse metalwork, dressmaking, and cookery; workshops for carpentry and engineering; a Chemistry laboratory; a Technical Reference Library and Reading Room; a small museum; a photographer's darkroom; and sundry other classrooms [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 15 April 1898]. The Technical Instruction Committee responded patiently and at great length, pointing out that their plans met all the trustees' requirements with the exception of facilities like the Carpentry and Engineering workshops and the Chemical Laboratory which were already available at the Fife Road Polytechnic, or those like the darkroom for which there was no call, or for which like the library equivalent provision already existed [Ibid]. Many of the trustees' criticisms, however, proved to be well founded as the missing facilities had to be added to the buildings during

the period prior to the First World War [See Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 16 November 1900; The Surrey County Council Education Committee, 1 November 1906]. Fortunately, the trustees were sufficiently mollified to make their funds available to the Technical Committee.

The completed building satisfied the Committee's most sanguine expectations. Early photographs record a handsome late Victorian building, consisting of five cube-like structures, the third of which jutted out well beyond the others. The external walls were surmounted by imposing gables - the first, third and fifth of which were crowned by elaborate stone escutcheons. What little could be seen of the pitched slate roof was enlivened by a number of impressive wooden lanterns, topped by tall stone finials. Strings of white and coloured bricks emphasised the building's horizontal lines. Due to the size and number of their windows, the first, third and fifth units seemed to display more glass than wall. However, these lights were dwarfed by the second and fourth units' huge studio windows which occupied most of their wall space. The Institute contained an assembly hall, an elementary school room with seating for one hundred people, classrooms, a dress-cutting room, a physical laboratory, an art room, clay modelling facilities and an office.

Even though the abundant light flooding through its vast windows was reflected by white painted ceilings and walls, the interior presented a somewhat sombre appearance, dominated as it was by heavy, dark coloured, hard wood furniture, wainscotting and fittings. The old science laboratories, which remained the building's one unchanging feature throughout its existence, contained heavy wooden framed, glass-fronted cabinets, lockable timber cupboards and shelves filled with glassware and instruments and enormous work benches, covered by thick teak working surfaces. The abiding memory visitors carried away with them, however, was of acres of highly polished timber flooring. According to the cleaners, these vast areas of shining wood, furnished them with their greatest sense of achievement, despite the hours of backbreaking toil involved in bringing them to this ephemeral state of perfection. By the time each new working day dawned, scuffed and dirtied surfaces had been scrubbed and burnished until they resembled - and often behaved like - a series of gleaming skating rinks. After decades of loving care, these surfaces developed a thick, rich, gleaming almost metallic patina and lived on in the fond memories of staff and students alike long after the buildings had been demolished.

A narrow but impressive garden filled with flowers, shrubs and small trees bordered the Kingston Hall Road frontage. This was separated from the pavement by an elaborate low brick wall, surmounted by iron railings and interrupted at regular intervals by short, squat decorated pillars, each topped by a downward curving cushion capital. Their reliefs matched those on the gables. A plain, heavy, gabled architrave dominated the main entrance. Two stone steps led up to elaborate double wooden doors, the upper halves of which were pierced by mock Gothic tracery.

The new '*School of Science and Art and Technical Institute*' [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 17 February 1899] was opened by Lord Russell of Killowen, the Lord Chief Justice, on Saturday, 11th February 1899 [Kingston Technical Instruction Committee, 25 January 1899]. In his address, Lord Russell observed that as Britain was no longer the unrivalled workshop of the world and faced fierce competition from Europe and America, *'It behoves us if we are not to lose our place in the race to be up and doing'*. He concluded, *'I regard these practical and technical schools of instruction in handicrafts as most important (advances) towards remedying defects of this kind ... they enable the pupils who take advantage of their opportunities to get a complete view of the trade in which they are going to practise'* [The Surrey Comet, 18 February 1899]. A sumptuous luncheon accompanied by series of speeches followed. Before handing over a cheque for £666.17.6, Mr Charles Hodgson, one of the Exhibition Fund trustees, reminded his audience that the new Institute's origins lay twenty years in the past [Ibid]. On the following Monday evening, students and their friends attended a '*Conversazione*' in the new building: this included a concert, recitations and an art and artefact exhibition [Ibid]. The list of popular entertainments included a demonstration of Rontgen rays and a highly successful banjo concert.

It was, in *The Surrey Comet's* judgement, *'the finest technical institute in the administrative county of Surrey, and one well worthy of Kingston's reputation and importance'* [The Surrey Comet, 11 February 1899]. Certainly, the bright new buildings compared very favourably with the *'unsuitable and inadequate'* accommodation, provided by the Polytechnic, Tiffin Boys and Girls Schools, and the Assize Courts [Phillipson's Kingston Directory, 1898, p 18; Kelly's Kingston, Norbiton & Surbiton & District Directory,

1899, p 36]. For the time being at least the curriculum remained relatively unchanged, consisting of courses in `Chemistry (Theoretical and Practical), Electricity and Magnetism, Electric Wiring and Lighting, Physiography, Building Construction, Geometry, Joinery, Wood Carving, Carpentry, Plumbing, Horticulture, Ambulance, Nursing, Dressmaking, Cookery, Millenary, Art Subjects (Freehand Model, Perspective, Cast Drawing, Light and Shade), Clay Modelling, Design, Drawing from the Antique Works for Art Masters and Art Teachers' Certificate, Shorthand, Book Keeping, French etc' [Phillipson's Kingston Directory, 1899, p 63]. These programmes were validated by the Department of Science and Art, the City and Guilds of London Institute, the Society of Plumbers Company, and the Royal Horticultural Society. The continuing relationship with the Department of Science and Art provided the Institute with a small but valuable source of income: in 1899, Kingston Corporation promised to dedicate some of the Institute's rooms to art teaching in return for grant aid [PRO: ED83/113 - deed, dated 3/7/1899]. In their enthusiasm, moreover, they appointed Mr Alfred James Collister as headteacher of both the Kingston and Wimbledon Art Schools.

The provision of shorthand classes was one of the new Institute's most successful ventures: in 1900, on the basis of its burgeoning success, Mr F.G. Harwood, the shorthand instructor, requested that his salary be raised from 12 to 16 shillings an evening. The Technical Committee [November 1900] reluctantly agreed as long as student attendance at his sessions never fell below fifty. A number of new courses were introduced including telegraphy and mathematics in September 1899; and typewriting, German, botany, hygiene and workshop arithmetic in 1900; while the County Council called for a number experimental garden plots to be laid out behind the main Institute building. Classes in the Care and Management of Horses proved to be another popular addition to the Institute's course portfolio.

Why was the Technical Institute founded? Was it an example of the civic fathers' far sighted educational enterprise or merely the result of their growing ambition? Admittedly, from its inception, the Technical Education Committee had tried to concentrate its technical subject classes in one set of custom-designed buildings in the interests both of quality and cost effectiveness. However, as the *Surrey Comet* noted in 1909, there were other powerful reasons for founding such an institution [The *Surrey Comet*, 10 April 1909]. The leader writer blamed ineffective education for the escalating cost of the out-relief doled out to thousands of unskilled labourers. He quoted the Webbs' and William Beveridge's statements in *The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission*:

Perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts which the Commission has laid bare is the perpetual recruitment of the unemployable by the tens of thousands of boys, who through neglect to provide them with suitable industrial training, may almost be said to graduate into unemployment as a matter of course.

If, as he believed, the `present system of boy labour' presented `a grave national danger' to the economy, technical institutes and schools were the most effective means of combating `the evil' of unemployment and poverty. With the apprenticeship system in severe decline, he called for the creation of a nationwide network of compulsory continuation schools to train poor boys in the skills they required to earn an honest living. As this episode demonstrates, little or no change had taken place in the public's attitude towards the poor and unemployed since the introduction of the New Poor Law during the 1830s. Education was still seen as the panacea for these twin evils. In 1901, Councillor Halsey blamed Britain's economic malaise on the working classes' incorrigible laziness. `As a young nation we were much too fond of amusement', he sourly observed, `and amusement led to indolence and neglect of care for the future advancement generally of men and women' [The *Surrey Comet*, 26 January 1901]. Perhaps, as Walter Bagehot remarked, `Poverty is an anomaly to rich people. It is very difficult (for them) to make out why people who want dinner do not ring the bell' [Walter Bagehot, *Literary Studies*, vol II].

Certainly, the Institute's origins were complex. Opinions about its *raison d'être* differed from one contemporary to another according to their political, economic and social persuasions. It seems certain, however, that it emerged slowly and falteringly out of a number of separate initiatives rather than from one bold, imaginative decision.

A GOLDEN AGE OF EDUCATION: 1900 to 1914

During his long period of service between 1902 and 1931, Harry Roberts acted not only as the Borough's Local Education Secretary, the equivalent of the current Chief Education Officer, but, to all intents and purposes, as the Institute's Principal - although the actual title was not officially bestowed upon him until 1930. Under his robust leadership, the institution 'grew by leaps and bounds' [The Surrey Comet, 21 June 1933]. Mr Roberts himself referred to the period between 1903 and 1907 as 'the golden age of Kingston education' [Ibid]. The 1902 Education Act was expected to usher in a new age of educational enterprise. It coordinated all forms of instruction under county and county borough councils and swept away the previous ad hoc approach. However, the act's main aim was to promote secondary rather than further education. As the main inspiration for this movement was the Whitehall rather than the South Kensington branch of the Board of Education, most secondary schools decided to prepare their pupils for clerical posts. Although, after 1905, a number of new trade schools appeared which took children at the age of 13+ and prepared them for industrial and domestic service, little was done nationally to promote secondary technical education, even though official recognition was given to Junior Technical Schools in 1913. As Argles put it, 'the whole ethos of Edwardian England was directed towards 'respectable white-collar jobs' rather than industry and commerce [op cit, p 58]. It is significant that none of H.G. Wells' working class heroes in his contemporary novels *Kipps* and *The War in the Air* received a technical education. Both Artie Kipps and Bert Smallways represent the social and cultural values of Edwardian white collar England. However much secondary technical education was actually neglected after 1902, the Board of Education felt able to boast:

one of the most striking features of the recent history of education in England is the great progress which has been made in the organisation of the numerous and varied types of instruction given in evening classes.

[Board of Education, Report for the year 1908-09, HMSO, p 66].

Kingston Institute, even at this early stage of its development, was grossly overcrowded. Moreover, as the Technical Education Committee acknowledged, the situation was bound to get worse as increasing numbers of local people sought 'manual education' [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, February 1901]. Although the Institute's rooms were large, light and airy, a *Surrey Comet* reporter noted they could only just accommodate existing classes. Courses in plumbing and chemistry had to be delivered at the Fife Road Polytechnic. Other classes were held on three nights a week in Tiffin Girls School [Ibid]. Conditions were so cramped that the Institute's woodwork room had to accommodate 420 students a week. As there was only one workshop in which electrical wiring, electrical engineering and painting and decorating could be taught, 'considerable ingenuity had to be exercised in properly storing the apparatus used in each case' [Ibid]. Consequently, a new wing containing five classrooms costing £3,500 [The Surrey Comet, 25 May 1901] was opened by Sir Thomas Skewes-Cox, the M.P. for Kingston, in 1902. Even with this additional accommodation, it was impossible to deliver all the Institute's 'new model teaching' in salubrious conditions. For instance, the Cookery School, established in 1904, had to be housed for several decades in a steadily deteriorating temporary building [The Surrey County Council Technical Education Committee, 19 May 1905]. A Board of Education Report on the Institute in 1911 stated, 'There is a pressing need for the provision of a Physical Laboratory, a Mechanical Laboratory and improved workshop accommodation' [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 15 December 1911]. In 1912, four more 'excellent workshops' and three additional classrooms were erected at the back of the Institute. Their official opening merited yet another *Conversazione* [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 October 1912]. Once again, the extensions failed to satisfy mounting demand, for, as the Secretary remarked:

These additional rooms have permitted several trade classes, for which there had been a demand for some years, to be organised; it must not be thought that the extension meets the needs of the Institute. The extra rooms have not even enabled all the classes which are at present organised to be held at the Tiffin Institute and the Polytechnic.

[Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 October 1912 - Secretary's Report]

The County Technical Education Committee carefully minuted the Institute's provision during the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1903, for instance, the following courses were provided:

Plumbing - 7 classes
Builders' Quantities - 2 classes
Carpentry and Joinery - 6 classes
Brickwork - 2 classes
Plaster work - 1 class
Painters and Decorators Work - 2 classes
Electric Wiring - 3 classes
Typography - 2 classes
Basket Making - 3 classes

[The Surrey County Council Technical Education Committee, 12 May 1903]:

In 1909, the Institute introduced '*coordinated courses*'. These programmes were originally developed in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire following the passage of the 1902 Education Act. Their extension to the rest of the country became official Board of Education policy in 1910 [Argles M., op cit, p 64]. These two-year study programmes provided young people with a variety of foundation skills upon which to build a specialism. It was argued, moreover, that whoever successfully completed the programme would be well placed to choose an advanced award bearing course [Ibid]. During the years before the First World War, the Institute provided '*eminently practical*' programmes in commerce, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, electrical wiring, carpentry and joinery, painting and decorating, plumbing and sanitary engineering as well as preparing boys for the building trade [The Surrey Comet, 10 April 1909]. Something approaching General Education courses began to be provided for members of various service and other industries: members of the Metropolitan police, for instance, attended English and Arithmetic classes while courses were provided for gas-fitters, postal workers and grocer's assistants. A Land Surveying programme was added in 1910, followed by a Motor Vehicle Engineering course in 1912 - this was equipped with machines from the Humber Motor Car Company. Additional courses in cookery, dressmaking, laundry and home nursing were established for '*Housewives in the Making*'. Moreover, 1910 saw further diversification with the appointment of Mr Cocks to teach Geography and Mr Potter to provide History lectures with weekly salaries respectively of 5 shillings and three shillings and six pence. Local medical practitioners, however, complained that the Institute's Ambulance (First Aid) courses were depriving them of work until Harry Roberts pointed out that the programmes merely ensured that housewives knew how to care for patients once treatment had been prescribed [Ibid]. For the first time, moreover, the Institute began to prepare students to take London University external degrees: these courses flourished from the 1900s to the 1970s. They reflected the Institute's desire to raise the quality of its courses and to overcome the stereotypical expectations which threatened to restrict its provision to secondary and further education programmes.

The School of Art, which occupied the first floor of the Kingston Hall Road building, contained a large elementary school room accommodating up to one hundred students at a time, a studio for advanced art work and a modelling room. Throughout the 1890's, Thomas and John Fridy furnished pure and applied art classes in the ill-lit Assize Courts, especially for students specialising in industrial design, book illustration and figure work [Ibid]. In 1898, however, Alfred James Collister (1869-1964) was appointed headteacher of both the Kingston and Wimbledon Art Schools (1898-1930). He was the first of a series of eminent artists to hold the post. After exhibiting regularly, he was elected to a full membership of the Royal Society of British Artists in 1900. One of his pupils described him as '*a born teacher ... for he was not one of those ... who taught to a formula, or a recipe, or a set of tricks. He took every individual student as a separate entity and encouraged and brought out his latent possibilities*' [Quoted in *The Introduction to an Exhibition of 60 Watercolours*, Roland Goslett's Gallery]. Collister, who specialised in teaching Advanced Drawing and Anatomy, demonstrated '*by sketches made on the side of the paper the faults noticed in the students' work and the means to be taken to correct them*' [Ibid].

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Archibald Knox, one of many well known artists to become associated with the Kingston and Wimbledon Schools of Art, joined the staff. At the request of his old friend, the headteacher, he was appointed Design Master in January 1899 and served between August 1899 and August 1900, at a salary of £25.11.0 a quarter [Tilbrook A.J. (1970), *The Designs of Archibald Knox*, Ornament Press, p 29]. Subsequently, he devoted his whole attention to fulfilling commissions for *Liberty*

and Company before returning to his post at Kingston and Wimbledon in September 1904 [Ibid, p 33]. One of his Wimbledon students left a vivid impression of his personality, appearance and teaching style:

In a light grey Manx tweed, with spotless linen, with his longish hair and brown beard he quietly entered the room saying, 'Good morning to you' ... Knox lectured with the aid of photographic slides and dictated principles around which the students could formulate their individual ideas ... The lectures were usually divided into different groups such as colour, window types, chimney pots, etc. Comparing one example with another Mr Knox would show which had the greatest thought in it, which was most suited to its purpose and the material used - teaching that there were two natures, outside nature and our own, the last being Art, Art, the outcome, or the reward of practice and study. Style or Art, he explained, came to the artist as to the musician, only after long and continual application to the paint box or the keyboard, application with resolution and thought. Not until this Self Nature was expressed was the work produced complete, distinctive by its individuality, glowing as a stone mined from the recesses of the unknown.

[Tuckfield W., Mannin, 1913]

The work Knox undertook for *Liberty and Company* gradually grew in importance as he drew ever more deeply upon his knowledge and understanding of Celtic interlacing ornamentation [Tilbrook A.J., op cit, p 35]. At first, he designed fabrics and wallpapers. Later, he began to make jewellery in the ancient Celtic style and to contribute to the annual Arts and Crafts Exhibitions [Ibid, p 39]. After a fruitful period when he successfully divided his time between teaching and designing, Knox, in 1912, fell foul of the South Kensington Examination Board which criticised his 'too traditional teaching', causing him to resign from his joint Kingston and Wimbledon post [Ibid, p 78; Daily Telegraph, 21 February 1988]. According to contemporary but unsubstantiated rumours, he was accused of plagiarism and over-preparing his students for examinations, or, not to put too fine a point upon it, cheating. In high dudgeon, Knox resigned and took up a new position on the staff of the Philadelphia School of Industrial Art in Pennsylvania, USA. His unexpected resignation led to a furore. Some of his faithful students, led by Denise and Winifred Tuckfield, withdrew from the School of Art in protest at their mentor's humiliation and opened 'The Knox Guild of Craft and Design' in rented accommodation at 24, The Market Place, Kingston. From this centre, they sold their work and remained a constant reminder of the Institute's folly in accepting their master's resignation. Annually from 1913 to 1939, they exhibited their wares at both the Kingston and Whitechapel Art Galleries [Ibid, p 83].

As early as 1901, the Kingston Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-committee considered establishing a Day Commercial School for young people emerging from elementary education, but were initially unable to raise the necessary capital [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 3 February 1901; The Surrey Comet, 16 February 1901]. Finally, in February 1910, the Institute opened a school for pupils aged between 13½ and 17 years of age, who wished to enter clerical posts in commerce and industry. Their Day Commercial School, the Kingston authorities claimed incorrectly, was the first to be opened in the country. The school's true origins actually lay in the terms of the 1902 Education Act which enabled local authorities to link elementary schools and technical institutes by means of day continuation departments. The school began its life with 40 pupils and James Borote Whitehead as its headteacher. As no textbooks or equipment had arrived, Whitehead occupied his pupils' minds with a conundrum. He chalked **GOOGO** on the board and asked them to guess what the letters represented. After every pupil had admitted defeat, and only then, he gave them the answer, 'Get On Or Get Out', which became the school motto. Lack of equipment and insufficient accommodation were perennial problems. The typing class, for instance, took place in a corridor and had access to no more than four typewriters. When the accommodation problem reached crisis proportions, Whitehead, who was a shrewd tactician, threatened to place his pupils and their desks on the footpath outside the school in full view of passers-by. Faced by the prospect of being held up to public ridicule, the Education Committee voted the necessary funds to pay for the construction of further accommodation. Eventually a well-equipped typing room, an excellent gymnasium and a library of 1,000 books, all purchased by the pupils or their parents, were added to the original school buildings [The Surrey Comet, 20 December 1933].

The school's aim was to supply its pupils with 'a sound secondary education' [Kingston Technical College prospectuses throughout the thirties]. The curriculum included English, history, geography, mathematics, French, commerce, book-keeping, shorthand, typing, business routine, gymnastics and

games [Ibid]. Admission was by examination only: candidates took papers in English and General Knowledge and if they did well enough proceeded to a final viva voce test. Scholarships were awarded to the best candidates by Surrey County Council [Kingston Technical College prospectuses]. The parents of ordinary pupils were charged fees of £2 a term. All pupils had to wear school uniform and undertake homework. Later, the Institute brochure proudly proclaimed:

The School has been very successful in placing pupils, and many former pupils now hold really good positions. Large business firms in London and Kingston notify the school of vacancies on their staffs. [Ibid]

On being officially recognised by the Board of Education in 1912, the school was awarded an annual government grant.

The fact that large numbers of local elementary school boys attended the Institute's Day and Evening classes clearly demonstrated, in Harry Roberts' opinion, the need for another but different kind of school. In his 1911 annual report the Kingston Education Secretary argued that, 'a day preparation school is required, the curriculum of which should be non-specialised, but with a bias towards trade subjects'. 'The organisation of this school', he thought, 'should not present insuperable difficulties, and as soon as the Technical Institute is extended and workshop accommodation increased, it is hoped that every endeavour will be made with the aid of the Surrey Education Committee to establish such a school on similar lines to that of the Day Commercial School'. Although, due to lack of suitable accommodation, the opening of a Junior Technical School had to be postponed until after the Great War was over, a Junior Technical Evening Institute was set up in local schools, providing five programmes: a commercial course including book-keeping, shorthand and typing; a preliminary technical course in science, technical drawing and calculation; a preparatory trade course comprising workshop drawing, trade calculations and either metalwork or woodwork or plumbing; a general course for girls consisting of household accounts, English and composition, and dressmaking; and finally a general course for boys in arithmetic, English literature and composition, geography and history, general science and woodwork [Kingston Technical College prospectuses during the 1930's]. Sessions ran from September to April at a cost of 3/6 per pupil.

Although the Institute never possessed either a Junior Trade or a Housewifery school, it provided nevertheless a complete range of vocational and technical education and training at both secondary and further education levels. Boys from a large catchment area including Malden, Raynes Park, Molesey, Cobham, Hersham, Walton, Weybridge and even Effingham were attracted to its courses [The Surrey Comet, 10 April 1909]. For many 'outside' students the bicycle was the only feasible means of getting to and from the Institute - they provided such a popular means of transport that the Institute's managers were persuaded to build a custom-designed bicycle shed. During wet weather, however, when many of the surrounding country roads were reduced to the condition of mud slides, attendance dropped alarmingly [Ibid]. One of the most pleasing aspects of the Institute's development, as *The Surrey Comet* noted complacently in 1909, was the improvement in the 'kind of boy applying for entrance': according to the reporter, they proved to be 'admirably diligent and earnest pupils' [Ibid].

On 3rd July 1913, the Institute endured its first full-scale H.M.I. inspection [PRO: ED114/881]. In their report, the inspectors discussed at length the gross inadequacy of its accommodation. Classes in French, German, pure and practical mathematics, sanitary engineering, book-keeping, theoretical plumbing, blackboard drawing, geography, theoretical carpentry and land surveying were still being taught in Tiffin Girls School, classes in Ambulance (First Aid) were delivered in the Fire Station and the Assize Court and a Farriery class was held in the Richmond Road Elementary School [Ibid, p 2]. Many courses were still based in the totally unsatisfactory Fife Road Polytechnic: according to the inspectors, its chemistry laboratory and plumbers' shop were far too small and badly equipped. Moreover, evening classes were constantly interrupted by loud noises emanating from dances and other social gatherings taking place on the first floor. In response to constantly rising demand, three temporary classrooms and four workshops had been set up in the Institute's grounds - this accommodation, the inspectors gloomily reported, was only acceptable in the short term, new permanent buildings were desperately needed. Furthermore, as components making up many Institute courses were taught in several different buildings, students wasted much time and energy rushing from one to another [Ibid, p 3].

The curriculum had hardly changed since the Kingston Hall Road buildings were opened. Subjects were nearly always taught in discrete units instead of being grouped together in cognate clusters, which

would, according to the inspectors, have facilitated increased flexibility of course design and delivery. In their opinion, the needs of the rapidly growing local population could only be satisfied by introducing higher level courses, especially in commercial subjects. Moreover, the inspectors believed the gap in technical education existing between elementary school and the Technical Institute had only been narrowed rather than closed by founding the Day Commercial School. What was really needed, they insisted, was a Junior Technical School which could prepare youths for industry [Ibid, pp 6-10].

Having condemned deficiencies in the admissions and advisory systems, the inspectors continued:

The Principal deserves praise for his energy and attention to the various duties falling on him, but however capable a Principal and his Chief Assistants may be, it is not possible for them to interview about 800 students at the commencement of the session and to arrange courses for them individually. [Ibid, p 3]

Study hours were excessive. After completing a full working day, young students were expected to attend lectures from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. without a break, on two evenings a week. H.M.I. strongly recommended that the sessions should be spread over three days, and that no lesson should last more than two hours. As the first, second and third year subject and commercial classes suffered from exactly the same defects, H.M.I. recommended the universal adoption of shorter lessons on fewer evenings a week [Ibid, pp 3-4]. Both staff and students must have welcomed these recommendations which undoubtedly improved teaching and learning conditions. Although our sympathy goes out to the students, we should not be forgot that the lecturers were equally hard pressed as they too had full-time day jobs as well as their evening class teaching. Moreover, lectures and workshops formed only part of their duties. H.M.I. noted that each course involved *'a substantial amount of homework'* [Ibid, p 4]. These assignments had to be marked in the instructor's own time. *'Evidently no pains have been spared in the selection of competent lecturers and instructors'*, the inspectors remarked approvingly, *'these are drawn from the staffs of Training Colleges, Secondary Schools, Commercial Schools, as well as Art Schools and Elementary Schools, and they represent in aggregate a wide field of practical experience'* [Ibid, p 10].

The inspectors recommended that the institution:

- (a) *increase its accommodation ... so that the classes ... at present conducted at the Polytechnic, can be carried on under satisfactory conditions.*
- (b) *reorganise the curriculum and timetables of the classes ... to allow ... the extension of the grouped-course system.*
- (c) *form higher level classes in Commerce.*
- (d) *establish a Junior Technical School.*

In spite of all its deficiencies, the Institute was, the inspectors stoutly maintained, the county's leading source of technical education. The accuracy of this judgement was clearly demonstrated at the Annual County Technological Exhibition in July 1914: Kingston students took eleven first prizes, nine seconds, six thirds, and two fourths while the work of thirteen others was highly commended [The Surrey Comet, 29 July 1914]; Kingston trainees also carried off premier honours in building construction and drawing, and exhibited considerable ability in engineering; in fact, they and the Wimbledon Technical Institute's students dominated the exhibition [The Surrey Comet, 8 July 1914].

THE WAR TO END ALL WARS: 1914 to 1918

With hindsight, war is often given false legitimacy by being described as *'the locomotive of history'* or *'the midwife of change'*. Certainly, in many ways and in many areas, the Great War acted as a catalyst and accelerant in the never ending process of change. It was also, as Professor Marwick has demonstrated only too clearly, a time of psychological shock and trauma, personal loss and damage, destruction and disruption, loss and decay, austerity and restriction, deprivation of freedom and growth in government control as well a period of innovation, imagination, and development [Marwick A. (1965) *The Deluge*, Bodley Head]. All these influences must have impacted upon the Institute, but only general, broad trends can be described here as surviving records lack intimate detail and illuminating anecdote.

Harry Roberts' *'enthusiasm and self-sacrificing devotion'* received continuous recognition throughout the war [eg *The Surrey Comet*, 7 August 1915]. *The Surrey Comet*, for example, praised his exemplary leadership and industry with almost monotonous regularity. He played, for instance, a key role in founding and developing the local branch of the Volunteer Aid Detachment whose nurses worked in military hospitals [*The Surrey Comet*, 14 August 1915]. Unfortunately, these volunteers, made famous by Vera Brittain, failed to achieve the hoped for impact largely due to the War Department's unwarranted suspicion and intransigence. Roberts also worked hard, although on this occasion without success, to establish a Higher Standard School to provide older boys with extra drawing, science and handwork courses and older girls with domestic science programmes [H.R. Roberts' Report, *The Surrey Comet*, 26 December 1914].

With the outbreak of war, Institute recruitment increased to such a degree - there were 1,549 additional entrants in September 1914 - that Roberts and his staff had difficulty satisfying their needs [*The Surrey Comet*, 31 October 1914]. At the annual prizegiving in 1915, Mr King, the Mayor of Kingston, pointed out that even though *'many of the best students were serving their country elsewhere'*, year-on-year recruitment was continuing to grow rapidly: there were 2,289 entries in 1913, 2,664 in 1914 and 4,500 in 1915 [*The Surrey Comet*, 13 March 1915]. In his opinion, the reason for the exceptional increase in 1915 was *'the enthusiasm shown by young ladies in their desire to learn nursing, cookery and ambulance (First Aid) work'* [Ibid]. King concluded that Surrey was *'at the top of the pole for technical education'* [Ibid]. As the war progressed, the Government called upon local authorities to curtail expenditure. The Institute responded in 1916 by restricting the number of its normal evening, general and preparatory courses while maintaining its advanced and specialised study programmes [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 20 January 1916].

'On the outbreak of the war special courses', the Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee recorded, *'were immediately arranged for Ambulance (First Aid), Nursing and Invalid Cookery'* [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 15 October 1914]. Later, in 1915, nursing classes were specifically arranged *'for the convenience of ladies engaged in business houses during the day'* [*The Surrey Comet*, 5 September 1918]. So many women applied for the Invalid Cookery courses that were insufficient utensils to go around and essential equipment had to be borrowed. Kingston Gas Company patriotically provided the Domestic Subjects Department with gas stoves free of charge [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 15 October 1915]. In 1915, 280 students attended the first two *'Economy of Food in Wartime'* courses to learn how to provide a satisfactory diet in spite of wartime shortages [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 20 January 1916]. The *'Gardening in War Time'* programmes were just as popular and the local allotment movement prospered mightily [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 20 January 1916].

Initially, there were very few job opportunities for middle class women. However, Emmeline Pankhurst and other members of the Women's Social and Political Union placed the Government under extreme pressure by demanding the *'right to work'*. Moreover, as hostilities intensified and the number of men volunteering for the armed forces impacted on the economy, the Government was forced to add to the existing 2,179,000 female working force. The Institute played an important role in training *'women of good education to fill temporarily the places of men in clerical and commercial occupations who have joined His Majesty's Forces'*. Each candidate's success in these intensive programmes was assessed by formal examination [Ibid]. In December 1915, *The Surrey Comet* proudly announced that every woman

graduating from the Institute's intensive courses in banking, municipal work, insurance and other office professions obtained employment. Harry Roberts asked employers to let him know how many new members of staff they required so that he could ensure the Institute produced enough suitably trained workers to meet their needs [The Surrey Comet, 20 November 1915]. In addition, the Institute provided a series of concentrated programmes for shorthand typists, book-keepers and general clerks. By 1918, special classes *'for ladies in engineering drawing and tracing'* were established to satisfy industry's growing needs [The Surrey Comet, 21 September 1918]. Many local women, for instance, found employment with the Sopwith Aviation Company at Canbury Park. During the immediate post-war period, women's training programmes remained extremely popular, so much so that a new hut had to be erected in the Institute's grounds to accommodate them. Unfortunately, when staff and students attempted to occupy the new building in 1920, the usual Kingston problems prevailed: none of the furniture, apparatus or materials, promised by the Office of Works and Ministry of Labour, had arrived so that the students had to make do with temporary accommodation and minimal materials [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 29 March 1920].

During the war, work of national importance displaced many of the Institute's normal programmes of study. Following the passage of Lloyd George's Munitions of War Act in July 1915, for instance, students and staff were released to work in munitions factories [The Surrey Comet, 10 July 1915]. In 1915, the Metropolitan Munitions Committee obtained permission to make use of the Institute's Mechanical Engineering facilities. Subsequently, *'conversion'* courses were arranged for both skilled and semi-skilled men wishing to undertake such work [The Surrey Comet, 24 July 1915; Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 October 1915]. In 1916, the Institute introduced special intensive commercial courses for men in or about to join the armed forces [The Surrey Comet, 29 April 1916]. When casualties started to return to civvy street, a number of re-training schemes were put in place. In 1917, for instance, the Ministry of Labour, the Surrey Naval and Military War Pension Committees and the Trade Organisations jointly sponsored the Institute in delivering courses in commercial and industrial subjects, including electrical installation, motor engineering, bespoke tailoring, cabinet making and French polishing, and war-time cookery [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 20 December 1917].

By 1917, every available hut on the Institute site had been pressed into service to accommodate additional classes. Due to the overcrowding, 150 disabled war veterans as well as 40 women destined to replace men joining the armed forces had to be trained in the Day Commercial School [Records, quoted by The Surrey Comet, 20 December 1933]. During 1918, the Institute provided returning veterans with free classes in cooking; bread making; poultry, rabbit and pig keeping; fruit bottling; vegetable and fruit drying; and gardening [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 29 April 1918]. From 1919 onwards, war veterans were granted free access to most evening classes. Entirely new programmes were also introduced in aeronautics, automobile engineering and chauffeuring [The Surrey Comet, 21 September 1918]. The life of these new courses was not restricted to wartime but continued throughout the post-war period. In 1919, for instance, 97 disabled ex-servicemen took courses in commercial subjects, tailoring, electrical installation, and motor engineering [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 22 September 1919]. These programmes were so popular that Harry Roberts emulated Mr Squeers' actions in Charles Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby* by getting his electrical installation trainees to wire up the Institute's new huts as part of their studies [Ibid]. The rationale for all this effort was clear: *'When the war is over there will undoubtedly be a great demand for skilled workers, especially in the chemistry and mechanical industries if the trade which has been in German hands is to be captured and retained by British firms'* [The Surrey Comet, 12 September 1918].

Although the Art School's activities were greatly reduced by the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, its students continued to win a wide variety of coveted gold medals and scholarships [The Surrey Comet, 18 September 1915]. The School was particularly strong in craft studies. Indeed, *The Surrey Comet* boasted that it provided *'all the advantages of the London School of Arts ... at very moderate fees'* [The Surrey Comet, 18 September 1915]. Moreover, new Rhythmics and Musical Appreciation programmes were introduced to boost public morale [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 20 December 1917]. At one stage, however, the County Council considered reducing costs by dismissing all its assistant art teachers and requiring its headteachers to lecture unaided. Fortunately, this economy could not be applied at Kingston and Wimbledon as their Colleges shared the same principal [The Surrey Comet, 25 December 1915].

The Institute contributed significantly to the war effort by setting up its own branch of the War Savings Association - this operated with considerable success in spite of spiralling inflation and increasing taxation [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 14 March 1917]. The Institute's 'junior' departments also played their part. Recruitment remained buoyant with, for instance, the Day Commercial School maintaining a complement of approximately 200 pupils throughout the entire war [eg *The Surrey Comet*, 29 April 1916]. By 1916, female clerks were in such short supply that the only way the School could meet local demand was by opening a Post-Secondary Department which trained state and private secondary school girls of sixteen years and above for the civil service, banks, insurance companies and other business houses [The *Surrey Comet*, 26 February 1916]. A proposal to establish a similar scheme for boys was rejected on the grounds that they would be of more use working in industry [The *Surrey Comet*, 22 July 1916; The *Surrey Comet*, 6 January 1917; Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 5 July 1917]. In 1915, the Borough rationalised its rather haphazard Junior Evening winter continuation programmes: Richmond Road Junior Technical Institute specialised in training boys and girls for commercial posts while the Bonner Hill Junior Technical Institute provided boys with industrial and general courses and girls with domestic programmes. The Council called, without much success, upon the Junior and Adult Institutes to liaise much more closely: it hoped that most elementary and secondary school pupils could be persuaded to join the senior institution after undertaking a year long introductory study programme [The *Surrey Comet*, 11 September 1915].

1917 witnessed heightened tension. Fear of air raids spread as *The Surrey Comet* outlined the regulations concerning the Alert: as soon as enemy aircraft or dirigibles were observed, warning rockets would be fired, and police constables would tour the town on foot or bicycle carrying placards proclaiming 'Take Cover'. As soon as the danger was over, the constabulary were to display 'All Clear' notices throughout the town [The *Surrey Comet*, 28 July 1917]. In defiance of this air borne threat, Kingstonsians held a Great War Market on 19th June 1917. Special appearances by the ever popular Gerald Du Maurier and George Robey helped to enliven proceedings and raise over £5,000. However, when at the beginning of 1918, food supplies started to dwindle due to the success of the German submarine campaign, crowds of angry Kingston women besieged shops, abusing the shopkeepers and testing the mettle of the local constabulary who had the greatest difficulty controlling vast, angry queues. Shopkeepers complained that the shortages were aggravated by large numbers of women flooding into the town from the surrounding areas and demanded the immediate imposition of compulsory rationing [The *Surrey Comet*, 26 January 1918]. With the spread of the great influenza epidemic, the situation deteriorated still further. James Whitehead, the Day Commercial School's headteacher, announced the death from 'flu of one of his most promising sixteen year old students with a sorrow which still manages to bridge the years [The *Surrey Comet*, 28 December 1918]. Moreover, the civilian population's morale and resolve were deeply affected by the ever-growing lists of casualties which appeared in local newspapers under the ominous heading, 'For King and Country'.

By the end of the Great War, the Institute was still mainly a provider of part-time evening elementary, secondary and further education programmes with a relatively minor interest in the delivery of degree level work. Full-time further education still lay twenty-five years in the future: in 1918, there were only 1200 full-time technical college students in the whole country [Argles M, op cit, p 72]. H.A.L. Fisher's 1918 Education Act flattered only to deceive. As Argles glumly commented, 'The valuable sections of the 1918 Act (Fisher's Education Act) relating to the raising of the school leaving age to 15 and to the provision of the compulsory continuation schools were never brought into operation' [Ibid, p 65]. However, 'By 1918', he continues, 'the future pattern of technical education had been set: it was one of part-time evening instruction combined with practical experience in industry ...' [Ibid].

At its inception, teacher training was one of the Institute's less well known activities. From the 1890's down to 1918, it hosted courses leading to the National Froebel Union's and the Board of Education's Teacher's Certificate as well as London University's Matriculation examinations [Kingston Institute advertisements in *The Surrey Comet*, eg. 12 September 1914]. While this minor but worthwhile contribution was being made to teacher training, Gipsy Hill College, which eventually joined Kingston Polytechnic in 1975 as its Division of Educational Studies, was founded in 1917. At the time, most teacher training took place in residential denominational voluntary colleges, a small number of Local Authority institutions founded as a result of the Balfour Education Act of 1902 and nearly twenty university and university college training departments. The voluntary colleges were normally small, single sex institutions, training between 80 and 150 students. They provided two-year courses

containing a mixture of subject and professional studies and school experience. The university departments, on the other hand, offered four year courses: three years being devoted to an academic subject degree programme while the fourth was spent teaching in maintained schools. The Board of Education paid for students' tuition fees and maintenance costs as long as they were prepared to take the 'pledge' to enter the state teaching profession on graduating - this regulation remained in force until 1951, when it was replaced by a 'declaration of intent'. Of course many students began their studies as pupil-teachers or apprentices in maintained schools and either obtained a teacher's certificate through practical and theoretical examination or won a King's Scholarship to complete their studies at a training college [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, pp 24-26].

Gipsy Hill College was the brainchild of some of the country's leading early years educationalists. Sir Percy Nunn, Sir William Mather, Bertram Hawker, Edmund Holmes, Belle Rennie and many others joined together in 1914 to form *The New Ideals in Education Movement* [Presentation Prospectus for Miss de Lissa, p 3]. Their goal was to produce a quantum leap in the quality of British nursery and primary education. These enthusiasts were attracted by Maria Montessori's ideas and at least one of their number, Belle Rennie, studied in Rome with the great teacher. At first, their desire to create an innovatory voluntary training college was thwarted by lack of capital and suitable accommodation. Eventually, Belle Rennie, an extraordinary Edwardian lady without academic qualifications but full of enthusiasm, intelligence, ingenuity, commitment and determination, set about breathing life into what hitherto had been no more than a dream. She purchased a couple of houses in Dulwich Wood Avenue, Gipsy Hill, South London, and leased some more in the same street from the Dulwich College Estate Charity trustees and set about converting them into teaching accommodation and hostels [Gipsy Hill Training College News Letter, 1958, p 3].

At an early stage, Belle Rennie decided that a young Australian, Lillian de Lissa, would make an ideal college principal. De Lissa, who was already in charge of the highly successful Adelaide Kindergarten Training College in South Australia, was seconded in 1916 to undertake Montessori Certificate training in Rome. During her summer vacation, she attended a *New Ideals Conference* at Runton in Norfolk and won the admiration of its leading members by giving a brilliant impromptu address when one of the guest speakers had to cry off at the last moment. Afterwards she resumed her role as College principal at Adelaide until approached by Belle Rennie. Even though Gipsy Hill could not match the salary paid by her Australian employers, Miss de Lissa had no doubt about her future mission, resigned her post and, evading the German naval blockade, reached Britain just in time to take up her new duties at the beginning of the Autumn term in 1917.

On the day when students were due to enroll, many things still remained to be done and the Principal, dressed in overalls, was putting the final touches to the preparations.

Seeing a student arrive hot and tired, the Principal went to her assistance, and together they got the luggage upstairs. On reaching her room, the student, not knowing whether she was accompanied by a fellow student or maid, and getting a tip ready in the event of it being the latter asked: 'Will you tell me who you are?'

The reply, 'I am Miss de Lissa', was barely uttered when there sounded the most tremendous bang. Was it a raid? Aircraft guns? No! simply the outraged shriek of the tin box upon which the student had collapsed in confusion.

[The Gipsy Trail, No 1, 1921-22, p 11]

When the College was formally opened on Thursday, 18th October 1917, Miss de Lissa vowed that:

The training will be both practical and theoretical, and an attempt will be made to keep these two aspects of training in close cooperation, for theories of education are of little value unless they are translated into terms of practical experience. Our object is to develop in the student a keen and well balanced mind, a clear vision, a spirit of devotion, and the ability to do.

[Times Educational Supplement, 19 October 1917]

The Board of Education accorded the new College 'provisional recognition' and the meagre grants which accompanied this status. The first cohort of fourteen mature female students set to work with a will,

coping magnificently with the College's many deficiencies in accommodation and equipment [Gipsy Hill Training College News Letter, 1958, p 3]. During the institution's early days, which were constantly disrupted by air raids, the Principal and her three staff taught the entire College curriculum while maintaining a nursery class on the premises for the children of staff, students and neighbours. In 1918, the College opened a Nursery School, called *The Rommany*, in Gipsy Road, West Norwood. Later still, Salter's Hill, a London County Council Primary School at West Norwood, became the College's third demonstration unit. Consequently, College students observed and worked with children in these three schools as part of their normal study programme [Ibid, p 13]. As student numbers rose, another large house in Dulwich Avenue was purchased and new staff were appointed.

Initially, the new College lived from hand to mouth. Even though she managed to squeeze a meagre income out of the Department of Education, Belle Rennie had to make good most of the College's cash deficiencies out of her own pocket while working full time as its unpaid bursar [Presentation Prospectus for Miss de Lissa, p 7]. The College's future was still extremely doubtful when the Great War finally ground to a close. At the time, many people found it hard to believe that hostilities had really ended. Molly Macleod, a Gipsy Hill student, wrote to her parents describing how West Norwood people reacted to the news:

I had been working and was just in Miss Anderson's room talking to her when I heard the rockets and sirens. We went to the window & I heard maroons. So Bunch (a friend) and I tore up to the station. On the way, flags were being hung out of the windows. Some terrified souls really believed, however, that it was an Air Raid! Others jokingly said so to one another. A dustman over the way waved his hand to us and called out 'It's Peace all right this time'. Everyone had broad beams on his or her face. Soon the church bells began to ring; otherwise there was little demonstration in these parts.'

A LAND FIT FOR HEROES: The Twenties

Although the Great War stimulated a powerful demand for higher education, especially for advanced courses in applied science and technology, this challenge was not satisfied during the inter war period. J.J. Thomson's Committee on *Natural Science in Education* (1916-18) called for improvements in the quality and breadth of British technical education at every level [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, pp 34-35]. Industry, however, continued to exhibit supreme indifference to the quality of its workers' and managers' education prior to and during employment. As late as 1929, the Balfour Committee commented despairingly that '*Imperfect receptivity towards scientific ideas on the part of British industry is, at the moment, the main obstacle to advance. Nothing less than revolution is needed*' [Report of Committee on Industry and Trade, HMSO, 1927-9].

To the chagrin of many local authorities, the Board of Education decided to close down the Science and Art Department's examination system in 1911. The City and Guilds of London Institute followed suit in 1918. The local authorities, however, refused to accept the situation, formed regional unions and developed their own assessment agencies. In face of the growing demand for recognised qualifications, first the City and Guilds Institute and then the Board of Education reconsidered their decisions. In collaboration with professional bodies, the Board then created a hierarchy of National Certificates and Diplomas in mechanical engineering (1922), chemistry (1922), electrical engineering (1923), naval architecture (1927), building (1930), textiles (1939) and commerce (1939). An Ordinary Certificate was awarded to successful candidates who completed a three year part-time course while a Higher Certificate examination could be taken after a further two years advanced study. According to Pratt and Burgess [Pratt J. & Burgess T, op cit, p 20], the national certificate scheme constituted '*one of the most creative state initiatives*' in the history of technical education.

The energetic Lord Eustace Percy, who became President of the Board of Trade in 1925, tried hard to transform industry's and the general public's attitudes towards technical education. He favoured widening opportunities for higher technical training and strengthening relationships between technical colleges and universities. In his best known work, *Education at the Crossroads*, he reminded his readers:

There is today in all walks of life less scope for successful careers, and at the same time, within the scope that remains, success requires much deeper knowledge, greater skill, more exact training and stronger character. We are still citizens of a great country, but it is a country in distress. A 'boom' philosophy, such as we have inherited from so many years of prosperity will not help us now. Ours is no longer a country to be enjoyed and exploited for its advantages; it is a country to be saved.

[Percy, Lord E. (1930), Evans Bros, p 55]

The post-war depression and concomitant unemployment did something to stimulate young people to seek technical education. As early as the winter of 1919, the Institute was providing special courses for unemployed young people at the Congregational Hall. With the arrival of warmer weather, needless to say, attendances sagged. Nevertheless, 105 boys of between 15 and 17 years of age attended vocational courses while 96 girls of the same age studied arithmetic, English composition, dictation, reading, history, literature, singing, needlework, physical education and hygiene: '*It was noticed that the boys were very keen on any subject that might be directly useful to them in their various trades, but did not seem disposed to expend much energy on the Humanities*'. Physical Education, unsurprisingly, proved to be by far the most popular subject in both programmes [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 17 June 1919].

College recruitment boomed during the immediate postwar period. Although, for example, no less than 1,000 students enrolled in September 1921 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 October 1921], the Borough remained dissatisfied and offered locally based London Polytechnic students courses at half price if they would transfer to the Institute [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 6 February 1922]. Although the Institute mainly concentrated upon delivering the curriculum it had established between 1899 and 1914, it was able to introduce a number of new programmes including General Studies, which proved popular with members of the Metropolitan Police Force amongst others [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 1 June 1923];

book-binding [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 8 June 1920]; and textile studies [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 14 December 1925]. Nor were the needs of the local farming community forgotten - consequently, a number of new Agriculture courses were well attended. As time went on, more and more programmes achieved official recognition: the City and Gilds Institute validated the builders' quantities (1924), electrical engineering, carpentry and joinery, and plumbing (1925) programmes; the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain accredited the botany, chemistry and physics courses; while the Bankers' Institute exempted successful College students from taking their examinations.

Continuous institutional success fuelled constant growth:

During the last few years not only has the number of students attending the Science and Art and Technical Institute considerably increased but the work has been of a much more advanced nature and much of it will compare very favourably with that of corresponding grades in the large Schools of Art and London Polytechnics. Last year, over 1,100 individual students were enrolled for Evening classes - this number being independent of the School of Art's 140 pupils, the Day Commercial School's 210 pupils, and the Junior Technical School's 140 pupils...

[Secretary's Report, Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 June 1924]

The Education Secretary's 1924 report, however, clearly exposed the institution's limitations:

The work of the more advanced pupils is, however, seriously affected by the inadequate accommodation especially in the higher branches of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering and Building Science. [Ibid].

Lack of teaching space was only one of the most pressing problems facing the Institute's managers at this time. As the buildings became more and more delapidated, the decaying fabric provided a perfect home for increasing numbers of rats. Even though the Education Secretary complained that these rodents had completely overrun the Domestic Subjects rooms, nothing seems to have been done to eradicate them until June 1928 when, very belatedly, a rat catcher was employed at a fee of £3 to deal with the problem. To the Kingston Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee's disgust, the County Council refused to authorize any further capital expenditure. Committee members bitterly complained that this decision prevented them from replacing the College's temporary wooden huts with permanent brick buildings as required by Circular 1358 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 May 1925]. Nevertheless, in 1926, the Board of Education formally recognised the Institute and its Art, Day Commercial and Junior Technical departments as a Technical College under the terms of the Further Education regulations [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 February 1927]. As the attainment of a new and higher status was not associated with any increase in funding, the College was unable to improve its amenities. It still lacked, for instance, a library. College students had to make do with what the Public Library and unofficial departmental book collections had to offer - the latter consisted of donated, lost and unwanted textbooks.

Hardly had the Institute, as local people still insisted upon calling it, finished celebrating its new status than it had to endure its second full general inspection in June 1927 [Report of the Inspection of Kingston Technical College, June 1927, PRO: ED114/882]. The inspectors began their report by noting that Kingston was still mainly a provider of evening classes. When inspected, its total adult membership amounted to 1,302: of whom 568 were studying commerce and languages; 240 the building trades; 221 domestic subjects; 196 Engineering; and 77 a miscellaneous mixture of subjects including chemistry and botany [Ibid]. 85 of the students in the 1926/7 cohort had graduated from the Junior Technical School, 69 from the Day Commercial School and 29 from the Richmond Road Junior Evening Technical Institute - these figures were deemed unsatisfactory and H.M.I. deplored the Institute's failure to establish stronger links with its own Junior and Secondary departments and between the Richmond Road Junior Evening Technical Institute and the local elementary schools [Ibid, p 3]. Moreover, while acknowledging the Day Commercial and Junior Technical Schools' value, the inspectors were disappointed that 'local employers do not cooperate with the schools to any great extent' [Ibid, p 2].

On the other hand, the inspectors praised Harry Roberts: the aging principal had, as they pointed out, 'a close acquaintance with the details of the work and is indefatigable in his efforts to increase and extend the

usefulness of the Institute' [Ibid]. Nevertheless, *'For many years it has been clear,'* they remarked, *'that the Technical Institute has been unable to meet in a satisfactory way the demands made upon it for various forms of technical education for day and evening students; this demand is likely to increase in the near future'* [Ibid, pp 4-5]. However, Roberts did not labour alone. One very important member of staff was well into her remarkable forty-four year long institutional career. Miss M.E.W. Hutchings was appointed Secretary to the Principal in March 1923, with the princely wage of 17/6d a week. She then supported four successive principals in turn with exemplary efficiency and dedication before retiring in March 1967, having served her last twenty-one years as Registrar [Unpublished History, p 44].

The Institute's accommodation problems remained largely unresolved: chemistry and practical plumbing classes were still being taught at *'the so-called Polytechnic ... an unsatisfactory arrangement'* [Ibid, p 1]. The Institute's accommodation, the inspectors decided, was so bad that it was impossible for any department to carry out its work efficiently [PRO: ED114/882, p 6]. In addition to another scathing attack upon the *'so-called Polytechnic'*, the inspectors denounced the five blocks of *'unsightly'* huts for failing to provide an appropriate teaching and learning environment [Ibid]. These deficiencies, in the inspectors' opinion, gravely hindered *'important developments in pure science, mechanical and electrical engineering and the building trades'* [Ibid]. They were particularly incensed by the Engineering Department's condition: *'There are few if any centres in England, which having a body of engineering comparable in number and quality, are so ill-provided with facilities for their reasonable needs'* [Ibid, p 12]. Further serious criticisms regarding accommodation and equipment appeared throughout the ten pages devoted to curriculum assessment.

In their summary, the inspectors made three main recommendations: in their united opinion, the Local Authority, Governors and institutional managers should:

1. *strengthen the links between the elementary schools and the Richmond Road Evening Junior Technical Institute and between the Richmond Road and the Kingston Hall Road Institutes;*
 2. *increase the range of students in most departments;*
 3. *lighten the Principal's burden by delegating responsibilities for certain sections of his work.*
- [Ibid, p 19]

Their conclusion was clear and incisive:

... the dominant impression received from a survey of technical education in Kingston is the inconvenience, inadequacy and unworthiness of the buildings which house 1,700 day and evening students of the chief Technical Institute in Surrey. Under present conditions almost every department is seriously hampered, necessary developments are impossible, and teachers and students are inconvenienced and discouraged. Moreover, the time is near if it has not arrived, when the cost of repairing the temporary buildings will be out of all proportion to their value. It is therefore strongly urged that a scheme for extending the Institute should be agreed upon as soon as possible so that part at any rate may be put in hand the moment circumstances permit. [Ibid]

This appalling litany unhappily represented the normal state of affairs in most Technical Colleges during the twenties and thirties. It would be all too easy to blame the local authority's shortsightedness and parsimony for the College's condition ... too easy and grossly unfair. The local authority had to cope with a rapidly increasing range of provision and had precious little in the way of extra resources with which to meet its enlarged commitments. In spite of some high level political support, commerce and industry had yet to take technical education seriously. British industry still espoused its long held belief that the work force should learn what it needed to know *'on the job'*. As the decade drew to a close, the battle reopened to persuade the local committees and councils to approve funding for a substantial extension [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 March 1927]. By 1929, the Local Education Authority had agreed to construct a new wing, to thoroughly refurbish Tiffin Girls School, to erect three new classrooms for the Day Commercial and Junior Technical Schools and to provide separate entrances for Technical College, Day Commercial and Junior Technical School students. Unfortunately, the 1930/1 economic crisis and the concomitant funding cutbacks caused these plans to be deferred.

In spite of the appalling state of the country's Technical Colleges, a new vision of technical education was starting to appear among a small but influential group of politicians led by Lord Percy.

He bemoaned the fact that the colleges had been grossly neglected and *'choked by misuse'*:

It is surely one of the worst examples of waste in all educational history that these great institutions ... should have been thrust, as it were, into a corner of our national system of education and treated as, at best, mere useful adjuncts of the workshop and the mine. In their early days their founders spoke hopefully of their future as the universities of the people and, in spite of neglect and misdirection, they have not been unworthy of these hopes. They number their students by hundreds of thousands; their range of teaching is wider than that of any university; they exercise a profound effect on the life and culture of every industrial town and district. Yet they have hardly been regarded by the public, or even by their own students, as in the fullest sense, places of higher education at all.

[Percy Lord E. (1930) *Education at the Crossroads*, Evans Brothers, pp 57-8]

He hoped that future students would follow *'one coherent and graduated course'* of intermediate and higher technical education by attending junior, central and senior technical schools and technical colleges. Further, Percy believed that the colleges' full potential could only be realised by recognising that they were *'the most interesting and potentially the most valuable educational institutions in the modern world'*. He attacked the myth that colleges only taught students how to do things, claiming that in addition they showed them how to *'think about'* their jobs, a very different outcome. Consequently, in his opinion, good technical colleges and good universities shared the same aim, that of producing *'thinking people'* [Ibid, pp 55-68]. Fortunately, Lord Percy continued to promote his educational vision for the next thirty years and gradually, very gradually, started to make it become a reality.

During the twenties, the Kingston School of Art experienced its own special problems. In an atmosphere of financial and social crisis, the School was subjected to its first special H.M.I. inspection in 1919 [Report of the Inspection of Kingston School of Art, 1919: PRO: ED83/113]. The inspectors began their report unpromisingly by pointing out that there had been no change in or improvements to the quality of the premises since the general inspection of 1912. Although the studios were suitable and convenient, the inspectors noted there was no special provision for practical work in the arts and crafts even though they admitted there was no local demand for it [Ibid]. The inspectors were concerned that Alfred Collister, who served as part-time headteacher of both the Kingston and Wimbledon Schools of Art, was over-extended: as he taught for 29 hours a week, his administrative duties had to be carried out during his spare time - *'in the circumstances it is felt that the necessary energy and initiative for the full development of each School cannot be expected'* [Ibid]. To make matters worse, *'The staff is not adequate for the proper conduct and development of the School'*. However, the inspectors grudgingly admitted that *'individual members of staff ... are well qualified and thoroughly efficient teachers'* [ibid].

The inspectors acknowledged that the curricula - elementary drawing and design, intermediate and advanced drawing, painting, architecture, design for illustration, art and handicrafts - were well suited to their clientele's needs. They freely accepted that *'instruction generally is sound and efficient'*. Although students had few opportunities to take part in group work, they received adequate individual tuition. Each week, the School opened for instruction on four mornings and three evenings and for practice on one morning and four afternoons. A very popular College Sketching Club provided valuable supplementary experience and instruction [Ibid]. In conclusion, the inspectors criticised the inadequate day class provision and strongly recommended that Kingston and Wimbledon Art Schools be separated so that they could both enjoy the services of a full-time principal [Ibid].

After receiving this somewhat grudging report, the School seems to have experienced few problems during the twenties. Such difficulties as occurred were very minor ones like the shortage of artists' models in 1921 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 April 1921] or problems in acquiring a human skeleton for the drawing classes in 1923 - this seems to have been treated extremely roughly as it had to undergo major repairs at the hands of the General Surgical Company in 1925 at a cost of thirteen shillings and three pence [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 9 July 1923] - and finally knowing where to put six large glass cases containing stuffed birds, presented by an eccentric well-wisher in 1925 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 February 1925]. Towards the end of the decade, however, the local authority had to acknowledge the inadequacy of the College's facilities especially for life work and expressed the hope that it would be able to build sufficient extensions in the near future to enable it to cope with the

increasing demand for its courses [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 5 April 1929].

With improved financial support and the Board of Education's approval, the long awaited Day Preparatory Trade School, or, as it soon became known, *the Junior Technical School*, was added to the Institute on 3rd November 1919. John Walker, its headteacher, was awarded a salary of £350 p.a. [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 22 September 1919]. Some old wooden Army huts were purchased as temporary accommodation and erected upon the Watersplash site, 'part of the Tiffin Girls School's vacant ground lying to the west of the Technical Institute and abutting upon Kingston Hall Road' [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 10 January 1919] - fifty years later, these extremely ugly, dilapidated buildings were still in use. The school was also given access to some Institute facilities, including a classroom in which to teach mathematics and science, the Carpenter's shop on one day a week, and the Engineering Workshop on Saturdays. The school provided a two-year programme of theoretical and practical training in English, industrial history, economic geography, practical mathematics, engineering drawing, practical science, workshop practice including the use of engineers' and carpenters' tools and skills, physical training, and organised games. Bill Cooper, a student at the school between September 1925 and June 1929, recalled that 'The masters were friendly and put themselves out to make the lessons interesting ... We were taught the intricacies of algebra, logarithms, cosines and tangents together with calculus' [Quoted in Bradshaw P., Benjamin B. & Cotterell A. (1999) Kingston College: A Brief History].

Twenty-four places were offered each term to candidates who performed best in the English, arithmetic, and drawing examinations and in oral tests. On each occasion, the County Council awarded eight scholarships which paid for the holders' school fees and travel costs. These selection procedures occasionally led to controversy: in 1931, for instance, a *Surrey Comet* reporter noted with some acerbity that only two of the school's eight scholars actually lived in Kingston. He went on to argue forcibly that much greater publicity should be given to the entrance examinations to attract high quality local candidates [The *Surrey Comet*, 12 December 1931]. The parents of ordinary entrants had to pay fees of thirty shillings a term [Kingston Technical College prospectuses during the 1930's].

The Junior Technical School evolved in much the same way as its rivals, the local elementary and secondary schools. Its forty-eight pupils were divided into two classes and three houses: 'Hargreaves', 'Stephenson' and 'Watt' [The Hut, The Magazine of the Kingston Junior Technical School, Vol 1. No 1]. The press conscientiously reported the high points of each academic year - the Open Day, Athletics meeting, and Junior League cricket, soccer and rugby matches: Bill Cooper recalled, an 'ex-Scottish international, Mr Fraser took us for Rugby, which was a great favourite' [Bill Cooper, op cit]. Indeed, sporting and games' success played a major part in creating a positive school ambience. The opening of a gymnasium in 1925, for instance, was celebrated as a major advance in establishing the school's identity, especially as it housed the Prizegiving when successful students were presented with their diplomas. The 1926 Sports Day encompassed a typical contemporary melange of serious competitions including long and high jumps, races over 100, 220 and 440 yards, and handicap events over half mile and one mile, cricket ball throwing and relay races; and entertainments including potato, sack, costume, chariot, obstacle and slow bike races and of course a tug-of-war [Ibid]. House-ties were introduced in conformity with contemporary school mores. These, according to The Hut, the appropriately named school magazine, added 'a little bright uniformity to the School's appearance' [Ibid, 1921, Vol 1, No 8]. The introduction of 'School colours', wrote the editor, must be 'the next step' [Ibid]. This ambition was realised during 1925, when Chuter Ede, the local member of parliament, awarded colours to members of the school cricket, soccer and rugby teams [The Hut, Vol 2, No 1]. On completing their studies in 1921, the first student cohort set up an Old Boys' Association and started a school magazine [Ibid]. Between the wars, the Old Boys' identification with their alma mater was so powerful that all their social activities were strongly supported: in December 1924, for instance, over 180 Old Boys and their friends took part in and thoroughly enjoyed a New Year's Social at *The Scotch Cafe*. Moreover, a series of highly successful dances were held at Claremont Hall each year [The Hut, Vol II, No 1].

The headteacher did not allow his school's undoubted success to go to his head: in 1924, for instance, he warned his pupils and their parents that 'no real and lasting progress can be made unless the training in the School is carried on unremittingly in evening classes; those of our Old Boys who are working for London Matriculation - and there are now several of them - are moving in the right direction' [Ibid]. Despite its

cramped conditions, the school grew in size: both local construction and engineering companies were eager to employ its diploma holders. Within a few years, it established the high reputation which it continued to enjoy throughout the rest of its history.

Meanwhile, in spite of the precarious state of its finances, Gipsy Hill Teacher Training College continued to make good progress. The passage of the 1918 Fisher Education Act, however, with its promise to introduce extended nursery school and nursery class provision raised hopes which were almost immediately dashed by the wielding of the Geddes Axe (1922) against welfare expenditure of every kind. Although the first Labour Government (January-June 1924) revived some parts of Fisher's plan, they constituted no more than a pale imitation of the original programme [Branson N. (1975) *Britain in the Twenties*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p 124]. In spite of these disappointments Gipsy Hill was the first college in the country to provide a two-year training course for teachers of 2 to 7 year old children [Kingston University Archive: Report by H.M.I. Inspectors, 1956, p 1]. Its rigorous education programme emphasised the importance of practical teaching by requiring almost continuous student attendance at its demonstration schools [Gipsy Hill College Brochure, 1938]. The community's religious life endowed both staff and students with a powerful sense of mission and self esteem. As a member of a self governing community, every student had to take responsibility for her own work. Although its annual intake remained small, the College introduced a Third Year Course for trained, certificated teachers with at least three years experience, who wished to become either Nursery School Superintendents or Infant School Headteachers [Ibid, p 7]. The course originated at Mather College, Manchester, but when that institution closed in 1930, its remaining students, staff and governors transferred to Gipsy Hill.

Some intriguing details have filtered down from the College's early history. It appears, for instance, that its first deputy principal was sacked for getting married without the principal's and governors' permission. In those days, it was normal practice for women's colleges to be staffed by unmarried female lecturers. Having firmly underlined the College's stance on such matters, Miss de Lissa herself married the gentleman who looked after the College gardens. Although the students' congratulations on the union of their beloved and respected Principal were fulsomely recorded in their magazine, *The Gipsy Trail*, the mysterious unnamed husband was never heard of again!

From the beginning of the College's life, Miss Belle Rennie and Miss Lillian de Lissa refused to be tied down by the Department of Education's regulations regarding certificate examinations. After a period of prolonged guerrilla warfare, the Department gave in to their importunate demands and agreed to recognise the College's own unique assessment system which required students to produce child studies and to apply their subject knowledge during teaching practice instead of sitting formal subject and Education theory examinations like their contemporaries in the rest of the country's teacher training colleges [Presentation Prospectus to Miss de Lissa, pp 3-4]. From 1923 onwards, Gipsy Hill Certificate holders were recognised by the Board of Education as qualified teachers without undergoing the usual probationary period. In 1927, the College at long last received permanent Board of Education recognition. During the same year, the Board requested all training colleges to forge formal links with a university which could provide them with a quality assurance service to validate their course regulations, set and mark examination papers, and vet nominees for external examinations. This so-called Delegacy System replaced the Board of Education's own summative assessment agency [Miss de Lissa's Memories, December 1966]. During 1928, Gipsy Hill sought and received recognition from London University and became one of five teacher training providers associated with Birkbeck College. In Gipsy Hill's case, this partnership lasted throughout the rest of the inter war period, the Second World War and survived the College's adoption by Surrey County Council in 1945 [Gipsy Hill Old Students News Letter, 1967, p 8]. The first examinations under the new system took place in 1930.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION: The Thirties

The Technical College and the College of Art separated in 1930 on the retirement of Alfred Collister, who had been the headteacher of both the Kingston and Wimbledon Schools of Art since 1898 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 June 1930]. His successor at Kingston, Anthony Betts, was appointed full-time headteacher of the College of Art [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 27 October 1930]. This was the first of a series of important administrative changes which went a long way towards transforming the institution. On Harry Roberts' retirement in 1931, the roles of Technical College Principal and Local Education Secretary were also separated. Although he had accomplished much during his long period of service, Harry Roberts still entertained many regrets on retiring:

I would have liked to see the Technical College in satisfactory buildings so that it would have been better able to continue its successful career towards its true goal, which is that of being an internal college of the London University'

[H.T. Robert's retirement speech, The Surrey Comet, 29 April 1931].

The appointment in May 1931 of an enthusiastic new Principal, Mr James Wood Archer, who had served as Principal of Southall Technical College between 1928 and 1931, was a turning point in the College's evolution. Although he arrived at Kingston full of ideals and enthusiasm, he was shocked by the state of the institution: *'when I looked at the premises for the first time, my spirits fell: I found small buildings, a collection of ugly huts, and little equipment, but depression changed to elation when I thought of the development that could be made'* [J.W. Archer's Review of the Technical College's development: The Surrey Comet, 17 January 1953].

Kingston Technical College closely resembled the one described by a 1926 Board of Education pamphlet:

The buildings, at no time suitable for the work, have in recent years proved exceedingly inconvenient: the Principal has to carry on his administrative work in a room measuring 10 feet square: there is no common room for the teaching staff, no room for the use of students ...and the sanitary arrangements are very below standard ... The equipment for the practical study of electrical engineering is meagre, and the room in which the electrical machines are housed is a very small and dingy store in the basement ... The lecture room is so badly lighted that it is impossible to see anything on the blackboard, and in the laboratory the lighting is so poor that volumetric or colorimetric work is impossible, and the atmosphere is bad.

[Board of Education, Survey of technical and further education in England and Wales, HMSO, 1926]

Moreover, Archer's role as Principal uncannily resembled that described by the pamphlet's author as being typical:

No other kind of educational post presents a close parallel to his ultimate responsibilities whether internal or external. Internally he has to direct a large staff of teachers of various qualifications and antecedents ... externally, he may be charged with a general oversight over the continuation schools ... and it is essential ... that he and his staff should seek relations with persons engaged in the occupations in which his students are, or hope to be, employed. [Ibid]

Of course, Archer was well supported in his struggle to reorganise the College by Miss M.E.W. Hutchings, his secretary, who had been appointed in 1923, and proved to be a rich source of information and advice. The other *'founding fathers'* were the College's first two full-time departmental heads, Mr H.P. Starck, Head of Science (1931-1957) and Mr G.W. Kennaird, Head of Engineering (1931-1939). The three other departments were Commerce, later to be led by Mr Whitter; Building organised by Mr Hey; and Domestic Subjects, headed by the soon to be famous Mrs Martin (1931-53), a formidable figure who presided over this area and later the refectory service until the new Fassett Road buildings were opened

in 1951. Archer's inheritance included 144 Junior Technical School boys, 240 Day Commercial School boys and girls, 69 Art School students and about 2,000 evening technical and commercial College students. There were, however, few higher level programmes and no part-time day classes. The 1934 list of accrediting bodies and candidate numbers clearly delineated the College's main business: St John Ambulance Association, 15 candidates; Faculty of Teachers in Commerce, 29; Institute of Certificated Grocers, 40; Royal Society of Arts, 153; Institute of Bankers of London Institute, 27; City and Guilds of London Institute, 125; Surrey County Council, 950; London Chamber of Commerce, 11: total, 1350. Archer immediately set about winning recognition for the College as a provider of higher national certificate courses and persuading local industrial companies to release their workers to attend part-time day classes [The Surrey Comet, 1 February 1935]. During the next few years, he succeeded in his first objective: in 1932, the Institute of Mechanical Engineers recognised the College as one of its Ordinary National Certificate providers [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 22 February 1932; and in 1933, the Board of Education and the Institutes of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers approved the College as a Higher National Certificate teaching centre [PRO: ED90/229 - 14 November 1933; Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 18 December 1933]. Further subject courses including Zoology (1932) and Geology (1933) were added in the years that followed. At the 1934 College Prize Giving, Brigadier-General Mowat, the Chairman of Governors, highly commended the new national certificate system on the grounds that while it ensured high standards by having scripts marked by independent external examiners, students had the comfort of sitting their examinations in their own institution, [The Surrey Comet, 22 December 1934]. On the same occasion, Alderman Chuter Ede predicted, *'With increasing specialisation in every branch of industry, the usefulness of these colleges is bound to increase'* [Ibid].

During the same period, the Commerce Department concentrated upon teaching English, French, German, Spanish, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic, the Theory and Practice of Commerce, Book-keeping, History, Shorthand and Typing. In 1931, for the first time, the College started to provide part-time day classes for students undertaking Intermediate London University BSc degree programmes in Chemistry, Pharmacy, Engineering, and Economics. Archer's determination to raise the level of provision was exemplified in the College's 1933 circular exhorting local people to *'Distinguish yourself above competitors by working for a degree related to your profession'*. Similarly, *The Surrey Comet* drew attention to the College's relationship with the medical profession: *'It is perhaps not sufficiently realised that in this district excellent facilities are provided at the College for young people who wish to become doctors, dentists and require preparation for the first MB and similar examinations'*.

In spite of the College's undoubted progress, some local people deeply resented its existence and this may well have prompted the speaker opening the 1932 Exhibition of College Work to comment:

when they [the local people] see the successes that have been gained in all the various branches of the college, everyone will be filled with amazement that so much has been achieved under such awkward conditions, for the equipment at the college is not all it might be, and many of the buildings are only temporary. One of the chief reasons for holding this exhibition (is) that the traders of Kingston may see something of what was being done in the college
[The Surrey Comet, 30 March 1932].

On the other hand, generous local residents continued to make valuable donations to the College. Without doubt, the gift of an aeroplane by Squadron Leader Atkinson was the most astonishing and munificent. His only condition was that it should be used to illustrate lectures on aeroplane structures [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 July 1934].

The condition of some College buildings gave rise to an ill-tempered debate. In 1932, *The Surrey Comet* led with the headline, *'Old Army Huts Never Die'* and went on to condemn *'the old worn-out, galvanised Army huts, which in summer are like ovens and in winter have a temperature below freezing point ... and are often surrounded by 4 or 5 inch deep water'* [The Surrey Comet, 4 June 1932]. At a time when there were 2,104 evening students, no less than £300 a year had to be spent on repairs to make these execrable huts habitable [Ibid]. With total disregard for the facts, the leader writer went on to argue that no extensions had been made to the original College buildings for thirty years, even though day student numbers had increased from 100 to 447. The controversy rumbled on and in 1934, *The Surrey Comet* launched another scathing attack by juxtaposing photographs of the new County Hall in Penrhyn Road with the College's

huted accommodation, asserting that the latter *'would not be used by any reputable business firm for storehouse purposes'* [The Surrey Comet, 15 September 1934].

As the Kingston Hall Road buildings lacked laboratories, Science sessions still had to be taught in the Fife Road Polytechnic under the most appalling conditions:

Since electric light was needed both day and night it (the laboratory) was appropriately dubbed the 'Black Hole'. This place had never enjoyed the services of a laboratory assistant, as was evidenced by a 3-foot high pile of broken and dirty glassware in one corner. The only balance was to be found - of all places - in the fume cupboard
[Unpublished History, p. 93].

On occasions, the noise created by religious services, held on the floor above the laboratory, made teaching and learning well nigh impossible. Eventually, however, the *'Black Hole'* was repainted and a laboratory assistant appointed - the Polytechnic was sold off in 1935 as soon as the College's new Jubilee Block was ready for occupation. This was by no means the end of the Science Department's deficiencies. Unfortunately, due to the chronic shortage of teaching space, some Physics evening classes had to be taught in a *'tin hut'* which had originally served as a laundry and still contained overhead drying racks. Although this archaic equipment was removed, it soon became clear that the only on-site laboratory with appropriate equipment belonged to Tiffin Boys School so the unfortunate headteacher and governors were constantly importuned to allow College students access to their precious facility. Botany classes were held in yet another tin hut whose sole equipment was one aged microscope - lecturers had to carry all the materials and equipment they needed to and from each session.

As Kingston was relatively unaffected by the economic slump, the Local Employment Exchange requested the College in September 1931 to provide free evening classes for *'twenty unemployed juveniles'* [The Surrey Comet, 24 October 1931]. In 1935, it transferred more young people from the distressed areas in the North and Midlands to Kingston, found them employment and paid for them to attend the College's evening classes [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 October 1935].

Due to the depression and the resulting cuts in expenditure, the proposal agreed in 1929 to link the Technical College to Tiffin Girls' School was deferred [The Surrey Comet, 4 June 1932]. The plans were revived, however, as soon as the economic climate improved, only to meet with unexpected opposition from the school governors, who had the right to veto the construction of any building approaching within three feet of their walls. Eventually, the problem, whatever it was, was resolved, the extension built and Mr W.R. Skeat, the Chairman of the County Higher Education Committee, opened the new *Jubilee Block* on Friday, 5th April 1934: the ground floor contained two purpose built Physics laboratories and a typing room while the first floor furnished a lecture room, a general laboratory, a small laboratory and a Chemistry store - consequently, the Domestic Subjects Centre was transferred to Bonner Hill Road while the *'beastly old'* Polytechnic was sold off. As accommodation was still in painfully short supply, the Day Commercial and the Junior Technical schools had to be granted access to these new facilities. Consequently, the College authorities were compelled to rent outside accommodation for many more years to come. In fact, during 1934/5, the College was bursting at the seams with 144 Junior Technical School boys, 240 Day Commercial School boys and girls, 69 Art School trainees and about 2,000 adult evening students. The College, however, still lacked a genuine full-time day teaching role.

The breakthrough came in 1935. For the first time, the Board of Education gave the College permission to run a full-time Science day course for up to sixty fourteen year olds, who had to demonstrate their eligibility through high performance in either oral or written examinations [Sept 1935; PRO: ED90/505/T98099]. The new course started in September. During the following year, the Board also recognised the College's new part-time Senior and Advanced courses in Mechanical Engineering [Ibid: 8 September 1936]. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the College became an accredited National Certificate in Production Engineering provider [Ibid: application - 9 January 1940; approval - 1 February 1940]. The staff had to exert themselves to the full to achieve these advances. Indeed, Mr Starck, the Head of Science, employed something closely resembling pressgang methods to get his beloved Chemistry day programme off the ground: for instance, he badgered and harangued a group of five trainee Chemist shop assistants in their workplaces until they agreed in desperation to join the course. Unfortunately, this mould breaking programme had to be delivered in one of the *'Tin Tabernacles'*, as the old army huts were now affectionately known [Unpublished History, p 3].

Further economies were imposed upon the institution in March 1936: the College's overall funding was reduced by £1030 - the Technical College's budget was cut by £400, the Art School's by £480 and the Day Commercial School's by £150 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 March 1936]. In spite of this setback, the College managed to introduce special new courses in aeronautical engineering for Messrs Hawkers of Kingston and Vickers (Aviation) of Weybridge [Technical College brochure, 1936/7]. A visit by the Science Department to the Kingston Sewage Works at Canbury, Gardens, however, constituted the high point of the 1935-6 session. As the Head of Department and his students cheerfully studied these fascinating processes, the platform on which they were standing collapsed, pitching them head first into the slurry [Unpublished History, p 94]. By 1937-8, the last year of peace, the Science Department could boast 90 full-time day students - the College's only full-time trainees - 36 part-time day and 138 part-time evening students [Ibid].

Fred Stott, the College's first full-time Biology lecturer, wrote a vivid account of working conditions during the period just before the outbreak of the Second World War:

I was expected to do 26 hours a week class contact 'to justify my appointment'. Needless to say this was far too much with the wide range of classes that I had to cope with in Matriculation Biology, Zoology, Botany I am not naturally Bolshie but later I joined the N.U.T. becoming one of the founder members of the Surrey Branch of the A.T.T.I.. It was necessary to get some sort of order in what was expected of a teacher in relation to the level of teaching and marking he was expected to carry out with efficiency ... My salary in the 1939-40 session was £357.

[Fred Stott's *Memories*, Unpublished History, appendix]

Under Archer's guidance, the Technical College had gone from strength to strength. Although evening classes continued to provide the bulk of its work, day student numbers were growing encouragingly year on year [Archer J.W., *The Surrey Comet*, 3 February 1937]. In his 1937/8 annual report, Archer proudly announced that the College had recruited 4,247 students of whom 693 attended day and 3,554 evening classes. A departmental analysis showed that 1,103 students were undertaking courses in Commerce; 727 in Engineering; 296 in Building; 227 in Art; 138 in Science; and 651 in Domestic and miscellaneous subjects [Mr Archer's Address during the January 1939 Prize Giving]. Even though the College still catered mainly for artisans, craftsmen and blue-collar workers, an increasing number of white-collar workers made their way through its doors on the grounds that, as George Orwell put it, 'We have nothing to lose but our aitches' [Orwell G. (1937) *The Road to Wigan Pier*]. As there were only six full-time College staff, part-time lecturers performed most of the teaching. When Mr Kinnaird, the influential first Head of Engineering, retired in 1939, he was replaced by Mr Roderick McCrae who continued to encourage innovation and diversification. McCrae quickly became a well known bowler-hatted figure as he traipsed around all the local industries in search of students - like his predecessor he believed that local knowledge and personal relationships were the keys to successful recruitment. College facilities, however, remained fairly rudimentary: the institution, for example, still lacked a library. Without the funds to purchase even a meagre book collection, Archer persuaded leavers to donate their textbooks to the College and in this way a small library gradually 'accumulated' at the Kingston Hall Road Centre.

Meanwhile, the local newspapers continued to inveigh against the College's enforced use of 'the ramshackle old Army huts' which were 'a disgrace both to the borough and the county'. By 1937, the accommodation problem had become a major issue and a threat not only to the College's continued prosperity but to its very existence [eg *The Surrey Comet*, 2 August 1939]. Suddenly, without any warning or consultation, a truly radical solution was put forward: the County Council announced that it would build a new Technical College at Raynes Park as an economy measure [*The Surrey Comet*, 27 February 1937]. Although it would cost at least £200,000 to bring the Kingston Hall Road buildings up to standard, the County Council estimated that it could erect an entirely new custom-designed college on a recently acquired site for a mere £125,000 [Ibid]. The news that all technical and science programmes were to be transferred to Raynes Park, leaving Kingston with nothing more than commercial and domestic courses, aroused strong opposition [*The Surrey Comet*, 6 March 1937]. *The Surrey Comet* denounced the County Council for 'breach of faith' [*The Surrey Comet*, 24 March 1937] and accused it of 'leaving Kingston in the lurch' at a time when its students' results were unrivalled [*The Surrey Comet*, 31 August 1937]. Local engineering and technical firms attacked the proposed move in a series of strongly worded letters to local newspapers [e.g. *The Surrey Comet*, 6 March 1937].

Unsurprisingly, the County Council quietly shelved the plan. The accommodation situation was eased somewhat when Tiffin Girls School moved to its new Richmond Road buildings in 1937 enabling the Day Commercial and Junior Technical schools to occupy its original classrooms in St James Road.

During 1938-9, the last pre-war session, the Science Department had 90 full-time students, four or five of whom were taking degree courses; 36 part-time day trainees; and 138 evening students of whom 40 attended four evenings a week while a further 39 studied every weekday evening. As yet the College had no other full-time students and indeed its only other day students were 24 part-time engineers-in-training. The Commerce Department's work was still confined to delivering evening programmes. Although day release schemes were beginning to gain recognition, they remained rare at Kingston until after the Second World War was over. After all Britain's entire day release student cohort totalled no more than 32,810 in 1937/8 [Board of Education, Annual Report, 1939].

While Archer galvanised his staff and students into vigorous activity, Anthony Betts inspired the School of Art, according to *the Surrey Comet*, by introducing a 'new and virile policy' and 'quite modern' teaching techniques [The Surrey Comet, 7 November 1931]. Under his leadership, the School continued to provide students with a sound art training so that they could make an informed choice of a specialism in which to sit the Board of Education's examinations [Ibid]. When Betts resigned on being appointed Professor of Fine Arts at Reading University (1933), he was replaced (1934) by Reginald Brill, a prolific and versatile performer in a variety of media [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 20 June 1933; Surrey Education Committee minutes, 16 June 1933]. On his arrival, he found that what he regarded as 'a definitely bohemian' Art School contained no more than fifty students [Reginald Brill's Diary, 1934]. In the years that followed, he injected order, discipline and enthusiasm into the life and studies of staff and students alike. In his *Diary* for 1934, he wrote:

It is not a simple matter to grasp all the ins and outs of the working of a school (of art). Certainly, here at Kingston, there can be a good deal of tightening up - more enthusiasm can be imparted to the students.

[Reginald Brill's Diary, 1934]

On opening a £100,000 extension to the Art College in 1961, Sir Charles Wheeler, the President of the Royal Academy, described Brill's outstanding contribution in the following handsome, if rather curiously expressed terms: 'You can pay a man in pounds a salary and get his service. But you cannot pay a man in pounds for the devotion which he has given this School' [Arts Review, October 1961].

In 1933, the Board of Education issued Circular 1432 on *The Organisation of Art Instruction*, calling for a rapid increase in applied art provision [Haig-Brown, 1939, p 1]. The County Council responded by rebuilding the Guildford College of Art and making the Farnham and Sutton Colleges full-time institutions. During the same year, the County Council published their *Programme of Educational Development, 1935-40*, which made provision for extensions to the Kingston and Farnham Art Colleges. However, in 1935, the Board of Education informed the Authority that there was 'a considerable deficiency in the provision for teaching Industrial Art and related practical work' [Ibid & PRO: ED83/113 - 16 August 1935]. This criticism was quickly followed by the publication of Circular 1444 which reiterated the need for more Technical and Art Instruction. The Treasury then made £12M available for developing existing Technical and Art Schools' facilities [Ibid]. Consequently, the County Council strengthened its three premier Art Colleges by developing each as a unique centre of excellence: Guildford was instructed to build up its expertise in trade printing and glass decoration, Wimbledon to secure recognition from the Royal Institute of British Architects, while Kingston was to establish the county's first Junior Art Department [Ibid].

In spite of Brill's inspiring leadership, visiting H.M.I. in November 1936 thought the Art College was in some kind of time warp. As they remarked testily, 'It is not too much to say that until recent years little or no attempt seems to have been made to bring the curriculum within the realm of practical requirements or to provide such reasonable accommodation and equipment as would have made it possible for the School to do any effective work in relation to industry' [Kingston University Archive: H.M.I.: A Report of the Inspection of the Kingston College of Art, 1936, p 1]. Staffing conditions incurred severe criticism: in addition to the full-time head teacher there were thirteen part-time assistant teachers: one of whom, a 66 year old, still taught a twenty-two and a half hour week! [Ibid, pp 5-6]. The curriculum was deemed to be 'very ill-

balanced' [Ibid, p 6]. Courses were provided in Preliminary General Drawing, Advanced Drawing, Painting, Pictorial Design, Commercial Art, Women's Crafts, and Modelling and Pottery [Ibid].

Although most full-time students completed their courses, chiefly in painting - Brill's own specialism - few stayed longer than three years [Ibid, p 7]. Most part-time students remained on course for a year, but few continued for two let alone the full three years of the course. The inspectors strongly recommended that a Junior Department be provided to prepare 13+ to 15+ year olds for industry - as indeed the County Council had proposed in their *Programme of Educational Development* [Ibid]. The Women's Craft section was severely criticised and the inspectors strongly recommended that it be reorganised '*in the light of modern Art School methods and practice*' [1936 H.M.I. Report, p 12]. Nothing could really be accomplished, in their opinion, until '*a well qualified artist craftswoman*' could be appointed to '*pull together the whole of the instruction in Women's Crafts*' [Ibid]. Although the inspectors agreed that the Drawing and Painting section did '*good work*' [Ibid, p 16], they drew attention to the urgent need for '*suitable and adequate premises and equipment*', for '*greater attention to instruction in Industrial Design*', for better qualified and balanced staffing and for the creation of a full-time Junior Department [Ibid, 17].

After years of persistent lobbying, Reginald Brill persuaded the County and Borough Councils in 1937 to build a separate School of Art at Knights Park [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 26 April 1937]. Brill was joined at this time by another brilliant artist, William Fairclough, who ultimately succeeded him as Principal. At the end of his career in teaching, the latter painted a suspiciously idyllic picture of College life, recalling how in 1938, '*I used to take my students to draw the cows that were grazing on the Knights Park meadows where the College of Art was in the process of being built*' [The Surrey Comet, 23 June 1972]. The £35,000 new Art School was an exciting development. Compared with its original limited accommodation, the new College enjoyed rich facilities. The upper floor contained a darkroom, art studios, antique rooms (for the study and copying of facsimiles of famous Ancient works of art), an elementary art area and woodwork, modelling and pottery centres. The ground floor housed the women's crafts, design, lithography, and typography departments as well as a student common room, staff room and canteen. The East Wing was divided into Junior Boys and Girls Departments [Surrey Comet, 22 July 1939]. Everybody in 1939 agreed that the Knights Park building was '*a striking architectural feature*' [The Surrey Comet, 6 May 1939]. As *The Surrey Comet* reported enthusiastically '*the system of electric floodlighting has been designed so as to give the effect of daylight*' [Ibid]. Sir Kenneth Clark, the Director of the National Gallery, was due to open this valuable asset in 1939 with, it was hoped, his usual panache [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 27 March 1939]. However, the outbreak of the Second World War ended all such hopes and the new school opened quietly and efficiently but without any ballyhoo in September 1939 [The Surrey Comet, 14 October 1939].

In spite of its very poor facilities, the Day Commercial School continued to perform splendidly. With access to no more than four College rooms, nearly all its teaching had to take place in a series of disreputable wooden or galvanised iron huts, dotted around the College grounds; indeed, its gymnasium and one hut were situated on the opposite side of Kingston Hall Road well away from the rest of the institution. His Majesty's Inspectors reported in July 1932 that '*The premises are inconvenient and the huts especially are uncomfortable*'. The pathways became waterlogged in wet weather and the lavatory and cloakroom accommodation was inadequate [PRO ED 114/883HMI: A Report of the Inspection of the Kingston Day Commercial School, H.M.I., 31 July 1932]. The school had nowhere in which it could hold its assemblies. Every day, the school library had to double up as a dining area and a dress making workshop. Moreover, it lacked a playground. In 1932, the 225 pupils, aged between 14 and 17 years, were taught by a head master, nine full-time teachers and two part-time Physical Training staff [Ibid]. Candidates still had to win admission by passing public examinations, held in February, May and November each year. As the curriculum was designed to prepare pupils for 'blue collar' jobs in commerce and industry, it contained 21/4 hours' arithmetic; 23/4 hours' book-keeping; 31/4 hours' commerce; 3 hours' English; 3 hours' French; 3 hours' Geography; 21/2 hours' History; 31/2 hours' Shorthand; 13/4 hours' Typewriting; and 21/2 hours' Games and PE: a total of 28 contact hours a week.

Physical Training was without doubt most pupils' favourite subject, even though or possibly because it involved either a twenty minute walk to the public park, or a ten minute stroll to the Public Swimming Baths; or even a three minute saunter to the school gymnasium [Ibid]. Even though the school lacked specialist accommodation and equipment, the inspectors wrote very favourably of its achievements:

The School is thoroughly efficient. The Head Master particularly and all members of staff are most enthusiastic. The School has built up a high reputation in Surrey and in London and is eminently fulfilling its purpose.

[PRO ED 114/883]

Its most disappointing feature was its inability to persuade more than a minority of its pupils to continue their education at the Technical College. H.M.I. were highly critical of this aspect of school's performance and called on its managers to undertake a rigorous investigation to discover the reasons for this failure [Ibid, p 6].

Throughout the thirties, the Junior Technical School continued to advance quietly and successfully along its well trodden path. *'The whole establishment'*, recalled an old boy, *'consisted of old army huts which were very cold in winter and too hot in summer'* [A letter from Mutimer W.S., a pupil at Kingston Junior Technical School between 1932 and 1934, to Gibson M.]. In 1934, His Majesty's Inspectors criticised the school's accommodation, which, with the exception of the College mechanics laboratory, consisted of temporary wooden or galvanised iron buildings [PRO:ED114/884: An Inspection of Kingston Technical College Junior Technical School, H.M.I., 1934]. Of its 138 pupils, 76 came from Kingston, Surbiton and Malden [Ibid]. To gain admission, they had to pass examinations in English, Arithmetic and Drawing, followed by oral tests. Twenty-four boys were admitted each term, eight of whom were granted *'special places'*, which meant that the County paid their tuition fees and their travel and maintenance costs [Ibid]. They were taught by a Head Master and eight male staff including *'An ex-army training instructor (who) took us for physical training, gymnastics etc at a hut near what was called the Watersplash'* [Mutimer W.S., Ibid]. On average, pupils studied at school for thirty hours a week, devoting 51/2 hours to mathematics; 5 hours each to English, geography and history; 31/5 hours to Physics and Chemistry (for one term only); 12/5 hours to mechanics (for three terms only); 31/5 hours to Electricity (for one term only); 5 hours to Drawing; 31/5 hours to Woodwork; 31/5 hours to Metalwork; 12/5 hours to games; 12/5 hours to PE; and 30 minutes to recreation.

As the boys were divided into houses named after eminent engineers, *'Competition between the different groups was very keen particularly in sporting activities'* [Ibid]. The staff set high standards as the school's public examination results demonstrated. *'Most of the boys attended night school after leaving the day school with a view to obtaining the Higher Certificate in Engineering'*, wrote William Mutimer, who studied at the school between 1932 and 1934 [Ibid]. *'Johnny'* Walker, the headmaster, made sure that the school's achievements were kept before the eyes of the public through annual open days and institutional *'birthday'* celebrations, all of which were fully reported by the local press [e.g. Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 13 June 1938].

Unfortunately, as the headteacher's health deteriorated during the early thirties, his grip on the staff loosened. H.M.I. reported weaknesses in organisation and supervision and suggested: *'He (the headteacher) should try to secure closer cooperation among his staff. Regular staff meetings and friendly discussion of syllabuses and points of difficulty would ensure the elimination of overlapping in some places, and certain gaps in the curriculum, and would help to secure that unity of purpose which is such a marked feature of the successful Junior Technical School'* [Ibid]. The inspectors' overall judgement was cool: *'The work of the individual teachers is on the whole good, but considering their various academic attainments and industrial experience the general level of attainment is not particularly high'* [Ibid]. One event more than any other, the publication of the Spens Report in 1938, caused a surge of interest in the development of secondary technical education and the founding of Technical High Schools. As the School of Art was about to move out of its old Kingston Hall Road accommodation to its new Knights Park buildings in June 1939, Mr Walker proposed that a secondary technical school should be immediately opened [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 June 1939]. Unfortunately, other more urgent national considerations took precedence over his educational aspirations: the founding of such a school had to wait until after the Second World War was over.

For Gipsy Hill College, by contrast, the thirties constituted one prolonged financial crisis. H.M.I., during its first full inspection in 1931, cruelly exposed the poor quality of its equipment while praising the excellence of its unusual and probably unique style of training. Part of the difficulty in assessing its quality lay, as the chief reporting inspector pointed out, in the College's unique character and clientele [H.M.I. Report on Gipsy Hill Training College, 1930/1: PRO: ED115/47]. *'There was'*, she wrote, *'no body*

of experience to help us (the inspectors) to comment on or to criticise' the work of such an innovatory institution [Ibid, p 11]. At the time of the inspection, the College still occupied six large Victorian houses: one acting as the main teaching centre and the rest as hostels. Its unique study bedrooms had *'been furnished with much thought and care for convenience and beauty: each room has its own (decorative) scheme carefully planned to harmonise'* [Ibid, p 2]. Each hostel had its own common room while the teaching centre contained a similar facility which could accommodate the whole College. These, however, were the only good points the inspectors could find to make about the College's accommodation. A litany of criticisms followed thereafter. For instance the inspectors were very unhappy about two or three students sharing the same study bedroom, and strongly criticised the state of the bathrooms and lavatories. Nor were they impressed by the spartan conditions prevailing in the kitchens and larders and the lack of labour-saving devices [Ibid, p 4]. The teaching accommodation, moreover, also left a great deal to be desired. The Science facilities were inadequate [Ibid, pp 8-9], and there was no gymnasium and very few sports facilities on site [Ibid, p 11].

On the other hand, the College's democratic organisation impressed the inspectors. All its regulations were decided by joint staff-student assemblies. Annually elected officers took responsibility for the community's general well-being. Almost every student occupied such a post for at least some time during her training course. Although Gipsy Hill was an non denominational College, chapel-going played a major part in the lives of both students and staff. The weekday services were designed and conducted by the students, staff and Principal. Every aspect of College life emphasised the importance of community. On Saturdays, each hostel in turn entertained the rest of the College with concerts, plays and recitations. In addition, students formed popular drama, music, and literature clubs, attended a programme of public lectures provided by external speakers and maintained a vigorous branch of the League of Nations Society. The inspectors were convinced that the students led *'a happy healthy life'* and assimilated *'both from their material surroundings and from the atmosphere of the College the essentials of good social living'* [Ibid, p 3].

Even though they acknowledged that the Principal and her nine full-time colleagues formed a unified, devoted and enthusiastic team, the inspectors disapproved of some of their teaching methods. They were, for instance, particularly dubious about the merits of separating Education and Psychology studies. They were also very critical of an innovatory arrangement by which a medical practitioner taught the Psychology of Mental Health course. In spite of the lecturer's undoubted excellence, the inspectors were concerned that the students would not receive sufficient help in linking this component with their other studies and seriously doubted their ability to do so unaided [Ibid, p 5]. Gipsy Hill was praised as the first college in the country to have an Educational Hygiene course which incidentally provided students with opportunities to work in Sydenham Children's Hospital. The inspectors, however, queried the depth of thought involved in what was, they considered, an otherwise fine component [Ibid, p 7]. On the other hand, they were deeply impressed by the quality of the Biology course and its annual fieldwork camp at Stockton Hill Farm in Kent [Ibid, pp 8-9]. The teaching of the other curriculum subjects, including English, Education, Divinity, Art, and Handwork, was declared to be perfectly satisfactory while the inspectors particularly praised the Music teacher's outstanding ability and the *'very happy spirit'* prevailing in her classes [Ibid, pp 10-11].

Even though the inspectors agreed that the College produced *'a very civilised type of teacher'*, they were not altogether happy with the quality of much of the students' course work. They were more than a little disconcerted by the College's strong emphasis upon school experience, the observation and recording of children's behaviour and the creation of case studies instead of concentrating upon academic studies and examination results like other institutions. *'It is only good intelligence and certain temperaments'*, they warned, in their carefully balanced summing up, *'that can be trained for such delicate and intangible work (nursery and infant teaching)'* [Ibid, p 11]. The unkindest criticism, and one which certainly caused the Principal considerable distress, accused the staff of *'a tendency to idealise what is not yet ideal and to believe too much in mere atmosphere'* [Ibid, p 12]. The College's pioneering spirit seems to have irritated the inspectors, who called for a stronger emphasis upon *'depth and on more finite and fundamental principles'*. Nevertheless, they ended their interesting and discursive report by writing: *'at the same time, there comes from this college a type of teacher who brings to her responsible work something of real and lasting value to the educational world'* [Ibid, p 12].

No sooner had the College absorbed Her Majesty's Inspectors' criticisms than it was visited by a panel of London University lecturers on 21st February 1933 [Visitation of Gipsy Hill Training College for

Teachers of Young Children (21.2.1933) PRO: ED78/39]. Eleven regional groups of colleges had been set up in 1930, each linked to a university or university college which was required to validate and organise their examinations [Dent H.C. *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales, 1800-1975*, Longman, p 100]. Until 1933, however, Gipsy Hill had escaped scrutiny. Once again, the visitors evinced concerns about the students' quality: '*As a rule it is not the most scholarly type of student who is attracted to teach very young children. Most of them are of average ability and stronger on the practical than the intellectual side. There is usually a fairly large number of students of weak average ability.*' Although in years to come they were to regret this harsh judgement, their findings were further evidence of the difficulty traditional educationalists encountered in understanding innovatory courses of teacher training.

Faced during the early thirties by a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, the Government ordered swingeing reductions in educational expenditure. In 1932, Circular 1420 ordered teacher training colleges to cut admissions by 10%. As a consequence, Gipsy Hill faced bankruptcy. From its inception, the College had staggered, like some institutional Micawber, from one financial crisis to another, and a reduction of the proposed magnitude would ensure closure. Lillian de Lissa, the Principal, sent off an impassioned letter to the Board of Education, spelling out the impact of the proposed reduction:

Taking income and expenditure over a period of five years to provide a fair average, it becomes clear that if the College is to be carried on at all a minimum of 71 students is essential (35 or 36 passing out of College each year). During the past five years the College has had an average of 77 students a year.

[Miss L. de Lissa to the Board of Education, 20 October 1932: PRO:ED78/39]

She pointed out with some asperity that during their 1931 inspection His Majesty's Inspectors had called for the appointment of more full-time lecturers and the provision of better facilities. Their advice had been implemented at great expense. Each student represented £100 in income and the loss of more than three or four a year would be disastrous. She reminded the Board that the College was the only one in the country training specialist nursery and infant teachers and of its international reputation and success. She concluded, '*The Governors feel confident that the Board will do everything in their power to prevent Gipsy Hill from being forced to close*' [Ibid]. On 20th January 1933, the Board provided the College with a slender lifeline: during the 1933-4 session, the Board waived '*the obligatory*' 10% reduction, and renewed its undertaking of 21st December 1931 to allocate an annual intake of 33 students to the College's Two Year Certificate Course [Board of Education to Lillian de Lissa, *ibid*]. In addition, it authorised Gipsy Hill to recruit as many experienced, certificated teachers as it could to its Third Year course.

In the meantime, Belle Rennie prevented the College from closing by encouraging outsiders to donate funds and by paying subsidies out of her own purse. In spite of its difficulties, Gipsy Hill continued to recruit first class students and lecturers. Students were attracted not only from England and Wales, but from Denmark, Estonia, Turkey, India, China, Canada and America [1930/1 H.M.I. report, p. 1]. Unfortunately, the College also faced acute accommodation problems. The leases of the houses administered by the Dulwich College trustees were due to terminate in 1942. Gipsy Hill did not have the wherewithal to tempt the trustees into selling them the properties and the trustees in their turn were unwilling to renew the leases. In these desperate circumstances, Miss de Lissa, Miss Rennie and other members of the governing body inspected almost every vacant mansion in Southern England in a desperate search for a new home. Predictably, suitable buildings were far beyond their slender means while those they could afford were totally inappropriate. In extremis, they launched a national appeal. The children from *The Rommany* nursery demonstration school and samples of student and pupil work were put on 'display' in the White City Exhibition Hall. Although Queen Mary gave well publicised support to the project, the general public remained unimpressed: a mere £166.16.6. was raised by these means [The Gipsy Trail, 1937-38, p 3]. By the end of the thirties, it was clear that without some kind of miracle the College would have to close.

BUSINESS AS USUAL: The Second World War

Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Technical College obtained a useful insight into what life would be like during the black-out. On a particularly dark night a serious fire put Kingston Power Station out of commission for many hours. At first, College staff tried to soldier on by candlelight, but soon discovered that this just would not do. As they and their disgruntled students made their premature way home, the only available sources of light were Bentalls Store which had its own power generating plant and the trolley buses which scurried hither and thither through the unlit streets like monstrous glow-worms. Staff and students had been given a timely warning of things to come [Unpublished History p. 77].

Even before war was declared, the College was closed for two nights by deficiencies in its new 'blackout' and 'the exceptional severity of the weather with resultant toll of illnesses, the unusual number of fogs with the consequent disorganisation of travelling facilities' [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 27 March 1939]. The institution then placed itself on a wartime footing with exemplary speed. Thanks to Mr Walker's and Mr Archer's cooperation, the Junior Technical School was promptly provided with Air Raid Precaution procedures [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 24 July 1939]. Meanwhile, the new Art School's evening programmes immediately fell foul of the A.R.P. regulations. No less than six wardens arrived bellowing, 'Put those lights out'. Even with its windows fully blacked out, the innovatory fluorescent lighting caused such a glow that the entire Luftwaffe could have homed-in on it [Unpublished History, p 77]. Double strength materials had to be fitted before evening classes could recommence [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 22 January 1941]. By January 1941, Mr Brill was requisitioning steel helmets and stirrup pumps for his squads of volunteer firefighters: thirty senior students led by members of the teaching staff [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 27 January 1941].

Although open slit trenches were quickly made available for 700 students, the Autumn term opening had to be delayed for some weeks while still more were dug [The Surrey Comet, 23 September 1939]. By November, however, Air Raid Shelters with the same capacity were very nearly ready for use in the Junior Technical School's playground [The Surrey Comet, 4 November 1939]. In the meantime, the Art School's spanking new garage was converted into another air raid shelter, initially to accommodate 60 but ultimately 100 students [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 September 1939]. During the early stages of the Battle of Britain in September 1940, students gained first hand experience of the air war when German planes attacked Hawkers's Canbury Park factory in broad daylight. Later, a damaged Spitfire glided perilously close to the College before crashing into the Thames [Unpublished History, p 7]. Frank Taylor, an Engineering lecturer, recalled two other incidents. During the first, a lone raider successfully bombed Teddington Lock causing the river level to drop by several inches. During the second, an Apple Market shopowner acknowledged central Kingston's severe mauling in typical fashion by placing a laconic warning - BLAST - in his front window [The Recollections of Frank Taylor, student at the Technical College from 1937-1941, subsequently a part-time lecturer until 1945 when he was employed full-time, Unpublished History, p 77]. To a local A.R.P. warden, the German planes resembled:

a flock of birds. Then two lots of our planes appeared, one on either side, and began to close in on the Germans. They immediately began to disperse, and then the jettisoning of their bombs began.
[Statham R., op cit, p 108]

'Take care of your gas mask', A.R.P. posters declared, 'and your gas mask will take care of you'. The presence or absence of gas masks gave rise to a minor but from contemporaries' point of view important human rights debate. Although the carrying of gas masks became compulsory on the outbreak of war, by 1940 most people were leaving them at home. When this growing habit was questioned in April 1940, Mr Archer, the Principal, wisely decided that while all school pupils would be required to carry gas masks, adult students should make up their own minds [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 22 April 1940].

Preparations for total war were soon put in train. With future problems in mind, both Kingston and Wimbledon Technical Colleges were urged to provide Pre-Nursing courses [Ibid]. At approximately the

same time, the Junior Technical School children were given half an acre of allotments alongside the Ham Road to enable them to make their own contribution to the *Dig For Victory* campaign [Ibid]. Meanwhile the headmaster of the Day Commercial School made sure that evacuation did not have a detrimental effect upon his pupils' academic development by providing them with a correspondence course. Further, on their return, he asked permission to occupy part of the new and as yet unopened Hinchley Wood elementary school so that his College accommodation could be used for war work [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, Ibid]. Cracks, however, soon appeared in the fragile wartime solidarity when the County Council authorised the School's transfer to Hinchley Wood without first obtaining the Governors' permission. An official protest was immediately sent off. Harassed County Council officials apologised but pointed out they had no choice as the War Office had applied for the *'immediate use of the whole of the resources of our (Kingston) Technical College for the purposes of technical training'*. In the circumstances, the Governors graciously agreed to the transfer which took place in January 1940 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 18 December 1939].

Nightly air raids took place throughout 1940. On 16th October, for instance, 150 bombs were dropped upon Malden and Combe. Fred Stott recalled: *'Later that month the Germans resorted to night bombing and we had 80 nights of bombing and incendiary attacks'* [Fred Stott's Memoirs]. The consequent disruption forced the Technical College to replace its planned 1940/1 evening programmes with day and weekend classes [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 September 1940 and 24 March 1941]. As a result, College staff taught seven days a week [The Surrey Comet, 12 October 1940]. More funds had to be spent on materials to black out the windows and on hurricane lamps to light the shelters - not to mention on new linoleum to cover the Cookery Room floor (February 1940). Moreover, it was becoming more and more difficult to get to College. Although petrol rationing had officially begun on 16th September 1939, the restrictions did not really start to bite until 1940. Subsequently, the already infamous Kingston by-pass, which had been opened in 1936, was free of traffic jams for the first and probably the only time in its history. In June 1940, all the signposts in Kingston and the surrounding area were uprooted to hinder the expected German invasion forces: *'no person shall display or cause or permit to be displayed any sign which furnishes any indication of the name of, or the distance to any place'* [Briggs S., op cit, p 125].

For two years, Technical College staff devoted their evenings to Fire Watching. [Ibid]. In his memoirs, Fred Stott described some of the hazards associated with weekend College duties:

We had to sleep on the premises about once every two weeks and get up to watch for incendiaries when the alert went. The common room in the main building was infested with mice which kept one awake as they rustled paper. One night I got up suddenly at an alarm and squashed one flat under my foot.

[Stott F., Unpublished History, Appendix]

The demands of the Armed Forces, the claims of Civil Defence; the movement of families, works and offices to less vulnerable areas; the reduction in industrial and commercial staffing; the introduction of longer working hours; and transport restrictions constantly eroded staff and student numbers. In addition, war training of one kind or another placed increasing pressure upon the already over-timetabled accommodation [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 22 July 1940]. During the Blitz, Fred Stott discovered how life could be transformed in a matter of moments:

Indeed in the middle of September when the Germans were attempting to bomb London in daylight, my students and I were standing outside the air raid shelter one afternoon when a huge German bomber flew directly overhead at about 3000 feet with the swastika markings clearly showing and a lone Spitfire planed to earth towards the river and Home Park ... when I returned home ... the house at the end of the road in Surbiton where I lived was demolished as a German bomber unloaded its bombs as it was being chased by Spitfires.

[Scott F., Unpublished History, Appendix]

To make space available for adult studies, the Junior Technical School's lunch break was reduced by half an hour and afternoon classes ended thirty minutes earlier than usual [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 22 January 1940]. This was probably just as well as the winter was bitterly cold. The Thames froze over for the first time since 1888. There were serious fuel shortages.

Butter, bacon, meat and sugar were all rationed. When at last spring arrived, farmers fearing that ravenous pheasants and other wild birds would decimate their crops, carried out a mass cull. The war brought about changes in student membership. Fred Stott wrote:

I recall the presence of many Jewish students who had escaped from Nazi Germany and Sudetenland. Some had been interned under 18B regulations and then released when it was realised that they were not Nazi agents ... As the war dragged on, we started to get new students from men who had been invalidated out.

[Stott F., Unpublished History, Appendix]

Even though they were awaiting the anticipated blitzkrieg with trepidation, College managers concentrated upon practicalities. A College newspaper advertisement called upon housewives to *Help to man the Kitchen Front*. To promote this laudable aspiration, the College provided free demonstrations of wartime cooking [The Surrey Comet, April-May 1940]. Moreover, its burgeoning refectory service, led by the redoubtable Mrs Martin, provided hot lunches for staff, students and fire watchers on seven days a week. When Wimbledon Junior Technical School pupils evacuated their severely damaged buildings in 1940 and transferred to Kingston, no less than 500 hot lunches had to be prepared every single day and so space for an additional canteen and kitchen had to be commandeered.

A big effort was made in 1940 to persuade women to undertake munitions work: as incentives, they were offered a weekly wage of 24/- and free midday meals [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 September 1940; The Surrey Comet, 12 March 1941]. At the Ministry of Labour's behest, many Kingston women were initiated into the mysteries of assembly line work [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 December 1940]. How different their conditions were from those their mothers experienced during the First World War. From April 1941, they were compulsorily registered either for necessary work or the defence forces: by 1943, 90% of single and 80% of married women were directly contributing to the war effort [Minns R., 1999, pp 31 & 132-3]. Men were provided with emergency courses, especially in servicing mechanised equipment - these were the first programmes of their kind to be provided in the whole country [The Surrey Comet, 4 February 1942], while male and female volunteer Ambulance workers were given nine-session long crash courses in First Aid [The Surrey Comet, 15 February 1941]. A 'Dig for Victory' programme, consisting of 10 lectures on vegetable and fruit growing, was offered at a cost of 2/6 per person to all local residents who wanted to get the best out of their gardens and allotments [The Surrey Comet, 14 May 1941]. Industrial trainees were offered special Ministry of Labour courses including the intensive Supervisors Higher National Certificate programme [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 26 January 1942]. Successful completion of full-time Kingston College-based Ministry of Education courses guaranteed rankers from the Royal Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers promotion to commissioned rank [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 January 1943]. Members of His Majesty's and later the United States armed forces also studied the College's foreign languages and office arts programmes [Ibid].

By 1942, Ministry of Mining Fuel Efficiency courses were the order of the day [June, 1942] as coal output had declined steadily during 1940 and 1941 resulting in a major fuel crisis. Things were so bad that no one was supposed to fill a bath with hot water to a depth of more than five inches. W.A.A.F.s and hospital personnel undertook full-time cookery courses [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 18 May 1942] while in 1942 the Milk Marketing Board asked the Principal to arrange classes for two hundred of its employees - this was the beginning of a happy collaboration which continued long after the war was over [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 March 1942].

After the evacuation of Dunkirk in 1940, handicraft teachers from the local County Schools and senior boys from the Junior Technical School spent most of their time in the College workshops manufacturing jigs and tools for local firms [The Surrey Comet, 14 November 1949]. They worked a three-shift day for seven days a week. This local initiative continued until the munitions shortage eased [Ibid]. As soon as evening classes were reinstated in October 1941, a series of vehement if abortive protests were made about 'the serious effect of the lack of ventilation of blacked out classrooms on the health of the students' [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 27 October 1941]. Little, however, could be done to remedy the situation so it was a case of either 'lump it' or give up. Meanwhile, the Commerce Department's activities virtually ceased as so many of its students were called up. Curiously, this had

one very beneficial effect: Mr Douglas Whitter was transferred from the Day Commercial School's staff to the Commerce Department in September 1940. He was to prove to be an inspiring leader and was responsible for much of the department's post-war success. Occasional small scale confrontations still took place. It was discovered, for example, that the Day Commercial School was not providing its scholars with Religious Instruction. On being requested to do so, the headteacher evinced little enthusiasm, grumbling that *'after all, there is a war on'*. However, as the Board of Education remained adamant, Religious Instruction was duly added to the curriculum [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 27 October 1941].

September 1941 saw the next round of serious air-raids and in October incendiaries landed on the Art School causing minor damage [Brill's Diary, September and October 1941]. In the meantime, however, medical students from St Thomas' Hospital took over some of the School's precious accommodation [Dean of St Thomas' application to Surrey County Council, PRO ED83/275 - 4 October 1939; The Surrey County Council's agreement noted: Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 19 February 1940]. Worse still, in June 1939, most of *'Cranhurst House'*, the Art School's overflow department on Surbiton Hill, had to be transformed into a Domestic Science Centre [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 26 June 1939]. As if this was not bad enough, still more of *'Cranhurst House'* had to be handed over to the Esher Section of the Women's Land Army. The Technical College Music Society, which was founded in 1942, [The Surrey Comet, 28 February 1942] provided local music lovers with a programme of six Sunday concerts, performed by leading soloists, ensembles and orchestras, for only 10/6 a block ticket [The Surrey Comet, 24 October 1942]. The Arts Council and the County Education Committee supported these Sunday performances, and loaned the College £200 with which to buy a grand piano. The project proved a great success and its patrons demonstrated such generosity that the loan was repaid in full before hostilities ceased.

Wartime pressures accelerated institutional development. For instance, in 1943, the Engineering Department divided into separate Mechanical and Electrical sections in order to satisfy the increasing demand for expertise and space [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 January 1943]. The College Machine Room had to be entirely given over to *'production work of national importance'* [Ibid]. In the same year, the Technical College applied to become an accredited provider of London University external Engineering degree courses [Ibid]. However, when the College sought similar accreditation to deliver a new full-time Mechanical Engineering course, it was refused permission until such time as it could provide buildings and equipment which met the required standards [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 June 1943]. 1943 also saw an impressive growth in the number of the College's engineering courses. In February, Kingston students embarked for the first time on the London University Intermediate BSc in Engineering programme while in March groups of Royal Engineers Officer Cadets started a three year Engineering course [Unpublished History, p 60]. Later, another similar three-year programme was launched for Civil Engineers [Ibid]. The special Engineering and Intensive Course initiatives, which cruelly exposed the College's acute shortage of Science accommodation [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 24 May 1943], led in 1944 to the erection of a new prefabricated Physics Laboratory [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 26 June 1944]. The introduction of a Mechanical Engineering Diploma in 1945 forced the County and Kingston authorities to acknowledge the need for new Physics, Chemistry and Biology laboratories and to agree that these should be built as soon as the repairs to the war damaged College buildings had been completed [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 25 September 1945].

The younger members of the Technical College were just as determined as their elders to play a significant part in the war effort. The Junior Technical School started a branch of the Air Training Corps in 1941 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 24 March 1941]. Later, at the beginning of 1942, they helped to found the Kingston Combined Cadet Corps for 14 to 16 year olds [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 March 1942]. Junior Technical School youths helped out in the County Council Building Department during their summer vacation in 1944 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 24 July 1944]. In 1943, thirty boys and thirty girls from the Day Commercial School volunteered to take part in the Government's *Harvest Camp Initiative* while another group set off to work in Wiltshire where there were insufficient candidates available [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 June 1943]. In 1941, Art School students spent their summer vacation working for the Air Ministry [Technical Instruction and Evening

Classes Sub-Committee, 21 July 1941]. In fact, Art students continually won plaudits from Government departments: in 1944, for instance, the Air Ministry heartily congratulated Mr Brill, his staff and students on their outstanding contribution to a special War Office Exhibition about Camouflage [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 24 June 1944]. In 1942, the whole institution concentrated on collecting gifts and donations for the 'Aid to Russia' campaign [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 23 February 1942].

The Art School's academic standards remained as high as ever throughout the war even though part of its building had been converted into engineering workshops. After all, as *The Surrey Comet* pointed out, the School was 'one of the best equipped in the country' [The Surrey Comet, July 1939]. Nor did the war prevent it adding to its course portfolio. For instance its first full-time architecture course was introduced in 1942. This started in a small way and had only recruited six students by the time Eric Brown was appointed its manager in February 1944 [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 21 February 1944]. He was a very highly regarded member of his profession as well as an excellent lecturer, who remained in charge of the department until his retirement in 1966 [The Architect's Journal, 11 January 1996]. Five years later, Kingston's first group of students sat their final R.I.B.A. examinations [Kingston School of Art prospectus, 1963/4]. Meanwhile, in May 1941, The Surrey Comet congratulated the fashion students on their 'originality not only in design, but in combination of material and colour' shown by their hat, frock and coat designs [The Surrey Comet, 4 March 1941]. When the Government introduced Utility Clothing in 1942, the School joined Hardy Amies and Norman Hartnell in ensuring that 'the women in the street ... have an equal chance to buy beautifully designed clothes, suitable to their lives and income' [Vogue, October 1942].

The School's 1941 Royal Society of Art's entrance examination results were the best in the country [The Surrey Comet, 24 May 1941]. Moreover, Miss Joy Jarvis won the 1942 Princess of Wales scholarship as the foremost female art student in the whole of the United Kingdom [The Surrey Comet, May 1942]. Reginald Brill's and his School's reputations were so high that the owners of Little Hall, Lavenham, Suffolk, decided to bequeath their beautiful fifteenth century mansion to Surrey County Council so that it could be used to promote all kinds of artistic endeavours. After their deaths, the house served as an art centre and hostel for young artists and art students [The Times, 8 December 1942]. Brill promised: 'It will be a serious annexe for advanced study' [Ibid]. In 1943, Brill finally applied for Board of Education recognition for his Junior Art Department even though it had actually been functioning since April 1940 [PRO: ED83/275: Application for approval by the Kingston School of Art to the Board of Education, 12 November 1943]. The Board accepted the fait accompli with good grace and formally allocated the School an annual intake of 25 thirteen and a half year olds, who were to be chosen by entrance examination [Ibid: Board of Education approval, 20 July 1944]. Their two-year long courses were designed to meet industrial needs. The Junior Department was so successful that the Principal boasted he received far more applications for trained juniors from local firms concerned with advertising, cartography, building draughtsmanship, dressmaking, millinery and drawing for films than the Department could possibly satisfy [Ibid].

During daytime, Art students made themselves useful to the community in a variety of ways. In 1943, for instance, *The Surrey Comet* congratulated them on the way in which they had decorated the Knights Park Day Nursery and on the quality of the wooden and felt toys they provided for children in that and other local day nurseries [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 14 December 1942; The Surrey Comet, 15 September 1943]. The students also painted frescoes on the walls of Kingston's new *British Restaurant*, one of the nation's two thousand 'communal feeding centres', which as a group served no less than half a million meals a day. This decorative tour de force was carried out at the request of Sir Kenneth Clark's famous Committee, which had been set up by Lord Woolton, the Minister of Food, to see that British Restaurant customers were civilised and nourished at one and the same time [Ibid]. Although the quality of the cuisine differed from canteen to canteen - meat balls and austerity jam roll seem to have been universal, however - J.B. Priestley heaped praise upon their culinary efforts in a 1941 BBC broadcast in which he spoke glowingly of 'the steaming small holdings of stew' and 'rice pudding by the acre' [Quoted in Briggs S., op cit, p 157].

Nevertheless, in spite of his School's wide ranging successes, Reginald Brill was an unhappy man. When staff joined the armed forces, they were difficult to replace. Occasionally, moreover, wrong headed local residents attacked either his staff, the governors or the institution itself in the columns of

the local press. In 1943, for instance, an awkward correspondent enlivened life on the home front by suggesting that the governors were far too old for their jobs and were impeding institutional progress. A fierce debate was fought out for several weeks in the correspondence columns of *The Surrey Comet* [e.g. *The Surrey Comet*, 15 May 1943]. Brill, as he admitted when he retired, had never wanted to be a teacher and therefore made a number of determined, if unsuccessful, attempts to escape from his Kingston thralldom. In 1945, he wrote in his diary with perhaps pardonable asperity, *'It's time I got a decent job or packed it up'* [Brill's Diary, 1945].

Meanwhile, on Monday, 4th March 1940, the Day Commercial School vacated its Kingston Hall Road accommodation so that it could be used for war work - however, most of its old classrooms were immediately taken over by children from the badly bomb damaged Wimbledon Junior Technical School. In their turn, the Day Commercial School took over *Hinchley Wood Central Council (Mixed) School's* Girls Department [Hinchley Wood Secondary School Log Book, p 1]. Although the new school possessed hardly any books and equipment, there was at least plenty of stationery for the young people to write on. The 159 Hinchley Wood and 179 Kingston Day Commercial School pupils were soon practising A.R.P. routines together [e.g. *Ibid*, p 3]. As, due to the frequency of the air raids, these unfortunate young people were usually worn out from lack of sleep, school attendance was usually low [*Ibid*, p 12]. The children spent more time practising putting on and taking off their gas masks than studying or taking part in games [*Ibid* p.11]. Summer holidays were abandoned as part of national emergency procedures. At the end of what would normally have been the Summer term, children and staff snatched a hasty week's holiday before starting a High Summer term lasting from July to September [*Ibid*, p 13]. During these short wartime breaks, teaching staff had little opportunity to relax as they ran day care centres for pupils whose parents were in full-time work [*Ibid*, December 1942, p 87].

During 1940, the Air War approached uncomfortably close to the joint schools. On September 6th, Mr Bray, the Kingston Day Commercial School's headteacher, discovered that there might be an unexploded bomb on the premises. While the area was being thoroughly searched, children arriving at school had to be diverted to the shelters where they remained until harassed staff could ferry them back to their homes [*Ibid*, p 18]. On this occasion, no explosives were discovered. However, on 24th October, a bomb really did land on the school grounds. Mr Hallifax, the Hinchley Wood headteacher, wrote: *'I came to school immediately, and found that the bomb was a few yards from the air-raid shelters. Children who had arrived were sent home with instructions that they would be notified if the school would open before Monday next ...'* [*Ibid*, p 24]. On 15th October 1940, he noted gratefully that when *'The bomb in the field was exploded by the Military'* only *'the roof and two windows were slightly damaged by falling debris'* [*Ibid*, p 25]. Although a number of near misses were subsequently recorded, the school's safety was not seriously threatened again until 1944. The continuing air assault, however, meant that teams of Hinchley Wood and Day Commercial School staff spent their nights Fire Watching [*Ibid*, 14 January 1941, p 35].

The Commercial School remained content in its borrowed buildings until June 1944, when, one week after D-Day, the first V1 pilotless flying bombs or *'doodlebugs'* arrived spearheading the Nazis' terror campaign [*The Surrey Comet*, July 1945], or as Fred Stott put it:

Towards the end of the war we had the new wave of attacks of the Doodle-bug [V1] which nightly zoomed on flight lines from the Pas de Calais towards London. One such well defined flight line passed through Tolworth and over County Hall to end in Home Park across the River Thames
(Fred Stott's Memories).

Eight thousand V1s were launched against the London area alone. In June 1944, the Technical College was slightly damaged by a doodlebug which exploded in Park Road [Unpublished History, p 8]. Fred Stott recalled another attack in July 1944:

One night one exploded in County Hall and demolished the Ashcombe Suite, and peppered the corrugated roof of the Biology Lab. with fragments, bringing down the false ceiling and blackboard and breaking the water supply on the front bench
[Stott F., Unpublished History, Appendix].

Consequently, Technical College staff could only hold day-time and weekend classes during the 1944/5 session, [Unpublished History, p 5]. Then, on 8th September 1944, the Germans launched their first V2 Rocket attack. These fearsome silent weapons were even more frightening than the doodlebugs. As one

woman put it, *'If I'm going to be killed, I would like to have the excitement of knowing when it's going to happen'* [Briggs S., op cit, p 234]. By June 1944, the Flying Bombs were coming uncomfortably close to the Hinchley Wood schools [Hinchley Wood Secondary School Logbook, June 1944, pp 121/2]. Conditions were so alarming that lessons had to be taught during *'safe periods'* either in the shelters or on the playing fields. Special *'Shelter Workbooks'* were distributed to enable the children to cope with their semi-nomadic existence [Ibid, June 1944, pp 122/4]. When conditions deteriorated still further, the authorities decided to move as many children as they could to safer areas [Ibid, July 1944, pp 128/9]. Eventually, 200 young people were evacuated on 13th July 1944. Hinchley Wood children were sent to Exeter and South Wales, while Day Commercial School pupils were dispatched to Leigh in Lancashire [Ibid, July 1944, p 128]. Both groups were accompanied by their teachers. In spite, no doubt, of many children's homesickness, the Day Commercial School's headteacher reported happily that *'The peace and quietness of this little coalmining and cotton town and the treatment by the billetters' actually led to a rapid improvement in the children's health'* [The Surrey Comet, 23 September 1944]. In the meantime, *'building operatives'* occupied the Day Commercial School's buildings [Ibid, August 1944, p 131] so the children, whose parents would not allow them to be evacuated, spent their school days huddled together in the shelters attached to the Boys Department [Technical Instruction and Evening Classes Sub-Committee, 18 December 1944]. As the number of flying bomb and rocket attacks declined, more and more children returned home. By March 1945, only eleven Day Commercial School pupils remained in Barnsley attending the local Technical School. When they too returned, the building operatives moved out, and the schools resumed something like their normal routines.

Ironically, the outbreak of war probably saved Gipsy Hill College from being closed. In September 1939, its financial and accommodation problems still remained unresolved. The hostilities deferred the hard decisions which would otherwise have had to be made. The College was evacuated to Brighton where it was temporarily lodged in local hotels until the expected blitzkrieg was over. Fear of invasion, however, quickly convinced the authorities to send the College much further away from the danger zone. After an exhaustive search for suitable premises, the owner of *Bankfield House*, Bingley, near Bradford, agreed to lease the College his country mansion for the duration of the war. This handsome, large stone Victorian building with a lovely garden running down to the river Aire managed to furnish all the teaching accommodation required [Gipsy Hill Training College Brochure, 1940]. Indeed, normal College routines were quickly established with remarkably little difficulty, even though many students and some staff had to be billeted with local residents. In spite of the food and fuel shortages, most students seem to have enjoyed their wartime experiences. Certainly, the unusual conditions did a great deal to break down the hitherto iron term-time controls over student movement and entertainment. During teaching practice, for example, students either cycled to school or put their trust in the totally unreliable bus service. Students returning late in the evening not only missed their supper but received the full blast of the Principal's displeasure.

Some of the College's newly qualified certificate holders had much more serious reasons for anxiety. One recounted:

A colleague and I stood outside the shelter (against orders) enjoying the lovely sun of summer 1945. Inside our two classes were pounding through a Nursery Rhyme routine - quite expertly without us. Suddenly a V2 landed very near and we were blown down the steps into the shelter. As we regained our equilibrium one of my 'blossoms' said quite calmly, "Coo, that one must 'ave glid in with 'is slippers on!"

[E.I.H. in The Old Students' News Letter, 1964, p 20]

As the war drew to a close, the College's fundamental troubles demanded immediate attention. The lease of *Bankfield House* was due to end. The College could not return to its Gipsy Hill location for a variety of reasons: firstly, the original buildings had been damaged by enemy action and were currently uninhabitable; secondly, they were not large enough to accommodate the College's enlarged student numbers; and thirdly, the Dulwich Estate trustees were still opposed to selling or renting their property to the College. In the circumstances, the governors adopted a two-pronged approach: on the one hand, they appealed to a number of local education authorities for sponsorship while still conducting frantic visits to a great number of vacant manor houses in the hope of discovering a suitable alternative base. All the houses they visited proved to be far beyond their meagre resources. Following, however, a number of embarrassing rejections, Surrey County Council finally came to the College's rescue offering to adopt it and accommodate it on Kingston Hill. The L.E.A. then either bought or rented *Kingston Hill*

Place, a large mansion which had once supposedly belonged to Edward VII's mistress, Lillie Langtry, and a series of substantial Victorian villas, including *Coombe Hurst*, *Tankerville* and *Winchester*. Kingston Hill Place became the College's temporary teaching centre while the villas served as hostels. *Kenry House*, on the other side of the road, was added to the complex as soon as the military had disbanded 'the rehabilitation camp for Italian prisoners of war' which still occupied the site during the 1945/6 session. The College's eleven staff and 86 students took up residence on Kingston Hill in 1946. Miss de Lissa wrote appreciatively:

As a farewell, the Governors asked us all to a luncheon at the Ritz. It was a delightful function with good speeches, toasts drunk in champagne and a real Ritz meal! This happy party was a wonderful end to our association with a unique and delightful body of men and women.

[Gipsy Trail, 1948-49, p 4].

POSTWAR BLUES: The Later Forties

The general public's experiences during the Second World War convinced them that Britain needed many more highly trained scientists and technicians. In 1944, Lord Eustace Percy was asked to chair a special committee whose task was to recommend the best ways of promoting technical education. The committee admitted that this area of education had hitherto been left almost entirely to local authority initiative, that no real attempt had been made to coordinate college and university activities, and that the entire system needed to be reorganised if British industry was to regain its former place in world markets.

The authors of the Report, *Higher Technological Education* (HMSO, 1945), condemned the fact that four-fifths of Higher National Certificate in Engineering candidates studied during the evening, as in their opinion no students could be expected to establish a solid understanding of the contributing sciences under such conditions. They also severely criticised industry for failing to provide their workers with opportunities to undertake day-release schemes. According to the Percy Committee, what trainee engineers needed was a period of full-time study, equivalent to a three year degree course, interspersed with planned industrial experience. External degrees, which hitherto had met most students' highest aspirations, were condemned as anomalies, which should be replaced as quickly as possible by normal first degree programmes. They complained about the lack of highly trained personnel and called on technical colleges and universities to make good the deficit. The output of skilled engineers had, they argued, to be doubled and suggested that a number of larger technical colleges should be encouraged to provide university level instruction. Training should be funded nationally rather than locally. Courses should be properly planned, effectively delivered and comparable in esteem with university programmes. So far so good. The spirit of unanimity soon disappeared, however, when the Committee discussed awards. Although they agreed that the new technological colleges should conduct their own examinations and make their own awards, many members believed such qualifications would never achieve parity of esteem with university degrees unless a National Academic Awards Council could be set up representing both academia and the colleges.

Attlee's Socialist Government (1945-51) decided to implement Rab Butler's plan for new county divisional education executives. These, they believed, would develop sensible, medium term plans. The North Central Surrey Division included Kingston, Malden, Surbiton and Esher. One of its first duties was to draw up a Further Education Plan coordinating Technical College and Evening Institute activities. The ensuing proposals placed Kingston College at the centre of the new system as a provider of specialist and advanced courses [Unpublished History, p 9]. This decision, coupled with the College's failure to get its bomb damaged buildings repaired, precipitated an accommodation crisis of massive proportions. In the circumstances, the Local Authority had to agree to erect a new custom-designed College. But when? In the meantime, the Governors of Richmond Technical Institute demonstrated great generosity by allowing Kingston staff to teach day classes in their accommodation [Governors, 27 May 1946]. College lecturers moved into the Kew Road buildings immediately after the V.E. Day celebrations [Unpublished History, p 10]. However, this temporary arrangement did no more than paper over the most outstanding deficits: the College had to rent another fourteen additional annexes in which to house its overflowing student population [J.W. Archer's review, *The Surrey Comet*, 17 January 1953].

The accommodation crisis and the new found enthusiasm for education forced the County Education Committee in 1945 to reiterate its promises to build a new college. But where? According to legend, the College Principal, while attending a Rotary Club luncheon, offered a £5 reward to anyone who could suggest a suitable site of approximately eight acres in size. A few weeks later, the Local Authority purchased the area bounded by Penrhyn Road, Grove Crescent and Fassett Road [The Surrey Comet, 1 August 1945]. Unfortunately, a number of semi-detached houses already occupied the site. The news of this 'calamity' broke during a severe housing shortage. To mollify public opinion, the Local Authority agreed not to demolish the houses until replacement accommodation was available [Unpublished History, p 11]. The first turfs on the site were cut by Alderman Marshall, the Chairman of Surrey County Council, and Dr Elspeth Oldfield, the Mayor of Kingston, on Wednesday, 5th January 1949. On standing up to propose the toast, 'Kingston Technical College', during the celebratory lunch at County Hall, Mr

Harold Shearman, the Chairman of the Divisional Education Executive, commented that while in the past technical education had been carried out in 'any old accommodation', custom designed buildings were now absolutely necessary [Ibid].

The winter of 1946 was vile. Continual blizzards brought the country to a standstill. Over three hundred roads were blocked and fifteen towns completely isolated. Power and fuel supplies failed as temperatures dropped to minus sixteen degrees Fahrenheit. Worse was to follow. The melting snow caused devastating floods. Coal and gas fires were banned. Bread and meat rations were cut and eggs were in extremely short supply and were often bad by the time they reached the consumer. No wonder female College students relished the canteen's plain meals ... they knew they were fortunate to get anything at all! 1947's winter was no better. Everything was in short supply. Individual weekly bacon and potato rations were reduced to one ounce and three pounds respectively. The black market, however, flourished everywhere.

Mrs Ginette Whitehead, who attended one of the College's secretarial courses, vividly described conditions in 1947 [Letter to Gibson M. from Mrs G. Whitehead, 29 October 1996]:

Water dripping into buckets from frozen pipes, candles fixed with a blob of wax onto the shields over the keyboards, wooden huts with stoves giving minimal heat but copious coke fumes - winter '47 was rough at Kingston Tech.. The girls were allowed to wear trousers to class (we gave ourselves permission). One girl had a nifty pair of fur earmuffs which were envied. In the canteen great doorsteps of bread with red jam was all that was on offer, if we were lucky. Every day, every single day, for college lunch there was roly-poly pudding, sometimes with a speck of jam, sometimes with a few sultanas. We were planning to raid the kitchens and sabotage the battery of tubular tins that these puddings were cooked in. Food shortages were much more severe two years after the war than during it [Ibid].

By the end of the war, new courses, particularly for ex-servicemen, were urgently needed. Kingston College responded eagerly. One of its first initiatives, launched in 1946, was a full-time Business Training programme for some 23 demobbed servicemen [Governors, 29 April 1946]. The returning military personnel's commitment and determination won Mr Stott's unstinting admiration:

I think the greatest period of my 27 years teaching experience was dealing with ex-servicemen who flooded into the college between 1946 and 1948. Never have I been so impressed by the way it is possible for people to learn if they really want to learn as these men did. All the pedagogy and theoretical ideas of teaching went by the board ... Some of these men had a poor background of previous education ... I look back on that period of 1945/8 as the most enlightening period I have spent in my 40 years of education.

[Stott F., Unpublished History, Appendix]

The Engineering Department continued to train large numbers of students. Frank Taylor recalled a day in 1946 when a group of ex-servicemen were working at their desks whilst a Heat Engine was being warmed up for testing. When, impatient to get on with his session, Taylor opened the stopcock, exhaust gases immediately deflected into the indicator causing a series of ear-splitting explosions. Fresh from harrowing wartime experiences, the men dived under their desks with the greatest alacrity. On recovering their wits, they sternly warned Taylor, on pain of summary execution, never to frighten them in that way again [Unpublished History, p 77].

In 1946, the College introduced new Aeronautical Engineering and Geology courses [The Surrey Comet, 13 February 1946]. At first, the Geology lectures were attended by mixed audiences of full and part-time students, including for a time Kingston and Tiffin grammar school pupils [Derek Cousell's Memories, Unpublished History, Appendix]. The department transported its students to and from field work in a battered, old police 'Black Maria'. In 1950, for example, it carried an enthusiastic field class on a six-week long camping tour of north west Scotland. When severe financial problems threatened the course with closure in 1958, a well organised and powerful Geology 'mafia' intervened. Professor H.H. Read of London University interceded personally with the Ministry of Education and the course was saved. Typically, escape from near disaster led to the provision of additional space, equipment and staffing [Ibid].

Additional staff were also appointed to the Science Department to lecture on Botany, Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics and to the Engineering Department to teach Electrical and Mechanical Engineering [Governors, 24 May 1948]. Moreover, as soon as its new Fassett Road Workshop Block was ready for use, the College became an accredited provider of the London University External Degree in Engineering course [Governors, 22 November 1948]. A year later, the College was recognised as a provider of the London University External Degree in Chemistry [Governors, 27 June 1949]. The 1949/50 session saw an extremely important innovation: the provision for the first time of postgraduate courses in Civil, Electrical and Mechanical Engineering [Governors, 27 June 1949]. Moreover, staff started to exhibit a genuine interest in research. When, however, the Ministry of Education proposed that Technical College lecturers should, as part of their normal duties, be given opportunities to undertake investigations supported by full-time Research Assistants, the County Education Committee dismissed the idea, considering such work to be of little value [Governors, 22 May 1950]. Undeterred, Mr McCrae, the Head of Engineering, immediately appointed two research assistants [Ibid].

The Engineering Department profited in other ways too from post-war enthusiasm. Kingston students starting an Institute of Mechanical Engineers Diploma course in September 1945 were exempted from sitting its final examinations. By contrast, success in a comparable Civil Engineering Diploma course only entitled students to sit the Institute's final examinations until, however, it relented in 1958 and accorded the course full recognition. The rapid increase in its volume of work eventually caused Engineering to sub-divide into departments of Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering and Mathematics: the former was set up in 1959 and the latter two in 1966. Moreover, the College received permission to teach the London University BSc Engineering and Civil Engineering external degrees in 1948 and 1950 respectively. Higher National Certificate courses in the same subjects were launched in 1950 and 1955. Further expansion and diversification took place when the Departments moved from Kingston Hall Road to the new Fassett Road Workshops in 1950 [Unpublished History, pp 69-71].

Meanwhile, the Commerce Department boomed under the dynamic leadership of Mr J. Whitter. Its initial junior academic and professional qualification provision quickly gave way to first degree and high level professional work. As a result, by 1946. Commerce had ceased being the institution's Cinderella department and was recruiting more evening students than anyone else [Unpublished History, p 46]. First, it added a thirteen-week and then a one-year long course in Business Administration to its one-year secretarial course. The department soon started preparing students for final examinations set by the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants and the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants. New, usually part-time, staff had to be recruited to teach these courses. During the same period, Economics and Law were added to the College curriculum. The introduction of two years compulsory National Service brought about a phenomenal increase in the popularity of London University General and Higher Schools Examination courses as eighteen year olds discovered they could defer their military service until they had completed their studies. Consequently, the Commerce Department ran successful programmes in English, French, Geography, Economics, Economic History and British Constitution. Shorthand and Typing training programmes became so popular that the Department soon provided a complete set of courses ranging from the beginner's Certificate to the Teacher's Diploma. The English for Foreign Students programme also enjoyed phenomenal success. *'When a student first joins the class all she can say is 'Yes', a lecturer remarked, but 'When she has attended a few (sessions), she can say 'No' and mean it'*. With unrepentant chauvinism, another contributor to the unpublished history commented: *'It was this course which brought glamour and humour into the otherwise dull routine of Enrolment Week. Air-hostesses from Spain, au-pair girls from Italy and France were a refreshing change from the intense and harassed local student eager to get on with his job'* [Unpublished History, p 48].

During the same period, the Commerce Department's day-release courses expanded rapidly. As these classes were often delivered within the client's own premises, English, Calculation, Speech Training, Music and Physical Education lecturers spent a considerable amount of time travelling around to Bentalls at Kingston, the N.A.A.F.I. headquarters, Ruxley Towers, at Claygate, the Milk Marketing Board Centre at Ruxley Lane, and the Inland Revenue Department at Hinchley Wood [Governors, 27 October 1947]. These courses were established in the belief that under the provisions of the 1944 Education Act a County College would be built to give *'young persons who are not in full-time attendance ... such further education including physical, practical and vocational training as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capabilities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship'* [Ibid]. Mr Gerald

Bentall, backed by his fellow Directors and his Personnel Controller, Miss Ruth Bateman, enthusiastically supported the introduction of off-site General Studies programmes. Although Bentall's first class only contained 25 or 30 shop assistants, 250 studied the 1947 programme for six hours a week. College staff thoroughly enjoyed working at Bentall's during a time of severe food rationing, as each morning they received not only a really good cup of coffee in the Wolsey Suite but were thoroughly entertained by the customers' antics. Every day, hordes of women lined up outside the store's main entrance. As soon as its doors opened at 9.15, they battled their way to the Stocking Counter in the hope of buying at least one pair of nylons. As soon as the precious daily allocation was exhausted, a tidal wave of disappointed women surged back through the main doors into the grey streets of post-war Kingston. Without doubt, Bentall's Speech Day was the highlight of the academic year. Within the famous *Wolsey Suite* with its mock Tudor wooden linenfold panelled walls and its white strapwork ceilings, directors and parents were entertained by a series of short plays and poetry readings, lovingly prepared and rehearsed by successful students. Presentations were as professional as special lighting effects, scenery and costumes could make them.

During this period of severe food rationing, even Bentall's famous restaurant food could not compete with the N.A.A.F.I.'s and Inland Revenue's free lunches as their cooks had access to relatively unlimited supplies of high quality ingredients. Free transport was another additional bonus for those teaching at the N.A.A.F.I. headquarters. Lecturers were picked up at the Technical College by a chauffeur driven limousine and conveyed in luxury to and from Ruxley Towers ... a great advantage at a time of petrol rationing and of infrequent, overcrowded buses. College staff, however, occasionally abused their privileged position. One unscrupulous individual, for instance, persuaded the chauffeur to pick him up and drop him at Surbiton Railway Station each day. This splendid arrangement went on undetected until the lecturer's head of department decided to pay him an unscheduled visit. Needless-to-say, the unfortunate senior member of staff waited in an increasingly ugly mood for the N.A.A.F.I. car to arrive at College. Following a predictable explosion of wrath, normal services to and from Claygate were resumed. Nor were adult students beyond adolescent pranks. Ruxley Towers, the N.A.A.F.I. headquarters, consisted of a large main building and a vast number of huts separated by pathways named after famous London roads: Oxford Street, Regent Street and so on. The designated College hut was heated by an elderly beehive stove. Careful feeding and stoking ensured that acrid smoke gradually accumulated in the room forcing staff to evacuate the building until the atmosphere cleared. Further difficulties arose from the hut's location, sandwiched between the camp grocery store and barber's shop. Teaching sessions were continually interrupted either by errant shoppers, ration books in hand, or hirsute males demanding a '*short back and sides*' [Unofficial History].

From 1947 onwards, similar courses were provided for the Milk Marketing Board's junior staff. Their fifteen and sixteen year old operatives followed a general education programme. The Inland Revenue also arranged for their junior employees to be taught General Studies on their own premises, but as another client, the Post Office, did not possess suitable accommodation, the College had to hold its classes at the Richmond Road Annexe. As there was no gymnasium, Physical Education staff marched cheerful groups of Junior Postmen to the Old Deer Park where they took part in furiously competitive games of rounders and races around the grounds. Later, these courses were accommodated in the Thames Ditton Scout Room at Lynwood Road. As one author of the unpublished institutional history remarked with relish:

Who can forget the pungent smell of bundled salvage waste paper enthusiastically collected by the Scouts the previous evening and stacked from floor to ceiling at one end of the main classroom? Or the sight of eighteen girl students suddenly jumping on their chairs at the appearance of the resident family of mice making their periodic forage for scraps across the classroom floor?
[Unpublished History, p 59]

Marks & Spencer's also arranged for their employees to attend a College day-release scheme.

This was good business. By 1950, the Department provided general education courses for 450 students. This represented a more than useful 160 hours teaching a week. At this point, Mr F.R. Kersley, a Junior Technical School teacher, was appointed full-time organiser of the day-release courses. The basic curriculum continued to include English and Social Studies, Speech Training, Calculation, Art and Music Appreciation and occasionally Shorthand and Typing. New staff were recruited to deliver these

programmes: some were ex-school teachers, others came from film and radio production and a few from the theatre. The Head of Department was located at 'Cranhurst House' on Surbiton Hill Road until 1959 when he moved first to Grove Crescent and then in 1962 to Richmond Road. As the number of female Civil Service trainees outgrew their accommodation, College had to place them in rented rooms in Eden Street. Soon afterwards, however, an Army Medical Examination Unit was established in the same building. Consequently, giggling girls, making their way in a desultory fashion along the corridors which led to the College classrooms, continually encountered males in various stages of undress. Exposure to such temptations could not be countenanced. The College authorities transferred their students to rooms in the National Assistance Board building, close to the Kingston By-pass. To everyone's astonishment, the Ministry of Works then ruled that Government accommodation could not be used for such purposes. When the College authorities smugly responded, 'We have held day-release classes in the Inland Revenue Department at Thames Ditton for eight years', they were told, 'Then you had no right to do such a thing. We knew nothing of it'. However, in the best British tradition, the Ministry of Works decided to turn a blind eye to these activities. The accommodation remained in use until 1962 when the institution's division into separate colleges of Technology and Further Education ended the relationship.

Other 'outposts' were established during this period. A Junior Retail Trades Certificate course, for instance, was taught in Kennard's Department Store at Wimbledon for three years before being transferred to Wimbledon Technical College. In 1958, the matron of Kingston Hospital invited the College to supply her pre-nursing cadets with General Education and GCE O Level courses. All her students were compelled to undertake social studies projects on the somewhat doubtful grounds that this would encourage them to take an interest in local activities. Further retailing courses were taught at Bentalls, Bonner Hill Secondary School, and Tiffin Boys and Girls schools while Speech Training and Department classes were provided for staff working at the Milk Marketing Board.

During the 1948-49 session, a logistical analysis of College staff and students read as follows:

Department	Building	Commerce	Engineering	Science	Total
Full time lecturers		20	27	24	71
Part time lecturers	18	97	87	26	228
Full time students		122	250	231	603
Part time day students	86	766	572	191	1543
Evening students	283	1664	645	272	2864

Life was less austere for some staff than others. The Principal, 'Jim' Archer, for example, did not allow petrol rationing and the lack of buses to get in the way of his beloved golf. Complacent members of staff attempted to ingratiate themselves with him by carrying his bag of clubs to the park where he regularly practiced. This usually involved a sweaty and wobbly bicycle ride. Mr Archer was also well known for his enthusiastic support for the Kingston Rotary Club and their lunches. Whatever his little peccadilloes, 'Jim' did the institution an inestimable favour in 1946 by appointing Freda Sirmon as his secretary. Over a period of thirty-nine years (1946-1985), she served no less than four principals and directors.

A Staff Association was founded in 1946. At first, it confined itself to providing common room amenities and staff socials and left professional matters to the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI). Its first social, a family get-together, held in the main hall of Tiffin Girls School, consisted of party games and excellent refreshments provided by Mrs Martin, the by then renowned catering manager, and her helpers. As the College grew in size, an annual Dinner-Dance replaced such homely treats. For many years, staff divided their custom between *The Griffin Hotel*, Kingston, *The Dog and Duck*, Wimbledon, and *The Toby Jug*, Tolworth until the Polytechnic's main hall became available for

such purposes [Unpublished History, pp 77-8]. Returning ex-servicemen founded a Student Union in 1947 [Governors, 22 September 1947]. Initially, ordinary students took little part in its activities, although the introduction of representative games and sports created some mild interest.

In January 1947, *The Surrey Comet* returned to a well rehearsed theme with its headline, 'No room: Bad equipment'. College lectures, it seemed, were still being held in the 'ramshackle wooden First World War Army huts' while extra classes took place in the old Drill Hall, the Wesleyan Church Hall, the Y.M.C.A. and Bentall's. F.A. Gibbs, a Science lecturer, described how, during lectures in Kingston Hall Road's infamous Room 29, violently vibrating Windowlite helped to keep students awake by emitting a series of ear-splitting explosions. Teaching in the huts was, however, even more difficult:

a fair knowledge of the vagaries of the coke stoves used for heating them was desirable, for on the stoking expertise of lecturer or students depended a hot or cold stove; if cold, a large amount of dust could be spread over tables and note books by attempts to remedy the situation; if hot, some students could become more or less comatose through gentle dosing with carbon monoxide
[Gibbs F.A. in The Unpublished History].

The delapidated state of the huted accommodation can be judged by an incident in 1947, when the floor of Hut 21 collapsed under the weight of a collection of geological specimens [Ibid]. According to Mr Beloe, Surrey's Chief Education Officer, 'conditions were deplorable' [Ibid]. So bad that London University banned the College from hosting its external degree courses in Engineering until its accommodation could be improved. In 1948, however, the Ministry of Education sanctioned the expenditure of £91,000 on constructing the first part of the new College complex, the Fassett Road Workshop Block [The Surrey Comet, 9 October 1948]. Plans for the second phase development were also agreed [The Surrey Comet, 26 November 1949] while the Grove Crescent houses were purchased in 1949 [The Surrey Comet, 29 October 1949]. Although the building programme fell well behind schedule [The Surrey Comet, 3 February 1951], Air Chief Marshall Sir Roderick Hill, Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, was able to open the Fassett Road Workshop Block in February 1951 [The Surrey Comet, 17 February 1951].

The National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce [N.A.C.E.I.C.] was set up in 1948 to advise ministers on all aspects of national policy. Its first report in 1950 called for immediate improvements in technical college accommodation, equipment and financing [Ministry of Education: National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce: *The future development of higher technological education*, HMSO, 1950]. By 1948, the number of full-time technical college undergraduates had risen from the 1938-39 nationwide figure of 5,288 to 10,933. During the same period postgraduate numbers rose from 662 to 1,539 [Ibid]. In an effort to raise education standards, the Government agreed in 1952 to fund 75% instead of 60% of the cost of all approved advanced courses. Colleges like Kingston who applied for increased grants, however, had to demonstrate 'a high standard of accommodation and equipment', 'facilities for teaching to a high standard in the fundamental sciences as well as technology', and 'opportunities for research' [Ministry of Education Circular 94/46, HMSO, 1946]. By 1955, 616 courses had been approved at twenty-four colleges, including Kingston [Ministry of Education statistics, 1958].

In spite of the building programme's somewhat erratic progress, the Technical College approached its Golden Jubilee in December 1949 with almost indecent fervour [The Surrey Comet, 14 November 1949]. The four-day celebrations were a great success and included a procession to the Parish Church, a Grand Banquet for 300 guests, a reception in the new College buildings; and a Gala Invitation Ball [Governors, 27 June 1949]. During the church service, the Vicar called on College staff 'to do (their) part in making students fit to serve God and man, physically, mentally and spiritually' [Ibid]. The Gala Ball, which wound up the festivities, inevitably contained a few embarrassing moments:

Evening dresses which had been put away since 1939 were brought out again. [No new dresses could be managed because of clothes rationing]. (There was) a crowded floor as the company danced to the strains of music provided by the Band of the Life Guards, spirited up from Windsor by Mr 'Slim' Watson of the Science Department. One over-zealous student (however) let off a thunderflash among the dancers. When approached by the organising Secretary with a peremptory 'Get out', (he) squared up for a scrap only to be hitched up by Messrs Clevely and Ness, frogmarched to the door and thrown into the street.

[Stott F., Unpublished History, Appendix]

At this stage in its development, the Technical College's buildings and equipment were just about on a par with those possessed by most of its rivals. According to Education in 1948 [Education, HMSO, 1949, pp 41-42], 'Classes [in the majority of colleges] overflowed into huts, schools, factories and warehouses; laboratories were on occasion used as classrooms, and classrooms as laboratories ... Classes started early and continued late ... By 1948 it was rare indeed to find a college or school where accommodation was adequate'.

In the meantime, the authors of the new Kingston Education Development Plan proposed closing down the Day Commercial and Junior Technical schools after more than thirty years exceptional performance [The Surrey Comet, 1 May 1946]. While the Day Commercial School was forced to amalgamate with Hinchley Wood County Secondary School at Easter, 1947 [The Surrey Comet, 8 February 1947], the Junior Technical School managed to survive until 1963 due to the Borough's tardiness in reorganising its secondary age range provision.

For the time being at least, the 'condemned' Day Commercial School maintained its activities with unabated energy and success. With the coming of peace, it converted a number of over-ground air raid shelters into classrooms [Governors, 29 April 1946] and on officially taking up residence on the Hinchley Wood site, acquired eight classrooms and the use of both ends but not the middle of the Assembly Hall in which to teach its 394 pupils [Kingston Day Commercial School Log Book, September 1945, p 2]. In 1945, for the first time, the school entered 45 candidates for the Oxford University School Certificate Commerce Examination: 24 passed, a notable achievement by contemporary standards [Ibid, p 10]. The school's popularity continued to increase and its numbers rose to 430 in 1947 [Ibid, January 1947, p 12]. However, it also experienced some of Britain's post war problems. For example during February 1947, national fuel shortages caused the school's temporary closure; as a result unfortunate staff had to provide their pupils with home tutoring [Governors, 24 March 1947]. Later in March, the headteacher recorded, 'School in full attendance from 10.15 to 3 - no fuel, place very cold and damp therefore attendance is voluntary and surprisingly good' [Kingston Day Commercial School's Log Book, March 1947, p 13]. Moreover, poor equipment started to have a deleterious effect upon pupils' learning experiences. In a spirited request for a dozen new typewriters, the headteacher pointed out that the school's 64 existing antiquated machines had all been purchased well before 1939 and were in the last stages of decrepitude [Governors, 28 April 1947].

The College Governors agreed in January 1947 that the school should amalgamate with Hinchley Wood County Secondary School [Governors, 27 January 1947], and on 9th September, Mr H.J. Thorp M.B.E. was appointed head of the combined schools [Governors, 22 September 1947]. The one-time Day Commercial School became Hinchley Wood's Commercial Department while its own pupils formed the General Department [Kingston Day Commercial School Log Book, September 1947, p 16]. The two groups of pupils continued to lead almost separate lives until 1955. Throughout this period, the Commercial Department maintained an average membership of about 400 pupils and sustained its high level of success in the Diploma of Commerce examinations. The old school's memory was preserved in other ways too: a War Memorial, for example, was set up on 21st April 1948 to commemorate those Old Boys who had died serving their country [Hinchley Wood School Log Book, p 26]. The old school's ancestral ghosts were finally laid to rest when the departments merged in 1955.

Although ultimately facing closure, the Junior Technical School, enjoyed, for the time being at least, a halcyon period of success. When its veteran headteacher, 'Johnny' Walker, retired in July 1946 [Governors, 22 July 1946], he was replaced by Mr G.C.T. Bowen, who proved to be an energetic successor [Governors, 23 September 1946]. The school expanded. The new headteacher persuaded the Governors and the County Education Committee to convert the original two-year course into a three year programme [Governors, 26 January 1948]. Thereafter, the redesignated Secondary Technical Department exhibited all the traditional characteristics of a normal state school. Such was its popularity that it was continually oversubscribed: its 96 places attracted 682 candidates in 1948, 454 in 1949 and 507 in 1950 [Log Book: 29 May 1948; 7 May 1949; 22 April 1950]. On each occasion, the resulting mound of examination scripts was so high that the school had to be closed for two days while the staff undertook marathon marking exercises [Ibid].

Dennis Spratling recalled his days at the school between September 1946 and March 1948:

I had always enjoyed school life and did not find the course too formidable, although certain subjects held greater interest for me. First, the Technical Drawing classes which were based on early Greek

and Roman architecture through time to the present-day techniques used within the construction industry ... Secondly, Mathematics ... Of the rest of the subjects I enjoyed particularly during the summer and autumn months, the practical work of actually building a solid construction. But I really hated the building site on a cold winter's day, when we could be cleaning mortar off brickwork to enable the bricks to be reused at a later session ...

[Dennis Spratling, Junior Technical School (1946-48) in Bradshaw P., Benjamin B & Cotterill A., op cit, p 7]

As visits to interesting industrial and commercial centres formed a normal part of the curriculum, pupils went to the local brickworks, Kingston Power Station, Hawkers Factory, the Ordnance Survey Office, the Eastleigh Locomotive Works, and Southampton docks as well as to places of more general educational interest like the Science and Imperial War museums. In 1948, the prefects were taken to Wimbledon Theatre to see a production of *The School for Scandal* [Log Book, 10 June 1948]. Thereafter theatre visits became a regular feature of school life and in 1960 inspired its pupils to present their first full length play, *Seagulls over Sorrento* [Log Book, July 1960]. Later, anticipating the school's closure, they presented R.C. Sherriff's *Journey's End* [Log Book, April 1962]. The school choir also took an active part in local events. A full range of sporting activities including the annual Technical Inter-School Sports competition, the VI Form v the Rest Cricket and Football matches, and the annual cross-country run together with the Annual Prize Giving, the mass school photograph, and the Carol Service provided the highlights of each academic year. During the course of the 1962/3 session, staff and students were gradually transferred to the new Rivermead County Secondary School in Richmond Road [Log Book, 8 January 1963]. The school's ancestral spirits were finally appeased by a grand farewell party in July 1963 [Log Book, 17 July 1963]. With the school's demise, the last traces of the Technical College's secondary origins disappeared.

A shorter-lived element of the Art School, the Junior Art Department, was also closed. When at the end of 1949, Surrey Education Committee decided to raise its age of entry to 16 years, the Governors recommended the department merge with Surbiton County Secondary School [Governors, 23 January 1950]. The Divisional Executive approved the proposal and the merger took place in 1950 [Governors, 27 February 1950].

By this time, the staff and students of Gipsy Hill College had settled down happily on Kingston Hill. The national educational environment was encouraging as the school leaving age was raised from 14 to 15 years in 1947. This reform and a rapidly expanding school population, caused by rising birthrates during the late 1940s and 1950s, fuelled a healthy demand for more primary teachers. Lillian de Lissa, the College's first Principal, retired at Christmas 1946 to be replaced by Miss Frances Batstone. In 1949, the College became a founder member of the newly constituted University of London Institute of Education [Kingston University Archive: A Report of the Inspection of Gipsy Hill Training College, HMI, 1959, p 1]. As promised, Surrey County Council acquired Kenry House and its 36 acres of woods and gardens. Its blocks of hatted accommodation and Nissen huts were quickly converted into classrooms and study bedrooms. The largest Nissen hut facing Kenry House, which was converted into a theatre cum lecture hall, has remained in use in various guises down to the time of writing. The large stable block was transformed into laboratories and workshops [Ibid]. According to H.M.I., *'The college continued to make a generous effort to meet the need for more teachers'* and by the end of 1949 was training 150 students [Ibid]. In 1950, it added a junior age range programme to its course portfolio and in the process raised its student population to 193.

A member of the 1946-1948 student cohort provided a rather idyllic picture of contemporary College life:

... Kippers for breakfast in Tankerville; those glorious days of Spring with the rhododendron and azalea in full bloom; woodpeckers nearly tapping their way through the Coombe Hurst trees and baby rabbits (and Siamese kittens!) up under the bushes by KHP (Kingston Hill Place) Common Room; (rubbish) bin duty on Saturday mornings ... and how we all hated it; 'Heart and Soul' strummed on every piano in sight until banned by 'Houghty' (Miss Houghton) ... Superb opal necklaces worn by Miss Hartley ... and how they distracted the psychology lectures; that wonderful pudding concocted by Miss Jefferson from cornflakes and rhubarb; junk collecting for school practice ... the squash in the carpentry room ... basket-ball in that gloomy hall in Kingston ...

[MEA in The Old Students' News Letter, 1962, pp 13-14].

Gipsy Hill played a small part in the quiet revolution taking place in non university-based teacher training: in 1939, the 63 voluntary colleges clearly dominated their 28 L.E.A. rivals. By 1951, however, the balance had been reversed as there were 76 L.E.A. compared with 56 voluntary colleges. During the 1950/1 session, nearly 25,000 students nationwide undertook college-based training compared with a mere 12,000 in 1938/9. In 1939, two-thirds of the colleges had student establishments of less than 150 and half less than 100 [Stewart W.A.C., *op cit*, pp 67-77]. With the implementation of the McNair Committee's proposals (1944), teacher training colleges expanded at a steady rate and became substantial institutions. Inevitably, their much prized intimate way of life had to change. For the first time in its history, however, Gipsy Hill College ended a decade on a high note with everything to look forward to and, apparently, little to fear.

FROM BUNS TO ELECTRONICS: The Fifties

The Fifties began with a critical change in College leadership: in 1952, Mr James Archer retired. He had led the College with great success from his appointment in 1931 and had transformed an amorphous, generalised institution with undeniably poor accommodation and equipment into one of the leading technical colleges in the country. Having endured the loss of the College of Art and all the problems posed by the Second World War, he had worked unstintingly to bring about the construction of the long promised and oft deferred new custom-designed Fassett Road Workshop Block. Largely thanks to his efforts, this was built and occupied and the plans for the stage-by-stage construction of the rest of the College complex agreed before he retired: Air Chief Marshall Sir Roderick Hill opened the Fassett Road Workshop Block on Wednesday, 14th February, 1951 while Lt-Col, the Rt Hon. Lord Brabazon of Tara did the honours for the Fassett Road Classroom Block on Monday, 21st September, 1953 [Invitation Brochures for 14th February, 1951 and 21st September 1953].

Mr Archer was succeeded by Dr Jack Reginald Irons Hepburn, who until that time had been Principal of Guildford Technical College [The Surrey Comet, 11 October 1952]. The Governors wanted someone who would propel the institution forward. Jack Hepburn was just the man for the job: he was unashamedly academic with both a science doctorate and a Ph.D. to his name. He immediately set about raising the institution's standards. As befitted the owner of a fine head of bright red hair, he was determined to provide the staff with firm leadership [Discussion with Freda Sirmon, Dr Hepburn's secretary]. It was only right and proper that his inheritance should include the Kingston Hall Road buildings and the 'Tin Tabernacles'. These decaying relics provided both a link with the past and a reminder of what needed to be accomplished in the future. The 'beastly' old army huts stubbornly refused to collapse. Mr Stott recalled one of the College's rare opportunities to be free of them:

A incident worth recalling concerned one of the huts, which ... had been allocated to the students as a Common Room. Many were the girlish shrieks which penetrated the partition which separated this room from the one next door in which classes were held. One day, however, a cry of alarm penetrated the partition followed by a shout of 'Fire'. Some minutes later a ruffled Mr Wood burst into the Staff Room, beaming with pride and exclaimed, 'I've just put out a fire in the huts'. A dozen members of staff stopped what they were doing and with one voice stunned him by shouting 'What for?' Thus was lost a golden chance to have the long-wished for bonfire of at least four of the huts. [Stott F., Unpublished History, Appendix].

A number of new programmes were introduced at the beginning of the decade. Undoubtedly the most important were the Advanced Courses which in 1950 for the first time received Education Department support grants. On the other hand, the Bakery and Confectionery programme which started in June 1954 was by far the most popular [The Surrey Comet, 5 March 1955]. Year after year, *The Surrey Comet* rhapsodized about its annual Exhibition of Student Work. Large photographs of their delectable displays of breads and cakes did a great deal to enliven the newspaper's otherwise rather dour appearance [see The Surrey Comet, 13 February 1960]. On the other hand, when the County Council rationalised provision in July 1953, the College's Building Department was closed and its trainees transferred to the Wimbledon and Ewell Technical Colleges [Kingston University Archive: A Report of the Inspection of Kingston Technical College, HMI, 1956, p 1].

It is salutary to remember that at the beginning of the so-called 'New Elizabethan Age', Kingston Technical College still earned most of its income from Further Education work. Each department therefore took a lively interest in recruiting students for Matriculation (later General Certificate of Education) courses. The competition was so fierce that 'dirty tricks' were occasionally employed by one or more of the rival departments. In September 1950, for instance, the Head of Commerce removed the notice directing candidates to enroll in the Science Department on the first floor of the new building and substituted an alternative signpost, pointing to one of his own huts. The anxious Head of Science waited for about ninety minutes before setting off on a tour of the site to discover why his courses had no candidates. On seeing the new notice, he 'exploded'. Something very like full scale civil war broke out until someone sent for the Principal. All those concerned were assembled and a peace formula

drawn up: in future, all courses were to be clearly and separately signposted and each department could only enroll candidates for its own programmes of study [Unpublished History, p 19].

At the beginning of the fifties, the Engineering Department still occupied accommodation not only in Kingston Hall Road but in a number of Church Halls in Kingston and Twickenham. The department's transfer to the Fassett Road Workshop Block in 1950 presaged an important period of expansion and diversification, but not before staff and students experienced some of the usual tribulations associated with occupying new accommodation. Even though contemporaries regarded the new state-of-the-art single storey building with its arched concrete roof supports and north-facing lights as a marvel of modern construction, it proved to be *'an endless cause of expense over the ensuing years until a method of keeping out rainwater was found!'* [Gibbs F.A., Reminiscences, Unpublished History] - the water seepage was potentially so dangerous that Kingston Engineering students had to undertake their laboratory work at Wimbledon and Acton Technical Colleges until the leaks could be stopped (Spring 1951). Moreover, several of the new laboratories had to be divided into temporary classrooms due to the shortage of teaching space. Shortly afterwards, some of the partitions collapsed onto the heads of lecturing staff and students - fortunately, no one was badly injured [Recollections of R.H. Ness, Unpublished History, p 79]. By contrast, the Fassett Road Classroom Block, which included a refectory, library, laboratories and lecture rooms, turned out to be an unproblematic two-storey red brick building. However, in spite of post-war shortages and changes in material use, the contrast between the interior of these new buildings and the old Institute was not quite as startling as one would have expected: although nothing could compare with those famously gleaming Victorian surfaces, every effort was made to provide glossy floors and heavy wooden fittings. Although the Fassett Road Science laboratories closely resembled their gloomy Victorian progenitors, the new Technology workshops more closely resembled modern factory buildings.

The Science Department ran full-time Diploma, Ordinary and Higher National Certificate courses in Electrical Engineering, City and Guilds' Certificate programmes in Telecommunications Engineering and London University External Degree courses in Engineering (Electricity components). Most of its full-time students were ex-servicemen on Government grants, who wanted to get qualified as quickly as possible so that they obtain well-paid permanent posts. The part-time day and evening students, who comprised most of the department's clientele, shared their attitude [Unpublished History, p 79]. Eager to rationalise provision, the County Education Committee in 1953 divided up its Science and Engineering provision between the Kingston, Ewell and Wimbledon area colleges. Consequently, Kingston's part-time day and evening Electrical Engineering diploma classes were moved to Wimbledon College at the beginning of the 1954/5 session. The Committee went on to transfer most of the institution's remaining Science courses to Ewell Technical College while retaining Mechanical, Aeronautical and Production Engineering studies at Kingston. College staff responded sensibly to this disappointing decision by extending their full-time, sandwich and higher level courses. This intelligent strategy anticipated the role they were expected to play in the future College of Technology [Unpublished History, p 81].

The College's day-release programmes continued to grow in importance. Instead of taking up apprenticeships and learning their trade entirely within their sponsoring firms, fifties youngsters usually spent one day a week studying at their local Technical College. When the Ministry of Education and the City and Guilds Institute introduced three-year part-time National Retail Distribution Certificate courses (1952), Bentall's seized upon the opportunity to change its employees' educational provision. The new programme was so successful that Bentall's agreed to allow students from other stores like Ely's and Kennard's of Wimbledon, Harvey's of Guildford, Thomas White's of Aldershot and John Perring's of Kingston to attend their classes [Unpublished History, p 59]. In 1958, a Junior Retail Trades Certificate course was introduced so that assistants lacking traditional academic qualifications could join the national programme. These successes opened the way for the College to introduce a new Retail Management Principles programme (1960), designed to satisfy both the needs of current and aspiring department and multiple store managers' as well as those harboured by independent proprietors. Moreover, both junior N.A.A.F.I. and Milk Marketing Board operatives attended College day-release programmes until respectively the late fifties and 1962 [Unpublished History, p 60]. After 1951, Executive Grade Civil Servants classes were transferred from the Hinchley Wood Inland Revenue headquarters to the College. Librarians' day-release classes started in 1955 while an Industrial Management and Training Association (IMTA) course began in 1960. The Diploma in Municipal

Administration was taught from 1961 onwards following the County Council's decision to grant its employees day-release. Although these programmes were transferred to the College of Further Education in 1962, they were immediately replaced by courses leading to the award of the Higher National Certificate in Business Studies (1962), the Diploma of the British Computer Society (1965) and the Diploma in Marketing (1966). Modern Foreign Language day-release courses were also provided for a number of years [Unpublished History, p 61].

Many students, however, regarded their weekly study sessions as unofficial holidays. By contrast apprentices undertaking sandwich courses attended College for half the year and spent the other half in their workplace. It is hardly surprising therefore that sandwich courses tended to achieve far more than equivalent day release schemes [Unpublished History, p 21]. Initially, Vickers of Weybridge and Hawkers of Kingston were the College's main clients for this new kind of study programme. During the 1955/6 session, for example, seventy students undertook sandwich courses in the Mechanical, Production and Electrical Engineering Department alone [Ibid].

The College at last opened its first Library in a room on the third floor of the new Fassett Road Classroom Block shortly after Dr Hepburn's appointment as Principal in 1953 and its first librarian was appointed in the following July. All departmental library books were handed in, outdated and dog-eared materials discarded and the rest shelved. A princely one-off sum of £1,000 was made available for purchasing new books. The Library initially opened (September 1953) for reference purposes only with a stock of 4,000 volumes and subscriptions to 25 periodicals. Lending services started with the arrival of the first full-time library assistant in January 1954. Conditions were primitive, however: access to the library could only be gained by passing through a heavily timetabled classroom. Moreover, every volume had to be carried up or down two flights of stairs [Unpublished History, p 18]. In the best Technical College tradition, staff installed a hoist to lift books from the ground floor to the library. Unfortunately, not everyone was aware of this ingenious piece of engineering and an unwary lecturer, who walked straight into it, required three weeks' hospital treatment for loss of voice and various other injuries. His return to College coincided with the new librarian's first day in post. As the latter made his way round the staff courteously introducing himself, the victim croaked accusingly, *'It's all your fault'* and stumped off, leaving the astonished young man wondering whether he would not have been better advised to remain in his comfortable secondary school post [Unpublished history, Library Appendix]. The annual Library Fund was fixed at £800, although a special additional £1000 supplement was granted for two years.

In those days, the Library catered for a very mixed clientele: the *'orribles'* (O level candidates), *'ordinaries'* (ONC trainees), *'hopefuls'* (HNC trainees) and a small elite of *'deities'* (Degree students). At first, lecturers were reluctant to admit that students had as much right to borrow Library books as they did. Unsurprisingly, the first Assistant Librarian left after two years of back breaking work to take up a teacher training course which he hoped would be less onerous. His successor, Miss Shirley Glassett, exhibited unbounded energy and was often seen hauling sackfuls of books up and down the staircases. When a number of courses were transferred to other institutions (1957), the Library's advanced Biology section was moved to Ewell College. This proved to be a real drawback when a plague of tiny garden spiders invaded the Library that Spring, and no one knew had to deal with them [Ibid].

When in 1962 the institution divided into two separate bodies, the College of Technology retained a stock of 12,500 books and 187 journals with two librarians to look after them, while the College of Further Education received the so-called *'low level'* book collection [Mr Peter Brunning's Record in The Unpublished History]. As the College of Technology immediately introduced a number of new degree level courses, the Library had to be greatly expanded and more staff appointed. Indeed, the increased size of the book fund and library staff almost but not quite matched the College of Technology's needs. In 1968, there were five staff and an annual book fund of £19,000. However, by this time, the Library's once spacious premises had become horribly overcrowded and two classrooms had to be added to its dedicated space: one became a Law library while the other was divided up into work stations. When the College acquired the Canbury Park site in 1967, staff were given a month in which to create a new campus library - they completed the task in just over three weeks.

Although its junior/secondary school pupils had always received some physical education, adult students had lacked any sports facilities for at least half the College's history. Its first adult Sports Day,

a very impromptu affair, was held at the King's Fields, Hampton Wick, on 13th July 1950. From then on, Sports Day was staged at various local venues until 1955 when the event took place for the first time at the College's new sports ground at Herne Road, Hook. Initially, this comprised six and a half acres of unlevelled and only partially drained grassland. In spite of its poor facilities, Kingston invariably did well in the Inter-County Technical College sports competitions. Naturally, as a consequence, more and more student clubs focussed their attention upon games and sports activities while the opening of a new gymnasium (1963) at last provided access to much needed high quality indoor facilities. During the 1964/5 session, in response to repeated requests, management ended all full-time students' Wednesday afternoon lectures so they could compete in national league games [Unpublished History, pp 128-9].

During the immediate post-war period, the Government expected existing universities to cope with rapidly increasing numbers of higher education students. Indeed, the foundation of Keele (1950) was their one modest gesture towards innovation and change. An increasing body of opinion during the later 1950s, including the University Grants Committee, called for the creation of a number of new universities in regions where none currently existed. Winston Churchill's Government (1951-55) on the other hand, decided on a three-pronged plan to transform technical education [Scott P. (1995) *The Meanings of Mass Higher Education*, OUP, p 16]. The first strategy, the creation of the National Council of Technological Awards with powers to approve advanced courses in suitable colleges, was announced by Sir David Eccles, the Minister of Education, in July 1955. The Government was concerned about the lack of day-release courses and the dominance of part-time and evening study, which, it argued, led to each and every college developing a plethora of study programmes that only addressed local needs. Lord Hives, N.C.T.A.'s first chairman, favoured creating a viable alternative to university training by providing a new layer of 'top level' technical colleges [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, p 82]. Industry, the local authorities and indeed a large number of technical college lecturers greeted this proposal with considerable hostility. In the interests of quality assurance, N.C.T.A. was instructed to vet and approve nominees for external examinations - it was hoped that as a result colleges would develop a new pride and sense of ownership in their professional activities [Ibid].

Sandwich courses involving degree level work were established for the first time. The new four-year Diploma in Technology sandwich courses (1955), for example, contained demanding tasks, including high quality projects, which were equivalent in academic rigour to those set in honours degree programmes. For the first time O.N.C. and O.N.D. passes became acceptable entry qualifications for degree level programmes [Pratt J. & Burgess T., op cit, p 21]. Moreover, N.C.T.A. representatives would only validate courses which met rigorous standards in staffing, accommodation and equipment. This rigour not only won the Dip.Tec. national recognition but later persuaded the Robbins Committee to recommend the system's extension: ultimately, its success resulted in the creation of the Council for National Academic Awards.

The second strategy, the provision of a five year progression from secondary school to technical college, was announced by the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*. The third strategy, which was incorporated in the *Ministry of Education Circular 305/56*, divided technical colleges into four categories:

1. *Local colleges*, which were to concentrate upon lower level work, usually part-time Ordinary National Certificates and other craft qualifications.
2. *Area colleges*, which were to supply full-time and sandwich as well as part-time advanced programmes and some lower level courses.
3. *Regional colleges*, which were to concentrate upon delivering advanced level part-time, full-time and sandwich Higher National Certificate courses (only twenty-five or so colleges, which had appropriate accommodation and equipment, were able to attain this level).
4. *Colleges of Advanced Technology*, which - once built, equipped and staffed - were to deliver advanced full-time and sandwich courses at degree and postgraduate levels and take an active part in research.

The news that a limited number of Colleges of Advanced Technology were to be created sent a thrill of hope and anxiety though all the technical colleges in the land. Who would rise above their rivals and join the new 'white-tile' elite? Unfortunately, Kingston was not named by the minister for promotion in either 1957 or 1962, although its rivals Battersea College of Technology (later to become the University

of Surrey, based at Guildford) and Brunel College, Acton, (later to become Brunel University, located at Uxbridge) were. Consequently, disappointed staff feared that Kingston College would never be able to compete on equal terms with either of these institutions. The Colleges of Advanced Technology not only escaped from Local Authority control but were funded directly by the Ministry. In 1952, Britain only possessed thirteen fully fledged universities and a number of university colleges, like Hull and Exeter, who offered London University external degrees courses - the total university population amounted to no more than 70,000 students. However, between 1952 and 1963, a further eight new universities opened their doors. According to John Colville, *'new universities'*, during this period, *'appeared like mushrooms in an August meadow'* [Colville J. *The New Elizabethan 1952-77*, Collins, p. 243].

In the meantime, Kingston created a Department of Management and Production (1956) with Mr Shand at its head. The new department duly sought N.C.T.A. accreditation for its courses in Mechanical, Electrical, Civil and Aeronautical Engineering. Surrey County Council, however, immediately dashed its hopes by deciding that technical colleges and Colleges of Advanced Technology should not compete for the same courses. Kingston was, however, allowed to develop an Aeronautical Engineering programme. When the College finally obtained permission to introduce courses in the other disciplines (1962), a Regional Advisory Enquiry ruled that no more programmes should be launched in the London area until existing providers recruited to target. The College's Aeronautical Engineering programme ran successfully throughout the whole period, albeit with rather small numbers. Between 1958 and 1963, Kingston established a useful alliance with Brooklands College whose students worked at Weybridge during their first year before transferring to Kingston to pursue their second and third year H.N.D. studies [Unpublished History, pp 71/2].

In 1956, H.M.I. carried out a full scale inspection of Kingston Technical College [Kingston University Archive: An Inspection of Kingston Technical College, HMI, 1956]. Although acknowledging that fundamental changes had taken place since their last visit in 1938, the inspectors noted that many of the College's original problems remained unresolved, for example, the accommodation situation was as unsatisfactory as ever. In addition to its 'old' and 'new' buildings, the College still utilised a large number of annexes. The *'Old Kingston Hall Road Building'* housed the Commerce Department and much of the Science Department including its Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics and Bakery sections and the Junior Technical School [Ibid]. The *'New Fasset Road Building'*, contained workshop blocks, laboratories and classrooms, accommodating the Engineering Department and the Science Department's Biology, Chemistry, Geography, and Geology sections. Moreover, the *'Tin Tabernacles'*, which had been condemned as totally unsuitable for educational purposes in 1938, were still in use - unbelievably another ten years' trojan service was squeezed out of these dilapidated huts before their *'temporary'* life finally came to an end. The inspectors denounced the undesirable use of workshops and laboratories as classrooms. Indeed, the institution was so short of teaching space that it rented rooms in the Drill Hall and occupied *'The Firs'*, a Victorian mansion on the Penrhyn Road site. As Dr L. Jordan, the Chairman of Governors, remarked at the 1956 Prize Giving, *'The diet of technical colleges has been one of anxiety and frustration'* [The Surrey Comet, September 1956].

The inspectors acknowledged, however, that the College was no longer solely a centre for evening classes. It now possessed many full-time and sandwich programmes while its part-time day trainees outnumbered its evening students [1956 HMI Report, p 3]. On the other hand, the number of full-time London University external degree candidates barely justified the provision. In some cases, full-time students had to attend classes designed for part-time trainees. Although the inspectors praised the quality of the College's postgraduate evening classes [Ibid, p 7], they deeply deplored the staff's failure to undertake fundamental research [Ibid, p 8]. Moreover, they deprecated the fact that the College was still deeply involved in the field of further education, providing O and A level G.C.E. courses in English, British Constitution, Economics, Economic History, History, Latin, and Modern Languages [Ibid, pp 35-6]; secretarial programmes; and professional courses validated by the Civil Service, the Local Government Service, the Institute of Bankers, the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants, and the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, Accountants, and Management Studies [Ibid, pp 32-33].

The inspectors freely acknowledged that the Science Department had made significant progress since the beginning of the fifties, particularly in providing advanced courses. However, they openly criticised the College for supplying intermediate level programmes instead of London University General Degree courses [Ibid, p 22]. While commending the stronger emphasis upon academic work, they called on the College to develop more applied science programmes [Ibid, p 23]: most of Kingston's full-time students

took engineering courses, although smaller groups pursued studies in pure science and commerce [The Surrey Comet, 7 January 1956]. Further new programmes, however, like the two-year full-time National Diploma course in Mercantile Engineering, opened in 1955 [The Surrey Comet, 16 July 1955]. Although a Management Studies course for junior executives of 23 years of age and above had been started in 1950, the inspectors deprecated the absence of a full range of management and administration programmes. This, in their opinion, constituted one of the institution's main defects [Ibid]. The inspectors, moreover, demanded that students undertake far more background reading; only in this way, they argued, could the necessary cultural change be effected [Ibid]. They also strongly recommended that the institution separate its further and higher education activities from its secondary and lower level industrial work.

In 1957, the Ministry of Education recognised Kingston as a Regional College of Technology in spite of its well-known accommodation deficiencies [The Surrey Comet, 11 July 1957]. Important changes in senior management coincided with the College's alteration in status: Mr Tolley took over the Engineering Department in 1955 when Mr Tee left; Mr Whitter, the first head of the Commerce Department, was succeeded by Mr F.J. Lindwood; and Mr Starck was replaced as Head of Physics and Mathematics by Dr L.E. Lawley; while Mr Norman Lindop became Head of Chemistry, Geology and Biology. As the authors of the unpublished college history admit, these personnel changes caused considerable disruption. The Department of Engineering divided into specialist sections: Management and Production under Mr Shand in 1956; Electrical Engineering, headed by Mr Ness in 1959; and Civil Engineering and Mathematics, led respectively by Dr Armstrong and Mr Divers, in 1966. Although the Engineering Department was particularly strong, promotions over a five year period deprived it of three outstanding heads: in 1950, Mr McCrae became Principal of Enfield Technical College; his successor, Mr J. Tee, left Kingston at the end of 1954 to become Principal of Southall Technical College; and he in turn was replaced by Mr K.J. Tolley who remained in post from 1955 to 1968 [Unpublished History, p 70]. As the authors of the Unpublished History admit:

It is difficult to assess the achievements of the pioneers, Messrs Archer, McCrae, Tee, Starck and Whitter. They were all imaginative and tough fighters, often against each other, but it was their dreams that produced the reality of the mid-fifties.
[Unpublished History, p 23]

In the meantime, the Congregational Church Hall in Eden Street had to be rented so that the College could accommodate its new courses. As the teaching area was situated immediately underneath the organ, classes were frequently interrupted by funerals, weddings and, worst of all, organ tunings. These were minor irritations compared to those inflicted upon BSc (Economics) students and staff at the Surbiton Assembly Rooms by Health and Beauty classes thudding their way through their lively routines to the accompaniment of a loudly strummed piano. As if these distractions were not bad enough, Assembly Room staff spent much of their time blowing up and, for good measure, bursting balloons while preparing for dances. Weekly drink deliveries were accompanied by a series of tremendous crashes as beer crates were slung onto the floor. Worse still, the deliverers and caretakers indulged in unrestrained badinage at the top of their voices. On one occasion, caretakers thrust, without warning or permission, a giant refrigerator into a crowded lecture room, trundled it loudly past the startled students, before smashing it through the swing doors on the other side of the room with a resounding clang. In winter, room temperatures matched those to be found at the Arctic Circle. In summer, the same rooms were hot, airless and noisy [Unpublished History, p 50]. However, some light appeared at the end of the accommodation tunnel when work started on the third and final phase of the new College buildings during the Autumn term in 1959: a crop of welcome new foundations appeared along the Penrhyn Road frontage.

Student political life was developing rapidly. When a group of ex-servicemen formed the Student Union in 1949, few trainees evinced any interest in its activities. Within a few years, however, it became a powerful conduit of student opinion [The Surrey Comet, 28 January 1959]. In 1958, technical college students, including some Kingstonians, demonstrated their independence by breaking with the National Union of Students and holding their own conference at Bournemouth [The Surrey Comet, 22 February 1958]. Student Union social events began to play a much greater part in College life: in 1955, for instance, the Freshers' Ball was attended by over 350 students and their friends [The Surrey Comet, 14 October 1955]. Moreover, College Open Days were re-introduced in 1956 [The Surrey Comet, 15

December 1956]. County sports competitions created considerable interest, particularly as Kingston almost always came first or second [e.g. *The Surrey Comet*, 23 November 1957]. A Drama Society was founded in 1959 [*The Surrey Comet*, 13 February 1959]: its first very ambitious production, W.H. Auden's and Christopher Isherwood's *On the Frontier*, was deemed 'a brave failure' [Ibid]. Greater success was attained in *The Observer Mace Debating competitions* [e.g. *The Surrey Comet*, 5 December 1964] while the Film Society went from strength to strength.

However, what really caught the public's imagination was a series of increasingly crazy Charity Week stunts. The 1959 event was marked, for instance, by 'Screams, roaring rockets, explosions and shouts for help' [*The Surrey Comet*, 18 November 1959]. The students' most inspired invention, a motorised cast iron bath named *Sambo*, first achieved national and then international infamy in 1959 [e.g. *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 23 December 1959; *The Bristol Evening World*, 14 November 1959]. Later, in 1961, students drove it from John O' Groats to Land's End in aid of the British Empire Cancer Research Fund, raising nearly a £1,000 and creating chaos wherever they went [*The Guardian*, 23 September 1961]. Inevitably, Charity Weeks tended to be marred by 'skirmishes with the police' [*The Surrey Comet*, 18 November 1961].

Oblivious, it seemed, to the fierce debate about academic standards, Kingston College of Art continued to make good progress under Reginald Brill's able leadership. Here too, shortage of space was a serious limitation. An extension was planned in 1952, but had to be deferred indefinitely due to the worsening economic climate [*The Introduction to The Opening of the Extensions to Kingston School of Art*, 17 October 1961]. However, Kingston's Architecture diploma students were exempted from both the R.I.B.A.'s intermediate and final examinations in 1956, a clear sign of the department's progress and overall attainment [*The Architects Journal*, 22 November 1956]. Moreover, during the 1955/6 session, the Art College trained no less than one hundred full-time and sixty part-time students [Ibid]. In fact, the Principal complained in 1958 that he had to turn away many excellent candidates because there was insufficient room in which to teach them. It was decided, as a result, to build a large extension in Grange Road [*The Surrey Comet*, 18 October 1958]. This much needed additional accommodation was opened in September 1961 when the College boasted 400 full-time diploma students as well as many part-time day and evening trainees [*The Times Educational Supplement*, 20 October 1961].

While all this was happening, Gipsy Hill slowly metamorphosed from a tiny, innovative, voluntary college which specialised in training nursery, infant and junior school teachers into a much larger, mainstream Local Education Authority Training College. Mrs Mary Smith, a student between 1950 and 1952, described its barrack like conditions: 'The dining room and one student common room at Kenry House were large Nissen huts ... In fact we always referred to the 'Ablution Block' when bathing and showering' [Letter from Mrs M. Smith to M. Gibson]. The College student profile was changing: 'We were all very young, mostly straight from school. At 18 years of age we were, of course, officially under age. Anyone over 20 was deemed 'pretty ancient'' [Ibid]. 'We had to abide by quite strict rules', Mrs Smith admitted, and the amount of contact time would shock current students: 'Lectures from 9 am to 6 pm (break one hour for lunch, half an hour for tea) were compulsory plus 9 am-12 noon on Saturdays. A study hour (well supervised) Mondays to Fridays from 8 pm - 9 pm. Anyone with the temerity to go out during the evenings had to "sign out" and sign back in by 10 pm. Food was still rationed so we had to hand in our ration books on arrival at College. Of course it was strictly women only!' [Ibid]. It was announced on 6th June 1957 that from September 1960 all new students would undertake a three-year long training course. This programme extension and the increasing number of women teachers leaving the profession to marry or start a family necessitated a rapid increase in teacher training. On advice, the College launched a secondary age range course in 1959 and in doing so raised its student population to 250. A chronic shortage of primary school teachers, however, caused a rapid change in Government policy and the College was encouraged to launch a Junior/Secondary course so that its certificate holders could apply for posts in either primary or secondary schools. In 1959, H.M.I. summed up Gipsy Hill's post-war experience: 'For many years the staff and students have worked under conditions of great difficulty; accommodation was inadequate in size and often unsuitable in character, a high proportion of it being temporary in the most depressing sense' [Kingston University archive: 1959 HMI Report, p 2]. Although Surrey County Council had saved the College from closure in 1945, it was by no means clear in 1959 whether it would be prepared to provide the institution with the resources it needed to grow and diversify. As so often during its history, the College ended a decade weighing up the threats to its continuance rather than contemplating the benefits it had enjoyed.

A TALE OF TWO COLLEGES : The Sixties

By creating Colleges of Advanced Technology the Government hoped to persuade the general public to acknowledge the importance of applied science and technology. If accomplished such recognition would, it was hoped, generate more positive attitudes towards technical colleges. According to Harold Silver, however, 'snobberies, heresies, distinctions and hierarchies' [Silver H., op cit, p 191] still governed most technical college students' expectations: 'They resent the idea that they are to be turned out merely as technologists', and according to Peers and Madgwick, 'there is a reaching towards something which measures up more nearly to the ideal of the educated man ... Many feel, perhaps, that their needs would have been better met at a university' [Peers R. & Madgwick P.J. (1963) 'Problems and Attitudes in Higher Technological Education', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, vol 15, pp 88-90]. In the minds of many, perhaps most students, the divide between pure and applied studies remained as wide as ever.

In 1961, a Government White Paper, *Better opportunities in technical education* [HMSO, 1961], announced a new ten-point plan. Students were to enter technical college straight from school without undertaking preliminary evening classes; selection procedures were to be improved; Ordinary National Diploma programmes were to be reduced from three to two years in length; new four and five year technician training schemes were to be introduced; craft courses were to be modified; day release classes were to be encouraged as were sandwich and block release schemes. This programme naturally encouraged institutions to reconsider the ways in which they delivered their programmes. Sadly, this led at Kingston to the ending of a long and successful partnership. In 1962, Kingston Technical College divided into the Regional College of Technology, which retained all the Advanced and Ordinary National Certificate work, and a new College of Further Education, which provided both academic and vocational education at GCE A level and below. Non advanced programmes in art and design were devolved to other Surrey colleges while the Kingston and Wimbledon Colleges of Art became centres for advanced courses. To start with, the new Further Education College's accommodation consisted of little more than the collection of rickety First World War Army huts on the Kingston Hall Road site, a few old houses in Grove Crescent and such teaching space as it could beg, borrow and steal from the College of Technology. The new institution, however, was extremely fortunate in its first Principal, Dominic Bruce (1962-84), who provided superb leadership and was to play a major part in developing what became a vibrant and successful institution. His successor, Arthur Cotterell (1984-present day), built upon these achievements and added many more of his own [The Surrey Comet, 6 November 1987; Benjamin B.J. (1987) *A History of Kingston College of Further Education - the First Twenty-Five Years*, KCFE]. Initially, the two institutions advanced along diverging paths, but, as the years went by, more and more links were forged between the two through shared courses and mutual support.

While the College of Technology concentrated upon its own little world, Harold Macmillan set up the Robbins Committee to inquire into the future pattern of higher education. Its deliberations took place during a false dawn of prosperity when economists were confidently predicting a steady 4% annual increase in the gross national product. The sixth form population, due to increases in the post-war birth-rate, had reached bursting point. As only 4% of contemporary adolescents could hope to study in a higher education institution, an increase in the number of universities seemed eminently appropriate. But what about the technical college sector? Lionel Robbins, however, knew little about technical education [Annan N. (1995) *Our Age*, Harper Collins, pp 502-507] while his Committee consisted entirely of university dons - there were no technical college representatives or indeed anyone from industry and commerce. The role of the Regional Colleges of Technology was excluded from the Committee's early deliberations as its members had no expertise in the world of general part-time professional education and defined institutions of higher education as full-time course providers, such as universities, colleges of advanced technology and teacher training colleges [Robinson E. (1969) *The New Polytechnics*, Penguin Special, p 24]. John Carswell, a Treasury official, concluded, 'the university model they knew and understood exercised so strong an influence that they had little sympathy or understanding for any other' [Annan N., op cit, pp 502-3]. Robbins promised the universities that nothing would be done to diminish their autonomy. The Committee only agreed to Regional Colleges of Technology providing higher education courses as a temporary expedient until such time as the universities' frantic building programmes would enable them to satisfy the entire demand for higher education places [Robinson, p 25].

The Robbins Report [*Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, Commd 2154, HMSO, 1963] enhanced traditional universities' fortunes, raised the Colleges of Advanced Technology to university status and extended the Regional Technical Colleges' scope and range. Significantly, it recommended:

- ◆ *a rapid expansion in student numbers and funding;*
- ◆ *the creation of a number of new universities;*
- ◆ *the transformation of the colleges of advanced technology into universities;*
- ◆ *the creation of the Open University and the polytechnics;*
- ◆ *the introduction of credit accumulation and transfer;*
- ◆ *the setting up of the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA).*

In addition, the Government announced the creation on 1st April 1964 of a new Department of Education and Science, led by a Secretary of State, supported by two Ministers of State: one responsible for higher education and the other for the rest of the education service. Unsurprisingly, the Robbins Committee neither intended nor foresaw some of their report's outcomes. As A.H. Halsey remarked, '*Higher Education, in successive steps, invaded 'further' education*' [Halsey A.H. (1995) *The Decline of Donnish Dominance: The British Academic Professions in the Twentieth Century*, Clarendon Press, p 91].

As the report called for an increase in the number of higher education providers, many Kingstonians hoped that the College of Technology might achieve university status. As early as 1956 during a College prize-giving speech, Mr S.R. Tanner, the Research Director of Decca Radar, predicted '*We shall come to look on Kingston Technical College as our industrial university*' [Unpublished History, p 22]. Later, enthusiastic residents suggested the new College of Technology could obtain university status by amalgamating with the Art, Gipsy Hill and Hillcroft Colleges [e.g. *The Surrey Comet*, 11 January 1964]. During the 1964 Annual Prizegiving, Dr Hepburn, the Principal, admitted university status was a legitimate institutional aspiration [*The Surrey Comet*, 6 June 1964].

Although Robbins recommended that no more than ten colleges should be accorded university status, at least a score, including Kingston, vigorously canvassed for recognition. Eventually, new universities opened at Sussex (1961), East Anglia (1963), York (1963), Essex (1964), Lancaster (1964), Kent (1965), Warwick (1965), Stirling (1967) and Coleraine (1969). Robinson believed that '*Immediately following Robbins the regional colleges, a minor but grossly underestimated section of the whole field, were of little general concern*' [Robinson E., op cit, pp 25-6]. Between 1963 and 1992, successive governments struggled unsuccessfully to resolve the problems created by the binary divide.

In March 1963, Dr Hepburn shocked everyone at the Annual Staff Dinner by announcing he would retire at the end of the academic year [*The Surrey Comet*, 30 March 1963]. He had guided the institution through an interesting and demanding period of transition. Progress was not accomplished, however, without some controversy, difficulty and stress. On his death in 1977, the Polytechnic Diary summed up his qualities in the following terms: '*In those days the role of a Principal was much more authoritarian than it is today, but he managed to couple this with a warmth of personality and an interest in the personal lives of all the staff of the College*' [*The Diary*, 17 January 1977]. Jack Hepburn was a very private man with a powerful sense of commitment and professionalism. As his secretary recalled, the only time she saw him was when he had something for her to do. He had no time for idle chitchat and was always the '*boss*'. His one personal indulgence was academic dress, as he was '*a bit of a peacock*', and on formal occasions loved to show off one or both of his splendid doctoral gowns [Freda Sirmon's Comments]. He was succeeded by Dr Leonard Lawley, his Vice-Principal, who joined Kingston College in 1957 as Head of Physics and Mathematics and became Vice Principal in 1960 [*The Surrey Comet*, 29 June 1964]. Dr Michael Catchpole was appointed Vice Principal in Dr Lawley's place [*The Surrey Comet*, 13 June 1964].

The foundation of the Council for National Academic Awards did nothing to resolve Kingston's validation problems. When, for instance, the Department of Electrical Engineering tried to replace its N.C.T.A. course with a C.N.A.A. Honours Degree programme (1965), its proposal was rejected even though its staff had undertaken significant research, and been strengthened by the addition of a number of highly qualified lecturers from Imperial College. Another attempt was rejected in 1966 and the department had content itself with launching an Ordinary Degree in September 1967. Moreover, applications to London University External Degree programmes declined to such an extent that they had to be closed, thus neatly ending the long term relationship between the University and Kingston and accelerating the phasing-in of C.N.A.A. degree courses [Unpublished History, p 82].

As the fifties drew to a close, less than half the College's new Fassett Road buildings were complete [The Surrey Comet, 13 March 1957] so temporary accommodation of all sorts had to be pressed into use. Consequently, in 1958, the County Council approved plans for a new multi-storey College extension [The Surrey Comet, 22 November 1958]. Unfortunately, the building operations completely disrupted the Penrhyn Road area: the chaos was so great that the College was unable to hold its annual on-site prizegiving ceremony for two years. A row of semi-detached houses was demolished to make room for the extension's huge steel girder framework [The Surrey Comet, 17 February 1960]. However, this soon exhibited serious defects and had to be demolished and replaced by sound structures. This was not the last problem associated with this project. Later, as the building was approaching completion, a maverick electrician cut off newly installed wiring flush to the conduit pipes and sealed the damage with quick-drying cement [Unpublished History, p 23].

As the new Penrhyn Road buildings had to be occupied as soon as they were habitable, accidents were bound to happen. On one occasion, for instance, the weight of a heavy male labourer brought a lavatory ceiling crashing down on top of a female occupant. On recovering from shock, she demanded and received a fulsome apology from the Principal. Many of the new building's furnishings disappeared before they could be installed. Some were recovered, although not always in pristine condition: by the time, for instance, one head of department's carpet was retrieved from a Thames houseboat, it had been neatly cut into strips [Unpublished History, p 24]. Although still incomplete in September 1962, the new building was gradually taken over during the course of the autumn term [The Surrey Comet, 22 September 1962]. On Wednesday, 23rd October 1963, the Rt Hon. Sir Edward Boyle, the Minister of Education, officially opened the extension: its construction had cost £428,000 while a further £218,000 had been expended on furnishings and equipment. Even with this new accommodation, the institution had insufficient teaching space for its 5,843 trainees - 955 day full-timers, 2,259 day part-timers and 2,629 evening students - and 253 staff. Accordingly, the Secondary Technical School had to be closed so that College students could occupy its classrooms [The Surrey Comet, 4 October 1961].

Contemporaries found the new accommodation, whose exterior remains virtually unchanged at the time of writing, most imposing. To the right of the main entrance facing Penrhyn Road stretched the main Administration Offices, the Board Room, and a large Staff Room. To the left lay the Staff and Student Refectories and a large kitchen block. A Lecture Theatre with seating for more than 400, and a Student Common Room faced the Board Room. A spacious lecture hall cum theatre with a fully equipped stage, projection equipment and dressing rooms occupied one side of the Crush Hall at the top of the main stairs on the first floor, while a Library, containing what in those days was thought to be a large number of work stations, dominated the other. Interestingly, the book shelves were carefully restricted in height so that passers-by in Penrhyn Road could enjoy unspoilt views of the facade. The second floor contained another lecture hall and classrooms. The third floor, which was immediately dubbed *'The Arctic'* in recognition of its bracing atmosphere, consisted of still more classrooms. Whatever its structural, architectural and aesthetic defects, the new building enabled the College of Technology to shake off its old image as a working men's institute and night school. After all, it even had a large staff car park! [Unpublished History, pp 24-25].

Due to the phenomenal growth in student numbers between 1957 and 1963, the College had to deliver many of its courses in a chaotic cluster of pre-fabricated classrooms, and rent accommodation in the Surbiton Assembly Rooms, the Y.M.C.A., the Congregational Church Hall and the Conservative Club. Workrooms were overcrowded, the library facilities cramped and the site covered with temporary classrooms. Accommodation was in such short supply that some degree level classes were taught in a number of dilapidated houses in Grove Crescent. Less than a year after the extension was officially opened, Surrey County Council seriously considered making further compulsory purchases. However, Fassett Road householders immediately formed the *'Six-Acre Protest Association'* to oppose the scheme. The transfer of responsibility for the College of Technology from Surrey County Council to Kingston Corporation in 1965 ended the plan. The Borough's Education Committee decided, perhaps wisely, that any further College expansion should be contained within its existing boundaries and any alternative overflow sites should be sought outside the town centre [The Kingston Education Committee, March 1966].

Shortage of student *'digs'* became a major debating point. In 1961, *'coloured'* students, 20% of the total, experienced great difficulty obtaining accommodation. However, when local newspapers denounced

this example of blatant racial discrimination [e.g. *The Surrey Comet*, 14 October 1961], the response was immediate and positive: all the required places were made available within a month [*The Surrey Comet*, 21 October 1961]. Unfortunately, black students continued to encounter similar difficulties for a number of years. Indeed, term time accommodation for all students remained in extremely short supply. On 27th September 1961, *The Surrey Comet* led with the headline, 'Digs crisis hits technical college'. Three days into the Autumn term, 120 students were still unplaced, several of whom created particular concern by sleeping out on park benches. A major new problem, shortage of student car parking space, also began to cause difficulties. By 1964, one in eight students owned a car and the College authorities and local residents began their long struggle to find a solution to this apparently intransigent problem [*The Epsom & Ewell Advertiser*, 28 February 1964]. Student anger over accommodation shortages and high rents remained unappeased. Just before the Autumn term was due to start in 1966, 500 students were still seeking digs [*The Surrey Comet*, 13 August 1966]. In the medium term, the College authorities planned to overcome this problem by building new hostels but Government funding cuts delayed action until 1969 [*The Surrey Comet*, 28 October 1967]. A 'Kingston Digs Crisis' attracted national attention in 1968, although *The Evening Standard* reported optimistically that 'cooperative housing will aid non-student Kingston residents attempting to get private accommodation and may cause a slight drop in the present high rents charged by landlords in Kingston' [*The Evening Standard*, 21 March 1968]. Things were just as bad in September 1968, when *The Surrey Comet* published pictures of over a hundred homeless freshers sleeping in College corridors [*The Surrey Comet*, 28 September 1968].

Due to the very heavily publicised accommodation crisis, many significant College innovations received less attention than they deserved. For instance, a series of important courses were launched: the BSc Economics programme started in September 1959 to be followed in 1962 by the BSc General degree. Moreover, the first Business as distinct from Management course, the Higher National Diploma in Business Studies, started in 1962 while a new four year Business Studies sandwich course was approved by the C.N.A.A. in 1966 [*The Surrey Comet*, 11 March 1966]. Although part-time students had undertaken LL.B. studies throughout the fifties, full time LL.B. programmes did not become available until 1961 [Unpublished History, pp 50-54]. Seven new full-time and sandwich courses, introduced during 1962, recruited nationally and even internationally instead of being dependent upon local demand. During the 1963/4 session, College staff built their own mainframe computer [*The Surrey Comet*, 29 February 1964], while the College supplied students for the first time with language laboratories, teaching machines and computers [*The Surrey Comet*, 25 January 1964] - a second language laboratory was added in 1965 [*The Surrey Comet*, 9 October 1965]. Finally, the College purchased a £50,000 computer in 1966 [*The Surrey Comet*, 4 May 1966]. The College's new wind tunnel created considerable public interest, as it was able to simulate gales of up to 70 m.p.h., enabling its users to predict with a fair degree of accuracy possible resulting damage to property [*The Surrey Comet*, 15 January 1966]. 1966 also saw an impressive expansion in postgraduate research in Chemistry [*The Surrey Comet*, 26 February 1966]. Moreover, a growing interest in cultural pursuits led the College to develop its own orchestra (1965) [*The Surrey Comet*, 2 October 1965] which gave its first public performance in March 1966 [*The Borough News*, 12 March 1966]. The maturing College of Technology differed markedly from its parent body: it was much larger in size, wider ranging in course provision and harboured much higher ambitions, aspirations and expectations.

The Department of Liberal Studies' growing popularity exemplified institutional change. Although founded in 1956, Liberal Studies did not really develop a high profile until the sixties. R.A. Kelly, who became its 'Organiser' in 1958, was given a broad ranging brief: 'he may be required and will be encouraged to organise public lectures, music recitals and other such activities outside the normal College timetable as may be regarded as appropriate to Liberal Studies in a technical college ...' [Unpublished History, p 63]. Kelly set to work with a will, providing exhibitions of paintings, a Friday evening Music Group, and a student magazine. Initially, however, student response was minimal. In desperation, Kelly launched during the 1959/60 session a much more lavish programme including 'Lunch-time Personality' lectures. Although some of the visiting 'personalities' attracted reasonable audiences, the normal response was very disappointing. Undeterred, Kelly founded a College choir and a cinema club, which produced a twenty minute film depicting College life. In spite of all his efforts, however, the project just would not take off.

For the Liberal Studies team the 1961/2 session was one long crisis, marked, as a contemporary put it, by 'insufficient staff, no clerical assistance, a flood of administrative trivia, and all round defensive action' [ibid, p 64]. Their working conditions were deplorable. One of the lecturers described the Liberal Studies office

as 'a sort of broom cupboard with an ante-room. The wall was adorned with a crudely drawn poster bearing a recumbent figure, and the inscription, "And tomorrow ... a PhD". To this room ... came all manner of folk - technicians seeking projectors, students seeking grants, staff seeking classes (but rarely the reverse!)' [Wood B.J., *Reminiscences, Unpublished History*, p 66]. Moreover, as new buildings became available, Liberal Studies lecturers were moved from one centre to another like homeless vagrants. Most of their classes were held on Friday afternoons, often between 4 and 5 p.m.. During this unsocial hour, unfortunate staff lectured to groups of between 80 and 150 totally uninterested students. Some lecturers came to believe that the fates as well as the administration were conspiring against them. While, for instance, one unfortunate member of staff was attempting to teach, three young men burst into his room, loudly announcing 'We're from the South-East Electricity Board'. 'Well, you can't come in here', replied the harassed lecturer with more than a little asperity, 'There's a lecture taking place'. The interlopers had a hard time convincing him that they were genuine S.E.E. Board sponsored trainees arriving late for the session and not invading electricians, determined to re-wire the whole room on the spot. Mrs Holmes, a Marriage Guidance Counsellor, joined the Liberal Studies staff during this period. She proved a great asset in dealing with lecturers who felt that the whole world was against them. However, as lectures continued to be scheduled on Friday afternoons, the turn-over of teaching staff remained unhealthily high [Unpublished History, p 67].

Her Majesty's Inspectors, in their 1956 general inspection report, had severely criticised the institution for its lack of centrally inspired and controlled research. Little, however, was done to remedy the situation until the College of Technology was established in 1962. Thereafter, staff were not only encouraged to pursue academic interests during their spare time but in April 1964 the 'sabbatical year' was introduced to enable them to undertake full-time research. Moreover, additional lecturing staff and assistants were appointed not only to take over senior researchers' teaching commitments but to support their enquiries. From this moment onwards investigative and problem-solving enterprises flourished: Government or industry sponsored projects in mechanical and aeronautical engineering, management, chemistry, geology, physics, mathematics, economics and sociology [Unpublished History, p 120]. While the College's 1967 Annual Research Report listed over eighty investigations, two-thirds of which were applied in character, leading to the publication of more than thirty articles in a variety of learned journals, the 1968 Annual Research Report listed a further 78 projects and over 120 staff publications which had not been mentioned in previous editions [Ibid]. Consequently, an Industrial Liaison Centre was set up to help firms resolve technical and management problems. By the time the institution achieved polytechnic status in 1970, it had a well established reputation for high quality research in science, technology and management studies.

A College Computer Unit was finally formed in 1966. The need for digital computing facilities had been recognised as early as 1962 when some ambitious full-time staff rented outside computers in pursuance of their own work. A number of interested lecturers then formed a ginger group to agitate for the creation of a specialist unit. By 1965, they felt strong enough to ask College management to rent or purchase an Elliott 803 computer. When new equipment became available, they modified their proposal and the local authority responded by purchasing an Elliott (ICL) 4120 computer for £60,000. This was installed on the Penrhyn Road Campus in Room 40. Peter Newall, the Director of the new unit, was supported by a programmer and operator. The latter, Binnie Feltham, was a real character. Australian by birth and British by marriage, she exerted iron control over staff and students alike - 'Her methods of dealing with the uncompliant could be startling but were admittedly effective' [Newall P., *Unpublished History*, p 107]. With the addition of the Canbury and Knights Park campuses, new communication problems had to be resolved by providing on-line computing services. As a service department, the Computer Unit was free of teaching responsibilities. However, its role soon grew apace as increasingly large numbers of students as well as staff required access to its facilities. When a new Computer Science Degree programme threatened to over-strain the unit's resources, the Director pressed management to fully revise its facilities and mode of operation so that it would be able to satisfy the future Polytechnic's needs [Ibid, p 108].

After a period of outstanding academic success, the College began to earn an unenviable reputation for student silliness. Newspapers throughout the world gleefully reported how five Kingston students raided Benenden, the private school in Kent, where Princess Anne was being educated [The Daily Record, 25 October 1965]. Although the raid's purpose, displaying Rag Week posters on dormitory walls, was innocuous enough and even though the Princess and her fellow boarders slept peacefully

throughout the unwelcome visit, Dr Lawley was not amused - '*This was a deplorable stunt*', he grumbled [The Daily Mirror, 26 October 1965]. The students apologised and were suspended for a week [The Daily Telegraph, 26 October 1965].

In keeping with the period, students launched their own pirate radio station, aptly named '*Shameless*' - in 1966. Needless to say, the police hunted this down, destroyed its equipment and arrested its operators [The Surrey Comet, 15 January 1966].

The unwanted notoriety created by the Princess Anne affair was quickly followed by a brouhaha over the College refectory's deficiencies, a constant source of controversy throughout the period. On this occasion, 300 students staged a sit-down strike when they could not obtain their usual mid-afternoon '*cuppa*' [The Borough News, 22 October 1965]. Worse was to follow in 1968 when more complaints were levelled at the Refectory's poor quality, expensive food, inadequate equipment and unhygienic conditions. Student deputations went to the Guildhall, a sit-down demonstration took place at Tolworth Tower and the Student Union President offered to resign following a vote of no confidence [The Surrey Comet, 4 December 1968]. After four years wrangling within the Education Committee, money was at last made available to improve the Refectory's equipment and conditions.

Putting these setbacks firmly behind them, Student Union officials in what was thought to be a suitably chastened mood announced (1966) the ending of Rag Week stunts [The Surrey Comet, 28 September 1966]. While the authorities were still congratulating themselves on this evidence of growing maturity, a Kingston student interrupted I.T.N.'s *Six O'Clock News*. Unfortunately, Peter Snow, the newscaster, had only just completed a harrowing account of the Aberfan disaster in which a Welsh primary school had been engulfed by an enormous slagheap resulting in a horrific death toll [The Daily Mail, 22 October 1966]. This unintentional example of student bad taste had to be dealt with firmly and Dr Lawley imposed a permanent ban on Rag Week stunts [The Surrey Comet, 26 October 1966].

In recognition, however, of their growing sense of accountability, the Student Union was invited in 1967 to nominate representatives to take part in Academic Board meetings [The Borough News, 12 May 1967]. Shortly afterwards, the Government, in an attempt to heal the wounds opened by its various confrontations with the National Union of Students, recommended trainees should be granted representation upon all academic boards [The Borough News, 20 October 1967]. The Kingston Student Union President attended his first session in January 1968 [The Surrey Comet, 20 January 1968]. 1968 also saw Mr Subir Das' election as the Student Union's first full-time President [The Surrey Comet, 24 August 1968], an appointment he soon had good reason to regret on finding himself embroiled in an ugly embroglio over the proposed amalgamation of the Technical and Art Colleges. Not long after this, students learnt to their intense chagrin that the Department of Education and Science had failed to provide for student representation upon Polytechnic Academic Boards. On learning this, Kingston students threatened to undertake a militant campaign unless they were granted immediate representation [The Surrey Comet, 22 February 1969]. Fortunately, the Department of Education and Science hastily rectified its error and emergent student ill will quickly evaporated.

As part of their continuing search for more teaching accommodation, the Colleges of Technology and Art made a highly controversial joint bid in 1966 to rent the former Hawker factory in Canbury Park Road for a period of twenty-one years [The Surrey Comet, 14 December 1966]. The building's original occupants had deservedly earned a place in British history during the previous sixty years by producing a series of magnificent aeroplanes, the most famous of which, the *Hawker Hurricane*, gave distinguished if relatively unrecognised service during the Battle of Britain. The Colleges of Technology and Art wanted to transfer several departments to this matrix of buildings. The proposal, however, was strongly criticised by the Borough Finance Committee who feared the project would cost £1 million p.a. [The Surrey Comet, 7 January 1967], by the Student Unions who deplored the building's poor facilities especially its lack of parking space [The Surrey Comet, 1 February 1967], and by the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions as they had not been consulted [The Borough News, 27 October 1967]. In spite of continuing criticisms, the refurbished building served both colleges for many years as a valuable, if imperfect, overspill facility.

Indeed, Canbury Park was much more than just another College campus, it had its own very distinctive ambience. In some ways it resembled a rather ungainly medieval fortress, hemmed in by housing on

all sides (Canbury Park Road, Elm Crescent and Elm Road) and sporting a gently sloping concrete glacis around its perimeter where, if you were extremely fortunate, you could park your car. The main entrance bore a remarkable resemblance to a fortified gatehouse. Moreover, groups of staff and students emerged without any warning through a number of difficult-to-find sally-ports (doors), scattering unwary passers-by. The outer three-storey building, enclosed a long single storey block and another two-storey unit. The outer building was converted into classrooms, drawing offices, common rooms, lecture theatres, a store and a refectory where *Birds Eye* pre-packed meals were served. The Civil Engineering and Art departments occupied a series of ground floor laboratories and workshops. The first floor of the central building contained Art studios and a rather grim little library, filled with Mechanical, Aeronautical, Civil and Production Engineering books as well as a good selection of modern novels - it was capable of accommodating about sixty readers at any one time. By December 1967, after little more than three months' work, the conversion was complete and the Education Committee approved (April 1968) the rest of the site's refurbishment [College of Technology brochure, 1969/70]. The Departments of Management and Production, and of Mechanical and Aeronautical Engineering made good use of a series of workshops and laboratories while the Departments of Business and Social Studies taught some of their courses in the remaining classrooms. The building normally accommodated some 750 trainees.

Other milestones were passed. At long last, in 1967, a long standing embarrassment was exorcised when the venerable but ramshackle First World War Army huts, the '*infamous Tin Tabernacles*', were finally demolished to make way for the new College of Further Education building [The Surrey Comet, 9 September 1967]. Moreover, as their own buildings became available, Further Education staff and students gradually evacuated Technology teaching space and so eased its chronic accommodation problems. The multi-storey Penrhyn Road tower block was completed two years later in 1969: three floors were devoted to a new Library while the other five contained lecture and tutorial rooms. While the refectories and kitchens were being extended at breakneck speed, meals had to be prepared on a number of gas rings resting on the stage in the Main Hall (May-September 1969). Even the Student Union's accommodation was improved by acquiring the former Civil Defence headquarters: the students eventually became the proud owners of a common room, offices, and a lounge-bar [Unpublished History, p 28].

During the 1969 Christmas vacation, therefore, 70,000 volumes were transferred from the Penrhyn Road building to the new Tower Block Library: the lending section was set up on the first floor, the reference section on the second and the reading room on the third. The new Library experienced a number of traumatic events. During its first year, for example, three students, one lecturer and one library assistant were locked in at one time or another. However, this compared quite favourably with an occasion when thick fog forced the old Library to close mid-evening, trapping two dozen students and one librarian who only managed to escape by crawling through a ground floor window [Unpublished History: Peter Brunning's Memories]. The new Library coordinated not only Penrhyn Road's and Canbury Park's facilities but those belonging to the hitherto independent College of Art. Accordingly, a Polytechnic Librarian, Mr H.A. Chesshyre, was appointed, the number of assistant librarians increased from five to twenty, and the book fund raised to £48,500 p.a.. Although the Library service had made great advances, it was still short of equipment and up-to-date systems [Ibid]. Much remained to be done within the unfavourable economic environment spanning the seventies and eighties.

However, the prevailing positive atmosphere was spoilt when the College's budget was cut by £135,000 in 1969. Management warned that admissions to some degree courses might well have to be reduced, part-time teaching posts drastically pruned and 150 short courses for managers, scientists and engineers cancelled [The Times, 3 April 1969]. Student demonstrators besieged the Guildhall, demanding '*No cuts!*' [The Surrey Comet, 2 April 1969]. However, when the Council refused to raise a supplementary rate to offset these deficits, [The Surrey Comet, 10 May 1969] the proposed economies were imposed [The Surrey Comet, 30 August 1969].

In spite of, or perhaps more accurately, because of its undoubted progress, the institution was bitterly disappointed when it learnt in 1966 that Battersea College of Technology rather than itself was to become a university. '*We did think*', Dr Lawley told the newspapers, '*we might be one of those colleges mentioned in the Robbins Report that would become universities, but 20 or 30 others probably thought the same*' [e.g. The Borough News, 7 January 1966]. The Colleges of Advanced Technology moved into the

university sector during the period from 1966 to 1972. This development triggered off a series of 90 mergers between technical colleges, colleges of art and colleges of commerce. As a result, thirty new Regional Colleges of Technology, including Kingston, were nominated. Then, in May 1966, Anthony Crosland, the Minister of State for Education, published *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges*. The new polytechnics were to be designated providers of full-time advanced courses. One of the key driving forces behind this development was the need to fully exploit what little resources were available [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, pp 138-9]. Crosland insisted that once this plan was implemented no more new universities or polytechnics would be created for at least a decade. The new polytechnics were expected to gradually drop lower-level work. Arguably this policy promoted both 'academic drift' away from vocational training towards high level academic study and 'social drift' away from part-time working class towards full-time middle class student participation [See Burgess T. & Pratt J. (1974) *Polytechnics: A Report*; Donaldson L. (1975) *Policy and the Polytechnics*]. Crosland wanted to add 'the part-time student, the sub-degree course and the kind of education which has its roots in the technical college tradition' to full-time university provision [Kogan M (1971) *The Politics of Education*, RKP, p 195]. If this was indeed his intention, neither he nor his successors followed this policy with either consistency or determination.

During this difficult decade, the College of Art continued to develop quietly and successfully. In 1962, however, it lost Reginald Brill, one of its greatest servants, through retirement. He was replaced as Principal by Wilfred Fairclough, who was almost immediately faced by 'the Beeching Axe for Art Schools'. The National Council of Art and Design under the chairmanship of Sir John Summerson decided that staff in most British art schools and colleges were insufficiently well qualified to teach the new Diploma of Art and Design. To Fairclough's fury, his College failed to receive accreditation after what he described as a totally unsatisfactory one-day inspection by 'a committee of co-opted council members' [The Surrey Comet, 11 May 1963]. Surrey Education Committee shared his views and vigorously contested the decision [The Surrey Comet, 25 May 1963]. The Kingston protest constituted just one element in a powerful country-wide reaction against the Council's intemperate judgements. In September, however, justice was done and the Council reversed its decision and accredited both Kingston and Wimbledon Colleges of Art as providers of the new diploma courses [The Surrey Comet, 25 September 1963]. In 1966, the College captured public attention by sacking two part-time lecturers when five out of 27 Diploma of Art and Design students failed a history of art examination - the crisis deepened when their line manager resigned. The Kingston newspapers enjoyed a field day, hinting at all kinds of lamentable goings-on, including victimisation as the head of department was 'a dynamic man whose ideas were too advanced for the thinking that runs the college' [e.g. The Borough News, 18 November 1966].

The later 60's were dominated by the debate over the anticipated amalgamation of the College of Technology and the School of Art [The Borough News, 16 February 1968]. Initially, William Fairclough, firmly opposed the proposal. 'The position of Art Colleges within polytechnics', he commented angrily, 'is an amorphous situation based on a steamroller policy which disregards any thought of local situation and which is being pushed through with almost indecent haste' [The Times Educational Supplement, 21 July 1967]. His governors feared the School of Art would be 'swamped' if it entered the proposed polytechnic [The Borough News, 16 February 1968]. These fears, however, were gradually overcome and the School of Art and the College of Technology were able to merge with at least an outward show of amity, although mutual distrust continued to exist for some years to come. The two Student Unions merged in November 1969 [The Surrey Comet, 29 November 1969] and William Fairclough remained the Assistant Director responsible for all Polytechnic Art activities until his retirement in 1972 at the end of a long and distinguished career which started in 1928 when he became a part-time instructor at the Kingston Art School [The Surrey Comet, 23 June 1972]. At the time of merger, the Art School possessed 511 full-time diploma students [The Surrey Comet, 9 July 1969].

The new Polytechnic possessed 34 major courses, 17 of which were at degree level [The Surrey Comet, 29 November 1969]. About 1,500 of its students were on full-time or sandwich courses: 900 studied degree programmes; another 400 were engaged in Higher National Diploma and College Diploma studies while a further 200 took part in management, engineering and other professional training. To what extent, at this critical moment, did Kingston Polytechnic represent the so-called alternative tradition of advanced and technical education? According to Pratt and Burgess, technical colleges did not regard their work as self-justifying but put forward social, economic and industrial rationales for their activities. They were not interested in the pursuit of knowledge 'for its own sake' but in vocational education. They were teaching rather than research institutions. Their students could be anything from

callow fifteen years olds to mature adults. They offered courses in a wide range of subjects stretching from hairdressing at one end of the spectrum to nuclear physics at the other. Output standards ranged from G.C.E. 'O' to Ph.D. level. Study programmes were delivered in full-time, sandwich, part-time, block release, day release, and evenings-only modes. In fact, their key characteristic was flexibility [Pratt T. & Burgess J., op cit, pp 15-16]. Although exhibiting many of these attributes, Kingston had always aspired to provide a complete portfolio of academic as well as vocational and professional courses. Moreover, it had consistently encouraged some at least of its students to pursue learning for its own sake. A number of staff had been and were involved in creative writing, composing, painting, and sculpting as well as in business and industry grounded research. It may well be that Kingston, because of its geographical, occupational and sociological location, had never been a typical technical college. Long before it achieved polytechnic status, Kingston had progressed both academically and sociologically some way along the path leading towards traditional higher education.

During the sixties, Gipsy Hill College prospered under the powerful leadership of Frances Batstone, its second Principal. New courses were continually added to its portfolio. No sooner had the College agreed to provide an undergraduate junior/secondary 7-14 year age range course that it was asked to re-introduce a secondary 11-16 age range programme. Without doubt, the most important development during the period was the emergence of the BEd (Hons) degree. When its introduction was first discussed in 1960, Gipsy Hill staff declared short-sightedly that only a minority of students were capable of degree level work and that few would opt for such studies even if they were given the chance. Fortunately, the Robbins Committee showed greater prescience and drew up a blueprint for the structure of the Bachelor of Education degree [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, pp 125-6].

Wilson's Labour Government adopted many of Robbins' teacher training recommendations: trainee teacher numbers were increased; the BEd (Hons) degree introduced; the academic responsibilities of the University Institutes of Education extended to include course validation, student assessment, quality assurance and award provision; while college governance was to be reviewed. Prior to 1966, L.E.A. representatives dominated policy making in most colleges. This was not wholly true in Gipsy Hill's case, partly because of its previous history as a voluntary college, but also because the Surrey Education Sub-Committee took a particularly enlightened attitude towards governance. Following the acceptance of the Weaver Report, training colleges were re-designated as colleges of education. New governing bodies were set up comprising L.E.A., University Institute, and College staff; representatives of the teaching profession; and the principal. Subject to Institute of Education requirements, each college's Academic Board took responsibility for academic planning and student admissions. The principal was directly accountable to the governing body for all management and disciplinary matters. Moreover, colleges were able to appoint staff without reference to L.E.A. officials. The Government's intention, according to Sir Toby Weaver, was to furnish colleges with as much independence as was compatible with membership of an institute of education [Ibid]. What was not fully appreciated at the time was how much administrative, organisational and economic pressure these reforms would exert upon the university institutes. The creation of the C.N.A.A., however, was to provide an alternative approach to validation [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, pp 129-131].

During the 1963/4 session, the new B.Ed (Hons) Degree course was introduced and its first candidates graduated from five university institutes in 1968 and from a further sixteen in 1969. At first only 5% of trainee teachers qualified - by London University Institute of Education regulations, only students who achieved a full B grade or above in all their Teacher's Certificate examinations and coursework were allowed to proceed to the fourth B.Ed (Hons) degree year [Ibid, p 128].

When, however, Gipsy Hill celebrated its Golden Jubilee in 1967, even its most prescient staff failed to foresee the rapid changes which were going to turn its pleasant, even cosy, life upside down. By 1967, the College possessed nearly six hundred students and was being pressed by the Department of Education and Science to expand as rapidly as possible. Its student population was exclusively female, however, until September 1966, when the first male trainees joined the Teachers Certificate course. With their arrival, the demand for 'digs' rose dramatically - gone were the days when all students were required to live in what amounted to sheltered accommodation. Between 1967 and 1970 the College completed its course portfolio by introducing a series of primary and secondary one-year Postgraduate Certificate in Education programmes. The College now trained students for all age-ranges. At the same time, the range and variety of its inservice work with qualified and experienced teachers

rapidly expanded. New accommodation and relatively good facilities were available. The College's transformation was almost complete.

All colleges of education expanded rapidly throughout the sixties. Indeed, much more rapidly than D.E.S. officials estimated, lacking as they did any reliable data. In 1967, for instance, they estimated there were about 100,000 students in training, but no one knew for sure. To clarify the situation, the D.E.S. carried out a census in 1968 and discovered that there were actually between 115,000 and 116,000 trainee teachers. Under pressure, it was said, from the profession, a House of Commons Select Committee was formed in 1969 to investigate the state of teacher training. Many of those who gave evidence suggested that the training curriculum required urgent revision. In their final report, the Committee challenged the theoretical underpinnings of both the three year Certificate and the four year B.Ed Degree programmes and queried whether colleges of education were paying sufficient attention to developing students' practical teaching skills. The scene was set for one of the periodic seismic changes in policy and recruitment which dominated teacher training throughout the post-war period, making short, let alone, long term planning virtually impossible [Stewart W.A.C., *op cit*, pp 131-2]. Most providers, moreover, were completely unprepared for the coming storm. In 1970, the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education produced a *Red Book: Higher Education, and the preparation for Teaching - A Policy for Colleges of Education*. Its authors rightly foresaw a time in the not too distant future when the teacher shortage would come to an end. Moreover, as far more candidates with two A levels would be seeking higher education than the universities or polytechnics could accommodate, they believed colleges of education would have a unique opportunity to expand by validating general arts and caring services award bearing courses. The challenges facing colleges in the seventies, they hoped and believed would be the need to diversify and expand.

Life on Kingston Hill during the late forties and early fifties closely resembled the College's pre-war experience. During the later fifties, however, the quality of the College's accommodation, social organisation, and course delivery, gradually improved. Thereafter, continual changes were brought about by the rapid expansion in student numbers, the introduction of male students and the influx of new lecturers whose experiential backgrounds and aspirations differed markedly from their predecessors'. Although key members of the old staff remained and to a certain extent continued to set standards for everyone else, Gipsy Hill was a very different institution from the small voluntary college which had sustained such a distinctive ambience between 1917 and 1946.

THE HORNET'S NEST: The Seventies

Even though, the 'old' universities easily repulsed the challenge issued during the sixties by their seven 'new' rivals, they did little to provide the high quality technical education the country needed. Sir Toby Weaver set to work to convince Tony Crosland that Harold Wilson's much bruited 'white-hot technological revolution' could only be realised if the Colleges of Technology became centres of higher education [Annan N., op cit, p 506]. He succeeded and Crosland decided to create thirty-two polytechnics. However, the minister went further in his White Paper, *A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges* [(Command 3006), 1966] than his mentor ever intended: polytechnics, he proposed, should become technological universities awarding their own degrees. As a consequence, between 1969 and 1982, non-degree enrolments fell from 70% to 30% of total admissions. The polytechnics' main clients became full-time rather than part-time students. Moreover, as local authorities rather than central government controlled polytechnics, a new battle was joined between polytechnic directorates, anxious to achieve something like parity with universities, and the local authorities, who wanted to enjoy the kudos of possessing polytechnics without becoming involved in their problems.

In one sense, the introduction of polytechnics solved nothing. The debates over the place and importance of vocational and non-vocational courses, liberal and professional education, pure and applied studies continued unabated. During the 1970's, the polytechnics, as one university vice-chancellor put it, exhibited too much 'technic' and not enough 'poly' [Carter, Charles (1969) 'A Programme for 1969-1989', *Universities Quarterly*, vol 23, no 3, p 309]. The polytechnics were designated without specific objectives [Pratt J. & Burgess T. op cit, pp 174-5] and came to epitomise 'academic drift'. As John Ranelagh, a member of the Conservative Party's Research Department, asserted in 1978:

Polytechnics were not established with any clear directive that they should concentrate on technical and scientific education ... While it was expected that polytechnics would be more industry-based and would concentrate on vocational, practical, scientific and technical education, the 1966 White Paper did not make this clear ... They have grown to be very similar to universities and face broadly the same problems'

[Ranelagh J. (1978) 'Education and Industry', *Politics Today*, No 2, p 32].

Considerable tension existed within the higher education sector. The polytechnics deeply resented the advantages the *Colleges of Advanced Technology* had gained by obtaining university status in 1966. 'The history of technical college experience', wrote W.A.C. Stewart, 'had to be assimilated and transposed to the university key and the first problem was one of re-identification and re-assembly' [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, p 202]. Moreover, their relations with area colleges were often strained. The idea that polytechnics would confine their energies to fostering pure and applied science, mathematics and related subjects had no reality in practice. In most cases, they, like Kingston, had already developed a broad, traditional curriculum including education, engineering, business and management studies, social work, catering, nursing, architecture, accountancy and law not to mention foreign languages and the arts and humanities. During the seventies, moreover, their students' subject choices remained remarkably stable:

Subject clusters in %	1974	1979
Engineering, science & technology	34	36
Administrative, business & social studies	33	32
Professional & vocational	11	8
Arts, drama & music	7.5	6
Education	4.5	10

[Bethel, *The Polytechnics: Vision into Reality*, CDP, 1979]

In 1972, Crosland divided polytechnics into three main categories according to their perceived mission:

1. *Those which deliberately attempted to behave like universities by concentrating their main efforts on the provision of a wide range of CNA validated undergraduate and postgraduate courses. These colleges obviously aspired to becoming self-validating institutions within five years.*

2. *Those which concentrated upon meeting regional needs in technical subjects and had not widened their provision to include the arts, humanities and social sciences.*
3. *Those which concentrated upon realising the polytechnic ideal of collaborating with local industry and commerce to provide a wide range of distinctive courses which owed nothing to university models.*

[The Future of the Polytechnics Conference, 1972].

Although Kingston exhibited attributes peculiar to all these models, its undisguised preference was for model one with all that this implied for its future development.

On 23rd September 1969, Dr Leonard Lawley was chosen as Kingston Polytechnic's first Director. In the process, he overcame a strong field of candidates, including a pro-Vice Chancellor of an English University, a Director of a Scottish Polytechnic and a Professor of Mathematics [The Surrey Comet, 27 September 1969]. As the heavy round of interviews and panel discussions continued until 7.30 p.m., the news of Dr Lawley's appointment could not be disseminated until the following day. As one would expect, nothing of any importance changed overnight. As the authors of the Unpublished History remarked somewhat caustically, *'the coffee machines in the Refectory were still not functioning, the male toilet on the ground floor was out-of-action and there were other reminders that the College - the Polytechnic designate - was still the same old lovable place. Plus ça change'*. Sir Robert Latimer, who replaced the redoubtable Miss Hutchins when she completed her memorable forty-four years' service in 1964, became its first Registrar [The Surrey Comet, 18 October 1969]. Dr Alan Matterson was appointed Deputy Director. The formalities associated with the Polytechnic's creation took some time to complete. The Articles of Government had to be scrutinised and agreed by the Department for Education and Science and Governors had to be selected. On 11th March 1970, the Joint Minister of State for Education and Science handed the Polytechnic Instrument of Government to Sir Ernest Goodale, the Chairman of Governors, in a ceremony staged in the Main Hall at Penrhyn Road. On their way to their seats, guests had to tread warily between and over prostrate students taking part in an official sit-in.

Initially, the newly unified Colleges of Technology and Art experienced some serious teething problems. Art staff and students found themselves in an unfamiliar environment. For a time at least they believed their larger partner paid little attention to their aspirations and needs. In the meantime, the new Polytechnic announced its presence by appointing in June 1972 Dr Bill George of the School of Chemical Science and Technology as its first Reader [Diary, 12 June 1972]. The Directorate's increasing size reflected its widening range of interests: in September 1972, Mr Ivan Hannaford was appointed Assistant Director Academic and Mr J.W. Woolhouse, Assistant Director Continuing Education [Diary, 18 September 1972]. A Careers Service was set up under Mr K.J. Tolley, the former Head of Mechanical and Aeronautical Engineering [Diary, 18 January 1971]. First the Governors and then the Borough approved the Polytechnic's Ten Year (1971-1981) Plan [Diary, 25 September 1972]. All seemed to be progressing as well as could be expected in the circumstances.

Amalgamations were the order of the day. When, however, the Polytechnic, supported by Kingston Borough, initiated tentative talks with Gipsy Hill College of Education and the County Council, the College preferred to negotiate with Surrey University in the hope that it might become its Faculty of Education. *'The Gipsy Hill academic board'*, reported *The Surrey Comet*, *'clearly did not want a change and the governors felt that its views should carry a great deal of weight'* [The Surrey Comet, 31 May 1969]. The County Council, supported by Edward Short, the Minister of Education, rejected the Royal Borough's approach [Ibid]. Later, in 1971, the County Council encouraged the Polytechnic to amalgamate with Ewell Technical College whose advanced work appeared to be in terminal decline [The Surrey Comet, 9 October 1971]. Unfortunately, this proposal sparked off an angry debate about whether the gains in accommodation would balance the cost of developing new high quality Biology laboratories on the Penrhyn Road site. In the meantime, the County and Borough councils agreed in 1972 to transfer the North East Surrey College of Technology's advanced courses in surveying and estate management to the Polytechnic. They also suggested that the latter might solve its medium term accommodation problems by taking over County Hall as the Authority was hoping to find an alternative site for its headquarters at Guildford [The Surrey Comet, 6 November 1971]. However, Government cuts soon put an end to such hopes.

The seventies were a period of almost continuous funding cuts which the polytechnics met with admirable ingenuity. In fact, their continuing ability to change teaching methods, adapt management

styles and balance budgets played into the politicians' hands. While the universities continued along their well trodden path, the polytechnics set an example of increasing productivity within income constraints which seemed to validate politicians' long held belief that higher education institutions were squandering large sums of public money which could be better employed elsewhere. Some local authorities, including Kingston, harboured similar beliefs. The Borough Council was determined to restrict the Polytechnic's expansion, which it feared threatened to distort the town's economic development [The Surrey Comet, 8 January 1972]. To the Local Authority's anger, the Polytechnic seriously considered housing its School of Management in rented office space in London Road.irate councillors pointed out that the proposed expenditure - £61,000 p.a. rent, £38,000 adaptation costs and £11,800 furniture and equipment expenses - would pay for new purpose-built accommodation [Borough News, 4 February 1972]. It soon became clear that the Ewell College, County Hall, and London Road projects were mirages, the Polytechnic, it seemed, would have to concentrate most of its future activities on the Penrhyn Road site [The Surrey Comet, 23 September 1972]. Dr Lawley caused something of a furore in 1972 by remarking, *'It is difficult to develop a national institution like a large polytechnic under the administration of a small borough. Although the Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames has given us considerable support in the past it simply does not understand our problems of the future'* [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 21 April 1972]. Newspapers aggravated the situation by predicting the Polytechnic would double in size within ten years at a cost of approximately a million pounds a year [e.g. The Surrey Comet, 12 July 1972].

Polytechnic status did nothing to resolve Kingston's institutional problems. The Royal Borough's refusal to increase the Student Union's allowance precipitated a crisis in 1971, culminating in a protest march to Tolworth Tower [The Surrey Comet, 23 January 1971]. Lawyers discovered that under the articles of government, allowances could only be paid if Student Union membership was obligatory [Edinburgh Evening News, 3 February 1971]. Obviously, this ruling affected all polytechnic trainees, so what had started as a local problem rapidly became a national one. Kingston students rammed home their message by boycotting lectures and picketing college buildings [Evening News, 5 February 1971]. Faced by the Government's resolute response, the students' *'work-in'* collapsed [Guardian, 6 February 1971; Daily Telegraph, 13 February 1971]. Finally, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, agreed to amend the regulations [Daily Telegraph, 2 March 1971]. The students, however, remained unimpressed by her proposals and a *'Down with Margaret Thatcher'* deputation marched to Tolworth Tower in December 1971 [The Surrey Comet, 11 December 1971].

Dissent, during this period, seemed to permeate the very air people breathed. Students occupied an Architecture studio in support of two staff who resigned in 1971 after being allegedly *'harassed and obstructed'* in their desire to reorganise their courses in an innovatory manner. *'The occupation will continue indefinitely'*, a student representative asserted confidently [Daily Telegraph, 27 November 1971]. Although the students were still in a state of *'revolt'* in December, [Borough News, 3 December 1971], the Drama Society's successful interpretation of Ionescu's *Rhinoceros*, and the School of Fashion's *'rave'* reviews for its exhibition at the National Film Theatre certainly helped to divert their attention from their grievances [Miss London, 22 November 1971]. Meanwhile, *The Surrey Comet* introduced an element of farce into proceedings by announcing that the *'Digs crisis is solved'* [The Surrey Comet, 2 October 1971]. The Deputy Director announced that the Accommodation Service had found 1,100 lodgings for new students so, he was quoted as saying, *'There'll be no sleeping in church halls this year'*. Within a week, the same newspaper was drawing the public's attention to freshers sleeping in cars and vans and pointing out that, in some instances, as many as eleven students were staying in flats designed for one occupant. A Polytechnic representative commented *'accommodation no longer constitutes a crisis, merely a problem'*. *'Build new hostels'* became the Student Union's main banner cry for the rest of the decade [The Surrey Comet, 12 July 1972]. Poor library conditions involved the College authorities in another well publicised conflict: in 1972, student representatives demanded the provision at Penrhyn Road of 200 more seats, air conditioning, doubleglazing, new carpeting and better lighting [The Surrey Comet, 25 November 1972]. Hard pressed management admitted that due to overcrowding, space earmarked for the library had had to be converted into classrooms [Diary, November 1972]. In a vain effort to alleviate the problem, five more huts were erected on the Penrhyn Road Campus [Diary 16 October 1972]. In the meantime, the opening of Audio Visual Aid and Close Circuit Tele Vision (CCTV) centres considerably improved institutional teaching and learning standards [Diary, 15 May 1972]. The Polytechnic's spectacular contribution to the two-week New Year Arts Festival which included traditional as well as experimental art, drama, music and film activities, did something to salve the wounds inflicted upon local residents during the previous year [The Surrey Comet, 27 January 1973].

Who were these 'troublesome' Kingston students? The Robbins Committee had discovered that just over a third of full-time and about two-thirds of sandwich and part-time technical college trainees were working class in origin compared with only a quarter of university students. In 1970, the Kingston Polytechnic Sociological Research Unit found that only 25% of its full-time degree students could be regarded as working class in origin. A follow-up survey in 1971/2 showed that the number had fallen still further and constituted only 24% of the total. Sub-degree courses had by far the highest percentage of working class trainees: more than 50% in the case of the H.N.D. electrical engineering and chemistry programmes.

The typical Kingston student, it appeared, was a male

from the South East of England, (who) went to a grammar school and obtained three 'A' levels. He is under twenty one years of age, and decided to read for a degree before he took his 'A' levels, although he only decided on the particular degree he is reading after his 'A' level results were published. He lives in lodgings and is romantically unattached. He aspires to, expects to, work in private industry, where he is looking for work that is above all interesting. Both his mother and father work, his father as an employer or a manager of a small business establishment or he has an intermediate non-manual job, earning between £1500 and £2500 a year. The statistically typical student is optimistic about his economic future compared with his parents' present standard of living. He sees society as made up of three classes, the difference between them being determined by family background and upbringing. Given a limited choice of occupational categories he ranks a hereditary member of the House of Lords as having the highest social standing and a coal miner as having the lowest.

[Kingston Polytechnic Sociological Research Unit, *Report on a Survey of Students of the Polytechnic*, June 1971; *Survey of First Year Students at Kingston Polytechnic, 1971-2*, September 1972]

The Sociological Research Unit concluded that Kingston trainees were 'in many ways similar to students at Universities' - the Polytechnic appeared to exhibit classic signs of 'social drift'. A much larger proportion of students of working class origins were to be found at other polytechnics, however [Pratt J. (1972) *Social Class of NELP Students*; Payne G. & Bird J. (1969) 'What are their students like?' *New Society*, 23 October].

An almost endless procession of C.N.A.A. validation parties arrived at Kingston during the early seventies to interrogate teaching teams and almost invariably validate proposed degree submissions. In 1971, Sociology and Social Science (March), Economics (May), Languages, Economics and Politics (June); and in 1972, Geography (May), Geology and Mechanical Engineering (June), Architecture and Modern Arts (September) all made their way successfully through the C.N.A.A. validation maze. This consolidated the shift in allegiance from London University to the Council for National Academic Awards. At the same time, Gipsy Hill College withdrew from the London University Institute of Education and submitted its teacher training courses to the C.N.A.A. for validation. The move was deeply resented by the other members of the Institute who, during the interim period, openly and loudly referred to Gipsy Hill representatives as 'Benedict Arnolds' and 'traitors' [Gibson M. 1988].

In September 1971, 136 Kingston Polytechnic students obtained London University degrees in sociology, economics, geography, geology and general studies while another 71 were awarded C.N.A.A. degrees - overall, there was a 90% pass rate [Diary, 20 September 1971]. Whilst eagerly promoting its own courses, the institution was still prepared to allow the Open University to launch its programmes in five rented rooms at the Canbury Park Annexe on Monday, 11th January 1971 [Diary, 18 January 1971]. In the meantime, the Polytechnic greatly enhanced its facilities by purchasing an ICL 1909 computer from Lancaster University [Diary, 18 October 1971]. For academic staff, this was almost as important an event as the opening of the Staff Association Bar in October 1971 [Diary, 4 October 1971]. Nor were students' needs neglected: the first meetings of the new Campus Committees took place on 9th June 1971 to improve timetabling and reduce the over-booking of teaching space; long discussions also took place about the need for increased library capacity and for additional student common rooms. The new Courses Development Committee brought a new professionalism to institutional programme planning and evaluation: existing courses were regularly reviewed and all new programme proposals thoroughly scrutinised before being sent to Academic Board for approval [Diary, 20 March 1973]. In 1974, the latter body directed a working party to evaluate the effectiveness of the Polytechnic's academic structures

and, if necessary, to recommend ways in which they could be improved [Academic Board Minutes, 15 May 1974].

Did polytechnics in general and Kingston in particular achieve recognition as genuine higher education institutions during the first half of the seventies? In 1973, Anne Corbett wrote a profile of Kingston for *The Guardian*. As an outsider, she saw the Polytechnic as an interesting hybrid. In spite of its growing concentration upon traditional degree programmes, she observed, *'Some of the courses seem more committed to life in the 1980s than the preservation of an ancient discipline'* [The Guardian, 20 February 1973]. After some rather facile allusions to the large Nissen hut on Kingston Hill, which *'passed as the Student Union'*, and the poor library provision, she concluded, *'it is clear that the polytechnic is not within shouting distance of University Grants Committee standards'* [Ibid]. On the other hand, she praised its twenty-three degree programmes, conceding that: *'CNA courses may be better than university ones: better thought out because they have to be approved in advance, more motivating for staff because most of them have a share in devising courses'* [Ibid]. The Polytechnic, unlike a university, she noted, still provided an *'old style further education ladder of qualifications'* [Ibid]. Dr Lawley, the Director, she reported, saw *'Kingston as working out the 1966 concept of comprehensive, community-linked, higher education'* [Ibid]. Predictably, this article ruffled a number of stakeholders' feathers. A Student Union representative, for instance, effectively exposed some of the inaccuracies in reporting and deficiencies in understanding, which, if rectified, would have produced *'an entirely different and more useful article'* [Letter published in The Guardian, 6 March 1973]. The Polytechnic authorities, however, remained silent presumably believing that any publicity is in the end good publicity.

By this time the Polytechnic was experiencing the full effects of the economic squeeze. Once the 1973 Electricity (Heating) Restriction Order had been rushed through parliament, lighting and heating systems were turned off in accommodation across the whole country [Diary, 10 December 1973]. Staff, however, had their minds diverted from their chilly working conditions by the arrival of a C.N.A.A. Quinquennial Review panel [Diary, 4 February 1974]. Having survived this potentially traumatic event and gained some acclaim in the process, the institution played a major role in creating the Kingston Regional Management Centre (KRMC) [Diary, 1 April 1974], whose first meeting took place at Penrhyn Road Centre in 1974. Kingston staff enthusiastically welcomed the contemporaneous merger between National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design (NCDAD) and the C.N.A.A., which at long last officially recognised the undoubted quality of the country's art and design courses [Diary, 23 September 1974]. The institution's long lasting partnership with London University finally came to an end in May 1975 when C.N.A.A. Languages, Economics and Politics and Modern Arts degrees replaced the BA (General) External Degree [Diary, 12 May 1975]. In June 1975, Academic Board discussed modularity for the first time: although the paper created little stir, it was pregnant with trouble for the future [Diary, 13 June 1975].

During the seventies, students seemed to spend more of their time fighting for higher grants, better living and working conditions and political recognition than in studying. At the Polytechnic of North London, for example, students disrupted committee meetings on no less than eighteen occasions between February 1971 and November 1974 [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, p 206]. Kingston students, by comparison, were models of patience and decorum. This was just as well because, as usual, there was bad news on the accommodation front. Institutional managers had to admit that as the new custom-designed student hostels would not be ready for occupation as promised by the beginning of the 1973 academic year, freshers would be temporarily lodged in hotels [The Surrey Comet, 30 June 1973]. As Clayhill and its much needed 330 bedsitters edged slowly towards completion [The Surrey Comet, 24 October 1973], angry students in January 1974 adopted a squatting campaign [The Surrey Comet, 19 January 1974 - see cartoon, The Surrey Comet, 2 February 1974]. In response the Polytechnic allowed each Clayhill room to be occupied as soon as it became habitable and rapidly converted the old Kingsmead hospital into much needed additional student housing.

'I am fed up with wearing jumble sale clothes and having to hitch-hike everywhere', grumbled one Polytechnic student in 1973 [The Surrey Comet, 7 March 1973]. How hard were students' conditions? Those on a full grant received about £12 a week: on average, he or she probably spent about £4 on rent; £1 on gas and electricity; £3 on food; £1.50 on stationery and books; 50p on laundry; and 50p on clothes and sundries - a total of exactly £12 [Ibid]. This Micawber like existence depended for its success upon sharing accommodation with several other students and receiving free travel. In March 1973, students held a demo, calling for an extra £100 a month grant [The Surrey Comet, 17 March 1973]. The news that

the D.E.S. intended to raise the annual grant by 25% received a 'guarded response' [The Surrey Comet, 18 May 1974]. But in the meantime, angry students launched a scathing attack on Kingston's refectory services, arguing that their prices were too high and standards too low [The Surrey Comet, 26 January 1974].

Fortunately, what became known as 'the Great Tartan Race' did much to relieve the institution's gloomy mood. As part of their Rag Week activities, students took a 20 foot model of 'Nessie', the Loch Ness Monster, on a charity run from Edinburgh to London in aid of Talking Books for the Blind [Evening Standard, 30 March 1973]. However, while 'Tartanessie' was carrying all before it, the Rag Week magazine was banned as 'obscene' to its authors' unfeigned surprise for, as they modestly admitted, it was much less disgusting than previous issues [The Surrey Comet, 19 March 1973]. The C.N.A.A.'s approval of a new Polytechnic Modern Arts course was heralded by *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* as a significant academic achievement: the programme offered specialisms in English, History and French as well as components focusing upon the visual arts and political and scientific ideas [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 30 March 1973]. Throughout the decade, Fashion students, led by Daphne Brooker, won enthusiastic critical acclaim: in 1974, for instance, they achieved their fourth successive victory in the *Design and Live* international student fashion competition in Switzerland [Drapers Record, 4 May 1974]. *The Guardian's* fashion editor noted that Kingston graduates had a fine track record in obtaining jobs with Britain's best boutiques and fashion houses [Guardian, 9 July 1974]. Even the Polytechnic's sports facilities were greatly improved by the opening of the Tolworth Court sports field and pavilion in 1974.

Meanwhile, Gipsy Hill College's fortunes were on the wane, although its problems merely reflected those experienced by the entire teacher training sector. As the birth rate continued to fall, school rolls declined dramatically. Consequently, annual teacher trainee intakes should have been gradually reduced. However, neither the D.E.S., the L.E.A.s nor the Institutes of Education were willing to admit how dangerous the situation had become at a time when the post-Robbins expansion was supposedly in full swing. Even when the D.E.S. obtained reliable statistical evidence in 1968 of what was happening, politicians were reluctant, with a general election looming up on the horizon, to curtail the colleges' runaway expansion. When the Labour Party returned to power in 1969, Edward Short, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, started a slow ... too slow, as it turned out ... reduction in teacher training numbers. At the same time, a number of attacks were launched on the quality of school teaching and teacher training as school discipline and control were deemed to be unsatisfactory. In 1970, Short asked the Area Training Organisations (ATOs) and the University Institutes of Education to investigate the situation. Their detailed reports supplied the opposition with excellent political ammunition for the subsequent general election campaign. Following the Conservative victory, Mrs Thatcher became Secretary of State for Education and Science with a much publicised mission to cleanse the educational Augean stables. She immediately convened the James Committee and instructed it to report within a year.

The *James Report: Teacher Education and Training* (HMS, December 1971) called for the abolition of university institute of education based teacher training and recommended the adoption of a new cyclic approach: stage 1 - a period of 'personal education', leading either to the award of a Diploma in Higher Education within 2 years or exceptionally of a degree within 3 years; stage 2 - one year's pre-service education studies and a further year's teaching experience as a part-time 'licensed teacher'; and stage 3 - two years' inservice education and training. The proposals pleased no one. College staff feared they constituted a deliberate stratagem to postpone the attainment of an all graduate profession and that the cycles represented a surreptitious return to the two-year Teacher's Certificate course. L.E.A.s disliked the complexity and potential cost involved in implementing the proposals, while the Government saw them as a diversion from a deeper and more thorough-going reform of non-university higher education.

In its White Paper, *Education: A Framework for Expansion* [HMSO, December 1972], the Government rejected all the Committee's main recommendations except the call to abolish institute of education groupings. These were replaced by the National Council for Teacher Education and Training (NCTET) and a largely ineffectual hierarchy of fifteen Regional Councils for Colleges and Departments of Education. When this system was abolished in 1978, no one even seemed to notice. Two-year Teacher Certificate training courses were allowed to continue for another five years while the Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree gradually achieved recognition, acceptance and credibility. The White Paper's proposals were implemented by Circular 7/73 while an administrative order outlined guidelines for

reorganising colleges of education. L.E.A.s and voluntary colleges were given six months in which to develop plans to reduce teacher trainee numbers, to merge institutions, and to rationalise provision. Gipsy Hill staff were filled with dread: they feared their student numbers would be cut until the College ceased to be viable.

In the meantime, without giving any reasons, the Secretary of State announced that teacher trainee numbers would be reduced from a high of 114,000 in 1971/2 to a planned 35,000 in 1981. These draconian cuts threatened many colleges' very existence. When they proved insufficient, the D.E.S. (September 1974) lowered non-graduate admission targets to 32,000 in 1975/6, 20,000 in 1977/8 and 18,000 in 1980/1. When even these drastically reduced targets proved to be too high, the Secretary of State (June 1976) announced that the September 1977 intake would amount to no more than 12,000 [Locke M. (1980) *Colleges of Higher Education: Constraints and Opportunities*, Commentary No 19, Centre for Institutional Studies, Anglian Management Centre]. Entrance qualifications were made more rigorous: all B.Ed candidates by 1979 had to possess at least two A Levels and a range of GCE O level passes at grade C or above. In addition, by 1980 all applicants had to acquire passes at grade C or above in GCE O level mathematics and English Language. The Government originally hoped to offset some of the cuts' worst effects by increasing inservice work. This proved impossible, however, during a period of severe financial stringency [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, p 191].

The managers of Gipsy Hill College and Kingston Polytechnic reluctantly entered into dialogue during 1973. The call for merger was not new. In 1965, the Royal Borough had unsuccessfully attempted to negotiate the transfer of the College from the control of Surrey County Council. When they tried again in 1969, the College Academic Board vigorously opposed the proposal [ibid]. For some years, College managers tried to negotiate an amalgamation with Surrey University. However, the Department of Education and Science made it crystal clear that such a resolution of the College's problems was unacceptable. With the publication of Margaret Thatcher's White Paper: *Education: a Framework for Expansion* and the ensuing draconian cuts, staff knew that whether they liked it or not the College could not remain independent. Either it merged with another more powerful institution or it would *'wither away on its hill'* as Permanent Secretary Harding brutally pointed out to the Principal during a College dinner party given in his honour.

Neither would-be partner was particularly enamoured of the other. College staff doubted the Polytechnic's commitment to teacher education and suspected that it was only interested in obtaining control over their large, relatively undeveloped Kingston Hill site. On the other hand, Polytechnic staff were less than enthusiastic about taking on an institution which was in rapid decline with a large staff including a much higher proportion of principal lecturers than they enjoyed. Nevertheless, when the College Governors put the merger plan to Surrey County Council in June 1973, it was accepted subject to D.E.S. agreement - [The Surrey Comet, 30 June 1973] this was obtained in October 1974 [The Surrey Comet 12 October 1974]. In the meantime, the College Principal and Deputy Principal paid a courtesy visit to the Polytechnic Director on Friday, 30th November 1973. This turned out to be a chilly event as the Principal's long standing opposition to the merger was well known. Sensibly, Miss Batstone delegated subsequent negotiations to Mr Ken Barker, the Principal-Designate, while Dr Lawley asked Dr Alan Matterson, the Deputy Director, to act as the Polytechnic's chief representative. According to at least one contemporary senior manager, the Principal-Designate rarely if ever consulted his colleagues during these vital negotiations: *'Virtually no other member of the college staff was able to influence the course of events leading to merger. The staff association officers were allowed to state their views which were then ignored. The merger took place without any decisions being taken about academic structures for the future organisation or about deployment of staff'* [Cullis H.R. [1978] *The Making of a Polytechnic B.Ed Degree Programme*: MA in Education, Sussex University, p 12].

Student problems provided a continuous refrain throughout the seventies. News of the merger negotiations created considerable perturbation as it was feared the institution's already inadequate resources would have to be spread even more thinly over a much enlarged student body [The Surrey Comet, 12 September 1973]. The Polytechnic Student Union became even more incensed when they learnt that Gipsy Hill's trainee teacher numbers were likely to decline rapidly from 800 to 400 (including 90 FTEs for Inservice Training) between 1975 and 1981 [Kingston & Malden Borough News, 21 February 1975]. On 1st April 1975, Gipsy Hill College became the Polytechnic's Division of Educational Studies. On addressing the confused and in some cases rather resentful Education staff for the first time, Dr

Lawley asserted that they were *'leaving an autocracy and entering a democracy'*. [Gibson M. 1988]. As a senior College manager recorded, *'The period of adjustment was very destructive of morale and caused problems of trust and confidence among the senior staff of the Division (of Educational Studies) and between them and groups within the Division and elsewhere in the Polytechnic'* [Cullis H.R., op cit, p 17]. The main difficulties arose from the sudden imposition of an apparently alien regime: on merger, the Pelham Heads of Department were summarily stripped of their administrative powers while responsibility for academic course development was immediately transferred to Polytechnic staff even though they had little knowledge or understanding of teacher training. From being virtually autonomous, the College became totally dependent upon the Polytechnic. The new Division's staffing was reduced from 78 to 40 by enhanced voluntary *'Crombie'* retirements, redeployment within and outside the Polytechnic and eventually, in the case of a few staff, redundancy [Ibid, p 18]. In spite of a short period of guarded suspicion, the merger proved to be one of the least rancorous occurring during this period of seismic upheaval in teacher training. However, it was not accomplished without trauma as Jack Bevan reported in *The Times Higher Education Supplement* on 7th December 1979: *'Previously dedicated staff in the "merged" colleges are disenchanted, and morale was never so low'*.

The merger and the reorganisation of the Polytechnic's academic structure almost exactly coincided. The new Academic Board met for the first time in June 1975 [Diary, 16 June 1975]. Administrative Councils were set up for Science and Technology; Social Science, Professional Studies and Art; and Design, Education and Humanities. A committee was created to consider where the divisions should be located. Unfortunately, this encouraged paranoia within the teacher training staff, who suspected this was a stratagem to remove them from Kingston Hill to what they regarded as the totally unsuitable Penrhyn Road site [Academic Board, 19th May 1976]. Further dismay was created when Polytechnic managers announced they were considering moving teacher training to *'smaller premises'* so that Law and Business Studies could move to the Kingston Hill Campus [Academic Board paper 75/6.PAB26 - 19 May 1976; Evening Standard, 23 June 1976]. Management believed that a move to Penrhyn Road would encourage Education and Humanities staff to collaborate in delivering a number of cognate subjects [Diary, 14 June 1976]. The response was predictable and explosive. The former College Principal coldly told Academic Board that the proposals closely resembled *'asset stripping'* [Paper 75/6.PAB.26]. Local residents also reacted angrily [e.g. The Surrey Comet, 3 July 1976]. In response to the furor, Polytechnic managers stated *'It is natural that we should look at ways of redistributing departments in order to make the best possible use of the buildings'* [Ibid] and an Academic Board working party, chaired by Dr Mike Smith, was set up to facilitate the Division of Educational Studies' integration into the Polytechnic [Academic Board paper 76/7.PAB.4, 11 October 1976]. Education staff were even more alarmed by the compulsory insertion of a Penrhyn Road-based Foundation Year into the B.Ed, BA Modern Arts, BSc Geography, BA Social Sciences, BSc Applied Sciences and BA Music Education courses [Academic Board paper 76/7.PAB.28]. Different teaching and learning styles led to highly unfavourable student evaluation [Confidential Appraisal document by Godfrey R.J., 4.1.1978 - the Division of Educational Studies was the first part of the polytechnic to introduce formal and systematic course evaluation]. For the time being, the continued presence of the teacher training on Kingston Hill remained problematic and staff morale declined still further.

An ominous meeting of the joint Penrhyn Road-Gipsy Hill Working Party took place in July 1977 to discuss the possible transfer of activities between the two sites [Diary, 11 July 1977]. The depressed Education staff's morale rose a little, however, when the C.N.A.A. unconditionally validated their Inservice B.Ed Degree, Post Graduate Certificate in Education and Certificate of Education for Specialist Music Teachers programmes [Diary, 30 January 1978]. Staff were, however, brought back to earth with a resounding thump when it was announced they would have to apply for posts in a reconfigured Division. Dr Robert Godfrey was appointed Head of Education Studies just before the Education staff were interviewed by a panel consisting of Mr Ken Barker, Mr Ivan Hannaford and Mr Noel McManus [Diary, 17 July 1978]. Lecturers were required to state their preference for employment within the Division of Educational Studies, redeployment within or outside the Polytechnic, re-training for another profession, and early retirement. Some moved to other posts within the Polytechnic, a small number were re-deployed within the College of Further Education, others went off to learn new skills while a small group remained on the unresolved list. It was however decided that teacher training would remain on Kingston Hill, not as a consequence of staff or local opposition but because another series of financial cuts made the proposed move impractical.

In 1975, the Polytechnic came under fire from many local residents. The news in January that it planned to open a central library at the corner of Eden and Brook Street was greeted with vigorous public disapproval [The Surrey Comet, 18 January 1975]. In February, *The Surrey Comet* published a letter from 'Ant-poly' denouncing the institution's 'octopus-like' expansion across the centre of Kingston. The author called for nothing less than the Polytechnic's closure [The Surrey Comet, 1 February 1975]. Other residents, however, rallied to its defence, calling it 'our insurance for the future' [The Surrey Comet, 8 February 1975]. The debate in *The Surrey Comet's* columns continued for some weeks. Some understanding of the polyphobes' position can be gleaned from the many proposals being discussed at the time. In March 1975, the D.E.S. approved a £2M extension to the Knights Park complex. Then, the Polytechnic announced it intended to house the Kingston Regional Management Centre in rented accommodation in New Malden [The Surrey Comet, 8 March 1975]. The Knights Park Librarian's purchasing of some expensive books proved to be the last straw: borough councillors demanded that the Polytechnic halt all 'irresponsible' spending forthwith [The Surrey Comet, 6 September 1975].

The Polytechnic's contributions to community life did something to offset the growing town-gown ill feeling. For instance, an exhibition illustrating Kingston's evolution, part of the Polytechnic's contribution to European Architectural Heritage Year, won considerable praise from press and public alike [The Surrey Comet, 8 February 1975]. A summer vacation play scheme for Tolworth children, run by Polytechnic students, was much appreciated [The Surrey Comet, 16 August 1975]. News that the London Sinfonietta was taking up residence on Kingston Hill Campus was welcomed as its members agreed to provide the BA Music Education students with master classes and workshops [The Surrey Comet, 11 October 1975; Guardian, 16 October 1975] - the orchestra's first open rehearsal at Kingston Hill Centre created considerable interest [The Surrey Comet, 10 January 1976].

The death in 1976 of Richard H. Ness, one of the Polytechnic's most gifted and respected staff, created great sadness. He had been a splendid Head of Electrical and Electronic Engineering before becoming an outstandingly successful Head of Development. He masterminded the design and implementation of the first C.N.A.A. Ordinary Degree in 1967, a honours degree course in 1970 and the first MSc course in 1974. For much of this time, he was fighting an amazingly brave battle against cancer. In 1970, he returned to work with increased energy and determination. During his last years, he played a significant role in developing the Penrhyn Road Tower Block, acquiring and refurbishing the Canbury Park Annexe, fitting out the New Malden Business and Management premises and building the Knights Park extensions. The Richard Ness Memorial Prize commemorates his unique contribution to the institution's development [Diary, 22 November 1976].

Dissatisfaction with proposed changes to accommodation policy in May 1975 caused welfare staff to resign en masse and students to occupy administrative offices and board rooms [The Surrey Comet, 24 May 1975]. Management restored order by promising to allocate accommodation according to need, irrespective of a student's course of study [The Surrey Comet, 24 May 1975]. Trainees also attacked what they considered to be the L.E.A.'s cynical use of the college-polytechnic merger to postpone replacing Gipsy Hill's 'dilapidated library centre' [The Surrey Comet, 9 July 1975].

1977 was remarkable for the Cyanide Incident. *The Polytechnic Diary* noted laconically that 'Since September 1976 there have been a number of incidents in certain laboratories of the School of Chemical and Physical Sciences' [Diary, 7 February 1978]. At first, these incidents amounted to no more than malicious damage, but on Monday, 10th January, 'two Research Assistants brewed cups of tea in an office shared with a number of colleagues. From the smell they suspected that cyanide was present ... Tests were carried out which confirmed the presence of cyanide and the police were contacted immediately' [Ibid]. After the London newspapers had published lurid accounts of the event, Mr John Pawley, a Research Assistant in the School of Chemical and Physical Sciences, was charged with offences relating to this and other incidents. The Deputy Director assured staff that the Polytechnic's safety and security arrangements were of the highest quality.

Shortly afterwards, Organisation and Method reports on the Library and Audio-Visual Aids and Closed Circuit Tele Vision services recommended that the Chief Librarian's salary be reduced, while praising the creation of a Head of Learning Resources post [Diary, 28 March 1977]. A potentially contentious situation was resolved by appointing Mrs Elizabeth Esteve-Coll, the Chief Librarian, Head of Learning Resources [Diary, 18 July 1977]. Spirits were raised in 1977 by a hat-trick of successes: Kingston teams

won the British Polytechnic Sporting Association's squash, men's hockey and rugby football trophies [Diary, 21 March 1977].

In July 1978, the Polytechnic announced a £20M scheme to meet its needs in the 21st century [The Surrey Comet, 22 July 1978]. Future building developments, it proposed, should be confined to three centres: Penrhyn Road, Knights Park and Kingston Hill. The Borough Education Committee immediately put this grandiose scheme into perspective by deferring two major projects: the development of a new Kingston Hill library and the Penrhyn Road-based Student Union headquarters [The Surrey Comet, 30 September 1978]. The Knights Park extension, however, was completed and opened. The size of the student accommodation problem continued to increase year on year even though a series of custom designed hostels were built: for instance, three thousand students were looking for somewhere to live at the beginning of the 1978 Autumn term. A thousand found places in hostels, another one and a half thousand lived at home while the remaining five hundred had to scour the surrounding area until they found digs with the help of an embattled Accommodation Service [The Surrey Comet, 18 November 1978].

Conducting fiery battles with staff in public earned the institution considerable notoriety [The Surrey Comet, 19 July 1979]. Dr Ruth Gipps, a fiery Principal Lecturer in Music and a well respected composer and conductor, quit the institution in 1979 protesting *'the Poly authorities have made it impossible for the music students to be given the help they deserve'*. Not long afterwards, a Head of Department was made redundant due to funding problems. Although the subsequent claim for unfair dismissal failed, questions were asked about the institution's management style [e.g. Acton Gazette, 13 September 1979]. On the other hand, there were a number of notable successes to savour. In August 1978, Edward Heath conducted the European Community Youth Orchestra at Penrhyn Road Centre [The Surrey Comet, 5 August 1978]. While criticising his comparative inexperience as a conductor, foreign students praised his unparalleled enthusiasm [Ibid]. A thriving exchange programme with Grenoble University enabled Polytechnic students to enhance their mastery of foreign languages [The Surrey Comet, 10 October 1979]. Indeed, at the time, Kingston was the only British institution to win financial support from the European Economic Community for such work. Moreover, Eddie Bromhead's Ring Shear Machine, which measured residual soil strength, was successfully exhibited at the 1978 Warsaw Trade Fair [Diary, 16 October 1978].

In March 1979, the Polytechnic enjoyed a particularly successful C.N.A.A. Quinquennial Review [Diary, 26 March 1979]. It celebrated its triumph by appointing Nick Pollard as Chief Librarian, a position he has occupied with distinction up until the publication of this history [Diary, 20 April 1979]. The Academic Board decided after long and somewhat irate debate to create professorships - this was interpreted as another step along the path towards traditional academic respectability [Diary, 15 May 1979]. Although Educational Studies was allowed to remain at Gipsy Hill, its shrunken student ranks no longer occupied all the Campus buildings so the School of Law was transferred to the totally refurbished Coach House [Diary, 18 June 1979]. In November, Educational Studies hosted a week long Schools Council Conference. This was a strange almost surreal experience as visiting teachers had the greatest difficulty understanding the jargon-laden presentations given by the Council's *'project disseminators'* [Diary, 19 November 1979 - Gibson M., organiser]. The Division created further amusement by collaborating with an Italian television crew to produce a *'Spaghetti Documentary'* on English teacher training [The Surrey Comet, 10 October 1979]. During the previous year, the same Division generated considerable interest by producing its own Christmas play [The Surrey Comet, 22 December 1978]. Until this time, the Pantomime, performed at Penrhyn Road, had constituted the Polytechnic's one and only official Christmas show. From now on healthy rivalry as well as occasional collaboration existed between the two groups of students and staff. The continued presence of the London Sinfonietta on Kingston Hill added a new and valuable dimension to the institution's musical life [The Surrey Comet, 8 April 1979].

Although by the end of the seventies many university senates had begun to regard polytechnics with ill-disguised suspicion, their staff remained convinced they were very different from and inferior to their own institutions. According to A.H. Halsey:

The Polytechnics, at least so far, have not become a serious alternative form of higher education in the minds of university dons. They impinge very little on the consciousness of those who have been

brought up and now hold posts in universities. They are thought of vaguely as a tier below the universities in the ramifications of post-secondary education. The typical view is that the universities do and should be equipped and paid to do advanced teaching and research at a higher level.

[Halsey A.H. (1979) 'Are the British Universities Capable of Change?', *New Universities Quarterly*, vol 33, no 4, pp 411-16]

Successive governments allowed polytechnics to move away from their 'original mission'. Although they had been introduced, it was argued, to make British industry more productive, inventive and competitive, what had actually happened was much more complicated. Many had invested in teaching the arts and humanities as well as pure and applied science and professional and vocational courses. Admittedly, they were often driven into doing this by the paucity of sixth formers willing to study science and technology. To the chagrin of many local authorities including the Royal Borough of Kingston, polytechnics had the temerity to establish courses in sociology and social science. Moreover, Government colluded in this 'mis-development' by encouraging polytechnics to merge with art colleges and colleges of education in order to achieve instant solutions to funding-based planning and development problems. In 1976, a parliamentary Science and Technology Select Committee bemoaned the fact that polytechnics, like the colleges of advanced technology, had 'an ambivalent and ill-defined role' [House of Commons, Select Committee on Science and Technology (1976) *Third Report: University-Industry Relations*, pp 29-31]. Benefit of hindsight enabled them to assert that a parallel system of high quality technical colleges should have been created to represent a new concept in higher education. Needless to say, the Secretaries of State for Education and Science and Industry denied that there was the slightest hint of ambivalence in the polytechnics' prescribed role and purpose [Secretary of State for Education and Science and Secretary of State for Industry (1977) *University-Industry Relations: The Government's Reply to the Third Report of the Select Committee on Science and Technology*, p 10].

Certainly, the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics had no such doubts. In 1980, they told a House of Commons Select Committee:

The polytechnics are committed to a vocational emphasis in all their courses; the universities (broadly) are committed to the progressive validation of basic academic disciplines through research. There is a proper overlap of courses in the two types of institutions with different approaches to teaching. In this sense, the polytechnics and universities have a role definition. What is not clear is the distinctiveness and role of the other colleges.

[House of Commons, *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, February 1980*, pp 116-22]

Alan Matterson, the Deputy Director, summed up the institution's progress and achievement during the seventies in the following manner: 'Although there are many problems and many deficiencies, the Polytechnic has succeeded in evolving Canbury Park as a lively centre for engineering, in developing new student hostels at Clayhill, in building a major art and design complex at Knights Park, in providing playing fields and a pavilion at Tolworth, in starting the construction of a new library at Gipsy Hill and is well-placed to meet the challenges of the second decade'. He continued: 'Those who see nothing but bleak prospects in the 1980's may like to recall the gloom and the determined pessimism that was poured on the embryonic Polytechnic. The Polytechnic succeeded because we all had a vision and we set about doing the things that we could for ourselves as well as we could' [Polytechnic Diary, 7 January 1980].

A NEW AGE OF AUSTERITY: The Eighties

The new decade got off to a bad start: the ending of Advanced Further Education (AFE) funding in January 1980 brought about all round reductions in institutional income followed by 'capping'. With hindsight this can be seen as the beginning of a slow revolution in the organisation of higher education. The University Grants Committee's power and influence were gradually undermined as the polytechnics outstripped the universities in course development and student recruitment. The National Advisory Board's creation in 1982 opened the way for polytechnics and colleges to be nationalised. The shift in the centre of gravity from the universities to polytechnics became a matter of policy as well as fact. The later substitution of the Polytechnic and College Funding Council and the University Funding Council for the National Advisory Board and the Undergraduate Grants Committee, however, brought about administrative symmetry rather than fundamental change [Scott P., op cit, 1995].

At the same time the Finniston Committee sought ways and means of obtaining greater recognition for engineering courses by building up a new award structure starting with higher national certificates and diplomas and culminating in Bachelor and Master of Engineering (B.Eng & M.Eng) degrees. The new study programmes catered for a variety of approaches by including practical work, case studies, projects and options. A Fellowship of Engineering was created in 1976 to strengthen public support; by 1985, 600 fellows had been selected [Stewart W.A.C., op cit, pp 212-215].

In 1980, *The Surrey Comet* hammered home the impact of continuing funding cuts with the headline: 'A £1M axe about to fall on poly' [The Surrey Comet, 30 January 1980]. The Directorate confirmed that 'large cuts in staffing and other areas including purchases of books and materials, health and safety improvements and heating' would have to be imposed to cope with a 10% reduction in revenue amounting to about £1.2M [Times Higher Education Supplement, 1 February 1980]. The local authority insisted that they could not 'bail out the Poly' [The Surrey Comet, 22 March 1980]. Dr Lawley informed staff that about £800,000 had to be found either by cutting the 1980/81 budget or by increased earnings [Diary, 4 February 1980]. N.A.T.F.E. representatives immediately warned the Governors that such cuts would inevitably lead to a fall in educational standards [Diary, 25 February 1980] for the Polytechnic's 4,100 full-time and sandwich course students, 1,500 part-time trainees and 1,500 short course clients. Nevertheless, at the end of the 1980/1 session, 38 students obtained higher degrees, 860 first degrees or their equivalent and 640 other advanced qualifications.

Gloom descended upon the institution as management attempted to predict the on-going effects of new Government funding cuts. Moreover, a reduction in teacher training numbers necessitated the sacking of five Education lecturers. Kingston Polytechnic was the first provider in the country to make teacher training staff redundant and as a consequence received an unwarranted amount of adverse publicity. When Borough councillors learnt that there might be further cuts in real income of between £2M and £3M during 1981/2 they demanded the Polytechnic reduce both its size and the number of its programmes. The Deputy Director responded firmly, 'We think the present range and commitment of courses is well judged according to national and local needs' [Times Higher Education Supplement, 30 May 1980]. Nevertheless, the Governors decided the institution would have to rationalise its capital base, reduce overhead costs, maximise income generation, and employ more cost-effective course planning and management systems. Fortunately, the Government modified its proposals thus reducing the threat to the institution's short term development - over the next decade, the Government was to employ these cat and mouse tactics on many occasions: severe cuts were mitigated at the eleventh hour, creating the maximum stress and sense of dependency within the sector [Times Higher Education Supplement, 13 May 1980].

The temporary remission in funding cuts occurred at just the right time as the Polytechnic had to deal with a number of self inflicted difficulties. Unresolved accommodation problems continued to provoke widespread student discontent. Rents were particularly high whether students were staying in hostels or 'digs'. The introduction of a 10% rent increase while students were demanding a reduction proved to be the last straw. When a threat to hold a rent strike failed to have the desired effect [The Surrey Comet, 26 March 1980], students during the summer term withheld all payments to the Polytechnic [The Surrey Comet, 18 October 1980]. Polytechnic managers found themselves beleaguered in other

areas too. In spite of increased charges and non-replacement of staff, the Refectory Service still showed a deficit of £69,000 [The Surrey Comet, 12 July 1980]. To rub salt into its wounds, the Equal Opportunities Commission criticised the institution for failing to provide adequate nursery facilities for its students' children [The Surrey Comet, 2 August 1980 and 5 November 1980]. The year ended, as it had begun, with student discontent. Two hundred Kingstonians with colleagues from other institutions marched to Hyde Park to protest at the changes being made to the student grant system [The Surrey Comet, 3 December 1980].

On the other hand, a number of long standing problems were resolved. The Kingston Regional Management Centre, for instance, was moved from expensive rented premises in New Malden to Kingston Hill [Diary, 2 June 1981]. Business and Management staff feared that a change in location and ambience would sap their entrepreneurial virility: after all they had achieved a 350% increase in fee profits during their stay at their suburban headquarters. In the event, re-location appeared to increase rather than diminish their success. After a strong, but in the end ineffectual defence, the School of Planning was closed: consequently, one member of staff was re-deployed and four more made redundant [Diary, 6 October 1980]. Not long afterwards, the Polytechnic celebrated the return of its climbers from a Himalayan Expedition. Their objective was to scale Mount Agyasol. Unfortunately, after fighting their way up to 19,000 feet, they were forced back by a combination of bad weather and lack of food and fuel [Diary, 10 November 1980]. December witnessed a rather unseasonal pot pourri of events: Dr Michael Catchpole, the Associate Director of Research, retired; it was announced that due to the capping of the A.F.E. Fund, the Refectory would in future have to balance its budget [Diary, 8 December 1980]; and for the sixth year running B.Ed Music and Drama students helped to present the B.B.C.'s *Time and Tune* Christmas Concerts for young children at the Festival Hall under the joint direction of Douglas Coombes and Bernie Farrell, an Education lecturer [Diary, 15 December 1980].

Loud alarm bells rang-in the New Year in 1981. In January, The Diary carried the headline: *The Third Financial Crisis* [Diary, 12 January 1981]: the first having been the capping of the A.F.E. pool in 1980 and the second the Clegg Commission's report recommending a staff pay rise without providing any clue as to how it could be funded. Polytechnic managers thought they had already saved £1.3M to deal with the first two. They now discovered, however, that expenditure had been much greater than anticipated and a deficit of £800,000 was likely to occur. The Director, however, reduced the shortfall to £325,500 by a series of swingeing economies: all non-committed Spring term expenditure was banned; £93,000 was saved by imposing an overtime ban and releasing part-time staff; £15,000 by lowering the institution's heating levels; £82,000 by cutting back on repairs and maintenance; £40,000 by halting spending on materials, field trips and equipment; and £35,000 by placing a moratorium on the buying of library books [The Surrey Comet, 24 January 1981]. Predictably, Polytechnic managers were attacked on all sides. Moreover, when Government statistics identified Kingston as the sixth most expensive polytechnic in the country [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 30 January 1981], local residents renewed their call for 'a slimmed down, high quality institution specialising in technical and vocational work' [Ibid]. The Director responded firmly that no significant gains could be made by closing courses. Nevertheless, Kingston was the first polytechnic in the country to declare redundancies following an eighteen month-long appointments freeze [Ibid]. On the whole, staffing dwindled through 'natural wastage' [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 6 February 1981]: while it had taken 519 staff to teach 4,587 full-time students during 1979/80, 474 lecturers managed to instruct 4,610 trainees during 1980/81 [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 1 May 1981]. United staff and student opposition emphasised the seriousness of the situation: both groups sent signed petitions to the Borough Education Committee deploring the cuts [The Surrey Comet, 18 March 1981]. Even the D.E.S. became concerned at the universality of the attacks upon its capping policy and announced a new, complicated two-stage funding approach in April 1981: each polytechnic was to receive 'a core of basic financial provision' supplemented 'at the margins by allowances for particular institutional features, such as unusual mixtures of staff and subjects' [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 10 April 1981]. This new proposal seemed to offer Kingston a glimmer of hope: cuts might be less draconian in future.

In October, a pair of visiting professors were appointed: Paul Hirst of Cambridge University became Visiting Professor in Educational Studies and Carola Grindea, Visiting Professor in Music Education [Diary, 5 October 1981]. During the following month, Mrs Daphne Brooker, Head of Fashion, Dr Chris Cobb, Head of Arts and Languages, and Dr John Coekin, Head of Electronic Engineering and Computer Science, became the Polytechnic's first institutionally-based professors [Diary, 25 November 1981].

More in hope than expectation, Academic Board set up the Staff Development Committee to advise on issues concerning induction, career progression, training, study leave, exchanges and secondment [Diary, 12 October 1981]. The Division of Educational Studies introduced a new style B.Ed [Hons] Degree programme. Its head, Dr Bob Godfrey, produced a substantial article for *The Times Educational Supplement*, outlining its 'professional' approach. 'Every course component', he wrote, 'should be seen to make a direct contribution to the professional preparation of the teacher' [Times Educational Supplement, 13 February 1981]. An innovative group tutorial system helped students to perceive 'the interrelationships and applications' of the various course components. Continuous school experience provided its central core [Ibid]. Happily, *The Medici Quartet*, one of the very best groups of its kind in the country, were appointed artists-in-residence and settled down on Kingston Hill [The Surrey Comet, 21 November 1981] where the First International Conference on Tension in Performance was held in 1981 [Daily Telegraph, 2 September 1981].

While universities reduced student intakes, polytechnics increased their's ... sometimes with near disastrous results [The Times, 20 October 1981]. So many freshers failed to find accommodation during September 1981 that the Polytechnic had to take emergency measures: mattresses, borrowed from Kingston Hospital, were laid out in the extension to the Penrhyn Road Student Bar and in the old wooden Army huts at Kingston Hill [The Surrey Comet, 30 October 1981]. Worse still, some temporary dormitories had to be evacuated following a serious gas leak [Ibid]. As a result, disgruntled freshers held a 'bed-in', deliberately blocking the Penrhyn Road foyer and corridors with their mattresses [Ibid]. Soaring rents contributed to the general disaffection [The Weekender, 9 October 1981]. In November 1981, managers vainly attempted to convince local residents that the Polytechnic's presence worked to their advantage in spite of all the Borough councillor's criticisms [The Surrey Comet, 25 November 1981]. Even the elements seemed to be ranged against the institution as the newly opened £1M Kingston Hill Library was flooded by cloud bursts on no less than three separate occasions on 1st June, 22th July and 6th August 1981 [The Surrey Comet, 7 November 1981] - a dry moat filled with pebbles had to be sunk all round the building to prevent further inundations.

In February 1982, students occupied the Polytechnic Libraries in protest over reduced opening hours: these had had to be imposed due to the loss of casual staff [The Surrey Comet, February 1981]. Another sit-in during May, part of the National Union of Students' country-wide campaign, paralysed the reference libraries. Student representatives asserted: 'The library service is being decimated and worst of all, standards are falling. Kingston Polytechnic has suffered more than most' [The Surrey Comet, 9 May 1982]. Once again, Academic Board heatedly discussed ways in which the institution's management structures might be improved. In the meantime, the funding debate continued unabated. In 1982, a new interim body, nicknamed PUSSY, was set up to consider Local Authority Higher Education provision [Diary, 18 January 1982]. The Government decided to fund institutions on a cost-per-student basis thus favouring the more frugal polytechnics. By this time, Kingston had ceased to be one of the big spenders and occupied a position mid-way down the national polytechnic expenditure league table: between 1980/81 and 1982/83, its funding was expected to fall by 4%, as compared with North East London's 11% at one end of the polytechnic league and Oxford's 2% at the other [The Guardian, 8 January 1982]. During this period, Polytechnic membership of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education declined by 12.7% compared with a nation-wide average reduction of 5% [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 26 February 1982]. This higher than average decline and *The Times Higher Education Supplement's* prediction that Kingston would have to reduce its academic staff by 13% between 1981 and 1984 [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 31 December 1982] produced a serious fall in morale. The proposed closure in 1982 of the School of Liberal Studies added to the general mood of despondency [The Surrey Comet, 12 November 1982]. The Deputy Director prevented a storm of protest by pointing out that its staff were going to be redeployed, not sacked [Ibid].

In June 1982, Mrs Elizabeth Esteve-Coll, the Head of Learning Resources, left to become Surrey University's chief librarian [Diary, 21 June 1982] - she later enjoyed a much more tempestuous career as Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum. As Head of Learning Resources she had succeeded in coordinating the work of the Library and Media Services. Another stalwart of the establishment, the Registrar, Brigadier S.T.A. Hall, retired in November. During the Second World War, he had seen action under Wavell and Montgomery in the Western Desert and later fought under Templar in the Malayan jungles. As Alan Matterson wrote: 'His clear mind, his gift for analysis of complexity and lucidity of expression, his talent for friendship, his delight in humour and bon mots, earned him first respect and trust and then the admiration and deep affection of everyone' [Alan Matterson, The Diary, 8 November 1982].

The news that the Director, Dr Lawley, had decided to retire in July 1982 at the age of 62 came as a shock to most staff. He explained: *'The management (of the polytechnic) must be reconsidered and the academic board has a lot of changes to make. I feel with all these new developments that now is the time for a new man to step in'* [The Surrey Comet, 27 January 1982]. Dr Lawley's dry sense of humour often came to his aid in times of difficulty: on facing, for instance, some particularly unpleasant journalistic sniping, he cheerfully commented: *'Just remember that today's (news)paper is tomorrow's fish-and-chip-wrapping'* [Esteve-Coll Remembers, Education, March 1992]. The Polytechnic celebrated Dr Lawley's unique contribution by making him its first Professor Emeritus [The Surrey Comet, 10 July 1982]. Of his leadership style, Alan Matterson, the Deputy Director, wrote:

Against the general tide of opinion, when the Polytechnic was formed, he placed his faith in the evolution of academic policy on the teaching teams and the Schools and not on central committees or the like. His close and trusting relationships with senior officers and Heads reflected this same belief - find the right people, trust them and back them ... Although Professor Lawley always did his best to project within the Polytechnic the image of a tough and rational puritan most members of staff, including his senior colleagues, did their very best to conceal from him that he was in fact known to be mash-mellow inside! - especially when staff or students were in trouble.
[Dr A Matterson, *Diary*, 24 June 1982]

Although Dr Lawley's public persona resembled Dr Hepburn's in some ways, his personal character was very different. His well cultivated detachment reflected his belief that all sides of every question should be considered carefully and dispassionately. Unlike his predecessor, he had a strong sense of humour. One morning, Ivan Hannaford marched into his Office and told him to 'stick' his job as he had just scooped the Pools. *'How much did you win?'*, asked the startled Director. *'£1.50'* Ivan replied! Lawley roared with laughter. Moreover, he showed real consideration for his personal staff. At the end of his first year in office, he handed Freda Sirmon, his secretary, a little box. *'What's this?'*, she asked in surprise. *'You're Christmas present'*, he replied. His management style won the affection of all those close to him [Discussions with Freda Sirmon]. Freda Sirmon's assessment of Dr Lawley as an employer was instant and succinct: *'Great!'*

Dr Bob Smith, Professor of Physical Electronics at Southampton University, was chosen as Dr Lawley's successor from a strong field of internal and external candidates [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 30 April 1982]. On taking up his post, Bob Smith summed up the situation as he saw it: *'The universities have put the accent on research. Here in the polys the emphasis has been on the quality of teaching and the make up of course structure. Our courses are more tightly run and I think that there is a closer degree of involvement by the lecturers with the students than you'd get at most, though not all, universities'* [Guardian, 22 August 1982]. Although Bob Smith's arrival marked an important turning point in the institution's evolution, at first its developmental pattern remained virtually unchanged. The student campaign for higher grants, for instance, straddled Dr Lawley's departure and Bob Smith's arrival. Although following a national work-in, the Government increased the grant by 4% from £1,825 to £1,898 p.a., this, as the students were quick to point out, represented a cut in real terms [The Surrey Comet, 3 March 1982]. Discontent increased throughout the year and culminated in the occupation of the Director's and Deputy Director's offices [The Surrey Comet, 17 December 1982]. In an effort to head off trouble, the new Director announced on 7th November 1982: *'While Kingston Polytechnic is having to prepare plans, at the request of the National Advisory Board set up by the Government for a possible slimming of the institution to live with 10% less income, I wish to state categorically that there is no question of these proposals resulting in a student presently studying at the Polytechnic being unable to complete his or her courses'* [Academic Board Minutes, 7 November 1982]. The crisis nevertheless was genuine. In its N.A.B. response, the Polytechnic pointed out that a 10% cut represented *'a net reduction of 24 members of the teaching staff and 32 members of the non-teaching staff'*. However, the institution's central assumptions were *'no course closures, student numbers to be maintained and positive identification of thrust areas'* - the latter included Business, Economics and Mathematics; Design; Engineering; Information Technology; Science; and Teacher Training [Ibid].

While rumours of course closures and cut-backs kept staff and students in a continual state of nervous tension, the Polytechnic did rather well. Although teacher training institutions throughout the country were under threat, Sir Keith Joseph, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, included Kingston in his list of providers who would receive slightly enhanced student allocations [Times Educational

Supplement, 24 September 1982]. Kingston was chosen as one of sixteen polytechnics and colleges to benefit from the first stage of the Government's three-year £100M programme to boost information technology and research [Financial Times, 22 December 1982]. During the Falklands War, Dr Peter Beck, a History lecturer, won international recognition as an expert commentator while taking part in an astonishing round of article writing and radio and television interviews [The Guardian, 26 July 1982]. The submissions made by eight Fashion students to the 14th Annual Saga Design Awards competition were so impressive that they were bought, manufactured and retailed by top British furriers [Surrey Comet, 3 March 1983]. Kingston Regional Management Centre produced an important Distance Learning package for Lloyds Bank International Ltd which opened up the way for a number of similar successful enterprises [Diary, 1 March 1982].

In face of further funding cuts in 1983, Kingston adopted a number of austerity measures: no library books were bought throughout the year, support was withdrawn for conference attendance and staff travelling costs, and student board and lodging fees were raised [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 7 July 1983]. According to the Director, there had been an overspend of £45,000 during 1982/3 with an anticipated further overspend of £500,000 in 1983/4. Draconian cuts in central services mitigated the impact of these shortfalls [Diary, 31 May 1983]. It was feared that the new National Advisory Board (NAB) would impose radical controls over institutional expenditure, management and expansion [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 26 August 1983]. Almost immediately, an ill disguised power struggle took place between it and the C.N.A.A., which reacted spiritedly to what it conceived to be an attack upon its role [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 20 January 1984]. The notion that N.A.B. representatives might join C.N.A.A. validation and review panels was rejected with scorn. This clash, however, reinforced rather than weakened the binary divide between universities and public sector advanced education institutions [Ibid].

Fortunately, N.A.B.'s bark proved to be far worse than its bite. Instead of a further round of cuts, it introduced subquantum funding so that no institution lost more than 5.4% of its predicted 1983/4 allocation [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, October 1983]. As far as Kingston was concerned, this obviated the need for course closures although its recruitment preference shifted perceptibly away from the humanities, social sciences and fine arts towards technological and strictly vocational subjects [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 16 September 1983]. Dr Smith proudly announced that Kingston had emerged from the N.A.B. exercise more successfully than any other comparable institution in the South East [Ibid]. At the same time, Norman Lamont M.P. confirmed that due to its important industrial role the institution would be protected from further cuts: '*Kingston Polytechnic has been singled out by the Government as one of our stronger institutions that deserves backing*' [The Surrey Comet, 21 October 1983]. The Polytechnic was further strengthened by the appointment of Eric Lang as Registrar [Diary, 18 April 1983]. He provided not only high efficiency but a splendidly mordant wit which illumined many a dark hour in various Polytechnic committees and Academic Board.

In its 1983 Polytechnic Briefing, *The Sunday Times* described Kingston's '*un glamorous, overcrowded buildings*' and noted: '*some library complaints, but improvements are afoot. Computing facilities exceptional. Good staff-student relations. Strong emphasis on continuous assessment and projects. Hall places for 900 students. Severe shortage of `digs`. Sports facilities fair but scattered*' [Sunday Times, 16 September 1983]. It also remarked that the Polytechnic was moving '*unashamedly towards technocracy*' and regarded '*business, design (where its reputation is second to none), engineering (also very good), information technology and science*' as '*thrust areas*' [Ibid].

By 1983, relations between the Royal Borough of Kingston and the Polytechnic had become so strained that an effective long term solution had to be found. A working party was set up to report back to the Education Committee and ultimately the whole Council on all aspects of the relationship. *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* suggested that the working party was likely to recommend tighter Borough controls over Polytechnic expenditure and an even stronger movement towards vocational and away from humanities courses [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 7 October 1983]. This potentially dangerous intervention prompted the Chief Education Officer, Robert McCloy, and the Director, Bob Smith, to take the unusual step of sending a joint letter to *The Times Educational Supplement*, pointing out that the working party might well advise '*the further devolution of responsibility to the polytechnic*' [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 21 October 1983]. At this time, the institution

renewed its intermittent quest for an effective and efficient academic organisation. In February, the Director initiated a preliminary discussion on the benefits of introducing a Faculty structure [Diary, 14 February 1983].

Meanwhile, in what might have been interpreted as a preemptive strike, the Borough commissioned Coopers & Lybrand Associates to examine the Polytechnic's management and administrative systems, particularly its expenditure controls [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 13 April 1984]. The authors of the ensuing report commented that the presence of a large semi-autonomous organisation within the policy parameters of a larger one almost inevitably led to '*duplication of effort, waste of resources and conflict of interest*' [Ibid]. They recommended '*regular performance review*' on N.A.B. expenditure lines and careful monitoring of academic performance [Ibid]. By contrast, Dr Smith, the Polytechnic Director, called for, '*more flexibility of operation*' [Ibid]. *The Times Higher Education Supplement* kept the debate going by suggesting that polytechnics might be '*set free*' from local authority control by being given corporate status. In May 1984, the Borough and Polytechnic concluded '*a pact of steel*', enabling funds to be rolled over so that a contingency account could be created to tide the Polytechnic over times of financial stringency [The Surrey Comet, 24 May 1984].

The Times Higher Education Supplement set the tone for 1984 with the headline, '*Three thousand teaching jobs at risk*' [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 24 February 1984]. The D.E.S., it argued, was attempting to meet its 1984/85 economic targets by sponsoring a radical reduction in Advanced Further Education staffing. However, as Kingston was one of only three institutions whose economies had already been brought into line with the new requirements, no further staff cuts were needed [Diary, 6 March 1984]. As a sign of its growing maturity, the Polytechnic became one of only two institutions to establish a partnership with the Council for National Academic Awards - Newcastle Polytechnic was the other. Kingston staff took responsibility for ensuring quality assurance during validation and review events with C.N.A.A. officers playing a very reduced, supportive role. Initially, the experiment lasted for two years [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 18 November 1983]. The Polytechnic, moreover, emerged with flying colours from its C.N.A.A. Quinquennial Review on 3/4 May 1984, even though the previous five years had been marked by '*massive funding reductions*', the lowering of the unit of resource by 30% and a degradation of staff-student ratios from 1:8 to 1:12 [Surrey Daily Advertiser, 18 May 1984]. On the other hand, the Kingston-C.N.A.A. partnership's '*limited success*' was regretted - the C.N.A.A., however, agreed to continue the experiment for a further year while a joint working party tried to discover '*the simplest and most cost-effective means of validating courses*' [Ibid]. Some clear, tough institutional targets were also identified: the new academic structures had to be made to work; the pressure upon staff had to be reduced by introducing new teaching and learning strategies; and determined efforts had to be made to resolve accommodation problems [Diary, 14 May 1984]. This minor triumph was followed by a more encouraging success: in October, the D.E.S. agreed to invest £1,060,000 in developing a new engineering building in Fassett Road [Diary, 10 October 1984].

While the future nature and governance of public sector advanced education institutions were furiously debated at both national and local levels, the Polytechnic's life exhibited its normal characteristics. Course innovation attracted positive publicity. Although Kingston had been offering computing programmes since 1969, its new Information Systems Design course caught the public imagination not only because it encouraged wide ranging use of computers in business, commerce and industry but because of its much lauded suitability for women [The Surrey Comet, 8 July 1983]. *Computer Weekly* enthused, '*Kingston Polytechnic is demonstrating that this section of higher education can produce quality courses and students to meet the requirements of a constantly changing computer market place*' [Computer Weekly, 4 August 1983]. Another significant development, the introduction of Access Programmes, enabled non-traditional candidates to apply for places on degree course who had either been disadvantaged during their normal secondary education, or had left school without the academic qualifications required for entry to higher education, or wished to make a mid-career change [Kingston Informer, 24 May 1984]. On 20th January 1984, a C.N.A.A. visiting panel enthusiastically approved the Part-time Master of Business Administration (MBA) degree course: the teaching team, led by Mrs Juliet Sheppard, won particularly high praise [Diary, 20 January 1984]. The fashion world recognised the Polytechnic as one of the country's major '*trendsetters*' [The Surrey Comet, 1 July 1983; Times Educational Supplement, 15 January 1984]: Design students, for instance, participated successfully in the London Furniture Show [Workshop Guardian, 29 July 1983] while Professor Ahrends declared the School of Architecture to be one of the best in the country [The Surrey Comet, 6 January 1984]. And in March 1984 the Kingston First XV won the Polytechnic Rugby Cup Final [Daily Telegraph,

15 March 1984]. The European Piano Teachers Association's fifth annual conference [Times Educational Supplement, 12 August 1983] and the second international conference on Tension in Performance [Music & Musicians, 22 July 1983] were held on Polytechnic campuses. According to *the Daily Telegraph*, Kingston was one of the best and most popular polytechnics in the country [Daily Telegraph, 5 September 1983].

A switch in Government policy towards initial teacher training caused a significant local upheaval. The Division/Faculty of Education had performed well in all its H.M.I. inspections between 1975 and 1983. 'It was hell!', admitted Bob Godfrey, the Dean, 'you can't hide all the wrinkles and students will say what they want' [The Surrey Comet, 4 July 1984]. Nevertheless, its initial teacher training courses were graded 'good' [Times Educational Supplement, 29 June 1984]. In 1983, however, the Government published Circular 3/84 which for the first time established national criteria for all initial teacher training courses. For many years the official hallmark of a good teacher was deemed to be all round curriculum competence, now the D.E.S. decided that the real litmus test should be knowledge comparable in depth to that achieved by holders of single subject degrees. Moreover, a quango, the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (C.A.T.E.), was established to enforce the criteria. It was Kingston's bad luck to be among the first group of nine institutions upon which C.A.T.E. cut its teeth. With fatal hubris, the Faculty submitted for scrutiny a new course, dubbed 'excellent' by the C.N.A.A., which failed to meet all the new criteria. Although the Division was instructed to restructure the programme [Times Educational Supplement, 23 August 1985], the D.E.S., as a magnanimous gesture, allowed two successive student cohorts to follow the ill-fated 'excellent' course - for a number of years, as a result, Kingston had three different BEd [Hons] degree programmes running at the same time. Kingston's experience was not unusual and at the Undergraduate Primary Teacher Education Conference's (U.P.T.E.C.) first meeting at Nottingham Trent College in May 1984, critics were astonished to observe that all the teacher training providers were as one in execrating C.A.T.E. in the person of its Chair, Dr Bill Taylor, who received an extremely hostile reception when he tried unavailingly to convince representatives that the new criteria had been introduced for their own good [Times Educational Supplement, May 1985; Guardian, 4 June 1985; M. Gibson, a witness]. Kingston's revised B.Ed (Hons) degree programme was accredited by the Secretary of State in 1986 [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 7 November 1986].

While the Faculty was still licking its wounds, the newspapers praised its students for their role in the 1985 successful joint BBC/Child Education Festival Hall Christmas production, jointly directed by Douglas Coombes and Bernie Farrell [e.g. Child Education, February 1985]. Admittedly, some of the excitement arose from Princess Alexandra's well publicised presence at one of the performances. The Faculty also had a new 'highly unusual' BA Music Education degree to celebrate. The Music School's approach differed markedly from both the conservatoires' emphasis upon instrumental performance and the music colleges' upon form, composition and history [Times Higher Educational Supplement, 7 September 1984]. The new joint Kingston Borough/K.R.M.C. Small Business Advisory Service [The Surrey Comet, 30 November 1984] and the Open Learning Action Project developing distance learning materials for managers and supervisors were received enthusiastically [Surrey Daily Advertiser, 15 June 1984]. *The Times* strongly urged manufacturers to adopt the schemes exhibited by Polytechnic students at the *Design at Kingston Exhibition*, and praised the 'dynamic enthusiasm' shown by Peter Lloyd Jones, the Head of School [Times, 7 July 1984].

At last, the institution appeared to be according women due recognition. Women's Studies, for example, played an increasingly important role in the work of the Faculties of Design and Human Sciences, particularly in the Combined Studies degree course. A critical spotlight, however, fell on the Polytechnic when four female lecturers threatened to take the institution to court protesting that they had been passed over for promotion due to sex discrimination [The Surrey Comet, 26 June 1985]. As the indignant four put it, the institution's motto might well have been: 'Never promote a woman if there's a man in sight' [The Guardian, 10 September 1985]. After a serious and extensive debate within Academic Board, an Equal Opportunities Policy was agreed. This did not, however, involve positive discrimination to increase the number of women on the staff. Accordingly, some staff continued to believe that, as far as the Polytechnic was concerned, women were second class citizens and that this was borne out by the small percentage of women at principal lecturer, head of school, dean and executive level. This episode, however, had considerable impact upon management who thereafter paid much greater attention to the whole area of equal opportunities.

Newspaper articles at the beginning of each new academic year continued to denounce the housing of freshers in 'unventilated airing cupboards' at Clayhill and elsewhere [e.g. *The Standard*, 28 September 1983]. Comments like 'I wouldn't put an animal in there' made good copy but did little for the institution's reputation [Ibid]. Students threatened to strike in 1983 when rents were raised by 12% at Clayhill and 18% at Kingston Hill [*The Surrey Comet*, 7 October 1983] - the Director pointed out that due to resource constraints, the institution could no longer afford to subsidise rents [Ibid]. By contrast, a staffing crisis prompted management to put forward an idea which attracted favourable press attention. Recent Kingston graduates in information technology and computing were to be employed as demonstrators as they would be able to make an immediate and effective contribution to programme delivery [*Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 20 July 1984].

For the time being the Polytechnic's financial situation remained encouraging as first the Advanced Further Education pool for 1985/6 was increased by £40M [*Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 10 November 1984] and then £2.5M was made available to fund research in polytechnics and colleges: Kingston, as one of the top eleven polytechnics, received an annual grant of £150,000 for three years [*Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 25 January 1985]. Moreover, Kingston received £1.2M from the Government under 'The Switch to Science and Technology' scheme [*Surrey Daily Advertiser*, 18 October 1985]: with this money, it was able to offer 46 more places in computer science, a brand new course in modern manufacturing engineering, and postgraduate programmes for industrial engineers and computer specialists [*The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 11 October 1985]. More impressive still, the Polytechnic was the only institution in the country to recruit to target [*The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 15 November 1985]. Consequently, according to *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, Kingston was regarded as 'The very model of a modern polytechnic' [*The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, November 1985]. It was generally agreed that it supplied 'better than average graduates' [Ibid]. Relations with the Royal Borough, on the other hand, continued to deteriorate. As *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* observed, 'The smallest local authority of all, Kingston, controls a polytechnic by a geographical accident of inheritance' [*The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 8 February 1985].

Moreover, its students were not nearly as happy as its public image led people to believe. A powerful grants demo took place at the Guildhall in November 1984 [*The Surrey Comet*, 23 November 1984], followed by an all night occupation of the Kingston Hill Library [*The Surrey Comet*, 30 November 1984]. As a result, when Sir Keith Joseph, the Secretary for Education and Science, visited the Penrhyn Road and Kingston Hill campuses in January 1985, he was given a robust welcome [*The Surrey Comet*, 18 January 1985]. Nevertheless, he accorded the institution a clean bill of health: 'I am impressed', he commented, 'The Polytechnic is clearly fulfilling its function to the benefit of students and employers, and to the local community' [Diary, 9 June 1985]. The C.N.A.A.'s offer of two modes of association in 1985 was greeted, however, with something like derision. The proposed two tier system had, as one polytechnic director commented, 'as much force as a wet lettuce' [*The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 8 February 1985]. Kingston, however, opted for Mode B by which the C.N.A.A. devolved most validation and review responsibilities to the partner institution [Ibid]. This conformist approach bore fruit as Kingston came to be regarded as a 'frontrunner for a validation agreement with the C.N.A.A.' [*The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 15 November 1985].

In 1985, the Government issued a Green Paper: *Higher Education into the 1990s* [Command 9524, HMSO, 1985]. Dr Smith greeted this with contempt, remarking scathingly that 'It fudges almost every substantive issue and fails to provide a policy framework for the 1990s' [*The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 7 June 1985]. While the Government fudged, Sir Keith Joseph, in reply to a question about Kingston Polytechnic's high standards, raised by Richard Tracey, the M.P. for Sutton, agreed that 'It is widely accepted that some departments at some polytechnics are probably stronger than some equivalent university departments' [Diary, 21 May 1985]. In March 1985, Kingston appointed a bevy of Readers, including Dr Peter Beck and Dr Peter Conradi from Arts and Languages; Dr Eddie Bromfield from Civil Engineering; Mr I. Gordon from Economics and Politics; and Dr George Hadjimatheou, from Economics and Politics [Diary, 15 March 1985]. On 20th March, an Artificial Intelligence Group was set up with a strong emphasis on Expert Systems [Diary, 29 April 1985]. Kingston also led the way in founding a M.Eng course [*Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 3 May 1985] while its Arts and Fashion students continued to win critical acclaim. In 1985, the former were invited to take part in *the National Illustrators Exhibition* while the latter for the third consecutive year won the Munich based *International Sportswear*

Competition [The Surrey Comet, 15 May 1985]. During the same period, the Kingston Chamber Choir cut its first Long Playing Record [The Surrey Comet, 16 August 1985] and the Faculties of Business and Education prepared for Industry Year by holding an important conference [Surrey Advertiser, 29 November 1985]. Encouraging sporting successes were achieved: Kingston's First XI goalkeeper, Chris Hall, was nominated for the World Student Games at Kobe in Japan [Diary, 17 June 1985] while Colin Little, an Education lecturer, was included on the list of international rugby referees - he, as a result, was importuned even more disgracefully than previously for tickets to international matches.

Once more, after a brief, misleadingly encouraging interlude, financial constraints were reimposed in 1985. N.A.B., however, nominated Kingston as one of five public sector higher education institutions to have their allocation of engineering places increased [Diary, 29 July 1985]. The Further Education Act, 1985, also opened up interesting possibilities by enabling polytechnics and local authority colleges to sell, on a fully commercial basis, the by-products of their research and teaching [Diary, *ibid*]. Moreover, as it was clear that the Polytechnic needed to capitalise upon its assets, Kingston Hill Place was put up for sale [The Surrey Comet, 7 August 1985]. At the beginning of October, the Director drew attention to falling rolls and pointed out that candidates showed less interest in engineering and science than in the arts and humanities [The Surrey Comet, 9 October 1985]. At first, management denied that there would be any changes in the Polytechnic's course portfolio and recruitment targets. Then, social science and fine art numbers were cut by between 5% and 10% while humanities' intakes were pegged at current levels [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 9 November 1985]. On 2nd December 1985, the Governors recognised that the Polytechnic was likely to be 3% poorer in the current year than it had been in 1984/85. Some areas of expenditure including staffing, they agreed, would have to be reduced. On the other hand, they supported increased staff training and programme marketing [Diary, 16 December 1985].

The second half of the decade got off to a bad start. 'A cloud of stinking chemical fumes' escaped from Penrhyn Road Centre. As the noisome gas engulfed the surrounding streets, the unfortunate local inhabitants suffered 'streaming eyes, sore throats and retching' [The Surrey Comet, 17 January 1986]. In spite of this bad omen, the Polytechnic's reputation continued to grow as its high position in the national league tables demonstrated. In January 1985, for instance, Kingston topped both the national leagues for engineering and technology [The Kingston Informer, 10 January 1986]. Better still, Kingston was voted the top polytechnic by the employers of polytechnic graduates [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 9 May 1986]. At the same time, N.A.B. counteracted any tendency towards complacency by announcing programmes involving further cuts and a series of mergers to rationalise provision [The Times Educational Supplement, 11 April 1986]. As part of the Government's country-wide plan, Wimbledon College of Art was urged to amalgamate with the Kingston [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 11 April 1986] while the Polytechnic's popular and successful Graphic Design course was to be phased out [The Daily Telegraph, 8 April 1986]. The merger proposal, however, met with implacable opposition from Wimbledon's governors, staff, and past and current students [The Wimbledon Informer, 5 June 1986]. The second proposal generated almost as much heat. Kingston's School of Graphic Design was widely acknowledged to be one of the best in the country. If, as N.A.B. suggested, its annual intake was reduced from 35 to 18, it would cease to be viable and might well have to close [The Surrey Comet, 12 August 1986]. As neither Kingston nor Wimbledon exhibited the slightest enthusiasm for the proposed merger, a stay of execution was granted [The Wimbledon Borough News, 28 November 1986] before the plan was quietly dropped [The Surrey Comet, 27 January 1987]. After a doughty defence, the School of Graphic Design was also reprieved [The Twickenham & District Comet, 9 January 1987].

In April 1986, rumours were rife of 'a cuts panic' at Kingston [The Guardian, 17 April 1986]. Management admitted that compulsory redundancies might be necessary if N.A.B. reduced staff funding by 5% [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 23 May 1986]. In the meantime, the Polytechnic asked the Royal Borough to help clear its books by writing off debts totalling £172,410. Most of these arrears arose from the institution's inability to collect approximately 1% of its potential £4.5M income from student and short course fees and research contracts [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 27 June 1986]. While rumours of further resource constraints created considerable anxiety across the sector, Kingston made significant progress towards solving some outstanding teaching accommodation problems. First, a new two-storey Business Studies building was officially opened at Kingston Hill in February 1986 [The Guardian, 18 February 1986] and then, within a few weeks, the

Town House was opened at Penrhyn Road, containing administrative offices, teaching facilities and a new Student Union building [The Surrey Comet, 18 March 1986]. Meanwhile, *The Observer* paid the institution a dubious compliment by noting that it had '*the best decorated student bar in the country*' [The Observer Colour Magazine, 12 October 1986]. Better still, the long awaited Technology building was under construction and in 1987/8 N.A.B. pledged £1M towards its building costs [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 17 October 1986]. Local residents, however, were horrified by the thought of yet another huge Polytechnic building dominating their environment. Management, however, fielded their complaints with such skill that in November 1986, *The Surrey Comet* announced, '*Polly (sic) Plan Objections withdrawn*' [The Surrey Comet, 6 November 1986].

Important changes took place in senior management: Ken Barker, the Pro-Director and one-time Principal of Gipsy Hill College, was appointed Director of Leicester Polytechnic [Leicester Mercury, 23 April 1986]. He was promptly replaced by Dr Philip Wookey, the then Deputy Director of the Essex Institute of Higher Education [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 25 July 1986]. Although Dr Wookey's reign was relatively short, he made a very deep impression by supervising the production of a finance model which was to survive him by another ten years. While these changes were taking place, the Town House was officially opened in March 1986 by Councillor John Bowis, the Chairperson of the Borough Education Committee [Diary, 24 March 1986]. The Director and Pro-Director and other senior managers were translated from their old offices in the Penrhyn Road Block to new '*luxurious*' accommodation. The Town House also boasted a new Board Room from the walls of which portraits of Dr Lawley, a past Director of Kingston Polytechnic, and Miss de Lissa, a past Principal of Gipsy Hill College, looked down somewhat quizzically. The Board Room tended to be icily cold in winter and boiling hot in summer. When its windows were opened, Penrhyn Road traffic noise drowned conversation. When the air conditioning was turned on, the whirring of its fans blocked out all other sounds. Did these phenomena, cynics asked, form part of the original planning specification?

A miscellaneous collection of successes relieved this otherwise rather grim period. During the 1986 Autumn term, a large party of American students from the universities of North Carolina, Southern Maine and California pepped up campus life [Diary, 6 October 1986]. The submission and approval of a new Combined Studies Degree course provided local mature students with a wide range of part-, full-time or a mixture of part- and full-time studies from which to select [The Diary, 17 November 1986 & 9 February 1987]. Subject pathways were provided in Applied Economics, Politics, Public Sector Economics and Policy Studies, History, History of Ideas and English Literature. As the years went by, more and more subject options were added to its portfolio. Its foundation, intermediate and advanced stages equated with years 1, 2 and 3 on a full-time degree course. The programme enabled students to progress at a pace which suited their personal circumstances: a degree programme could take up to seven years to complete in part-time mode. The concept not only recognised local residents' needs and preferences but in many ways returned to the institution's roots.

In 1987, the School of Architecture celebrated fifty years of successful teaching and learning by validating a part-time Master's Degree in Architecture [The Diary, 6 April 1987]. This presaged the reconfiguration of the Design Faculty, which in its new form encompassed all art and design activities except for those within the Schools of Engineering and Computing [The Diary, 23 May 1987]. In addition, the Polytechnic tidied up the loose ends left over by its academic reorganisation: David Miles became Dean of Business and Law [The Diary, 13 July 1987]; Chris Cobb, Dean of Human Sciences [The Diary, 13 July 1987]; Tony Mercer, Dean of Science [The Diary, 30 November 1987]; and Philip Williams, Dean of Technology [Ibid]. When Ivan Hannaford took a sabbatical to carry out research at Cambridge University, Bob Godfrey became Acting Assistant Director Academic [The Diary, 14 September 1987]. In his absence, Nick Cullis and John Heamon shared the Deanship of Education, each serving for six months. By courtesy of Trickett and Webb, a final polish was given to the new-look Polytechnic by introducing a new logo: a large kicking 'K', which headed all official materials [The Diary, 8 June 1987]. This, it was hoped, would help to instil a greater notion of corporate identity into staff, students and clients alike. In September, the Polytechnic launched an expensive, lengthy and rather dispiriting search for effective Management Information Systems. Logica were initially retained to recommend an appropriate software package. However, the range and variety of information created by the Polytechnic course portfolio defied simple programming and a number of consultants followed Logica in an apparently hopeless struggle to transform this factual pot pourri into a workable matrix.

All this, however, was a diversion from the main business of the session. As cuts really started to bite, student militancy reappeared. Part of the trouble lay in the Polytechnic's insistence that students living in Kingston Hill hostels accept a package including not only rent for their rooms but payment for set meals. Many students worked at other centres and therefore could not eat the meals prescribed by their contract; worse still no refunds were available. Discontent boiled over during February 1987 and students refused to pay rent - the money was placed in a Student Union account until such time as the dispute was resolved - and boycotted and picketed the Kingston Hill canteen [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 8 February 1987]. The students wanted management to introduce a pay-as-you-eat system. Although this proved to be impossible, the package was modified to allow students to pay for a reduced number of meals.

The student accommodation problem, which for a number of years had played a much smaller part in Polytechnic affairs, made an emphatic comeback in 1987. In September, the Accommodation Service admitted that four hundred students had nowhere to live. First of all local residents were regaled with stories of homeless freshers spending nights under canvas [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 29 October 1987], and then, they were informed that 110 first years were doubling up in single rooms with the second person sleeping on an uncomfortable camp bed [The Surrey Comet, 2 October 1987]. Once again, the Polytechnic threw itself into the task of producing extra accommodation by making local residences available to students under the headed tenancy scheme and by building a series of new hostels. Some useful institutional successes helped to dispel the prevailing gloomy mood. The Business School in collaboration with the Rapid Results College produced distance learning materials enabling mature students to study for the Diploma of Management Studies (DMS) while still in employment [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 20 November 1987]. At the same time, the School of Music entered into a valuable partnership with the Gateway School of Music and Technology [Pro Sound News, September 1987]. A fine recording and rehearsal studio was completed at Coombehurst in November 1987 with a splendid 24-track recording system which could be used for commercial as well as institutional purposes [Ibid]. In November 1987, a powerful C.N.A.A. review and accreditation panel, including Ron Dearing, Dr Malcolm Frazer and Sir Norman Lindop, visited the Polytechnic [The Diary, 23 November 1987]. Although their report was largely positive, they recommended a number of improvements, including providing new opportunities for staff development, disseminating good evaluation practices throughout the institution and encouraging greater student involvement in decision making [Ibid]. At the same time, Dr Jim Curran who had written a constant stream of high quality papers and books focusing upon the Small Business world, received a Midland Bank Professorship in recognition of his outstanding contribution to research [The Diary, 30 November 1987].

The 1988 Education Bill must have been one of the most provocative of all time. It was seen as a vote of no confidence in schools, teacher training providers and universities. Higher education students and staff totally opposed the clauses affecting their conditions. Demonstrators gave Kenneth Baker, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, due warning of their feelings when he arrived to present Kingston Science graduates with their degree certificates at the Fairfield Halls in January 1988 [The Croydon Post, 27 January 1988]. The Director took the opportunity to fire some ranging shots across Mr Baker's ample ministerial bows: *'All I ask is that the polytechnics are given a fair chance, with the prospect of a few of them being included in the new teaching and research category'* [The Surrey Comet, 29 January 1988]. N.A.T.F.E. representatives warned that polytechnics and colleges would face industrial action during the Spring term of 1989 if employers proceeded with the proposed contractual changes [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 9 September 1988]. In the meantime, the C.N.A.A. Council granted Kingston and five other polytechnics accredited status [the Diary, 11 January 1988].

The eagerly anticipated attainment of corporate status, promised by Clause 82 of the 1988 Education Reform Act, provided some unexpected problems. From the beginning, the Student Union vociferously opposed the ending of local government control, believing that it ensured at least some measure of democracy [The Richmond & District Comet, 22 January 1988]. Although considerable expense was involved, the Government provided little transitional funding - £149,000 in Kingston's case - to facilitate the provision of institutional payroll, creditor payment, fee and other income collection, debtor control, ledger management, and research and other entrepreneurial contract negotiation services [Public Finance & Accounting, 13 May 1988]. Kingston was one of a dozen institutions which considered opting out of the proposed Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council funding committee and *'going it alone'* [Guardian, 26 September 1988]. While this risky strategy was still being debated, the

corporate board of governors met for the first time on 16th November 1988 [The Richmond & Twickenham Times, 25 November 1988] with Reginald Bailey as Chairman [The Surrey Comet, 25 November 1988]. Further problems were already on the horizon. Some polytechnic directors wished to exclude staff and student representatives from the new governing bodies [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 24 June 1988]. On Monday 21st November 1988, the Secretary of State announced that the new higher education corporations would be officially established on 1st April 1989 [The Diary 21 November 1988].

Although the Education Reform bill proposed a new staff payment system which narrowed the gap between university, polytechnic and college lecturers, the proposed changes in working conditions were deeply resented. As early as January 1988, Dr Smith warned staff that corporate status would require changes in the length of their working year and the size of their teaching commitment [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 22 January 1988]. On behalf of the Committee of Polytechnic and College Principals' working party, he stated: *'We believe there has to be a national framework to set pay levels and conditions of service, but there must also be flexibility at institutional levels'* [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 4 March 1988]. The unions' worst fears were confirmed when it was suggested that the annual contract should be for forty-six instead of thirty-six weeks and that average weekly time allocations should be increased from 30 to 37 hours. This *'new contract'* caused some long lasting problems. In order to comply the School of Teacher Training, for instance, had to adopt some dubious devices - such as allowing staff a mere 30 minutes a week in which to supervise a student's school experience when other institutions were allocating four hours for the same service.

In the full flood of its reforming zeal, the Government demanded strict quality control over teaching in both polytechnics and colleges [The Guardian, 21 December 1988]. Some parts of the press greeted the notion with enthusiasm: *'Purge skiving lecturers', The Standard demanded* [e.g The Standard, 20 December 1988]. Meanwhile, the students fought vigorously to overturn proposals to cut their grants and to withdraw their welfare benefits. Lectures were boycotted [The Richmond & Twickenham, 18 November 1988] and *'Baker out'* demonstrations were held [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 24 November 1988]. The year was not without its outstanding successes, however. In January 1988, Kenneth Baker praised the Polytechnic for being only the second institution in the United Kingdom to receive a prestigious Fulbright Award [The Croydon Post, 27 January 1988]. This supported a three year cultural exchange programme with the University of North Carolina [The Kingston Star, 14 February 1988]. Moreover, realising the likely impact of the proposed raising of E.E.C. trade barriers in 1992, the institution worked hard to enhance its European reputation. In 1988, Dr Smith, Professor Chris Cobb and Wendy Scott, Head of Modern Languages, visited Bordeaux [The Richmond & District Comet, 15 April 1988] while Dr Larry Roberts and Professor Reg Davis explored the Greek education market [The Kingston Star, 19 May 1988]. A new range of facilities was opened including an additional foreign languages centre to provide specifically designed language courses for employees in business, commerce and industry [The Surrey Comet, 4 March 1988]. In February, Norman Lamont M.P. officially opened the splendid new Coombehurst Music Rehearsal Hall [The Surrey Comet, 26 February 1988] while the Borough Council agreed to convert the First Church of Christ Scientist in Penrhyn Road into a Polytechnic annexe - the Reg Bailey Building - at a cost of £0.5M [The Surrey Comet, 11 March 1988]. It also gave permission for another new Business block to be constructed on Kingston Hill [The Surrey Comet, 9 December 1988]. Moreover, Kingston Hill Place - at one time Gipsy Hill College's headquarters and the rumoured home of Lillie Langtry - was sold on Wednesday, 6th January 1988 [Diary, 18 January 1988] to developers, who erected forty-four terraced, detached and semi-detached luxury dwellings in its grounds and restored the original house to something like its pristine condition. The sale's proceeds were very welcome as funding for building the new Fassett Road Technology Block had been seriously delayed by the Polytechnic's impending separation from the Borough [Diary, 29 February 1988].

On the managerial swings and roundabouts, new roles materialised and new faces appeared. The Director became vice-chair of the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics in April [The Diary, 14 March 1988]. Dr Ken Hopkins became Head of Student Services, and was immediately faced by growing student militancy [The Diary, 21 March 1988]. Mrs Elizabeth Lanchbery arrived from the South East Thames Regional Health Authority where she had been Assistant Director Personnel and Training and bravely took up the new post of Assistant Director (Human Resources) [The Diary, 18 April 1988]. Keith Grant, the Director of the Design Council from 1977 to 1988, was appointed Dean of Fashion [The Diary, 6 June 1988]. As if all this was not enough to take in, the Secretary of State for Education invited the

Director to become a member of the newly formed Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council [Diary, 12 September 1988]. Unfortunately, not all the events involving Polytechnic personnel were happy ones. On 15th October 1988, there was an appalling motor accident on Kingston Hill Road when one student, Miss Siew Chan Chee, was killed and three others were seriously injured [The Diary, 31 October 1988].

1989 began with the Polytechnic receiving a first class report from Her Majesty's Inspectors, who boldly stated *'Examples of good practice were found within all subject areas'* [The Surrey Comet, 27 January 1989]. There were even moments of light relief. The local community was amused to discover that the colour coding of the Polytechnic's internal post seemed to reflect its recipients' political allegiance: blue wrappers conveyed materials to the Tory dominated Guildhall, yellow envelopes went to the Liberal and democratic Knights Park Centre while green packets were sent to the environmentally friendly Canbury Park Campus [The Surrey Comet, 12 February 1988]. Red nose fever in support of Comic Relief spread rapidly throughout the staff and student body [The Surrey Comet, 12 February 1988]. A more serious item of news was the discovery of a cache of live ammunition at Kingston Hill, which had been a military centre during the Second World War. The explosives were found in an area over which several generations of staff and students had constantly walked. Happily, the Bomb Squad soon deactivated the materials and normal routines resumed almost immediately [The Kingston Star, 8 September 1988].

The success of a joint Natural History Museum and Kingston Polytechnic expedition, led by David Attenborough, to central Africa in search of dinosaur remains, earned the institution enormous publicity. A dinosaur graveyard containing the bones of several previously unknown species was discovered in the Republic of Niger [The Daily Telegraph, 17 March 1988]. The Polytechnic Chamber Choir realised a lifetime's ambition by singing in Westminster Abbey [The Diary, 12 September 1988]. Drama activities developed apace when Bernie Farrell founded the Kingston Hill Workshop which included among its membership not only staff, students and ex-students but many local residents as well [The Diary, 20 November 1989]. In the years to come, a regular series of high quality productions were staged in either the De Lissa or Music Rehearsal halls. In the same way, the Languages For All scheme provided students and staff with opportunities to develop their foreign language skills [The Diary, 6 November 1989].

In seeking sponsorship from business and industry for professorships and other posts, the Polytechnic anticipated a growing national trend [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 2 September 1988]. Mowlem started the process in 1988 by nominating Dr John Roberts, the Head of Engineering and Technology, as their first Professor [The Surrey Comet, 5 August 1988]. Smiths Industries followed suit in 1989 by sponsoring a chair for Brian Dawson, the Head of Mechanical, Aeronautical and Production Engineering [The Surrey Comet, 10 February 1989]. The Plumb Group added a professorship in Computer Aided Design in 1990 [Fashion Weekly, 18 October 1990]. The Polytechnic also developed networking relationships with a number of local colleges. The Polytechnic and the North East Surrey College of Technology, for example, put forward joint proposals for new named BSc (Hons) degree programmes in Biomedical Science and in Cell and Molecular Biology [The Diary, 22 February 1988; The Surrey Comet, 20 February 1988]. The Polytechnic also collaborated with Merrist Wood College at Guildford in drawing up a Landscape Design course [Parks & Sports Grounds, January 1989].

All this formed the backdrop to fundamental change. The rapid adoption of mass higher education techniques necessitated radical reorganisation [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 7 July 1989]. Moreover, Kenneth Baker, the Secretary for Education and Science, warned that as *'quality equals money'*, teaching standards would play a critical role in deciding which institutions survived [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 21 April 1989]. As Baroness Warnock disarmingly remarked, *'No one really knows what the sound bite 'teaching quality' actually means in clear measurable terms'* [Ibid]. The Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council, representing 85 polytechnics, colleges and institutes of higher education, established a fifteen member committee, including Kingston's Professor Chris Cobb, to define this problematic concept [Ibid]. It was also announced that twenty-one institutions were to be given the authority to validate their own degrees following negotiations with the C.N.A.A. [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 1 April 1989]. Kingston Polytechnic was among the first six to be accorded this privilege.

In fact, as Kenneth Baker remarked in February 1989, Kingston had '*graduated cum laude*' during the eighties testing period [The Financial Times, 9 February 1989]. The Polytechnic had not only coped successfully with N.A.B. imposed cuts but had managed to expand and diversify. On the eve of independence, the institution had 6,000 full-time students and another 1,600 part-timers. Admittedly, the staff-student ratio had deteriorated from 1:8 in 1979 to 1:13 in 1989 [The Financial Times, 30 May 1989]. The Director blew on the still glowing embers of staff resentment by announcing that staff-student ratios were likely to continue to degrade and that the institution would have to face a difficult period in the nineties due to the sharp decline in numbers of 18-20 year olds - indeed, applications for engineering, for instance, had already fallen by 17% [The Financial Times, 9 February 1989]. However, the policy of concentrating on 'thrust' areas had succeeded. During the eighties, recruitment to the humanities had stood still while that to science, technology, business and law had expanded. The Director argued, '*My judgement was that these were the things which were going to get us money*' [Ibid]. Kingston had also managed to strengthen its links with industry by providing dedicated courses for companies like I.C.L. and British Aerospace as well as upgrading the skills of a range of professionals [Ibid]. Moreover, as the Director pointed out, middle class students were now happy to enroll on Polytechnic courses: '*Fionas roll up in their Porsches*', he noted with considerable satisfaction, '*to take Business Studies at Kingston*' [The Financial Times, 30 March 1989].

In this febrile atmosphere, on 1st April 1989, the Royal Borough and the Polytechnic acknowledged their formal divorce. During a heavily symbolic event, Robert McCloy, the Chief Education Officer, and Bob Smith, the Polytechnic Director, exchanged framed portraits [The Surrey Comet, 7 April 1989]. Appropriately, the Borough celebrated its liberation in some style at the Guildhall while Polytechnic staff welcomed the acquisition of corporate status rather more modestly at Penrhyn Road Centre [Ibid]. At the moment of parting, after years of mostly friendly but occasionally hostile debate, the two organisations wished each other well and promised to cooperate in the future. Severing relations between the Polytechnic and the Royal Borough proved to be more problematic than might have been expected. The Polytechnic found that it had considerable debts to pay off and a new administrative infrastructure to create. This all took time, infinite patience and a lot of resources.

The newly independent Polytechnic's managers had no time for reflection. Fears of a freeze in teaching appointments generated staff anger. Dr Wookey, the Pro-Director, admitted that the institution was under '*severe budget constraints, Kingston's income is up 2 per cent, its student numbers are up 5 per cent and inflation is up 7 per cent*' [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 31 March 1989]. As tension built up, angry N.A.T.F.H.E. representatives accused the directorate of adopting '*an aggressive and confrontational style of management*' [Letter published in The Surrey Comet, 28 April 1989]. The Director was vilified for criticising the staff and refusing to implement a national agreement on conditions of service [Ibid]. In reply, Dr Smith pointed out that all polytechnics and higher education institutions were reviewing their lecturers' contracts as a consequence of their change in legal status [Letter to The Surrey Comet, 5 May 1989]. N.A.T.F.H.E.'s protest led to a fierce ongoing staff debate about how and by whom institutional policy should be made. During this sensitive period, a number of changes were made in senior management: Nick Cullis, for instance, finally became Dean of Education [The Diary, 5 June 1989] while Bob Godfrey was appointed Deputy Director [The Diary, 17 July 1989].

Growth in administrative and technical staffing constituted a silent, almost unnoticed institutional change of the greatest importance. During its earliest days, the institution had been ably sustained by small groups of committed support staff. The Technical Institute was administered by the Principal, Harry Roberts, and his secretary, Miss M.E.W. Hutchins. His successor, James Archer, gradually built up a small group of dedicated office staff. By the end of the Second World War, the number of full-time administrators had reached thirty, led by a Registrar. A steady increase in administrative staffing took place after the College moved to the Fassett-Penrhyn Road campus. By 1967, it comprised over fifty staff including a librarian and an examinations officer. Sir Robert Latimer, who replaced Miss Hutchins in 1967, was assisted by an Academic Registrar and a Bursar. Each chief officer had his own secretary as did the Principal, the Vice-Principal and the nine Departmental Heads. In addition, each department began to develop its own secretarial services as well as having access to a typing pool. When the faculty system was introduced, each faculty was allocated Administrative and Technical managers. At the same time, the foundations of the future finance, estates, personnel and external affairs departments were laid down, although they did not come into their own until the Polytechnic achieved corporate status. During the same period, the Library, Media and Computing services all developed very rapidly [Unpublished History, pp 135-140].

For the first sixty years of its history, the institution lacked both internal health and welfare services. A change in policy was signalled in 1963 by the creation of the Safety Committee. In September 1966, Miss E.M.C. Wilson became the College of Technology's first Welfare Officer; a second Welfare Officer, Mrs F. Liley, was appointed in November 1968. At the same time, Academic Board discussed the need for a Student Welfare Service and after a thorough investigation approved a proposal to set one up. A pilot scheme was introduced in January 1970 with Dr L. Burn providing fortnightly counselling sessions. It was a short step from this to supplying clinics, run by contracted medical practitioners [Unpublished History, p 140]. Even first aid was initially provided on a purely voluntary and amateur basis. Mrs Josephine Baker, the first Examinations Officer, and Mrs Jean Noble, her successor in 1964, were given the job of organising volunteer first-aiders, who were supposed to provide accident victims with basic treatment until the professionals appeared. The dangers of this ad hoc system were demonstrated in 1969 when an administrative officer caught her fingers in a franking machine. She remained trapped until two fire appliances, crewed by fourteen firemen, arrived to release her [Unpublished History, p 137]. Management was slow to adopt a proactive approach towards helping students experiencing severe budgetary problems. It was not until 1955 that a Welfare Fund was created from which students were able to borrow small sums to tide them over temporary financial embarrassments, like the late arrival of Local Authority grants.

As management-staff relations continued to deteriorate during the eighties, militant action became more and more likely. Lecturers, for instance, only reluctantly agreed to attend the Human Sciences Award Ceremony in November 1989 [The Surrey Comet, 10 November 1989]. Moreover, N.A.T.F.H.E. members voted in favour of industrial action if management failed to make an agreement with the union over the introduction of the new academic contracts [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 10 November 1989]. As the Director chaired the Polytechnics and Colleges Employers' Forum, some staff believed he was leading an assault upon lecturers' conditions of service [The Guardian, 24 February 1989]. His actions were bracketed with those of Mrs Elizabeth Esteve-Coll, once the Polytechnic's chief librarian but now the much maligned reforming Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum. As the battle within the normally hallowed museum precincts reached fever pitch, Kingston Polytechnic received a great deal of unwelcome publicity. Almost every report mentioned her '*dubious past*'. What could be expected, newspaper writers asked, of someone who had served in a polytechnic? [e.g. The Sunday Times, 19 February 1989]. Problems were exacerbated by the visit of Jusuf Islam, the one time Rock star Cat Stevens, to the Student Union where, it was claimed, he gave vociferous and widely reported support to the proposed execution of Salmon Rushdie, the author of *The Satanic Verses* [The Surrey Comet, 24 February 1989].

During this period of mutual accusation and character assassination, the institution's relations with students and local residents surprisingly improved. A new foreign languages centre came into being with courses specially tailored to businessmen's needs [Management News, 11 April 1989]. The Polytechnic made an even larger contribution than usual to the 1989 Kingston Arts Festival: in addition to art exhibitions and concerts, the Polytechnic presented a highly successful version of Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, directed by Bernie Farrell [The Surrey Comet, 28 April 1989]. In addition, Dr Edward Ho, the much travelled Head of Music, created great interest and gained considerable sympathy, when it was learned he had come far too close for comfort to the notorious events at Tiananmen Square in 1989, while on a tour aimed at acquainting the Chinese with '*a new vision of composition*' [The Surrey Comet, 16 June 1989]. Law students in conjunction with Stetson Law of the U.S.A. underlined the institution's successful first year of independence by winning the International Client Interviewing Competition [The Surrey Comet, 5 May 1989].

In spite of aggressive staff-management manoeuvres, the institutional atmosphere was lightened by a variety of encouraging developments. Six Polytechnic lecturers, funded by the Picker Trust, presented a highly successful exhibition of their innovative work at Orleans House Gallery, the Riverside, Twickenham in January 1989 [The Richmond & District Comet, 13 January 1989]. Dr Giles Foodys, a Geography lecturer, was selected by N.A.S.A. and the German Space Agency to take part in the Columbus Space Shuttle programme [The Surrey Comet, 10 January 1989], while Clive Smith, a Polytechnic aerospace lecturer, was short-listed to become Britain's first astronaut [The Surrey Comet, 24 November 1989]. Although the latter ultimately failed in his bid, the positive publicity lasted for almost a year [The Surrey Comet, 1 December 1989]. David Miles, the Dean of Business and Chair of the Association for Management and Business Education, helped to create the Certificate in

Management Studies (CMS) for experienced middle managers [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 17 November, 1989].

The decade ended with a full debate about the polytechnics' future. Would they be granted independence and university status or would the binary system continue to stagger from crisis to crisis? The Director contented himself with the modest statement, '*We think polytechnics should be given the power to award degrees*' [The Richmond & District Comet, 14 December 1990]. The publication of the White Paper, *Higher Education: A New Framework* [HMSO, 1990] pitchforked some soon-to-be new universities into making a large number of last minute changes to their procedures and systems as well as adding to their academic and administrative staff. Compared with most of its competitors, Kingston made relatively few adjustments to meet the new requirements. A new urgency was instilled, however, into the preparations for the Research Assessment Exercise and for the new H.E.F.C.E. subject quality assurance visitations.

The polytechnics, without doubt, had proved themselves during the post-Robbins era. They demonstrated that smaller units of resource and the admission of access students did not lead to the lowering of academic standards while enabling a far wider proportion of the population to enjoy higher education. They broadened higher education curricula as well as clearly demonstrating that professional and vocational studies could match traditional subjects in intellectual rigour and reflection. What really caught the critics by surprise was their successful invasion of what the old universities had regarded as their private preserves, the arts, humanities, social sciences and law. And yet if one looked dispassionately at the Technical College tradition, this trend was no more than a natural evolution. From the very beginning of its institutional life, Kingston, like many other similar institutions, had encouraged the arts and humanities to develop side by side with science and technology provision. Indeed, this supposedly unlooked for progression could only have been prevented by deliberately limiting polytechnic course provision. During one of the most threatening periods of economic pressure during the 1980's, many Local Authorities, including Kingston Borough, called for course provision to be reduced as a matter of expediency, but such proposals were never made as a matter of principle or mission. The polytechnics' curricular and pedagogic innovations, however, had little discernable impact upon the universities. On the contrary, it could be argued that the binary divide actually discouraged universities from changing. The creation of a new set of institutions with different structures and functions legitimised rather than challenged the universities' traditional role [Wagner L. (1995) *Change and Continuity in Higher Education*, Leeds Metropolitan, p 20].

UNIVERSITY STATUS: The Nineties

The Polytechnic's mood, at the beginning of the nineties, was no more buoyant than it had been for much of the eighties. Lecturers boycotted the Human Sciences Award Ceremony at the Fairfield Halls in January 1990 [The Times, 27 January 1990]. The offer of an 8% salary increase, consisting of an unconditional rise of 6% and a further 2% for those staff who were prepared to subscribe to the new contract, was deemed unacceptable. N.A.T.F.H.E. members insisted that because of the accompanying changes in conditions of service the proposal actually involved a loss in real earnings. When union members threatened to refuse to mark course work or examinations, management warned them that their pay would be reduced in due measure [Ibid]. Both sides finally met at A.C.A.S. to resolve the dispute [The Financial Times, 27 January 1990]. The student body was also disturbed by suggestions that fees were to be raised. At least, the accommodation problem seemed to be decreasing in severity. The headed tenancy scheme, launched in 1988, achieved very considerable success: seventy-six properties were involved while the Accommodation Service was able to call upon 1,500 'approved digs' [The Surrey Comet, 22 June 1990].

In March 1990, the P.C.F.C. gave the embattled institution a glowing report. Most of its courses were deemed to be 'outstanding' and special praise was accorded to science, business and management, mathematics, computing, information technology, humanities, social sciences, art and design, and the performing arts. Such success, it was confidently expected, would be reflected in enhanced P.C.F.C. funding [The Kingston Star, 22 March 1990]. This optimism was somewhat dampened when it was announced that at least one course would have to be closed in spite of the 'rave' P.C.F.C. report [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 27 April 1990]. A review of employers' attitudes towards higher education also helped to dispel institutional complacency. According to The Independent, 'It is not what you know, but where you learnt it' that mattered to most potential employers: 6.9% of polytechnic as against 5.3% of university degree-holders remained unemployed after graduation. However, the good news for the alternative higher education sector was that top ranking polytechnics, like Kingston and Oxford Brookes, had started to overtake and surpass institutions at the bottom of the university league [The Independent, 28 June 1990]. When the C.N.A.A. Council granted Kingston Polytechnic delegated powers to confer degrees in January 1991, another important step had been taken towards full independence [The Diary, 14 January 1991].

Other signs of institutional vigour were easy to find. In the spirit of Glasnost, Dr Auerbach, an Economics lecturer, actively promoted links between Kingston and Vladivostock University in the Far East of the Soviet Union [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 26 January 1990]. Later in 1990, thirty leading Russian economists visited Kingston. Their leader announced: 'For the first time in 70 years, we are able to meet British business people in their own country and share the experience of your western economy' [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 5 April 1990]. Soon, more Russian visitors arrived: this time, from Byelorussia, led by their affable Minister of Culture, Yegeny Vostovich [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 27 September 1990]. The Polytechnic consolidated these successes in July 1990 by hosting an important conference on Eastern Europe [The Richmond & District Comet, 3 August 1990]. The Business Faculty immediately followed up by providing the Leningrad-based Russian Ministry of Communications with a management programme in the well founded hope that this would be the first of many such courses [The Richmond & District Comet, 14 December 1990]. The flow of visitors from East to West was temporarily reversed by Sarah Wigglesworth and Jeremy Till, two members of the School of Architecture, who won Fulbright Fellowships to study American architectural styles through research and visits to academic institutions and architectural practices [The Surrey Comet, 27 July 1990]. These individual achievements were matched by the performance of the whole School of Architecture during an inspection: H.M.I. praised the high quality of both their course work and teaching [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 17 August 1990].

The opening of the new Technology Centre at Penrhyn Road coincided with a particularly rich period of research funding. The Faculty of Technology received over £100,000 during a single quarter and obtained funding from the Science and Engineering Research Council's Link Initiative with the Department for Technology and Industry, and from the European Economic Community [The Standard, 1 August 1990]. On the other hand, some Polytechnic collaborative ventures ran into difficulties. When,

for instance, Merrist Wood College of Agriculture and Horticulture attempted to obtain permission to build two 18-hole golf courses on some of its dairy land, it was required to provide a much more detailed business plan before the scheme could even be considered [The Surrey Advertiser, 28 September 1990]. The avowed intention was to develop a joint college-polytechnic course in Landscape Architecture as well as providing facilities for a specialist programme in Golf Course Design. This hitch coincided with *The Independent's* attack upon what it considered to be the polytechnic sector's wanton 'farming out' of students to technical and further education colleges who, in its opinion, lacked equipment and lecturing staff of sufficient quality to do the job properly [The Independent on Sunday, 30 September 1990].

Students and staff from the Faculties of Design and Education achieved important local successes. Art students' displays, for instance, brightened up the locality during *The Mural Flower Festival* in 1990, [The Surrey Comet, 11 My 1990] while the opening of the Knights Park Gallery on Thursday, 24th June 1991 not only provided the Faculty of Design with a much needed exhibition centre but happily coincided with the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the founding of the School of Architecture [The Diary, 14 January 1991]. The Faculty of Education led the way in introducing economic and industrial studies for trainee teachers and school children. In 1988, for the first time, groups of B.Ed and Postgraduate students visited a variety of workplaces, shadowed members of staff for a week, and on their return designed 'world of work' teaching packages for primary school children to study [The Diary, 28 November 1988]. In the meantime, Jim Kinsella, an indefatigable Education lecturer, established links with the National Dairy Council enabling staff to develop a number of interesting Science, Geography and History project packs [The Diary, 4 March 1991]. Jim and his trainee teachers then produced 'a classroom without walls' by developing a series of trails for school children in the Poole and Brownsea Island areas of Dorset [The Godalming Times, 2 June 1990]. Once started, this work snowballed. B.Ed students were invited to develop plans for improving access to the National Dairy Council museum near Reading [The Diary, 13 May 1991]. Andrew Powell, another Education lecturer, initiated work with the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, which led to the production of another series of project packs. Di Hannon and Jim Kinsella collaborated to produce the 'Healthy Bones' pack for the National Osteoporosis Society [The Diary, 27 September 1993]. Di Hannon was then encouraged by the Wellcome Institute and Kirsteen Tait, the Director of the National Association for the Education of Sick Children, to develop a series of Science packs which could be studied in hospital, at home or indeed in school [The Diary, 23 May 1994]. Mike Gibson was selected to represent Britain on *The Vikings Go Eastwards* Council of Europe Conference held on the Baltic island of Gotland [The Diary, 12 September 1994]. This proved to be an academic gourmet's delight: members not only attended superb lectures and workshops, led by the world's leading Viking experts, but enjoyed the best accommodation, food, entertainment and company.

1990 also witnessed the first in a long series of burglaries, which together constituted *The Great Computer Sting*. On one single occasion, thieves left Penrhyn Road Centre with £9,000 worth of high-tec equipment [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 22 March 1990]. Such thefts soon became a regular feature of institutional life. Thieves, for example, broke into various parts of Kingston Hill Centre with monotonous regularity. They were absolutely incorrigible. No sooner, for instance, had highly expensive window protection been installed at Coombehurst than the thieves burrowed through the roof! [Studio Sound, 5 January 1991]. On the other hand, some members of the institution were credited with achieving the impossible. 'Larry's hope of a cure', announced *The Surrey Comet*. According to the newspaper, while guiding the first groups of bio-medical, bio-analysis and cell molecular biology students to academic success, Dr Larry Roberts, the Head of Life Sciences, had managed to discover a cure for the common cold [The Surrey Comet, 28 September 1990]. A spirited attempt was made to improve the institution's air quality by clearly separating non-smoking from smoking areas [The Diary, 23 April 1990]. This strategy soon became a matter of considerable controversy, however, as smokers complained they were being gradually excluded from Polytechnic accommodation.

Other areas of Polytechnic policy and practice also caused concern. In spite of increased numbers of headed tenancies and the Accommodation Service's excellent work, expanding student numbers always seemed to outstrip available space. The 1990 Autumn term opened with what *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* called 'The Bedroom Farce'. Once again, it was reported, freshers were having to double up in single rooms with the unlucky partner sleeping upon one of the, by now infamous, camp beds [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 14 September 1990]. The Head of Student Services,

Dr Ken Hopkins, admitted that *'The situation is serious, but not a crisis'* and pointed out that a new 350 bed hostel was being built on the Kingston Hill Campus [The Surrey Comet, 5 October 1990; The Diary, 14 January 1991]. In the years that followed, management, with the Governors' support, launched a determined and sustained assault upon the accommodation problem.

The management-staff stand off over the proposed new academic contract constituted another crisis. Both N.A.T.F.H.E. and A.P.C.T. representatives rejected the employers' offer of a 9.6% pay rise demanding 17.5% instead. After all, they argued, their membership had achieved a 50% increase in productivity in less than five years [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 15 November 1990]. They denounced the employers' scheme in no uncertain terms: *'These factory style contracts may be appropriate to running Fords but they are certainly not appropriate to an academic institution with its many levels of diverse and specialised jobs'* [Brian Augarde, Kingston N.A.T.F.H.E. representative: The Surrey Comet, 12 October 1990]. The lecturers intensified their campaign: first, they held a half day strike, picketing entrances to the Polytechnic; secondly, in November 1990, they lobbied parents arriving for award ceremonies. The exasperated Director reminded them that any pay increase had to fit within Government efficiency criteria [The Kingston Star, 15 November 1990]. Happily, both sets of disputants demonstrated some flexibility and the industrial action was suspended until a ballot could be arranged [The Richmond & District Comet, 7 December 1990].

While management was being attacked by both staff and students, Kingston's share of student applications fell sharply. According to *The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, this had nothing to do with the disputes but resulted from the Polytechnic's lack of modular and credit rated degree programmes [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 15 February 1991]. Apparently, the modular approach to course design and curriculum choice had captured the enthusiasm of both school leavers and mature candidates alike. Those institutions with fully fledged modularised, semesterised and C.A.T.s rated courses were able, it was claimed, to point to considerable increases in applications for courses which had previously never demonstrated any real drawing power. As always, a national league table was drawn up to demonstrate the truth of this contention. Lancashire Polytechnic topped the league with a startling 60% increase in recruitment while Kingston was at the bottom, with a 7% fall [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 15 February 1991]. Management had to admit that this was *'a matter of concern'* [Ibid]. The problem of developing a modular scheme which would satisfy all Polytechnic staff was consequently addressed with a noticeably increased sense of urgency. The presence or absence of modularity, however, was certainly not the only factor affecting candidates' institutional choice. Without doubt, the high cost of living in Southern England compared very unfavourably with conditions in the North and the Midlands. This was very clearly demonstrated by yet another set of league tables. While Kingston experienced a 18.3% decline in applications during the period between 1986 and 1990, Birmingham and Liverpool respectively enjoyed increases of 77.3% and 63.3%. Other attractive South coast institutions like Brighton Polytechnic fared even worse than Kingston [The Daily Telegraph, 3 August 1991]. The high cost of operating in the Kingston area was neither a new phenomenon, nor one that was going to disappear in the near future.

The teaching of transferable skills was yet another important factor affecting candidates' institutional choice. For some time, employers had emphasised their dissatisfaction with both university and polytechnic graduates' poor personal, interpersonal and problem solving skills. The Association of Graduate Recruiters commented harshly that *'The pool of quality graduates is not sufficiently large to satisfy demand'* [The Independent, 17 October 1991]. Kingston had been paying careful attention to this aspect of professional development for some years. The Faculty of Human Sciences, as H.M.I. acknowledged, particularly stressed the importance of transferable skills: high standards of presentation, written communication, time and project management, and interpersonal relationships were explicitly promoted [Ibid]. Interestingly, most polytechnic arts and humanities students claimed that their degree courses had helped to promote their career prospects by generating a wide range of useful skills [The Times Higher Educational Supplement 8 March 1991]. The creation and publication of an Equal Opportunities Policy in March 1991 was another welcome development [The Diary, 20 March 1991]. Kingston had been slower than many other higher education institutions in addressing this highly controversial area of concern. The inequality in distribution of positions of authority between the sexes in the Polytechnic led to much discussion, not a little dispute and a number of formal complaints. It was obvious that a start had been made but much more needed to be done before female staff could be convinced that the institution was in earnest.

If management had been slightly shaken by the publication of the national polytechnic applications league table, their confidence received a restorative boost when, based upon cumulative H.M.I. assessment, the P.C.F.C. announced in 1991 that Kingston and Nottingham were officially the best polytechnics in the country [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, March 1991]. This good news was accompanied however by the announcement that the P.C.F.C. expected a 17% increase in student numbers in 1991/2, supported by a mere 7% rise in funding: *'More students for less public funding'*, as *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* observed [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 22 March 1991]. Once more, polytechnics were expected to increase their productivity by discovering new, cost effective methods of course delivery. How could the quality of teaching and learning be sustained, many staff demanded, when staff-student ratios were continually degraded, the amount of student-centred learning increased and library and teaching aid provision constrained? Bob Godfrey, the Deputy Director, suggested that the answer lay in developing new courses, with new teaching and learning methodologies which realised new, legitimate concepts of quality. Towards the end of the year, Dr Larry Roberts was appointed Head of Academic Quality Assurance with the task of establishing uniform systems within the institution, facilitating the dissemination of good pedagogic practice and preparing the way to replace C.N.A.A. regulations with custom-designed institutional ones [The Diary, 23 September 1991]. The Polytechnic had already set up an Academic Development Fund with the idea of promoting innovatory approaches to teaching and learning: £200,000 was made available for this purpose in 1991/92 [The Diary, 22 April 1991]. The pressure for this initiative came at least in part from the need to reduce staff teaching loads by at least 20 per cent during a time when student numbers were increasing by exactly the same proportion.

During 1991, some respected senior staff retired. Professor Chris Cobb, a fine scholar as well as an excellent administrator, gave way as Dean of Human Sciences to a successful businessman and academic, Professor Merlin Stone [Diary, 8 April 1991]. Sadly, Ivan Hannaford, who won the affection of all with whom he worked, announced his retirement at the age of 60 after twenty years as an Assistant Director [The Diary, 8 July 1991]. His institutional career was particularly interesting as it covered a period of nearly forty years. Ivan joined the Technical College as an evening student in 1953, before spending five years in Canada. On his return to England in 1961, he joined the College's London University External BSc (Econ) degree course as a student before completing a part-time master's degree at the London School of Economics. After graduating, he went back to Canada where he obtained valuable teaching experience at Lakehead University before joining the Polytechnic as Assistant Director Academic in September 1972. During his service, he took a deep personal interest in student problems, counselling and academic appeals. Later, he became Assistant Director (External Affairs) and helped to *'put Kingston on the map'* both in this country and abroad [The Diary, 6 January 1992]. When the students decided to name their refurbished bar after him, he was both amused and delighted [The Surrey Comet, 30 October 1992]. Another stalwart, Professor Daphne Brooker, Head of Fashion and one of the University's most respected academics, retired after serving the institution for 28 years. According to Louis van Pragg, a former Chairman of the C.N.A.A., Professor Brooker was *'one of the most influential members of the Committee of Art and Design, injecting her philosophy, experience and enthusiasm and bringing in ideas from other courses'* [The Drapers Record, 12 September 1992] - Ian Griffiths succeeded her. On the other hand, a positive dynamo of energy and invention, Richard Demarco, gallery owner, impresario and entrepreneur, was appointed to the chair of European Cultural Studies. He immediately extended his range of operations from Scotland to include Hungary, Spain and Ireland [The Glasgow Herald, 27 January 1992]. Kingston's ties with Hungary extended back to 1976 when Bernie Farrell of the Faculty of Education arranged the first of many student visits to the country.

During this period, a number of new opportunities were explored. Bruce Drurie, the Director of European Development, established strong links with Sammelweiss Medical University, Budapest, and Leipzig University, East Germany, [The Diary, 14 October 1991]. In the meantime, the institution validated its first overseas course: a group of Polytechnic staff visited Singapore's La Salle College and agreed that successful students should be awarded a Kingston Music DipHE with a right of entry to the final year of the Music BA (Hons) degree course [The Diary, 18 November 1991]. This was largely the work of Dr Edward Ho, the Head of Music, who, for some years, had carried on a vigorous recruitment campaign in the Pacific Rim countries, achieving particular success in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

The Polytechnic continued to make major contributions to local and national cultural pursuits. Bernie Farrell and the BEd (Hons) English and Drama trainee teachers performed *'Yellow'* before enthusiastic

audiences of local primary school children before the play was taken to the Edinburgh Festival where, within a highly competitive context, it enjoyed a considerable triumph [The Kingston Star, 8 November 1990]. Two Education students, Katherine Stuart and Emma Rahman, with the help of visually impaired teenagers at the Linden Lodge School, Wimbledon, developed a short play called *'There's No Need To Shout'*, which the B.B.C. broadcast on 2nd March 1991 [The Kingston Star, 28 February 1991]. The Art, Design and Fashion students continued to enjoy their phenomenal sequence of successes while the Polytechnic received considerable praise for its unique three year BSc degree in Geographic Information Systems, which had been launched in 1988, and its new BTEC two year full-time Higher National Diploma course of the same title, which began in September 1991 [e.g. The Surveying Technician, December 1990].

The time seemed ripe for the Polytechnic to develop closer relationships with neighbouring institutions. Discussions had taken place between the Polytechnic and Surrey University on a number of occasions [The Diary, 14 October 1991]. Surrey had already adopted the Roehampton Institute and St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, as affiliated colleges thus extending the size of its student body to an estimated 12,000. The publication of the white paper announcing the elevation of polytechnics to university status, however, seemed to stimulate more interest in collaboration between the two institutions. As Dr Smith put it, *'the White Paper is good news insofar as it puts polytechnics on a level playing field with the universities for the first time'* [The Surrey Advertiser, 7 June 1991]. The Polytechnic and Exeter College developed a more immediately fruitful relationship by jointly delivering a civil engineering honours degree programme [The Western Morning News, 17 May 1991].

In the year before university status was granted, Kingston topped the polytechnic league table [The Surrey Comet, 28 March 1991], even though or perhaps because it was the fourth most expensive institution of its kind in the country [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 22 May 1991]. However, even with Kingston's high rate of teaching expenditure, management predicted that the staff-student ratio might well reach 1:35 by 1997. This gloomy forecast captured the press' attention. *The Guardian*, for instance, asked, *'Who wants to go to a university where the student staff ratios are up to 35 to one - twice what they are in secondary schools?'* [The Guardian, 24 March 1994]. Moreover, Kingston was placed at the bottom of the national polytechnic league table for child care provision [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 17 May 1991]. The new universities-to-be became increasingly concerned about the new funding authority's distribution of research moneys. Mr Stoddart, Principal of Sheffield City Polytechnic, spoke for the whole sector, when he said: *'If research is essential to support good teaching then they will have to explain why half the universities do not get the funds for it'* [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 31 January 1992].

With hindsight, the replacement in 1987 of the National Advisory Board for Public Sector Higher Education and the University Grants Committee by the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council and the University Funding Council can be seen as the necessary final step towards ending the binary system. In the 1991 Circular, *Higher Education: A New Framework*, the Department of Education and Science announced the elevation to university status of thirty-one polytechnics and five Scottish institutions on 1st April 1992. But what would university status really mean to polytechnics in general and Kingston in particular? According to John Izbicki, the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics' public affairs director, *'Universities discuss the theory of motion, Polytechnics invent the wheel'* [The Independent, 2 June 1991]. Some detractors were quick to suggest that the polytechnics' elevation would do nothing to change their *'inferior'* quality as teaching and learning institutions. For instance, the Vice-Chancellor of Reading University declared: *'There will be a difference between those institutions where research and advanced teaching play a major role and those (new institutions) which will call themselves universities who merely transmit knowledge'* [The Times Higher Educational Supplement 3 January 1992]. Attacks of this kind were to continue throughout the nineties. In 1994, Professor Alan Smithers of Manchester University's Centre for Education and Employment Research made a vituperative assault upon the new universities under the heading, *'Degrees of failure at second rate universities'* [The Mail on Sunday, 26 June 1994]. However, the unkindest cut of all was delivered in 1996 by Lady Warnock, when she declared, *'It was fear of the charge of elitism that led many members of the House of Lords, including myself, to sit by in cowardly silence when the title of university was bestowed on all polytechnics, indiscriminately'* [The Daily Telegraph, 28 September 1996].

Even the Director, Bob Smith, was forced to ask whether Kingston would be better off as the highest ranking polytechnic in the country or as a lowly university well down the research and teaching quality

league tables? The question was an artificial one as most polytechnics had already decided to apply for university status so Kingston had no real choice if it wished to remain in the race for students, funding, and sponsorship. The Director commented, *'I think it is a risk well worth taking. British families want their children to go to universities and in Europe polytechnics are difficult to define. With 1992 approaching feedback from Europe will become very important'* [The Surrey Comet, 8 November 1991]. Once the die had been cast, the Polytechnic was faced by what outsiders probably regarded as a minor problem, but one which nevertheless created considerable interest not to say heat within the institution. What was the new university to be called? Eventually, Academic Board and the Governors decided that 'Kingston University' was a sensible and suitable title [The Surrey Comet, 19 July 1991]. Then, the official academic gown and hood were finally selected following an amusing but sometimes heated debate. Alice Hynes, the Academic Registrar, commented: *'Academic dress has a slightly semiotic nature as a characteristic of the institution. It is an image of independent degree-awarding powers, it says we have arrived'* [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 13 March 1992]. A little later, the University was awarded £93,000 with which to set up a trading company: this, Tony Mercer hoped, would be self-financing within two or three years. According to Michael Heseltine, the President of Board of Trade: *'This is a clear indication of the Higher Education Institution's willingness to improve the exploitation of the UK's strengths in academic research'* [The Surrey Comet, 26 June 1992]. A further £32,000 was received from the Technology Audis Scheme [ibid].

Before the long anticipated vesting day arrived, a number of more mundane matters had to be resolved. The P.C.F.C.'s promise of £2.1M to complete the Sopwith Technology Building in Fassett Road was greeted with relief. The new block had been started in 1987 in anticipation of the ending of the Canbury Park lease. The momentary weakening of the Polytechnic's financial situation following the award of corporate status in 1988, appeared to threaten the scheme's progress. Happily, the new grant guaranteed its completion [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 25 July 1991] and Bob Smith officially opened the new block on 25th May 1994, [The Diary, 23 May 1994]. A proposal was put forward to move the School of Mechanical, Aeronautical and Production Engineering to the former Smiths Industries factory site in Roehampton Vale [The Wandsworth Borough News, 8 May 1992]. Local residents angrily opposed the project on the grounds that irresponsible student car parking was bound to bring local traffic to standstill [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 5 March 1992]. Nevertheless, Sir William Barlow, the President of the Royal Academy of Engineering, was able to open the refurbished and fully occupied Roehampton Vale Campus Building on Friday, 22nd October 1993 [The Diary, 18 October 1993; The Wandsworth Borough News, 5 November 1993].

The University celebrated its new status at All Saints Church. Staff and guests processed through the streets in full academic dress, led by their chief guests, Professor Ronald Coleman, the Chairman of Governors, and Mr David Jacobs, Kingston's Deputy Lieutenant [The Surrey Comet, 26 June 1992]. The staff celebrated the inauguration with a cruise on the Thames: more than 1200 people piled into a flotilla of five boats, determined to enjoy the views, the jazz music and whatever else was on offer [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 25 September 1992].

What kind of student profile did Kingston University enjoy at the time of its inauguration? Three out of four students came from London and the South East. One in five obtained admission on the basis of vocational qualifications rather than A level passes. One in four was home-based, which was just as well as the accommodation problem remained unresolved. Nearly half the annual intake were either lower middle class or working class in origin although a further 16% were upper or middle middle class - most of whom studied either business studies or architecture. 94% of the student body lived in the United Kingdom and only 5.5% came from Commonwealth countries. The fastest growing group of overseas students were drawn from the European Community. Overall, the *'bush telegraph'* had proved to be the most effective means of recruiting students in spite of the institution's excellent brochure and other publicity materials. Its national and international advertising campaigns, however, were small scale compared with its closest rivals' due perhaps to a mistaken belief that Kingston did not really need to take advertising seriously as most of its courses had hitherto recruited to target without such support [Education, 8 November 1991]. It soon became obvious that those halcyon days were over, at least for the foreseeable future.

The new, united higher education system comprised ninety-three institutions. However, the question was already being asked: had the higher education conundrum really been resolved or had a new

binary divide been created? Many considered that in the not too distant future, the higher education sector might be extended once more, this time to incorporate Further Education Colleges. In the meantime, Kenneth Clarke, the new Secretary for Education and Science, announced that during 1992/3 the student population would rise by 58,000 while funding would be cut by 15% [The Times, 28 November 1991]. Far worse was to follow. A cut of 35% in the humanity subjects' fees meant that in 1993/4 Kingston received a revenue increase of rather less than 2%. As a result, management seriously considered closing two degree courses and a foundation programme [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 9 April 1993]. The Vice Chancellor warned, *'We are struggling with a very difficult situation'* [Ibid]. Eventually, Kingston announced in August 1993 that admissions to its arts and social science courses had been cut by 20%: in September 1993, they would have 640 instead of 800 freshers [The Independent, 18 August 1993]. At the same time, arts applicants were offered the opportunity to undertake conversion courses so that they could join the University's science programmes which were short of recruits [The Independent, 24 August 1993]. The press pointed out that some old universities were actually undercutting the new ones: in a drive to absorb an extra 10,000 students, they were in some cases prepared to lower their A level points admission requirements to the same or even lower levels than those required to enter the new universities' H.N.D. programmes [The Independent, 10 September 1993; The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 17 September 1993].

Conflict over staff pay was a predictable outcome of achieving university status. While lecturers, fearing a national pay freeze, accepted a local deal with some alacrity [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 6 November 1992], N.A.L.G.O. members rejected a 4.3% rise, carried out a one-day strike and picketed Penrhyn Road Centre [The Surrey Comet, 21 August 1992]. Moreover students were doubly disadvantaged at this time by rising prices and diminishing maintenance support. When Kenneth Clarke cut grants by 10% in his 1993 Autumn Budget, angry students threatened militant action. A Kingston spokesperson pointed out that *'Students are already finding it hard to support themselves through college. This additional cut in the basic maintenance grant will make the position intolerable for a lot of them'* [The Surrey Comet, 3 December 1993]. Following the introduction of the new student loan system, a survey showed that 53% of Kingston students needed loans to finance their studies [The Surrey Comet, 24 December 1993]. Failure to obtain increased financial support from the state meant that increasing numbers of students had to work their way through university. There was nothing new per se about this, except that the numbers involved were much larger than ever before. The Kingston area did not have sufficient part-time jobs to offer until the University itself became a mass employer: soon its 1,300 full-time staff were supported by over a thousand part-timers. Between them, the staff, 9,000 full-time students and 3,500 part-time trainees spent £18M p.a. in the Kingston area [Ibid]. The University had become a major contributor to the local economy.

Relatively low recruitment of ethnic minority students created concern. Under the leadership of Beryl Pratley, the School of Education set up a research project with £45,000 H.E.F.C.E. funding to investigate ethnic minority students' perceptions of university life and if possible to discover ways of improving conditions so that many more would enter teacher training [The Asian Times, 27 July 1993; The Voice, 12 October 1993]. Although 7.5% of the School's students were black, the number nationwide entering the teaching profession was dwindling rapidly. In a pluralist society, the loss of such important role models was a matter of grave concern. Black mentors were appointed to support black mentees in schools and colleges. In addition, an independent black researcher distributed and analysed student questionnaires and conducted a series of structured interviews. A valuable archive of student opinion was collected, leading to changes in practice and the publication of a number of articles and books.

At the same time, the Faculty of Education played a leading role in creating the South West London Teacher Education Consortium (S.W.L.T.E.C.), consisting of Kingston University, Brunel University, Roehampton Institute, St Mary's College, the West London Institute and well over a hundred secondary schools [The Diary, 5 July 1993]. The five institutions' senior managers felt that collaboration was essential if they were to survive the changes to secondary age range initial teacher training imposed by D.F.E. Circular 9/92 [HMSO, 1992]. This decreed that as secondary schools would be taking a leading role in teacher training, providers should transfer moneys to them to finance their new role. The S.W.L.T.E.C. providers decided they had to radically re-think their role and bring about considerable economies of scale if they intended to stay in teacher training. Collaboration, however, was not established easily. The partner institutions were determined to maintain their 'sovereignty' and to sustain their individual institutional ambiances. Kingston created a common Secondary P.G.C.E. course

which was duly validated by all five institutions. Thereafter the consortium experienced growing pains. Top-down planning was the main problem. Lecturing staff were not sufficiently involved in creating the common course. Consequently, the consortium's initial development was bedeviled by misunderstandings due to different approaches and working practices. However, much to the surprise of many, the consortium quickly became a solid reality.

Kingston University introduced a Supplemental Instruction (SI) Scheme providing students with an innovative support system. Fourteen other universities soon became involved and Kingston received a grant of £126,000 from the Higher Education Funding Council for England to develop the project still further [The Diary, 6 September 1993]. At the same time, a memorandum of cooperation was signed by Kingston and the University of Missouri-Kansas [The Diary, 27 September 1993]: this marked the culmination of two years mutual collaboration over staff and student exchanges. Networking relationships were also established with a number of Russian institutions. The Business School then initiated ten Russian managers into the secrets of good Western management practice - this was the first concrete outcome of the 1993 *Future Managers of Russia* scheme [The Diary, 11 October 1993].

Management's determined attempt to resolve, what the local press dubbed, '*Kingston University's architectural nightmare*', met with almost equal measures of approval and opposition. Almost everybody in the community agreed that more student hostels were needed ... '*as long as they are not built anywhere near our property*'. In 1993, the University proposed constructing a new hall of residence on the Kingston Hill Campus [The Surrey Comet, 8 April 1993]. *The Independent* dissipated any lingering doubts about the need for such accommodation by publishing students' accounts of their experiences in shared lodgings. One unfortunate stated:

'It was terrible. I lived with four blokes and no one ever cleaned up. The bathroom was cleaned once a term, the loo never. Food always went missing, although you tend to expect that. And the phone was a nightmare. When bills came in they were never paid, or at least not until we were threatened with being cut off ...'

[The Independent, 26 September 1993]

On being opened in 1994, Chancellor's Hall (Kingston Hill) provided 328 new study bedrooms [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 17 March 1994]. The University then proposed building another new hostel at Seething Wells, Surbiton, on land purchased from Thames Water. The plan, as *The Surrey Comet* remarked, provoked an almost ritualistic response: '*Protest Fury at Students' Flats*' [The Surrey Comet, 31 December 1993]. Nevertheless, the project proceeded, eventually providing another 600 study bedrooms [ibid]. When Kingston Bridge House, Hampton Wick, became available, the University seized the opportunity to add another 200 study bedrooms to its resources [The Richmond & Twickenham Informer, 28 October 1994]. Moreover, the Borough Council supported a University plan to erect still more student accommodation and a public art gallery beside the Hogsmill River [The Surrey Comet, 14 April 1995]. The Middle Mill Hostel and the Picker Trust Art Gallery were completed in 1997 [The Diary, 65, 10 June 1996]. Between 1990 and 1995, the University spent £23M on building student accommodation [The Surrey Comet, 9 January 1995]. This almost frenetic round of hostel development, together with the very successful headed tenancy programme, reduced the accommodation problem to manageable proportions. Or so it seemed. 1997, however, witnessed its reappearance. The improving property market put a blight upon the University's plans. *The Kingston Guardian* reported: '*Cash-strapped university students could soon be living in garages because they can't afford to pay for rooms in Kingston*' [The Kingston Guardian, 18 September 1997]. The boom in house sales and spiralling rents made hunting for accommodation '*a living hell*'. Flats changed hands for £70,500, semi-detached houses for £125,000 and detached houses for £213,000 [ibid]. A University spokesperson in 1997 admitted, '*We are still very short of accommodation*' [ibid]. Local people were selling rather than letting their homes - the headed tenancy scheme, which had done so much to resolve the University's problems during the previous five years, was a declining force.

A strong positive step, however, was taken towards improving another long standing problem, the refectory services. 1993 saw the opening of a food hall style restaurant at Penrhyn Road Centre and the provision of *The Kingston Diner, Upper Crust, Healthy Options, Pizza Hut and Dixie's Donuts* [The Diary, 27 September 1993]. Private enterprise removed the need for an annual catering subsidy of £80,000, provided a refurbished restaurant and kitchen and earned £200,000 in return for an exclusive five year

contract [The Caterer & Hotelkeeper, 3 February 1993]. Not long afterwards, a splendidly equipped fitness centre with an aerobics studio, weight training facilities and cardiovascular equipment was installed [The Surrey Comet, 24 June 1994].

As students were by this time normally adequately housed and fed, even more attention was devoted to their spiritual, moral and social welfare. The provision of sex education for freshers was surely a sign of the times. The aim of the proposed programme, a nervous University spokesperson emphasised, was neither to stimulate nor encourage sexual behaviour but merely to ensure that such activities were conducted safely [The Richmond & Twickenham Times, 14 October 1994]. Over the years, the increasing incidence of mugging and attacks upon the person gave rise to serious concern. Although much had been done to improve lighting, paving and general safety, some campuses, like Kingston Hill, still afforded the would-be intruder almost open access. In 1994, the Sentinel Visitor Management System was installed to improve security [The Esher & Elmbridge Courier, 16 September 1994]. Regulations controlling the checking-in of off-site visitors were tightened up. Uniformed Security Officers with or without dogs patrolled campuses.

In 1994, a senior lecturer in politics wrote a powerful article for *The Guardian* arguing that women's and gender studies were epistemologically discrete and should be taught separately. During the article, he seemed to imply that he, as a male lecturer, would not be allowed to teach women's studies at Kingston [The Guardian, 5 February 1994]. This, as *The Guardian* noted with relish, 'got him into hot water' with management. The Vice Chancellor, as the leader of an institution which described itself as an equal opportunities employer, published a vigorous rebuttal [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 25 February 1994]. But a few weeks later, *The Guardian* further titillated its readers' appetites by announcing that the dissident lecturer was to be hauled before a formal disciplinary hearing [The Guardian, 8 March 1994]. For some, this case raised very important issues of academic freedom and institutional loyalty, for others it was a storm in a teacup.

David Miles, the Dean of Business, was awarded a professorship. After serving on the Westminster City Council between 1974 and 1982, he concentrated his attention and energies upon developing his Faculty [The Diary, 13 December 1993]. This did not, however, prevent him from serving in 1989 as Deputy Lieutenant of Greater London. He was awarded his professorship for services rendered to the National Foundation for Management Education and Development; chairing the Association of Management and Business Education; being a member of the advisory group to the Polytechnic and Colleges Funding Council on the allocation of funds to Business and Management Education; and for his work as a member of the C.N.A.A. Committee for Business, Management and Information Studies [Ibid]. Not long afterwards, David learnt that H.E.F.C.E. had awarded the Business courses an 'excellent' grading while the Institute of Personnel Management had designated Kingston a Centre of Excellence [The Diary, 7 February 1994]. Success can be a very dangerous attribute, as Professor Miles soon discovered. When the Faculty of Education broke up in 1994, the Schools of Education and Social Work were added to the Faculty of Business, first on a temporary and then in the case of Education on what was expected to be a permanent basis [The Diary, 18 July 1994].

When Kingston University joined the contemporary rush to network with other institutions, by no means all of its schemes prospered. Excited no doubt by the almost unlimited opportunities for employing sporting metaphors, a grateful press followed the tortuous unfolding of the relationship between Kingston and Merrist Wood College. When the University validated a H.N.D. programme in Golf Studies in 1993, the press reported that the course had 'teed off' [The Sunday Telegraph, 26 September 1993], only to be 'bunkered' in 1994 [The Independent, 8 August 1994], when both the course and providing institution experienced difficulties. Student throughput turned out to be much slower and wastage much higher than expected while the college's financial problems necessitated redundancies and other economies. For the time being at least, the Vice Chancellor, Bob Smith, had to suspend recruitment [Ibid].

Were the University's evacuation procedures as 'diabolical' as *The Surrey Comet* inferred, following a fire on the Penrhyn Road site in October 1994? [The Surrey Comet, 28 October 1994]. 'A mushroom of acrid, black smoke' billowed over the area. What concerned the public, however, was the significant period of apparent inactivity following the fire appliances' arrival. Where were the keyholders? Where were the Centre's plans? What route should the firefighters take to reach the blaze? What hazards might confront the emergency services? Fortunately, the fire turned out to be neither as large nor as serious

as initially feared. The cost, nevertheless, was high. The incident ensured a rigorous re-examination of all the University's safety procedures and an even higher incidence of fire drills.

The University's acquisition of Dorich House was another very newsworthy event. This extremely interesting, if rather dilapidated, example of thirties architecture was the work of a Russian born sculptress, Dora Gordine, and her Fine Arts scholar husband, the Hon. Richard Hare. During the later thirties and the forties, the house on Kingston Hill became something of a cynosure for artists and literati. It contained not only interesting living quarters but a large art studio and collections of Dora's sculptures, paintings, drawings and photographs as well as Richard's assemblages of silver, porcelain, paintings and Russian icons. Following Dora's death in 1991, a long search took place to find a suitable protector for the property and collections. One leading museum and art gallery after another, however, refused to take responsibility for the house and its treasures [The Surrey Comet, 22 September 1995]. During this period of uncertainty, the building deteriorated rapidly: local pigeons, for example, converted the roof space into an improvised roost. Eventually, the University was offered the opportunity to add Dorich House to its facilities [The Diary, 21 November 1995] and immediately set about evicting its human and avian squatters [The Surrey Comet, 18 June 1993]. Unfortunately, many of the best items in the collections had to be sold to finance a sensitive and aesthetically satisfying refurbishing of the property at an estimated cost of £750,000 [The Diary, 21 November 1994; The Surrey Comet, 18 November 1994]. When completed in 1996, Dorich House provided the University with a unique venue of great character and stimulating ambience. The cost of the refurbishment, however, was even greater than anticipated, nearly £1M, so a Dorich House Appeal had to be launched to make good the £300,000 shortfall and so obviate the need for another sale of treasures [The Observer Life Magazine, 18 August 1996].

While vacillating over how to rationalise higher education, the Government removed Teacher Training from H.E.F.C.E.'s auspices and created an entirely new quango, the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) [The Education Act, 1994], which took responsibility for initial teacher training, inservice work and research focusing directly upon pedagogy, curriculum development and continuous professional development. Providers regarded this as a retrograde step isolating, as it did, teacher training from the rest of higher education. Moreover, this innovation enabled the Government to impose ever stricter controls over teacher trainees, course content and funding. The concomitant development of the Office for Standards in Education (O.F.S.T.E.D.) provided the means of imposing the competences laid down by D.F.E. Circulars 9/92 and 14/93. The School of Education suffered as a result. Although O.F.S.T.E.D. accorded the School's secondary age range activities universally 'good' gradings, the South West London Teacher Education Consortium only received a 'satisfactory' classification and that was what counted. When an equivalent circular was published in 1993 to control the training of primary school teachers, the School of Education decided to maintain its independence and to develop an innovatory four year Master of Teaching (MTeach) Degree course.

While central government manipulated higher education administration and funding, the University seriously considered moving away from traditional single subject study programmes towards fully modularised, semesterised and C.A.T.s-rated courses. The ensuing debates in Academic and Faculty boards were fierce and long. Unfortunately, the University failed to achieve an immediate consensus which would have enabled it to introduce an institution-wide modular scheme as Oxford Brookes, The City of London, Hatfield and Middlesex Higher Education Institutions had done in the 1970s. Consequently, each faculty and indeed school was left free to decide whether or not to modularise. This unusual generosity had both advantages and disadvantages. The obvious advantages were that no group was forced to conform to a system to which they were opposed and which did not suit their particular approach to teaching and learning. On the other hand, this liberality, some said license, led to the development of a number of different modular frameworks which reduced interchangeability between subject clusters and courses. A survey conducted in 1994 by the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals indicated that at least half the universities in the country were moving away from a term to a semester based structure. In most cases, this development was linked to modularity. During the 1995/6 session, Academic Board supported the development of institution-wide undergraduate and postgraduate modular schemes, which, while still retaining sufficient flexibility to allow individual teaching teams the freedom to deliver courses in the most effective manner, guaranteed students optimum opportunities to choose from a wide range of options. Interestingly, these important organisational and curricular changes were not accompanied, as in many other comparable institutions,

by equally radical changes in assessment and evaluation methodologies. These remained in many, but by no means all, cases rather traditional and examination orientated.

To what degree did changes in teaching, learning and assessment accompany modularisation and semesterisation? Robbins had conducted a detailed analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of lectures and tutorials and yet in the nineties these still remained the favourite form of teaching in higher education institutions [Macfarlane A. (1992) *Teaching and Learning in a Higher Education System*, Committee of Scottish University Principals]. Evidence from the sector seemed to demonstrate that although some departments in most institutions developed interesting pedagogic innovations, these were neither systematised nor widely disseminated throughout the institutions [Ibid]. Moreover, many changes were cost rather than pedagogically driven. The continued degrading of staff-student ratios led to an increasing demand for staff loadings to be reduced. This, in its turn, brought about the introduction of more student-centred work and open learning. At Kingston, the Academic Development Fund (later re-named the Academic Efficiency Fund) was used to encourage new forms of course delivery. However, most of the resulting innovations failed to bring about wide ranging changes in institutional pedagogic practices.

Between 1983 and 1993, Kingston's postgraduate courses trebled in number [The Independent, 1 July 1993]. As a result, many staff came to believe that the University should set up a centre of excellence for mid-career professionals wishing to extend their knowledge and skills. No sooner had this notion been generally accepted than the critics began to carp. Advocates of graduate schools were warned about the dangers of creating 'academic ghettos' which might and probably would destroy collegiate approaches [The Times, 14 June 1995]. While the controversy raged, the University exerted every effort to popularise its part-time course portfolio throughout Kingston and the South West. As the Vice Chancellor wistfully suggested, 'The campaign should bring home the message that for many people the opportunity to study further is right on their own doorstep' [The Surrey Comet, 30 July 1993].

Franchising courses became an important element of the Faculty of Education's work. In 1992, the Faculty and Whitefield Special Schools and Centre, Waltham Forest, collaborated to validate one undergraduate and four postgraduate diploma courses for teachers of children with special educational needs [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 9 July 1992]. Shortly after this, the Faculty entered into a collaborative relationship with the Dyslexia Institute and created the first postgraduate diploma course for experienced teachers studying this specialism [Special Education, April 1993]. Both the University and the Dyslexia Institute obtained welcome publicity in 1994 when the University awarded Susan Hampshire, the well known film, television and theatre actress, an Honorary Doctorate in Education in recognition of her work in raising public awareness of dyslexia [The Diary, 14 February 1994]. Pupil mentoring proved to be another successful joint enterprise. The Safer Surrey Partnership and Toshiba financed a project inspired by a Surrey Community Affairs Police Officer, Brian Kingston, while Cynthia Jones, a principal lecturer in the School of Education, trained Year 11 secondary school students to act as mentors for Year 7 pupils. This project pointed the way to a whole series of possible extensions and variations within and outside education [The Esher News & Mail, 8 March 1995]. In 1995, a joint bid to the Teacher Training Agency by a group of Wandsworth primary schools and the Kingston School of Education led to the creation of an innovatory School Centred Initial Teacher Training programme. The course got under way in September 1996 with twenty-five postgraduate students [The South London Press, 26 January 1996]. In the meantime, the Music School had established links with the Kneller Hall Military School of Music so that members of the armed forces could acquire a BA Music degree on completing their Bandmaster Course [The Richmond & Twickenham Times, 17 November 1995].

In March 1994, Sir Frank Lampl, Chairman of the Bovis Group, became the University's first Chancellor. Sir Frank could hardly have had a better preparation for the rigours of Chancellorship. Born in Czechoslovakia, he had survived imprisonment in both Nazi concentration camps and Russian uranium mines before studying construction engineering at Brno University. After an exemplary career, he became the managing director of the Moravian state construction company. Following the abortive Prague Spring Rising, he escaped to Britain where he rapidly rebuilt his life and career [The Diary, 14 March 1994]. His installation as Chancellor certainly proved to be a most memorable institutional celebration. The Great Hall of Hampton Court provided a splendid setting, which was further enhanced by fine music provided by the Kingston and Leipzig University orchestras and choirs [The Surrey Comet, 1 July 1994].

The University continued to play a significant role in the arts at both national and local levels. In 1992, it established a bilateral arrangement with Leipzig University: a flurry of exchange visits by choirs and orchestras from both institutions proved to be one of the most fruitful aspects of this relationship [The Surrey Comet, 26 March 1993]. When the Medici Quartet left the University in 1995, they were replaced as artists-in-residence by the Fibonacci Sequence, a flexible chamber music group of up to fourteen musicians [The Surrey Comet, 9 February 1996]. The Faculty of Design continued to enjoy an unbroken sequence of triumphs - so many that only a few examples can be mentioned. In the 1995 Royal Society of Arts competitions, six of the School of Graphic Art's ten nominees won top awards [The Diary, 8 May 1995]. The support given by the University to a group of Bosnian artists, members of the Tusla National and Youth Theatres, in September 1995 was an appropriate act of generosity. After enjoying considerable success at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival with Professor Richard Demarco's support, they found themselves stranded without food and accommodation. At this point the University intervened and provided the luckless performers with a welcome if brief rest. Finally, the exploits of one of its students, Lawrence Dallaglio, provided Kingston with some reflected glory: he first won recognition by helping England win the World Rugby Cup Sevens title in 1993, by touring South Africa in 1994, and being selected to play for England in 1995 [The Guardian, 7 December 1995] before being appointed captain of the national XV for the 1997/8 season.

1992 proved to be an *Annus Horribilis* for both the Queen and the University. When the first full higher education league table was published, Kingston was ranked 64th out of 96 universities - how very different from the halcyon days when it shared top position in the polytechnic league table with Oxford Brookes. The Vice Chancellor protested angrily, *'the ranking is based on statistics which are mainly estimates or are clearly out of date'* [The Surrey Comet, 30 October 1992]. Nonetheless, Kingston was cheered by appearing on a short list of four higher education institutions hoping to undertake nurse education [The East Grinstead Comet, 25 December 1992]. Better news, moreover, emerged from the 1993/4 Research Assessment Exercise. Kingston confounded the experts by recording above average scores in each of the eleven disciplines it offered for assessment. Overall, Kingston attained an average of 2.36 compared with Cambridge University's, the league leader's, 4.69 [The Surrey Comet, 5 March 1993].

During the same period, non traditional candidates seeking access to higher education, instead of being entirely dependent upon special entrance procedures or access courses, were able to gain credit through the Assessment of Prior Learning (APL) and/or the Assessment of Prior Experiential Learning (APEL) procedures [Evans N. (1992) *The Development and Structure of the English Educational System*, University of London Press; Davidson G. (1993) *Credit Accumulation and Transfer in British Universities, 1990-93*, Universities Association for Continuing Education]. By this time, moreover, most University courses were credit rated so that students, who had to leave for whatever reason before the end of their study programmes, were at least credited with the C.A.T.s points their academic and professional achievements merited. Moreover, such students could be awarded intermediate qualifications if they had successfully completed recognised stages within their undergraduate or postgraduate programme. Happily, the days were gone when unfortunate students, who terminated their studies for perfectly legitimate reasons, left the institution empty handed.

These developments contributed to a growing debate on quality assurance issues. In 1995, for instance, *The Daily Telegraph* lamented *'the dramatic fall in teaching standards'* and queried the validity of many first class degrees being awarded by new universities [The Daily Telegraph, 22 March 1995]. Their commentator blamed these *'inconsistencies'* upon mass education systems which provided many whole cohort lectures and relatively few tutorials or seminars; the 25% cut in institutional funding over a very short period of time; and institutions' desperate need to boost recruitment to maintain financial viability. A Kingston working party spent over a year drawing up quality assurance protocols and examining the whole process of course reporting, validation and review. The existing C.N.A.A.- style protocols, although efficient and effective, were slow, bureaucratic and costly. Under the leadership of Dr Larry Roberts, the Head of Academic Services, a new system was developed which was faster and cheaper but no less efficient and effective than the arrangements it replaced. Even the external examiners' role was thoroughly re-appraised with the result that in 1997 the University placed the onus of academic decision making upon its own staff while normally limiting external examiners' activities to auditing standards and processes (The Diary, 1997).

More allegations were made about falling standards in 1997. John Clare, *The Daily Telegraph* Education correspondent, quoted H.E.F.C.E. criticisms of courses which 'lacked challenge and rigour' or demonstrated a 'significant discrepancy between students' performance in coursework and examinations, with work completed under examination conditions scoring lower', while failing to supply examples of similar programmes that were deemed to be excellent [The Daily Telegraph, 13 August 1997]. Although the article lacked balance, it raised a number of significant issues about drop-out rates of up to 50%, poor quality English, Mathematics and Information Technology skills, courses lacking intellectual rigour, over-generous marking and degree-class inflation. However ill-informed and biased some of these allegations were, constant reiteration provided them with a specious academic respectability.

In 1996, the Higher Education Quality Council sampled more than four hundred professors' and lecturers' opinions about degree comparability. Approximately, one third observed rather vaguely that quality criteria were 'embedded in academic cultures', another third argued unconvincingly that practitioners 'shared agreed standards', while the final moiety maintained that standards were grounded in the possession of 'broad intellectual skills'. H.E.Q.C. concluded that any notion that degree classifications across the university sector represented identical standards of achievement was 'a polite myth' [The Telegraph, 19 July 1996]. These criticisms raised fundamental questions about the nature of degree worthiness, the characteristics denoting honours level work, and the salient differences between undergraduate and postgraduate studies. The controversy enabled the advocates of competence testing to challenge universities either to develop their own clearly defined criteria with appropriate dimensions, descriptors and levels, or to accept their's [Barnett R. (1994) *Limits of Competence*, OUP/SRHE; Green D. (ed) (1994) *What is Quality in Higher Education*, OUP/SRHE]. This debate, coupled with the rapid changes brought about by the technology revolution and by something approaching a breakdown in the old funding arrangements, provoked Academic Board (1996) into discussing in detail the institution's mission, conspicuous characteristics and future role [Academic Board Minutes, June 1996].

The advantages and disadvantages of staff appraisal also inspired much thought. In 1992, the first round of institutional appraiser and appraisee half-day training workshops took place. It was particularly entertaining to see the Vice-Chancellor and other members of the Executive being interrogated by their own staff. As each Faculty was allowed to draw up its own proposals, a number of local variants appeared [The Diary, 27 April 1992]. For senior staff, the system had an added piquancy as a degree of Performance Related Pay was introduced and they at last discovered exactly what their line managers thought about their output and contribution to University life.

For much of the period, rival research paradigms stimulated intense institutional debate. Action research, which was attaining considerable popularity, probably created the most controversy. The Faculty of Education found itself at the centre of a vigorous and occasionally rancorous debate. Although the promoters of Educational Action Research like to trace its origins back to John Dewey's work, Laurence Stenhouse launched its modern form with his advocacy of the notion of the teacher-researcher. Pamela Lomax, a senior member of the Faculty and a leading exponent of educational action research, engaged in what initially seemed to be an unequal struggle with influential members of the Research and Research Degrees Committees. Eventually, she won not only her colleagues' academic respect but promotion to a readership and then a professorship. Kingston University came to be regarded as one of six national centres of excellence in educational action research.

The River House furore followed rapidly upon the heels of this seminal debate. In face of severe accommodation shortages, it seemed sensible to place central administrative and academic services in a new location. River House, an attractive facility overlooking the Thames, was purchased in July 1993, for £800,000. It was decided to refurbish the building in a style and manner thought to be in accordance with the corporate image. Initial estimates suggested that this would cost £400,000 [The Surrey Comet, 24 February 1995]. However, on 21st September 1994, the Governors were informed that the final cost would exceed the original estimate by some £200,000 [The Diary, 7 November 1994]. 'Smith's folly', as some unkindly dubbed this project, triggered off staff resentment. A union spokesperson suggested in 1995 that management was 'so distant from the staff of the university that (it) largely does not know what is going on' [The Guardian, 14 March 1995] and warned that 'Huddersfield-Bournemouth-Portsmouth style turbulence' could be expected if 'the recommendations on staff involvement in the governance of this university' were not implemented [Ibid]. Many staff wanted faculty and academic board powers increased so they

could play a greater role in policy and decision making. The months straddling the summer vacation were a time of ugly confrontation. However, as both sides eventually approached A.C.A.S., the threatened vote of no confidence in management was postponed and more cordial relations were eventually established.

For some years, management had attempted with varying degrees of success to involve the whole staff in developing the corporate plan. An earlier top-down management style was replaced by a mixed model which included elements of a bottom-up approach: for example, every school made its own contribution to the University's overall mission statement. The institution's mission, general and specific development plans were discussed by boards of study, faculty boards, faculty management groups and the academic board. Finally, a university management group conducted a round of discussions with each faculty reviewing their programmes' academic health, past achievements, and possible future developments. These contributions were incorporated into a provisional mission statement which was discussed and revised on a number of further occasions before being presented to the governing body. This process enabled the institution to break away from the short termism necessitated by N.A.B.'s and the P.C.F.C.'s iron control and to move towards medium term planning. Those staff, however, who wanted the University to be ruled by some kind of democratic senate remained unappeased.

While staff and management were trying to negotiate a compromise over governance, an important step was taken towards resolving the perennial teaching space problem. Kingston Hill had always seemed to be the one University campus capable of large scale development. Apart from a lack of capital and the local residents' entrenched opposition, the most obdurate difficulty facing the University was finding a means of meeting the local authority's prerequisite conditions so that a phased site-development could take place. Tibbalds Colborne Karski Williams Munro, however, won high praise for a campus development plan which provided the necessary infrastructure of roads and pathways while creating a balance between built and open space which respected the character of the existing accommodation while causing minimum damage to the surrounding flora and fauna [The Wimbledon Comet, 10 April 1992]. After considerable debate, the local authority accepted the plan [The Surrey Comet, 17 December 1993]. Local opposition, however, was only just starting to surface. Strong feelings were particularly aroused by the proposal to build an on-site multi-storey car park. Many residents felt that this would constitute '*a monstrous carbuncle on Coombe Hill*' [The Kingston Borough Guardian, 18 May 1995]. In spite of strong local protests, the proposal went ahead.

Meanwhile, the Vice Chancellor attempted to reform the University's academic structure. Initially, a fundamental revision of the Faculty system seemed likely. It was widely rumoured that the faculties of Science and Technology might well merge while various schools might migrate from their current homes to other more congenial faculties. In the event, Education was the only faculty to be dismantled. Curiously, its dissolution raised little if any opposition. Professor Ho, the Head of Music, probably expressed the general feeling, when he remarked, '*The staff of the School of Music can work with anybody!*' The second part of the reform plan required the redefinition of a number of important senior management and administration posts. A number of officers received notice to quit. Some reappeared bearing new titles and responsibilities. Others placed themselves on the job market. At Academic Board, disappointment was expressed at the apparent lack of feeling exhibited towards some members of staff. Three new senior posts were advertised: the Directorship of Development, the Headship of Academic Services and the Headship of Corporate Information [The Diary, 18 July 1994]. Dr Tony Mercer was appointed to the demanding role of Head of Development; Dr Larry Roberts became Head of Academic Services with a much enlarged remit; and Diana Coulter became Head of the International Office [The Diary, 3 October 1994]. Dr Nick Cullis, having resigned as Dean of Education, became Director of International Relations (Asia) and embarked upon an unbelievably demanding series of journeys to Pacific Rim countries in search of commissions [The Diary, 19 September 1994]. With Dr Mercer's translation to Development, Professor Reg Davis was prevailed upon to become first acting and then permanent Dean of the Faculty of Science [The Diary, 3 October 1994]. Gail Cunningham achieved the Deanship of Human Sciences, after demonstrating irrefutable evidence of her ability during a difficult period as Acting Dean. Finally, Professor Mike Pittilo was appointed Dean of the newly formed Joint Faculty of Healthcare Sciences [The Diary, 19 December 1994]. Teresa Lawlor became Head of Languages in succession to Wendy Scott [The Diary, 19 September 1994] and Mike Gibson succeeded Beryl Pratley as Head of Education.

Over a long period, Kingston coped successfully with a steady decline in real revenue while retaining a contingency fund which enabled it to deal comfortably with sudden items of extra expenditure. 1995, however, tested the University's financial stability to the full. In 1994/95, there had been a significant shortfall in student numbers. Engineering and the Built Environment in particular had suffered deficits in full-time student recruitment while the University failed to achieve its planned growth in a wide range of part-time programmes. However, as students experienced ever greater difficulty in financing their studies, retention rather than recruitment proved to be the main problem. The University set itself a series of targets, which if attained, would resolve its immediate problems. It was agreed that a comprehensive marketing policy would have to be developed to 'put Kingston on the map' - market research revealed how few people, even in southern England, knew of the University's existence, let alone its strengths. Court's study [1996] demonstrated that because of reduced maintenance grants, increased financial responsibilities, the introduction of modularity and credit accumulation and transfer, 84% of students aged 40 years of more studied at local H.E.I.s: southerners, however, proved to be the most adventurous in their university choices. In spite of the evidence of growing regionalisation, 47% of all H.E.I.s still recruited less than 20% of their students from their immediate locality [Court S., Universities shape up for a turf war, *The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 5 January 1996]. A further survey demonstrated the importance of having a well known 'brand name'. It was clear that many H.E.I.s, including Kingston, needed to raise their national and international profiles [Students pick Brand Names, *The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 22 November 1996]. Under severe pressure, course franchising was reviewed to ensure that University costs were fully covered. Operational economies were planned to reduce and simplify bureaucratic procedures. A vigorous search was initiated to discover new sources of funding [The Diary, 9 January 1995].

During 1995, one course after another - for example English and Geology [The Diary, 20 March 1995] - achieved H.E.F.C.E.'s coveted 'excellent' rating to boost Kingston's position in the university league table for teaching excellence. Spirits were lifted still further by a series of successful conferences. In January, the Business School celebrated a decade of M.B.A. success [The Diary, 30 January 1995] while on 19th April the University hosted an international conference at Roehampton Vale on 'The Future of Work, Technology and Knowledge' with a variety of well known speakers, including the Shadow Education Secretary, David Blunkett, who spoke about 'Education in the Twenty-First Century' [The Diary, 24 April 1995]. Staff-management conflict and disputed campus developments apart, the last five years of the twentieth century were rich in institutional achievements. The School of Fashion continued to maintain the highest standards. In 1996, one of its second year students was voted the Royal Society of Arts' top young designer [The Diary, 63, 27 May 1996]. Further links were established with other European countries when the School of Mechanical, Aeronautical and Production Engineering and Athens' Advanced Technology College entered into a partnership to deliver the first two years of Kingston's Aerospace Engineering degree programme in Greece [The Diary, 65, 10 June 1996]. Once again, a party of University staff set off dinosaur hunting. A group of lecturers, led by Professor Dick Moody and David Attenborough, explored part of the Tunisian desert before discovering a cache of remains.

The attempt to create a Faculty of Healthcare was one of the University's most exciting ventures. At first, it was not entirely clear whether the potential partners were fully committed to the project. The proposal, however, was finally agreed in 1995 when the University and St George's Hospital Medical School, Tooting, obtained a five year contract from the Regional Health Authority to provide courses for 2,000 nurses and midwives on the Kingston Hill Campus [The Surrey Comet, 28 April 1995]. The agreement created considerable interest as it was the first between a 'new' and an 'old' university: St George's Medical School, being part of the University of London [The Times Higher Educational Supplement, 9 February 1996]. Accordingly, much of Kingston Hill was rapidly bulldozed to provide the network of roads the Local Authority insisted must precede site development. Once a one-way system was in place, the builders proceeded to erect Healthcare buildings and a decked car park.

While massive earth moving equipment transformed the shape of Kingston Hill, the University continued to achieve a very creditable series of top quality H.E.F.C.E. ratings for a number of courses ranging from Business Studies to English Literature. Even teacher training managed to obtain a creditable 'good' in O.F.S.T.E.D.'s demanding world. Art and Music continued to flourish. As *The Kingston Informer* put it, 'New University (is) up with the elite' [The Kingston Informer, 12 January 1996]. However, just as the new universities started to settle down, a number of controversies appeared. The Government openly talked about allocating the bulk of its research funding to a 'premier league' of nine

universities to enable them to maintain their status as world class centres of excellence [The Times, 29 July 1996; Independent, 4 September 1996]. Had the proposal been implemented, other institutions would have been virtually dependent upon private sponsorship and industrial and commercial contracts for research funding. Because research in art, design and business was less valued, Kingston would have suffered more than most. If realised, the proposals would have prevented many high quality students from attending research-focused institutions [The Guardian, 30 July 1996]. In 1995/6, Kingston received £1.2M research funding and an additional £2M from various D.T.I. schemes [The Kingston Borough News, 2 August 1996].

1995/6 saw the end of a period of financial stability during which Kingston had built up a contingency fund of approximately £3M. Unless strong corrective action was immediately taken, the University would in all likelihood face a £4.3M deficit by 1999/2000 [Diary Briefing, 27 June 1996]. Further hasty calculations, following a proposal to introduce a new Standard Rate Resource Teaching Fund, indicated that the deficit was likely to be even greater. It was no comfort that Kingston's difficulties were replicated throughout the sector. Terry Butcher, the Finance Director, calculated that Kingston would have to invest 5% or £3M of its annual income to offset losses. *'This University, like almost all others in Britain'*, the Vice Chancellor concluded, *'is at a critical point in its future, both strategically and financially. We must address these problems in a cool and systematic way over the months ahead'* [Ibid].

While many called on disadvantaged institutions to stand together and demand a judicial review, Kingston took immediate action to strengthen its position. Determined to eschew the damaging approaches adopted by some institutions, such as imposing institution-wide cuts in expenditure involving morale sapping staff redundancies and early retirements, the University exploited its assets by increasing hostel lettings, extending conferencing and recruiting more overseas students. This, it was hoped, would raise an extra £1M a year. The University also explored alternative ways of providing services through Facilities Management. Initially, three areas - catering, property, and residential services - were scrutinised [The Diary Bulletin, 23 September 1996]. Inevitably, some staff felt threatened, de-motivated and de-skilled. If the November 1996 Budget contained further cuts in capital funding, universities feared they might have to charge tuition fees even though they knew this would sadly disadvantage students lacking parental financial support [Radio 4 News, Saturday, 21 September 1996]. Serious problems were likely to arise from the absence of a fair loan scheme and the poverty gap created by taxing student earnings.

On 23rd September 1996, Bob Smith officially announced that he would retire on 31st December 1997. From various points of view, this announcement seemed inopportune. On the one hand, competition for high quality candidates was necessarily fierce as twelve other universities, some bigger, richer and more prestigious than Kingston, were seeking to appoint vice chancellors. Moreover, the long awaited Dearing Report was expected to mark a watershed in the development of British higher education. On the other hand if the institution was going to change leaders, it would be wise do so quickly so that the new incumbent could make untrammelled decisions. An elaborate selection process was established. The Governing Body appointed a search team, supported by a firm of management consultants, and an assessor [The Diary, 23 September 1996]. Representatives of the governing body held a number of meetings with Academic Board to seek advice and to disseminate information.

Early on Monday 17th February 1997, the Governing body announced the appointment of Professor Peter Scott as Vice Chancellor-Designate. Although currently a Pro Vice-Chancellor at the University of Leeds, Professor Scott had pursued a highly successful career in journalism prior to returning to academe. After graduating from Oxford with a first class honours degree in Modern History, he worked as a reporter on *The Times Educational Supplement* before moving to *The Times*. In 1971, he became Deputy Editor of *The Times Educational Supplement* before enjoying a short change of role as Visiting Harkness Scholar at the University of California at Berkeley where he developed his own research interests in access to and the governance and management of higher education. Refreshed, he returned to work as a leader writer for *The Times* before serving as the Editor of *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* for sixteen years [1976-1992]. In 1992, he moved to the University of Leeds where he established a Centre for Policy Studies in Education where leading researchers gave public lectures, seminars and workshops. The Centre attained a coveted grade 5 in the 1996 Research Assessment Exercise. As Pro Vice-Chancellor, he took responsibility for External Affairs at Leeds University in 1995 [The Diary Bulletin, 17 February 1997].

Professor Scott's first approach to his future staff and students took the form of a 'vision' statement in which he handsomely acknowledged his predecessor's achievements, summarised the university sector's political context and called for unity:

At all costs universities have to avoid squabbling among themselves - the so-called Russell Group of would-be top universities versus the new Coalition of Modern Universities representing the former polytechnics ... it makes no sense having abandoned one anachronistic division (between universities and polytechnics) to create another rigid hierarchy. We should be looking forward to new roles and new identities not trying to hang onto old ones. [Ibid]

A thought provoking picture of the future followed, combining both positive and warning notes:

Some people argue that in the knowledge society of the future, higher education has a secure future. I agree - but we can't take it for granted. Many other institutions, private and public, will become 'learning organisations' (and perhaps 'researching organisations' too) in their own right. Some of them may turn into powerful rivals. So universities can't afford to be complacent. But these other organisations can also be key collaborators - in the context of work-based learning or the development of novel forms of research and consultancy. The modern university has to have open frontiers that all can cross - both ways. [Ibid]

The University's performance in the third Research Assessment Exercise was disappointing. Although possessing more research active staff than ever before, it only achieved grade 3s in Art and Design (3a), Earth Sciences (3b), Metallurgy and Materials (3b), Business and Management Studies (3b), European Studies (3b), History (3b) and Music (3b). Academic Board conducted an immediate post mortem [Minutes of Academic Board, 28 January 1997]. What could be done to ensure Kingston's continuing presence among the ranks of research worthy universities? Some favoured rigorous concentration upon research units which had more than a good chance of being graded 3 or above in the 2000/1 Research Assessment Exercise. Others suggested that academics, who could be relied upon to provide four refereed research articles, should be immediately identified and encouraged. Still others believed it was essential to develop a university-wide research culture and that this should be encouraged in the short as well as medium term. Bob Smith suggested it was possible to combine elements of both policies. The University had to make every effort to attract external funding. In reply, staff insisted that strong executive leadership was needed to ensure that funding applications were presented as professionally as possible; research mentoring was essential; and staff with successful track records in obtaining outside research funding should tutor inexperienced applicants. By the end of the debate, members had agreed it was essential that 'a research culture permeates all academic activity in the University' [University Research Policy and Strategy, 28 January 1997].

On Tuesday, 29th May 1997, Academic Board debated the University's medium term financial strategy. Board members wanted to know how other universities were confronting financial deficit. Bob Godfrey, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, pointed out that some were either closing whole courses and schools or imposing flat rate cuts right across the institution - needless-to-say, neither of these solutions held any attraction for the staff. The idea that real savings could be made through simplifying academic and administrative activities was challenged. The Vice Chancellor assured the Board that the Executive was not looking for 'a quick fix'. He promised that a careful audit of existing procedures would be carried out and agreed that new approaches might well take time to implement. Moreover, the new Head of Corporate Information was already exploring ways of improving admissions, timetabling and recording systems. Cynics retorted that £1M a year could be saved by simply sacking twenty full-time staff. Wasn't 'down-sizing', therefore, the only quick and effective way of balancing the books? Bob Smith admitted that staffing might have to be reduced, but hoped this could be accomplished by natural wastage rather than redundancies. Finally, he promised a complete review of management strategies.

The debate then moved on to consider how new income might be generated. Accommodation in the new halls of residence could be let profitably during the tourist season. The University expected to recruit increasing numbers of overseas students. Although late in entering the international market, Kingston had developed important links with the Pacific Rim countries, Sri Lanka and Cyprus. Moreover, the Business School had negotiated a lucrative networking arrangement with the Thessaloniki Business School, involving up to 800 students. Another attractive proposal was being

discussed with a group of well respected Malaysian institutions. It was pointed out that approximately £1.8M a year could be raised by introducing a £200 student registration fee. The Vice Chancellor agreed but suggested it would be sensible to defer further discussion until after the Dearing Report had been published and had established the parameters for a national debate [Academic Board Paper AB60 96/97, 29 April 1997].

Although the news of the Labour Party's electoral triumph on 1st May 1997 was greeted with a sense of profound relief by many, though by no means all, nobody imagined that Higher Education had reached the promised land. Any incipient optimism was quashed when Baroness Blackstone, the Minister for Higher Education, warned that some funding would be diverted to other urgent Government educational initiatives, such as expanding nursery provision, reducing class sizes in infant schools and promoting the Literacy and Numeracy initiatives. In the meantime, the Governors decided to authorize S.E.R.C.O. to take over most of the activities undertaken by the Catering, Property and Residential Services. It was announced that even if S.E.R.C.O. eventually formed a joint venture company, the University would remain the majority shareholder and retain overall control of major strategic decision making. For at least the time being, however, the University continued to run Residential Services and Rooming. S.E.R.C.O. and University staff were expected to negotiate detailed service definitions before the final contract was signed. In fact, many University staff transferred to the joint company on very similar terms and conditions to the ones they currently enjoyed. As anticipated, compulsory redundancies were unnecessary as sufficient staff opted for early retirement or voluntary redundancy. This potentially traumatic development created less overt opposition than might have been expected. In the event, Governors determined not to contract with SERCO and established a company wholly owned by the University, Kingston University Service Company (KUSCO) to manage facilities. Inevitably, University life became fairly difficult during the awkward handing-over stage: orders were lost; letters were neither posted nor delivered on time; teaching rooms remained locked when they were supposed to be open and key-holders were difficult to find; and responsibility for decision making remained unclear. Ray Shedden was placed in charge of K.U.S.C.O., which included all current Kingston University employees under their existing conditions of service. *High Table*, the refectory agency, was to continue in operation until the end of the academic year, when its service quality would be evaluated and its future relationship with the University decided.

As tension built up immediately before the publication of *The Dearing Report on Higher Education*, the Independent Pay Commission made the obvious point that most Higher Education staff were paid substantially less than comparable colleagues in the private and public sectors. A Barclays Bank survey showed that parents were having to invest heavily in their offspring's higher education. London-based student grants fell from £2845 in 1990 to £2160 in September 1997 while actual student expenditure was in the region of £5,150 p.a.. Wherever possible parents made good the financial gap: 37% of students, for instance, relied on parental support in 1997 as compared with 26% in 1990. Trainees were also building up larger debts with the student loan scheme and the banks: in 1997, two-thirds of all trainees took out a student loan while 19% were totally dependent upon this source of income [The Telegraph, 12 July 1997].

The University's normal business continued unhindered. A Business student attained the top award in a national advertising competition. In 1997, the students celebrated their sporting achievements with the Annual Colours Ball at the London Hilton Hotel with Jimmy Hill, the soccer commentator and guru, as their guest speaker [The Kingston Times, 21 March 1997]. Once again, the Dewhirst Group agreed to sponsor the Annual Fashion Show [The Surrey Comet, 21 March 1997], which was attended by a number of world famous luminaries and was filmed by no less than five crews all working for different television channels. The Art and Design Degree Show enjoyed its by now expected triumph. A Business Information Technology student came second in a national business ethics competition and received a cheque for £2,000 from NatWest [The Diary, 9 June 1997]. The University celebrated its fifth birthday on 20th June 1997: the Rowing Club took part in a variety of competitions; staff, who had obtained awards and qualifications, attended a reception at Knights Park; the Fibonacci Sequence gave a concert at the Stanley Picker Gallery; staff attended an anniversary lunch at Knights Park; the new Kingston Hill Learning Resources Centre was on view and the new Lawley Lecture Theatre was officially opened; finally, the Chancellor's Garden Party took place at Dorich House in drizzling rain.

A new University Centre for the Study of Society and Politics was set up. Its purpose was to explore the extent to which government policy affected the individual, the family and society; the conflict

between the notion of personal freedom and a morally activist political culture; the changing balance between collective intervention and market mechanisms; the interchange between government action and culture and popular movements; the influence on politics of masculinity and femininity; and the interaction between the exercise of power and personal integrity, faith and conviction [The Diary, 30 June 1997]. The Centre was intended to promote research, publish papers, hold workshops, seminars and lectures and make imaginative use of the Internet. Jonathan Briggs, a Reader in the School of Information Systems, produced the Lords Web Site for the Marylebone Cricket Club so that the general public, who are normally excluded from the famous Long Room, could wander through its virtual reality ... cricket aficionados hoped that it would not be long before the great players of the past would vie with each other in virtual test matches.

With 1.1 million students undertaking full-time higher education and a further half a million studying part-time courses, it came as no surprise that the Government decided to end student maintenance grants and to impose tuition fees of £1,000 p.a. (Radio Four News, Sunday, 20th July). In order to make their way through higher education, students would have to take out even larger bank loans which could be paid back when they obtained full-time employment but over a much longer period than previously. A student on a three year course of study, it was calculated, might well run up a debt of over £10,000. David Blunkett, the Education Secretary, decided, moreover, to introduce means-testing so that families earning less than £18,000 p.a. would be exempted from fee paying. He also replaced maintenance grants with bigger loans, graduated according to parental income levels. Although Blunkett promised parents that they would not have to provide any greater support than previously, students in fact had to borrow more to pay for board and lodging. Moreover, universities suspected that the new £1,000 tuition fee would be deducted from their block allocation so that they would be no better off. Their spokespersons argued vehemently that money raised for higher education should be spent on it.

The Government soon began to suffer the consequences of its premature decision. On learning that in all likelihood graduates would have to pay a minimum of £3,000 towards the cost of their studies, thousands of young people who had originally wanted to take a year out, decided to undertake their degree course immediately under the old rather than the new funding arrangements [The Independent, 7 August 1997]. Diana Milner-Walker, the University Admissions Officer, told reporters, *'I am already getting calls from students who deferred until 1998 wanting to come this year instead. People are panicking especially as the final details of the loan scheme are not yet known'* [The Daily Telegraph, July 1997]. According to the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service, 350,000 candidates were chasing 295,000 places [ibid]. An extra 80,000 candidates were expected to stake a claim to university places during August 1997.

The summer was enlivened by rumours about the future of Surrey County Council's Penrhyn Road headquarters. *The Kingston Guardian* suggested that they should become either the University's flagship centre or *'a top hotel'* [The Kingston Guardian, 16 July 1997]. At approximately the same time, the University hosted a New Jazz Festival featuring the Julian Joseph Trio and the All Star Band. The opportunity was also taken to celebrate the music of the composer and conductor, Mike Gibbs, who had been an artist-in-residence since September 1996. In November, the Point Digital Joint Enterprise was launched by the University, AZTEC and Business Link London South West with £450,000 support from the D.T.I. to advise small businesses on the new technology's commercial applications [The Surrey Comet, 28 November 1997].

The 1997 Autumn term Senior Staff meeting, which took place in the newly opened Lawley Hall, provided the Vice Chancellor-Designate and the Facilities Managers with an appropriate stage on which to display their wares. The current Vice-Chancellor opened proceedings by updating staff on the state of the institution's finances before predicting their likely configuration in 2000/01. He estimated that the 1998/9 budget deficit was likely to be reduced by about a million pounds thanks to Kingston's share of Blunkett's £165M Higher Education *'donation'*. Bob Smith then introduced the S.E.R.C.O. representatives. As their presentation followed in the wake of an almost unrelieved sequence of problems, their statements were met with a degree of healthy scepticism. Bob Godfrey, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, relieved perceptible tension by providing a rapid and amusing account of the improvements that had been made to the Kingston Hill site.

Peter Scott then exposed with gusto some of the Dearing Report's deficiencies. He compared Dearing unfavourably with the much more fortunate Robbins. The critical difference, he suggested, might well be that Robbins had been able to set an agenda which demanded national attention while Dearing had missed the opportunity to pose critical questions. In Peter Scott's opinion, Dearing had accepted rather than transcended his brief. The report contained some good things: for instance the need for renewed expansion, wider access, and the overhaul of governance. However, no radical vision of a genuine learning society emerged from its immense tomes. Peter Scott speculated about the possible outcomes of the Government's fees' policy. In particular, he deprecated its impact upon the 'marginal student'. The limitations in the government's research base and viewpoint were exposed. Moreover, Tony Blair's famous policy statement, 'Education, Education, Education', failed to encourage the university sector as in its extended version, it read 'Primary Education, Secondary Education and Further Education'. Neither the Government nor Dearing had apparently developed a clear view of the future governance of higher education. Peter Scott welcomed the call for wider access, rejected the idea that universities should be divided into teaching and research focused institutions and acknowledged the need for diversity of mission and provision. He also accepted the importance for Kingston of targeted marketing, high ranking in the university league tables, and a good performance in the Research Assessment Exercise. In fact, he underlined the significance of 'R.I.s' or Reputation Indicators.

Bob Smith's last Academic Board confirmed the award of professorships to Robert Blackburn, the Director of the Small Business Research Centre; Jonathan Briggs, School of Information Systems; Peter Foot, School of Applied Chemistry; and Jean Woodall, School of Human Resources. The Board was informed that the proposal for a new generic award, the Doctorate of Business Administration, would be going to validation in the Spring of 1998. Dr Larry Roberts reported that Kingston had emerged remarkably well from its H.E.Q.C.(Q.A.A.) Collaborative Provision Audit: most unusually there were no conditions to meet. On the other hand, the Fryer Committee's recommendation that all higher education inspection agencies' protocols, approaches and methods should be harmonised was received with justifiable suspicion. Unfortunately, O.F.S.T.E.D. led the race to become the model for the whole sector. This move, combined with the Government's proposal to give H.M.I. mandatory rights of entry into teacher training providers, gave universities food for thought. Concern was also expressed over the decline in applications to the University. The Fees and Loans Task Group, led by Professor Reg Davies, put forward an agenda which demanded immediate action. The Life-long Learning Task Force, led by Professor David Miles, had begun to audit institutional provision to discover whether there were gaps to be closed or opportunities to be exploited. The Research Strategy Group, led by Dr Tony Mercer, had begun to revise the University's research policy and to review tactics for the new Research Assessment Exercise in 2000/01. Meanwhile, the Regional Task Group was considering the feasibility of seeking greater collaboration with local Higher Education institutions including St George's Hospital Medical School, the Roehampton Institute and Surrey University, and with the Associate Further Education Colleges at Kingston, Merton, Richmond, South Thames and Guildford.

On 31st December 1997, Bob Smith retired. His successes had been impressive. When he arrived in 1982, the Polytechnic had only 5,800 students and was suffering from serious accommodation and financial problems. 15,000 students attended the University during 1997/8, and although the accommodation problem had not been totally resolved, the institution was in an infinitely stronger position than it had been in 1982 at the time he was appointed. During his fifteen year 'reign', some 40,000 students obtained degrees. A total of £60M had been spent on improving the institutional infrastructure: the building of the Sopwith Technology Block in Fassett Road, the Healthcare developments on Kingston Hill and the Picker Gallery, not to mention a whole series of new hostels were clear evidence of the institution's progress in this area. On taking over the Directorship, Bob Smith found the Polytechnic in financial difficulties, a state of affairs he was determined should never reoccur while he was in control. Balancing the budget and squirrelling away a contingency fund were some of his greatest strengths. Some organisational changes, however, proved to be more problematic: his attempts to devise an effective academic structure by introducing a faculty system and later modifying it were only partially successful. His role, on the other hand, in creating a highly successful School of Business gave him unalloyed satisfaction. The high quality ratings obtained by Business, Geology, English, Aeronautical and Manufacturing Engineering and Surveying and Landscape Architecture were matters of considerable pride. His firm insistence on exercising his powers as chief executive and indulging in meticulous micro-management gave rise to good natured jokes. On occasions, he faced serious challenges to his authority: his views on leadership and the vital areas of decision and policy

making were questioned. However, he succeeded in sustaining his authority albeit at the cost of considerable personal stress and institutional tension.

He played a significant role in helping the alternative higher education sector to develop and eventually take its place beside the old universities: this and the part he played in the campaign to free polytechnics from Local Authority control earned him a C.B.E.. In addition, he served as Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics as well as chairing the Polytechnics and Colleges Employers' Forum. He was a member of the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council for four and a half years and served as a Director of the Higher Education Statistics Agency and the Universities and Colleges Employers' Association. In recognition of his outstanding contribution, he was made an Honorary Freeman of the Royal Borough of Kingston at Easter 1997. Nevertheless, Bob Smith remained dissatisfied:

My greatest regret is that we've failed to get the university on the map. Not as it deserves to be. I really haven't helped to promote its strengths as much as I should have liked. [Ibid]

The University's continued financial viability as he reached retirement must have given him great satisfaction. He had been determined to leave his successor with a balanced budget and learnt, no doubt, with some relief as well as pleasure that the annual accounts for 1996-7 showed a surplus of £3.4M. Nonetheless, he remained true to his long held beliefs, warning:

It is essential that a large organisation like the University maintains a surplus of around 5 per cent of its total expenditure and I'm delighted Kingston has managed to hit that target again this year. However, much of the surplus is already accounted for in the coming year and we will continue to operate within fairly tight margins. [Ibid]

The Scott era started with a bang. The new Vice Chancellor toured University campuses meeting the staff en masse and sharing with them his immediate impressions of the University and his hopes for its future. Although his initial visits to the institution had convinced him of its quality, he was not sure that all the staff exhibited the same degree of confidence in themselves. His expectations were high. A University's collegial relationships were of the greatest importance. Critical skills should be exemplified by staff and developed by students. Open agendas should be encouraged and what staff said and did should be a closely correlated. He welcomed wider access: the University would enable people of all kinds and persuasions to realise their intellectual potential. He looked forward to a time when there would be a seamless progression from schools to universities.

Turning to immediate issues, he suggested the University needed to sharpen its identity so that potential clients knew what it stood for and what its particular strengths were. He referred to the need for a common academic structure. The University's research standing had to be raised. A culture of intellectual enquiry had to be developed. The University required better information systems if it was to realise new approaches to teaching and learning. Budgeting and academic planning would need to be clearly linked and income generation encouraged. A more congenial working and social environment had to be created particularly in the older properties.

The first Academic Board of the Scott Era certainly introduced a note of controversy. The Vice Chancellor's paper on modularity and semesterisation opened up barely healed wounds. The advocates of the eight-module year found themselves savaged, if in a remarkably civilised manner, by both the opponents of modularity and the proponents of the six-module year. At the end of an enjoyable debate, the matter was referred to Faculty Boards and Boards of Study. Who was going to pay for courses to be reconfigured? What were the real benefits of modularity and semesterisation apart from uniformity of approach? On Wednesday, 11th March 1998, the twenty-year long debate on modularity and semesterisation was finally concluded. After another good tempered debate, Academic Board agreed that the institution should adopt a 'flexibly-designed and sensitively implemented' eight-module year scheme. 'No obstacles (were to be placed) in the way of Faculties and Schools maintaining distinctive provision on which their reputations may depend' [Vice Chancellor, *The Structure of Academic Programmes - Proposals for a University-wide modular framework*, Academic Board paper AB28 97/98, 29 January 1998]. This was one of the rare occasions in its history when Academic Board voted on an issue: the proposal received overwhelming support. An implementation group was set up to develop an

operational model. The issue of declining recruitment was then addressed. It was agreed that the University had to present a new image to the outside world. Candidates could be attracted by developing student-sensitive systems for payment, support and guidance, and by offering scholarships to well-qualified and 'local' applicants [Repeated at Academic Board, Corporate Plan (AB52: 1.1), 30 April 1998]. Similarly, University and student rights and responsibilities should be based upon Q.A.A. codes of practice [Ibid: 1.5]. Teaching and learning action plans were to be developed for both students and staff. In anticipation of the Institute for Learning and Teaching Group's recommendations, new staff were already undertaking a Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education [An Institute for Learning and Teaching: Initial Consultation Paper - Academic Board (AB53), 30 April 1998].

A Research Strategy paper was endorsed with unusual enthusiasm, earning its authors the thanks of the Academic Board [AB42, 11 March 1998]. The paper reiterated the need for a more positive research culture, adequate opportunities, and the need for increased numbers of research students, many more Ph.D. completions and more external funding. A £250,000 Annual Research Investment Fund was announced to pump-prime new enterprises, develop existing centres of excellence and finance staff sabbaticals. However, proposals had to contain clear, measurable and realisable objectives; firm, effectively monitored performance schedules; and robust evaluation systems. All this suggested a much more hard-nosed approach to planning and implementation.

The name, nature and format of the Corporate Plan was also changed (Academic Board, AB 52, 30 April 1998). The planning process was revised in order to headline key priorities. Instead of two discussion rounds in which faculties and departments presented plans, the first encounter concentrated upon 'broad-brush strategic priorities and the second on a much more focused discussion of budget items/requests' [Ibid]. It was essential that the process and its outcomes should be more 'widely owned' by members of the University. Another innovation, the 'V-C's Column' in the monthly edition of 'Bridge', provided staff with opportunities to employ their decoding strategies. Peter Scott appeared to enjoy teasing staff by treating them to a selection of his personal musings. In the May 1998 issue, for instance, he reflected that 'Academic restructuring is the game that many new vice-chancellors like to play' ... readers across the institution inhaled deeply. With trepidation, they read, 'So far I have resisted the temptation ... We have to recognise that structures send out signals ...' Momentary relief followed the statement: 'My interest is not in structure as such but in these subliminal but powerful messages.' 'Don't worry, this is not leading up to anything'. Consternation quickly re-appeared, however, as they read: 'not yet anyway!' The Vice Chancellor then delivered his intellectual coup de grace: 'The best structures are the ones that can subvert themselves - in the sense that they encourage the kind of critical review of how a University is currently organised to reflect new intellectual (and social and cultural) aspirations and new economic demands' [Bridge, May 1998, Issue 8, page 2].

Learning that rumour was rampant, the Vice Chancellor commented in the July edition of *Bridge* '... I suddenly had this feeling that perhaps the University is full of erstwhile Kremlinologists ... who read what I write in the hope that they can discover what I'm really up to ...' [Bridge July, p 2]. Later in the same article, he explained: 'I admit very occasionally (and quite innocently) I have been a little mischievous - like the "... not yet" that strayed into my column on academic restructuring. I suppose I am also aware that anything I write about collaboration may be read with interest at say, the University of Surrey. But generally there is no spin' [Ibid]. Meanwhile, the publication of *the Report by the Commission on the Future of the University* also created a certain frisson. What was going to happen to staff if all the recommendations were implemented?

While conjecture was at its height, Bob Godfrey, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, announced his retirement at the end of January 1999 and a search was immediately instituted to find a successor. Professor Caroline Gipps, the Dean of Research at the University of London Institute of Education, was appointed Deputy Vice-Chancellor. Professor Gipps had a well established reputation as a leading expert upon teaching strategies, assessment and feedback. Peter Scott announced, 'I know she will be very good for Kingston, and I look forward very much to working with her' [The Bridge, September, 1998, p. 8]. Three new Pro-Vice-Chancellors were created: Gail Cunningham to lead the drive for improved research performance, David Miles to ensure the University made a full contribution to lifelong learning, and Tony Mercer to concentrate upon the University's core marketing services and links with Associate Colleges. Together with Professor Gipps, they formed a quadrumvirate whose task was to focus upon 'the University's core business - being a university' [Ibid, p 2]. Academic Services were divided into an Academic Registry, led by Allison Stokes, and Academic Development under Larry Roberts, who became a member of the reformed Executive. A new Senior Management Group was added to 'respond more quickly and effectively

to issues as they arise' while the Academic Directorate, whose mission was to *'take a more pro-active approach to academic development'* joined the enlarged Executive. Finally, the existing eight corporate and service departments were redeployed as four management teams: academic affairs, chaired at first by Bob Godfrey and later by Caroline Gibbs; resources, led by Terry Butcher; student affairs, headed by Ken Hopkins as the new Dean of Students with a place on the Executive; and external affairs directed by Tony Mercer. *Satis superque*. The Vice Chancellor reminded everyone that, *'Administrative changes are means to an end, not ends in themselves. They must reflect our key goals, purposes and strategies - and values - as a University'* [Ibid].

The Senior Staff Meeting of 23rd September 1998 took place in a sombre atmosphere. The Vice Chancellor opened proceedings with good and bad news. On the one hand, the University's admission figures were better than anyone had had a right to expect and there was a small budget surplus for the year 1997/8. However, on the other hand, all the Government's pledges of 'new' Higher Education money was so much flummery as these funds were tied to new initiatives so Kingston could only share in what little largesse was available by applying to take part in every new venture as it appeared. Terry Butcher, the Finance Director, reminded staff that as the Government had confined itself to a 1% annual increase in efficiency gains, things were better than predicted in September 1997. On the other hand, however, it had set institutions the target of saving 3% of their annual income by 2001/02 to meet capital investment needs - in order to accomplish this, Kingston would have to save £5M p.a.. The new Pro-Vice-Chancellors for Lifelong Learning and Research then made short presentations. Professor Miles pointed out that as the new initiatives in lifelong learning represented traditional *'carrot and stick'* tactics, the trick was to be able to distinguish between 'carrots' and 'sticks'. Phil Spencer, the Director of Human Sciences' Modular Scheme, then put forward a passionately argued personal view of the University's mission, emphasising the importance of widening access and teasing out some of the concomitant outcomes for learning and teaching. John Morris, the new Head of Mathematics, compared Kingston with his previous 'old' university - it was sobering to learn that Elysian Fields still existed, even if they were elsewhere.

By this time, the preparations for the centenary were fully under way and staff had the opportunity to cast their minds back to the institution's origins.

THE CENTENARY

In what ways, if any, has Kingston and its largest educational institution changed between 1870 and 1999? The Tudor and Stuart slums, the cobbled streets, and the smell of the tanneries have gone. Cars and lorries have replaced horses and carts, a one-way system has been imposed, but traffic problems are as bad as ever. The agricultural countryside has retreated further and further away from the town centre. Suburbia has advanced, occupying the once disregarded open spaces and bridging the gaps between Kingston, the neighbouring villages and towns and merging them all into the metropolis. The 'nuisances', as the Victorians called them, of refuse and manure strewn streets, raw sewage and manufacturers' waste have been replaced by automobile pollutants, and commercial and industrial waste. Most of the churches still exist in the material if not spiritual sense, their congregations having dwindled and the Victorian Sabbath having become a day for recreation and shopping at the local supermarket. Schools have grown in number, range and facilities. The Victorian workhouse has been transformed into Kingston Hospital. Many Victorian houses and cottages have survived only to be refurbished with double or triple glazing and occasionally stone cladding. In the old town centre, most of the original Medieval, Tudor and Stuart buildings have escaped the developer only to be enveloped by yet another 'modern' facade. However, in spite of all the changes, perceptive time travellers visiting the market square would have little difficulty recognising where they were.

What of today's University? It still resembles its Victorian progenitor in that it occupies a multiplicity of sites: the factory-like Penrhyn Road Campus with its mixture of post-second world war architectural styles, not to mention its lonely, de-contextualised Victorian houses; Knights Park with its original building overshadowed by a tower block, relieved by the presence of the new Picker Gallery; Kingston Hill whose buildings provide a record of British architecture since just before the beginning of Victoria's reign until the present day; River House with its eye-catching decor; as well as many little satellite annexes including Combe Martin and Coombehurst, not to mention rented accommodation like Millennium House. Where the old, Technical Institute stood in its gradually mellowing red brick, Kingston College of Further Education stands today, much taller, broader and more solid than its predecessor. The Fife Road Polytechnic, which exercised the wit of so many inspectors, is no more. Many schools which provided accommodation for the Junior Technical Institute classes have been razed and replaced by bijou residences.

Where once typewriters were manipulated by an unbelievably tiny group of secretaries in one or two overcrowded rooms, a large administration supported by the latest advances in information technology plies its trade. Whereas once Kingston Institute looked to the County and Royal Borough councils for policy making, management and administration, the University is now free to make its own mistakes and achieve its own successes. Where once H.M.I. marched unchallenged and wrote their damning or praising reports, where the C.N.A.A. panels rooted among our courses, modern denizens merely have to cope with the arcane vagaries of the Funding Councils and their Quality Assurance representatives, O.F.S.T.E.D., and a galaxy of professional bodies. Where once a Principal ruled supreme within his strictly limited realm, a Vice Chancellor now attempts to govern as a constitutional monarch, accountable to the Board of Governors, aided by his Executive and Academic Board. Where once there were no full-time staff let alone Heads of Departments, there is now a multi-layered structure of full-time Deans, Heads of School, Course Directors, Lecturers, Service and Departmental Heads, Administrators, Technicians, and Admissions, Welfare, Serving, Catering, Cleaning, Car Park, Maintenance, and Security Officers and many more. Whereas once the Institute constituted no more than a tiny element within the Kingston economy, today's University is its largest consumer and employer.

The institution's core catchment area has hardly varied across the century. Although the Institute was originally founded to satisfy the needs of Kingston and its surrounding area, the Technical College's and later the Polytechnic's growing reputation enabled them to attract candidates from much farther afield. However, Greater London remains the University's major catchment area. In 1996, its candidates accounted for 46% of Kingston's full-time and sandwich undergraduate degree applicants and obtained 50% of all the places offered. This represented a 10% increase on the 1994 totals. Predictably, South East England accounted for approximately 30% of applications made and accepted, although the overall

total for this area had declined from the 1994 high of over 35%. A much smaller proportion of successful candidates came from South West England, some 6.4%, a fall of 2.9% from the 1994 total. The only other areas to exceed 2% were the East and West Midlands. These trends were similar to, but more pronounced than the national tendency for undergraduates to study within their home region [Development Department Memorandum (1997), *Migration patterns of home applicants accepted on full-time and sandwich undergraduate degree courses, 1994-1996*, Kingston University].

In 1999, Kingston University was the largest higher education institution in South West London and Surrey with 13,500 students on qualification-bearing courses. By national standards, these dimensions marked it out as a medium-sized provider arguably needing to consolidate its position by establishing closer relationships with other institutions in the area, such as Surrey University, St George's Hospital Medical School and perhaps the Roehampton Institute. It had already forged strong links with almost every local Further Education College including those at Kingston, Richmond, Merton, South Thames and Guildford and was furthering collaboration with local secondary schools and sixth form colleges. Its role in Europe and the wider world was expanding through partnerships with institutions in the Netherlands, France, Germany, Greece, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. In addition, it had established important relationships with local businesses, AZTEC, N.H.S. providers, cultural organisations and the Royal Borough of Kingston.

The University contained six faculties: Business including Law and Education; Design including Music; Healthcare Sciences; Human Sciences; and Technology. Each constituted a critical mass capable of further academic development. The University possessed almost 500 full-time academics as well as several hundred part-time lecturers. The entire staff totalled more than 1,300. Indeed, as the area's major employer, it provided many students with the opportunity to work their way through higher education. Its course portfolio contained almost a complete range of traditional study programmes with the exception of medical practitioner training. Certificate, diploma and degree courses were offered at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels while a growing number of students undertook research-based and taught doctoral studies. The University's overall achievement in teaching quality assessments was impressive: three areas - Business and Management, English and Geology - achieved 'Excellent' ratings under the old methodology while another three domains, Modern Foreign Languages, Sociology and Electronic Engineering obtained scores of 21 out of 24 under the new methodology while Landscape Architecture did even better and scored 24 out of 24.

With a new Vice Chancellor in post, the University was well set in 1999 to re-define itself as a unique higher education institution, deserving the enthusiastic support of staff, students, locality and government.

LANDMARKS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KINGSTON UNIVERSITY

- 1823 The London Mechanics Institute [now Birkbeck College] founded.
- 1851 Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace.
- 1853 The Department of Science and Art, South Kensington, established.
- 1870 Forster's Education Act created the Board Schools.
- 1872-5 Devonshire Commission (Scientific Instruction)
- 1875 Courses provided at the National School, Wood Street, under the aegis of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington.
- 1880 City and Guilds of London Institute incorporated.
- 1881-4 Royal Commission on Technical Instruction.
- 1888 Local Government Act.
- 1893 The Polytechnic in Fife Road established as Kingston's official centre for the provision of science and art classes.
- 1895 Bryce Commission recommended the creation of a Ministry of Education and Local Authorities for secondary education.
- 1889 Technical Instruction Act.
- 1890 Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act: money used to boost Technical Education.
- 1895 Bryce Commission (Secondary Education)
- 1896 The 'new' Fife Road Polytechnic opened.
- 1899 Board of Education formed; the Kingston Technical Institute buildings in Hall Road opened.
- 1902 Balfour Education Act; new wing to the Institute opened by Sir Thomas Skewes-Cox. Institute became the responsibility of Surrey County Council.
- 1910 The Kingston Day Commercial School opened by Kingston Institute.
- 1911 The first Central School opened.
- 1917 Gipsy Hill Teachers Training College founded.
- 1918 The Fisher Education Act.
- 1919 The Kingston Junior Technical School opened by Kingston Institute.
- 1921 The National Certificate Scheme launched.
- 1926 The Hadow Report. The Board of Education recognised the Institute as Kingston Technical College.
- 1930 The Kingston School of Art became independent.
- 1931 Technical College extension plans agreed but postponed due to economic stringency; HMI inspection of Gipsy Hill College.
- 1935 An extension, the Jubilee Block joining Tiffin Girls School and the Technical College completed and opened by W.R. Skeet, the Chairman of Surrey Higher Education Committee.
- 1937 Tiffin Girls School moved to its new buildings in the Fairfield and its accommodation was taken over by the Day Commercial and Junior Technical Schools.
- 1938 The Spens Report.
- 1939 The Kingston School of Art transferred to the Knights Park site.
- 1940 The Kingston Day Commercial School was housed by Hinchley Wood Central School for the duration of the War.
- 1942 White Paper (Educational Reconstruction).
- 1944 The Butler Education Act.

- 1945 The Percy Report (Higher Technological Education): The School of Art became an independent College of Art.
- 1946 Surrey County Council acquired Gipsy Hill College and provided it with accommodation in Kingston Hill Place and a number of Victorian houses on Kingston Hill.
- 1947 The British Institute of Management formed. The Kingston Day Commercial School amalgamated with Hinchley Wood County Secondary School.
- 1949 The Carr-Saunders Report (Education for Commerce).
- 1950 The NACEIC report (Future development of higher technological education). Penrhyn Road site first developed. Grants received for advanced courses.
- 1951 White Paper (Higher Technological Education): the first buildings on the Penrhyn Road site opened.
- 1955 The National Council for Technological Awards set up.
- 1956 White Paper (Technical Education).
- 1957 The CATs designated. The Technical College had its Dip Tec in Aeronautical Engineering approved.
- 1961 White Paper (Better Opportunities in Technical Education). Knights Park extension finished.
- 1962 The Technical College divided into Kingston College of Technology and Kingston College of Further Education.
- 1963 The Newsom Report (Half Our Future); the Robbins Report; major extension at Penrhyn Road opened. Gipsy Hill granted College of Education status.
- 1964 The Council for National Academic Awards founded; Kingston Borough took over responsibility for the College from Surrey County Council.
- 1965 The Kingston Junior Technical School closed. College of Art recognised. The Royal Borough of Kingston became responsible for the College of Technology and the College of Art.
- 1966 Computer Unit set up; institution recognised as a Regional College of Technology.
- 1967 Canbury Park Annexe opened.
- 1968 Knights Park extension opened.
- 1969 The Penrhyn Road Tower Block opened.
- 1970 Kingston College of Technology and Kingston College of Art amalgamate to form Kingston Polytechnic.
- 1972 Advanced courses in surveying and estate management transferred from NESCOL to Kingston Polytechnic.
- 1973 Kingston Regional Management Centre established initially at Penrhyn Road; Clayhill hostel opened.
- 1974 Kingsmead hostel opened; Tolworth playing fields became available.
- 1975 Kingston Polytechnic and Gipsy Hill College of Education amalgamate.
- 1977 KRMC moved to New Malden.
- 1978 New Knights Park extension.
- 1979 School of Law moved to Kingston Hill Centre.
- 1992 Kingston Polytechnic recognised as Kingston University.
- 1997 Professor Peter Scott appointed the second Vice Chancellor of Kingston University; Bob Smith resigned as Vice Chancellor on 31 December 1997.

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The Kingston Guardian
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The Kingston Star
The Kingston Times
The Richmond and District Comet
The Richmond and Twickenham Times
The Surrey Daily Advertiser
The Surrey Comet
The Twickenham and District Comet
The Wandsworth Borough News
The Wimbledon Borough News
The Wimbledon Informer

National newspapers:

- Asian Times
The Daily Express
The Daily Mail
The Daily Mirror
Education
Evening News
The Financial Times
The Glasgow Herald
The Guardian
The Independent
The Leicester Mercury
The Mail on Sunday
The Observer
The Sunday Times
The Times
The Times Educational Supplement
The Times Higher Educational Supplement

GLOSSARY

A FE	Advanced Further Education
ARIBA	Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects
ARP	Air Raid Protection
AS	Advanced Supplementary
ATO	Area Training Organisation
ATTI	Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BEd	Bachelor of Education
BEng	Bachelor of Engineering
BSc	Bachelor of Science
BTEC	Business and Technological Education Council
CAT	College of Advanced Technology
CATE	Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
CDP	Committee of Directors of Polytechnics
CEI	Council of Engineering Institutions
CGLI	City and Guilds of London Institute
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CVCP	Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals
CNAA	Council for National Academic Awards
DES	Department of Education and Science
DFE	Department for Education
DFEE	Department for Education and Employment
Dip.HE	Diploma in Higher Education
DMS	Diploma in Management Studies
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council (formerly SSRC)
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GEST	Grants for Education Support and Training
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institutions
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council For England
HEQC	Higher Education Quality Council
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office

HND	Higher National Diploma
INSET	Inservice Education and Training
ITN	Independent Television News
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
KTCM	Kingston Town Council Minutes
KTIC	Kingston Technical Instruction Committee
KUSCO	Kingston University Service Company
LEA	Local Education Authority
NAAFI	Navy, Army, Air Force Institutes
NAB	National Advisory Board for Public Sector Higher Education
NACEIC	National Advisory Council on Education in Industry and Commerce
NACTST	National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers
NATHFE	National Association of Teachers in Higher and Further Education
NCTA	National Council of Technological Awards
NCTET	National Council for Teacher Education and Training
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
NUS	National Union of Students
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
OU	Open University
PCFC	Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
RAC	Regional Advisory Council
RSA	Royal Society of Arts
SERC	Science and Engineering Research Council (formerly SRC)
SERCO	Service Company
SRC	Science Research Council (now SERC)
SSRC	Social Science Research Council (now ESRC)
TEC	Technical Education Council
TES	Times Educational Supplement
THES	Times Higher Education Supplement
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
TUC	Trades Union Congress
TVEI	Technical Vocational Education Initiative
UCCA	University Central Clearing Admissions
UFC	University Funding Council
UGC	University Grants Committee
WAAF	Women's Auxiliary Air Force

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