

**THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE HOME OFFICE
AND THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR
WITH THE TREASURY ESTABLISHMENT DIVISION 1919-1946
AN EVALUATION OF CONTRASTING NEEDS**

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
London School of Economics (University of London)**

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines three Departments of the British Home Civil Service from 1919 to 1946: the Home Office, the Ministry of Labour and the Treasury Establishment Division.

The study investigates the contrasting needs, in establishment terms, of an old "Secretary of State" department the Home Office, performing a largely regulatory role, with a new department the Ministry of Labour performing an administrative role, and the relationship of both over establishment matters with the Treasury.

The study assesses the roles of individual Administrative Class civil servants in the three departments from the rank of Principal to Permanent Secretary: with particular reference to the relationships existing between the Permanent Secretaries of the two departments and the Permanent Secretaries of the Treasury and their Controllers of Establishments.

This is followed by an assessment of the work of the Treasury Establishment Division during the first 14 years of its existence from 1919 to 1933, comparing the work of the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers with the Home Office and Ministry of Labour reorganisation of their administrative staff during the same period. This is followed by an assessment made from examining the years of growth in the two Departments from 1933 to 1939 and the relationship of the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour with a reorganised Treasury Establishment Division.

The study finishes with the examination of the changing needs of the two Departments during the war years

from 1939 to 1945: with their extended roles when the Home Office took on administrative as well as regulatory roles in contrast to the Ministry of Labour (and National Service after September 1939) taking on regulatory as well as administrative roles. The role of the Treasury Establishment Division after the retirement of Warren Fisher in 1939 is measured against the impact that wartime staffing needs brought to the Division.

The thesis concludes, first, that the restraints of the Treasury Establishment Division on establishment matters did not differ greatly over the claims made by the two Departments, despite their different historical backgrounds in the Home Civil Service, and their contrasting roles. Second, the effect of these restraints would have had a greater, and possibly harmful, impact in 1939 had the Home Office not quickly changed its incestuous establishment policy and adopted the Fisher concept (originally formulated in 1919) for the interchange of Administrative Class civil servants between departments: whilst, in contrast, the Ministry of Labour was able to adapt its pre-war administrative role to meet the requirements of its extended wartime role. Third, that the personality, style and political attitudes of the individual Permanent Secretaries had small effect on the success (or otherwise) of their dealing with the Treasury Establishment Division. This final conclusion is drawn from the effects of Ministerial intervention on establishment matters concerning individual Administrative Class civil servants.

To: Grace, Christine and Janice

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of administrative history and its objective is to examine the contrasting personnel or "establishment" needs of two departments, the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, and their relationships with the Division of the Treasury concerned with all establishment (now generally referred to as personnel) matters.

The study follows these needs from the beginning of 1919 through to the changing requirements of the two departments during the 1939 to 1945 war and ending in March 1946.

The study investigates the contrasting needs in establishment requirements of an old "Secretary of State" department, the Home Office, performing a largely regulatory role, and a new department, the Ministry of Labour, performing an administrative role, and the relationships of both over establishment matters with the Treasury Establishment Division.

Winnifrith, writing in 1958, 12 years after the end of the period studied (when as Third Secretary at the Treasury he was responsible for establishment work) defined its main features under three heads(1).

1. Control of conditions of service, especially pay;
2. Control of numbers and grading; and
3. Control of personnel e.g. recruiting, cross-postings between departments.

These controls had existed since the creation of the Treasury Establishment Division as part of the 1919 Civil Service reforms, and allowing for the fact that his paper was originally addressed to the Society of Civil Servants (a trade union representing the executive grades in the Civil Service), he may have wished to give a favourable picture of the relaxation of the rigid control by the Treasury Establishment Division in the post-war years.

Under these three heads Winnifrith considered that Treasury control was absolute for the first and second but not for the third.

For the first, Treasury control was over the main conditions of service, with approval being required for any alterations in the pay, hours, or leave for the four "Treasury" classes of civil servants and for all departmental classes. For the second, Winnifrith considered that Treasury control, if need be, was absolute, and until 1939 it was. But, he conceded, what this study shows, that during the war this absolute control could not be maintained, and that the delegation of control to departments that followed the war (and which was in operation when he was writing twelve years later) was a result of war-time delegation. On the third, he conceded that the Treasury exercised no control over the selection of candidates as part of the overall recruitment process. This function throughout the period of this study was part of the responsibilities of the Civil Service Commission, an independent body. For inter-departmental transfers and postings Winnifrith's views in 1958 indicated a change of the Treasury attitude measured against some cases examined

in this study for the years 1919 to 1946. He re-stated the requirement to have the Prime Minister's approval (acting since 1919 on the advice of the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury as Head of the Civil Service) on the appointment or transfer of a Permanent and Deputy Secretary, Principal Finance and Principal Establishment Officer. But for other transfers and postings he considered:-

The Treasury has no powers whatever in this field... In general, the constitutional doctrine is that a Minister is supreme master in his own Department. The staff serving in the Department are his to dispose of as he thinks fit and no other Department has any right to interfere with their disposition.(2)

However, on a number of occasions this doctrine was resisted by both Fisher and Wilson over internal appointments, transfers and postings in both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, although in all cases the doctrine of Ministerial supremacy eventually prevailed.

The study examines the period between 1919 and 1939 in relation to the Treasury Establishment Division's restraints on establishment matters over claims made by the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, with each having a different historical background in the Home Civil Service and a contrasting role.

It examines the effect these restraints had, and how the two departments in the late 1930's produced contrasting approaches to meet the requirements of their extended war-time roles.

The goals and topics examined cover the structures of the departments required to meet the changing functions that occurred between 1919 and 1946, and the roles of

individual Administrative Class civil servants from the rank of Permanent Secretary to Assistant Principal: with particular reference to the relationships that existed between the Permanent Secretaries of the two departments and the Permanent Secretaries of the Treasury and their Controllers of Establishments.

Nature of Thesis

(1) Methodology and Sources used.

Before the research began in 1985, advice on source material was obtained from an academic experienced in researching the work of the Home Civil Service. The response was not encouraging: "For example, you will not find much in the P.R.O. that has not already been thoroughly worked over. Your proposed interviews with 'key actors' will be no means easy and of doubtful worth".(3)

Chapman had himself been researching the life and work of Waterfield(4) to be followed by a similar study on Bridges(5) leaving O'Halpin to research the life and work of Warren Fisher.(6) In the first two of these publications Chapman made extensive use of P.R.O. files as source material, whilst O'Halpin made extensive use of interviews with 'key actors'. On research methodology Chapman outlined the difficulties he experienced in selecting from a great mass of source material (the Bridges papers in the P.R.O. extend to over 200 files), and the reverse problem of the non-accessibility of some material from the same source. The practical effect was summarised by Chapman(7) as producing research

...based primarily on the gleanings of many hundred files... The work has been like a jigsaw in which the pieces have been put together not according to a picture or following the guidelines of a detailed research methodology carefully worked out in advance, but instead according to what can be made of the pieces that are available. It was simply not possible to produce in advance, a detailed research methodology or to adopt an acknowledged and already tried typology, as is nowadays often expected in research in the social sciences.

Some files remain closed in the Public Record Office for periods longer than thirty years and for reasons it seems that cannot officially be disclosed: a frequent occurrence for some aspects of work performed by Home Office civil servants in a period well outside the "30 year rule". Some material is not available because it has not been released to the P.R.O. by a department, even after thirty years since the last entry on the file and therefore no information exists in the P.R.O. Search Room, so for practical research purposes the file does not exist. Therefore use has been made of the appropriate source material available at the P.R.O., subject only to the limitations outlined above. For the relationship of the Treasury Establishment Division to an external authority, material available at the BBC Written Archives, Reading, provided valuable source material.

Archive material on two of the principal subjects, Warren Fisher at the Treasury and Francis Floud at the Ministry of Labour, was obtained from the Fisher and Floud papers at the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London, and Churchill College, Cambridge, respectively. Other archive material was obtained from the

House of Lords Record Office, Birmingham University Library and the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

A further source sought was the Civil Service Collection of the Civil Service Department. One researcher using these facilities in 1977 was able to thank the staff "who were good enough to let me use a desk there, and to keep my notes and files in one place".(8) Unfortunately the Civil Service Department was disbanded in November 1981, and the Civil Service Collection no longer exists: what remains is now styled the Northcote-Trevelyn Collection and forms a small part of the Treasury Library. At the present time (April 1991) Philip Mind, Deputy Librarian of the Treasury Library, is still trying to locate an unpublished draft of the "official history" of the Establishment officers Meeting, written by the former librarian of the Civil Service Collection. Another fruitless search for secondary source material was for "Emmerson's autobiography": although Emmerson served for most of his civil service career in the Ministry of Labour, and was its Permanent Secretary from 1956-1959, he was previously Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Works 1946-1956; his only published work in the British Library is the 1959 History of the Ministry of Works.(9)

On interviews with 'key actors' Chapman's advice has been followed, largely because of the extent to which a group of retired Permanent Secretaries were sought for interview by a number of researches (Hennessy, O'Halpin et al) in the 1980's. Messrs. Winnifrith, Playfair, Padmore, Dunnett, and Trend all achieved distinguished careers in the Home Civil Service, but interviews on events that

occurred in the years immediately before the 1939-45 war relied on their memories of a period when they were young Assistant Principals, not all in the Treasury (having all joined the Civil Service between 1934 and 1937), and when they were unlikely to have had many discussions with Warren Fisher as he was reaching the end of his 20 years as Permanent Secretary Treasury and Head of the Civil Service.

Chapman's view that such interviews would be of "doubtful worth" is supported by the use made by O'Halpin of an interview with Dunnett in 1981 when Dunnett was 67. He had joined the Air Ministry in 1936 and never served in the Treasury, but he was able to give a view as to the reason why Bradbury was content to leave the Treasury in 1919 to join the Reparations Committee in Paris: "the work was very highly paid, and he is reputed to have wanted to make a great deal of money".¹

Dunnett was five years old at the time! However, use is made of two 'key actor' interviews, with the sons of Francis Floud (Ministry of Labour) and John Pimlott (Home Office), to provide evidence covering the period of their fathers' careers in the civil service.

(2) Period covered by the research.

January 1919 to January 1946 were chosen as two datum lines that mark a distinctive period in the history of the Home Civil Service. 1919 saw the start of implementation in the immediate post-war period of the work of a number of

¹ O'Halpin, Op. cit., p.35

committees which shaped a new structure for the civil service.

The Reports of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1912-15 (the Macdonnell Commission) recommended a number of structural changes. The Bradbury Committee in its Final Report (Cmd. 62. 1919) recommended changes in the staffing and organisation of Government Offices with particular reference to the Treasury, and the Gladstone Committee reported on recruitment for the civil service after the war (Cmd 164.1919).

The emergence of a sole Permanent Secretary Treasury, also to be styled Head of the Civil Service followed, with the setting up of a Treasury Establishment Division and a Treasury Circular of 12 March 1920 which laid down under the overall heading of "Control of Expenditure" that: "In all matters of staff, organisation and office management, the officer to be held responsible for economy by the Permanent Head of the Department is the Principal Establishment Officer".

The application of this principle in two departments, the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, is examined through the inter-war years. The changes brought about during the 1939-45 war, and the new attitude of the Treasury Establishment Division take the study to the end of 1945. It has been argued by one authority that 1945 has no significance, and that the discussions between 1946 to 1952 in the Treasury Organisation Committee need to be covered because they look back on the experience of 1935-45. This view can be sustained if undertaking a review of the machinery of government from 1942 to 1952, but this

research is not such a review: its purpose is to concentrate on the establishment function of two departments and their relationship with the Treasury Establishment Division until the end of, and not after, the 1939-45 war.

January 1946 is the datum line chosen for the end of the period covered by the research: it marks the completion of a distinctive period in the history of the Home Civil Service.

This view is supported by Hennessy when analysing the response of the Permanent Secretaries in March 1946 when they were called together by Bridges to consider the effect on the civil service of the change-over from war to peace. Their response is summarised by Hennessy as being "a waterfall of negativism...only six months after the end of the Second World War which had shaken the Civil Service from top to bottom and created world-beating bureaucracy, a crucial component in developing the most thoroughly mobilised society of any of the combatants".(10) The final part of his comment is supported by the study of the war-time Home Office and Ministry of Labour in Chapter 6.

(3) Treatment of the subject.

The main focus is on the relationship of two departments with a Division which formed part of the Treasury structure. It is not a study of the history and work of the Treasury which is already provided by Wright,(11) Roseveare,(12) and Bridges,(13) or of Treasury financial control as provided by Peden,(14) or Helco and

Wildavsky,(15) Likewise, in the examination of the two departments, the focus is on the development of their roles in dealing with establishment questions and not on their historical roles which have been covered for the Home Office by Newsam,(16) and Pellew,(17) and for the Ministry of Labour by Ince,(18) and Lowe,(19)

Use of biographical material on the Permanent Secretaries of the three departments between 1919 and 1946 is to show how their contrasting civil service careers had an impact on their varied approaches as to establishment matters. For only two of the Permanent Secretaries, Anderson and Fisher are biographical studies available: Wheeler-Bennett,(20) and O'Halpin,(21) provide secondary source material. Primary source material provides evidence of the political attitudes of Floud and Wilson.

The treatment requires a broad examination of the development of Whitleyism and the role of the Civil Service Trade Unions drawing on the detailed studies of Parris,(22) Humphries,(23) and O'Toole,(24) An examination of the work of the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers between 1919 and 1933 is original to this study, as are the examples taken from primary source material to illustrate the reaction of the Treasury Establishment Division when faced with Ministerial intervention on a number of establishment questions that arose during each of the three decades covered by the study.

No previous study has undertaken an examination of the relationship of two contrasting departments in the Home Civil Service with the establishment division of the Treasury over a period of 27 years from the conclusion of

the 1914-18 war to the conclusion of the 1939-45 war. There is no other available published or unpublished material on the work of the Establishment Officers Committee between 1919 and 1933, and its failure to meet the aims laid down by the first Controller of Establishments.

Second, the case studies on the effect of ministerial intervention in achieving internal appointments and promotions when faced with the opposition of the Head of the Civil Service, Fisher, in the case of Houston at the Home Office in 1933 and Wolfe, at the Ministry of Labour in 1938, and with Wilson, in the Ministry of Labour re-organisation in 1942, provide for the first time evidence to support Winnifrith's assertion on the concept of ministerial supremacy "that a Minister is supreme master in his own Department".

Third, the examination of the Floud papers for the political attitude of Francis Floud in the 1930's provides a contrast to apply to O'Halpin's study of the political attitude of Fisher during the same period, and Dalton's diaries provide a third source to illustrate Wilson's political attitude. These sources provide the means of assessing for the first time whether their contrasting political attitudes intruded in their decisions on establishment matters.

Finally, the study challenges an existing interpretation by one authority on the effect of the roles played by the Ministry of Labour and National Service and the Treasury Establishment Division on establishment questions between 1942 and 1945 in relation to the control

of civil service manpower.

4. Conclusions reached

First, the study concludes that between 1919 and 1939, the personality, style, and political attitudes of individual Permanent Secretaries had small effect on the success (or otherwise) of their dealings with the Treasury Establishment Division. In contrast the war years from 1940 to 1945 produced ministerial support, especially from Ernest Bevin at the Ministry of Labour which had a greater effect.

Second, it is shown that senior civil servants during the period 1919 to 1946 had firmer political attitudes than has been generally attributed to them, but there is little evidence to show that these attitudes intruded to the detriment of their non-political role in advising ministers on establishment matters.

The third conclusion is drawn from the contrast between Bridges' claim that the greater delegation of authority to departments on staff numbers arose from the expansion of the civil service between 1939 and 1945. His view was that this change was "fostered by the more cordial and trustful relationship which came to exist between the Treasury and the Departments".(25) Another authority makes a different claim: "The Ministry [of Labour] which had in a real sense displaced the Treasury through its powers to register and allocate civil servants, gave some support for the notion that establishment questions should be separated from the Treasury".(26) A study of two wartime

departmental committees,(27) shows that far from the Ministry of Labour displacing the Treasury, the Treasury succeeded in maintaining its control of establishment matters even to the extent that an Essential Work Order for the Civil Service covering the control of the employment conditions of civil servants was delayed by the Treasury until 1945, and was one of the last E.W.O. made under the Defence Regulations.

Finally, it shows that for the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour the needs of war was the catalyst required for ministers and civil servants to recognise that 'contrasting establishment needs' existed in two very difference departments of the Home Civil Service.

NOTES

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- (25) Lord Bridges, Op. cit., p.113.
- (26) J. M. Lee, Op. cit., p.14.
- (27) Public Record Office, Files T162/692/E45240/1 and 2 Civil Service Manpower (Rae Committee). T162/931/E45491/06/1 and 2 Crookshank Committee. Papers and minutes.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the Three Departments: 1919-1921

1/1 Historical background to the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour.

The Home Office.

The birthday of the Home Office is March 27 1782 when Charles James Fox announced in a circular to foreign representatives in London "The King on the resignation of Viscount Stormont has been pleased to appoint me one of His Principal Secretaries of State and at that same time to make new arrangements in the Department by Conferring that for Domestic Affairs and the Colonies on the Earl of Shelbourne and entrusting me with the Sole direction of Foreign Affairs".(1)

The work of the Home Office was described by the Chief Clerk (the senior civil servant) in 1785: "The business of the Secretary of State's office for the Home Department comprises whatever relates to the internal Government of Great Britain, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, the Isle of Man, the Colonies in North America, the West Indies, the East Indies, Africa and Gibraltar. Revenue and Admiralty business are of course excepted: but all other matters such as Crown grants, Army commissions, Church preferments in His Majesty's Gift, Approbation of Lords Lieutenants, appointments in the Militia and business relative to criminals, pass through this office and are laid by the Secretary of State before His Majesty for His Royal Signature or approbation".(2)

There has always been a large element of responsibility for public order with the Home Secretary.

Although there were no police forces, Lords Lieutenant had to be given instructions that if matters of civil disorder became serious troops had to be moved on the instructions of the Home Secretary. The Home Office, from its beginning, had a regulatory role in all of its activities.

In 1974 a new department, the War Office, was created, and the Secretary of State for War took over the Home Secretary's powers for the army, except that of moving troops to maintain public order. In 1801, another new department was created, the Colonial Office, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies took over responsibility for all Colonial business from the Home Office with the exception of the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands.

The regulatory role of the Home Office grew with the extension of its jurisdiction by a number of Acts of Parliament, passed in the 19th and early 20th Centuries. All these regulatory roles, which became part of the Home Office's responsibility, had a common purpose - they were related to the order, safety and well being of the citizen.

In the 19th Century the Home Office acquired responsibility for criminal law reform, prison and penal reforms, safety in factories, workshops, mines and quarries, the prevention of cruelty to children and animals and the employment of children. In the early 20th Century Home Office responsibilities extended to include the operation of the Probation Service, control of aliens, regulations on guns and explosives and the control of dangerous drugs. Later, as the amount of regulatory legislation continued to grow, some responsibilities of the

Home Office passed to other departments: Scottish criminal business and Scottish prisons to the Secretary of State for Scotland, safety in mines and quarries to the Ministry of Fuel and Power; protection of children to the Department of Health; and safety in factories and workshops to the Ministry of Labour.

Newsam in 1954 summarised the duties of the Home Secretary as being

to advise the Sovereign on the exercise of many of her prerogative powers, to be channel of communication between the Sovereign and her subjects, to maintain the Queen's Peace and to discharge the Crown's ultimate responsibility for the internal safety of the realm.(3)

The Ministry of Labour.

In total contrast the Ministry of Labour was born on December 10 1916 at the time of military and political crisis in the middle of the 1914-1918 war.

The idea for a Ministry of Labour was first put to Lloyd George in March 1916,(4) At that time Lloyd George was Minister of Munitions in the short-lived Coalition Government of 25 May 1915 to 5 December 1916. Christopher Addison, a Liberal M.P., was his Parliamentary Secretary and had been with Lloyd George since the creation of the Ministry of Munitions the previous year. The two of them had established a close friendship since the time Addison had first been elected an M.P. in 1910 after a distinguished medical career. Addison had undertaken the "negotiations" with the British Medical Association before the coming into force of the National Insurance Act 1911. When the Coalition Government was formed Lloyd George

insisted that the Prime Minister (Asquith) should let him have Addison - who was at the Board of Education - as his departmental aide and political confidant.

The new Ministry of Munitions was a vital pivot in the running of the war.

Not only was it involved with a supply of arms in vast quantities for men at the front, but also in organising the labour which supplied the work force in the production of armaments. It had to reconcile the conflicting demands of the state for men in the army and in private factories for industrial production. The State assumed powers of direction hitherto unknown: the familiar 'Laissez-faire' world over which Asquith had resided now vanished. A new colossus of central collectivism imposed controls over production and supply, raw materials, and manpower in a manner without precedent. There were major changes in society too, with the new role of trade unions in the negotiating with government over labour supply.(5)

These conflicting demands of a state at war required a backup of a kind not previously found in the C19th, and the Munitions of War Act 1915 was the watershed which divided the unitary state of the C19th, on which the regulatory powers of the Home Office were based, and a recognition of the autonomous but interdependent groups which formed the pluralist state of the C20th which was to vest both regulatory and administrative powers in the new Ministry of Labour when it was created in 1916.

One of the new tasks that Addison had to face was the operation of the Munitions of War Act 1915. The provision of labour, skilled and unskilled, was vital to the entire armaments programme. Lloyd George had negotiated with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and other trades unions, the "Treasury Agreement" of 19 March 1915. This agreement

defined the principles which should underlie changes in trade union privileges for the remainder of the war. The principal change was the suspension of the traditional right that skilled work should be carried out only by skilled men - "tradesmen" -and in munition factories a new principle of "dilution" should be introduced. This decision allowed unskilled men (and women) to undertake work that had previously been done only by skilled men.

A National Labour Advisory Committee of Trade Unionists was set up to implement the terms of the Munitions of War Act. This Committee found itself in a complex series of labour questions and disputes (mainly in the heavy engineering industries on the Clyde and Sheffield), which caused concern for the Coalition Government for the remainder of the war.

A further piece of legislation was enacted in December 1915 to try to moderate labour unrest, the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act, which came into operation on 1 January 1916. Throughout 1916 labour troubles continued over the recruitment and introduction of unskilled workers into skilled work in the munition industries.

Lloyd George suggested to Addison a 'labour department' to provide labour for the Board of Trade, the Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions, but Addison resisted this idea as weakening the Ministry of Munitions, and the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act was invoked, making each department responsible for the supply of its own labour needs.

When Lloyd George became Prime Minister on 6 December 1916 the wider concept of a separate Ministry of Labour re-

emerged, and the new department was established on 10 December 1916.

The Ministry of Labour inherited certain powers and duties vested in the Board of Trade. These powers and duties were for the operation of five statutes: the Conciliation Act 1896, the Trade Boards Act 1909, the Labour Exchange Act 1909 and the National Insurance Acts 1911 and 1916. This legislation gave the new department from its inception both a regulatory and an administrative role.

The Conciliation Act was the first modern statute dealing with the settlement of disputes in industry, the regulatory nature of the Act being powers given to the Board of Trade (and subsequently to the Ministry of Labour) to enquire into the circumstances of the dispute and to take steps to bring the parties together with a view to the settlement of the dispute. The Trade Boards Act 1909 also had a regulatory role, being the first of a series of Acts designed to deal with "sweated industries" by creating machinery for regulating the wages of their employees. The original industries in 1909 were tailoring, box-making, lace-making and chain-making. The Trade Boards later became Wages Councils, with the power to establish such bodies being vested in the Ministry of Labour.

The other two statutes for which the Ministry of Labour took over responsibility from the Board of Trade gave the new department considerable administrative powers. The Labour Exchanges Act 1909 was part of the "social welfare legislation" of the the 1905-1915 Liberal Government. The Act established Labour Exchanges were unemployed persons

could register for work. The manning and administration of these government offices were to provide a number of problems in the relationship between the Ministry of Labour Establishment Department when it was formed in December 1918 and the Treasury Establishment Division. The other statute set up the National Health Insurance Scheme, marking the culmination of the social welfare programme of the Asquith government, by introducing a limited scheme for the payment of sickness benefit, and the establishment of a health service, covering medical treatment by "panel" doctors. Part 2 of the Act established a limited form of unemployment benefit. The initial scheme covered male manual workers aged between 16 and 70 years in industries known to be subject to severe and recurrent unemployment, covering about 2^{1/2} million men. There was a compulsory three-part weekly contribution made by the employee, the employer and the government. Payment of unemployment benefit was for a limited period. In 1916 a further National Insurance Act extended these provisions to all employed in munitions work. After the establishment of the Ministry of Labour the unemployment insurance scheme was administered through the local labour exchanges, producing a further large-scale administrative function for the new department.

Contrasts in the establishment needs of the two departments.

A contrast between the largely regulatory role of the Home Office and the dual regulatory and administrative role of the Ministry of Labour was reflected in the comparative

number of civil servants employed in the two departments at the start of the period being examined.(6) At 1 April 1920 the Home Office employed 926 and the Ministry of Labour 17,835, making it the fourth largest employing department after the Post Office, Department of Inland Revenue and the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance.

Another emerging contrast was that, viewed from a Treasury standpoint, the Ministry of Labour was one of the new "spending" departments. "Spending" was seen as twofold by the Treasury: the Ministry of Labour had a financial requirement to meet the cost of its large establishment of civil servants and to fund the unemployment benefits paid to recipients under the National Insurance Act. Whilst the Post Office and the Department of Inland Revenue had "spending" requirements to fund their large establishment costs, they were not secondary spenders, but revenue collectors for the Treasury of postal charges and income tax. In contrast the Home Office, and the Treasury itself, had small establishment costs. This contrast will be shown to reach a point of conflict between the Ministry of Labour and the Establishment Division of the Treasury over the economy exercises that were carried out in the Home Civil Service in the early 1920's and again the early 1930's.

A third contrast is in the different roles that had to be carried out by the most senior civil servant in the two departments - the Permanent Secretary. In management there is a major difference in having to control a department with under a thousand employees and one that had nearly eighteen thousand employees. In the period 1919 to 1946 the Home Office produced half of its own Permanent

Secretaries; two out of the four in the 26 year period spent their whole careers in the Department. In contrast during the same period the majority of the Permanent Secretaries at the Ministry of Labour came either from outside the civil service or from other departments; only two of the five spent their whole careers in the department.

1/2 The two Permanent Secretaries in 1919 Sir Edward Troup.

At the Home Office Sir Edward Troup had been Permanent Secretary since 1908, serving until his retirement in 1922. He was born in 1857, the eldest son of Rev. Robert Troup. When he entered the Home Office in 1880, after graduating M.A. of Aberdeen and B.A. of Oxford, the Playfair Commission on the selection, transfer and grading of civil servants of 1874-75 (C1113 and C1226) had urged as one of its recommendations that the Civil Service should be organised into four groups or divisions.² Troup entered the Home office as a Class 2 Clerk (Assistant Principal) in the new First Division. Four years after entering the civil service he published the first of two books, "Future of Free Trade", a somewhat political title for a book by a young First Division Clerk. Forty years later, in 1925, after he had retired, he wrote the first edition in the Whitehall series of "The Home Office". In 1888 he was called to the Bar, Middle Temple, and from 1894 to 1903 he

² First (or Higher) Division (Later Administrative Class) Second Division in two grades (later Executive Class) Lower Division (later Clerical Class)

edited the annual "Judicial Statistics" published by the Home Office. He served as an Under Secretary from 1903 to 1908 when he was promoted to Permanent Secretary.

Troup was representative of a generation of Administrative Class civil servants who entered the civil service in the late C19th as part of a new First Division and generally remained in one Department throughout their civil service careers. The same group of Permanent Secretaries all retired shortly after the major reorganisation of 1919. In addition to Troup, Bradbury and Chalmers left the Treasury in 1919, Brade the War Office in 1920, Mallet the Post Office in 1921 and Guillemard the Board of Custom and Excise in 1919. (7)

Sir David Shackleton.

At the Ministry of Labour Sir David Shackleton had been the first Permanent Secretary since the department was established in December 1916. Shackleton was born in 1863, the son of a watchmaker, and after an elementary school education he started work as a "half-timer" at the age of 11 and worked as a cotton operative until he was 29. He had become the part-time Secretary of the Ramsbottom Weavers Association in 1883 at the age of 20; and in 1894 a full-time trade union official, as Secretary of the Darwen Weavers Association. By 1895, at the age of 32, he was a magistrate and a Liberal town councillor. This success early in life had been too rapid to leave him bitter, and had a significant effect on his thinking in his subsequent

life in politics and the civil service.

In 1902 Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, the son of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the educational reformer, who had been the Liberal M.P. for Clitheroe since 1885, was created a Peer. Shuttleworth had not been opposed since the General Election of 1892. He was on the radical wing of the Liberal Party, and a supporter of reform in factory conditions, in particular the "Half-Timers" Act of 1899, which raised the age-limit at which children could be employed in the mills from 11 to 12 years of age. This legislation was opposed by the textile trade unions, especially the Weavers Association, as it deprived some weavers' families of part of their earnings at a time of high wages. Shackleton himself, a former "half-timer", opposed the 1899 Act, although "he supported the eventual raising of the age-limit for child labour; he was opposed to it being done precipitately".(8)

Before the by-election was held there were complex discussions between Liberal Party and I.L.P. officials which included MacDonald and Snowden, the outcome of which was the adoption of David Shackleton as the Labour Candidate. He was returned to Parliament unopposed on 1 August 1902. The significance of this event to his future career in the public service lies in the relationship of the newly formed Labour Representation Committee with the trade unions and the Liberal Party soon to take office after the 1905 General Election. Shackleton was acceptable to all three, and Bealey and Pelling, in a chapter "Cotton and Clitheroe" (9) regard the circumstances of his election as being of great significance.

David Shackleton of the Darwen Weavers was returned unopposed as L.R.C. member for the Clitheroe division of Lancashire, a success which sent a third independent Labour M.P. to Westminster. Though of the greatest significance, this uncontested triumph in the remoteness of North-East Lancashire has not received the attention it deserves; for Clitheroe was the first L.R.C. victory after the Taff Vale judgment had thrown the industrial world into confusion.(10)

As an M.P. he joined the other two L.R.C. (Labour) M.P.'s Keir Hardie and Richard Bell, Secretary of the Society of Railways Servants, who had been elected in the October 1900 General Election, a few months after the formation of the Labour Representation Committee, to provide a Labour group in Parliament distinct from the Lib/Lab miner M.P.'s. Shackleton continued to progress in his trade union work, remaining Secretary of the Darwen Weavers Association until 1907 when he became President of the Amalgamated Weavers Association, founded in 1884 to bring together all the local Weavers Associations and one of the 17 trade unions which since 1900 had over 200,000 members.(11)

In the House of Commons, when the Parliamentary Labour Party was established after the 1906 election with Keir Hardie as its first chairman, David Shackleton was elected deputy chairman. He and Hardie tied in the first and second ballots, Hardie being elected by one vote in the third ballot, Snowden switching his vote to Hardie.(12) The 1905 election saw 30 Labour M.P.'s elected from 43 candidates. The high percentage of successful candidates was because of the Ramsey MacDonald - Herbert Gladstone 'Entente' of 1903, when it was agreed that Liberal

candidates would not be put up in opposition to Labour candidates in a number of constituencies, following the arrangement at Clitheroe in 1902 which had resulted in Shackleton's election to Parliament.

Amongst the Labour M.P.'s elected in 1906 were John Hodge of the Steel Smelters and George Roberts of the Typographers: Hodge was to become the first Minister of Labour in 1916, being succeeded by Roberts, who was Minister from 1917 to 1919, the two of them covering the years Shackleton was Permanent Secretary before a joint appointment was made.

After his appointment as President of the Amalgamated Weavers Association he was elected President of the Trades Union Congress in September 1908, and re-elected for a second year in 1909. The first of only two trade unionists who have been President of the T.U.C. for two years.(13)

In the first of the 1910 General Elections held in January 1910, he was opposed by an official Conservative candidate, but was re-elected by a large majority. "The Clitheroe division was an outpost of vigorous radicalism in a Lancashire that was overwhelmingly Conservative".(14) At the age of 47 he was regarded as a senior member of the Parliamentary Labour Party, enjoying the support of the trade union sponsored M.P.'s and had reached the top position in the T.U.C. His public appointments began in 1908 when he was made a member of the Royal Commission on the Land Transfer Acts which sat from 1908-1910.

Just before the December 1910 election he was offered, and accepted, a paid Crown appointment, Senior Labour Adviser to the Home Office, and resigned his seat in the

House of Commons. He remained in this appointment for a year. In 1911 he was appointed as one of the National Insurance Commissioners to administer the National Insurance Act 1911. He was a Commissioner until December 1916 on his appointment as the first Permanent Secretary of the Minister of Labour.

Shackleton is the only Permanent Secretary in the Home Civil Service who had been both an M.P. and President of the T.U.C. before joining the public service.(15) By 1920 his Department had become the fourth largest in the number of civil servants employed, and in his last year as Permanent Secretary he was joined by Sir James Masterton-Smith, who served with him for a year as Joint Permanent Secretary. In 1921, at the age of 58, Shackleton was moved to a new appointment, and completed his public service career until 1925 as Chief Labour Adviser in the newly formed Labour Division of the Ministry. He retired at the age of 62, holding only one further public appointment, as a member of the Industrial Transference Board in 1928, the year Warren Fisher was Chairman.

A contrast in careers

The careers of Edward Troup and David Shackleton provide a greater contrast than any of the other eleven Permanent Secretaries whose careers are examined in this thesis.

In his "Reflections of a Bureaucrat".(16) Lord Allen, himself a Permanent Secretary at the Home Office from 1966 to 1972, considers Troup's appointment as Permanent

Secretary in 1908 as being a significant promotion. Troup had been the first entrant at First Division level to the Home Office in 1880 after the Northcote-Trevelyan reforms and the introduction of open recruitment. (Patronage appointments had continued to be made for some years in 'Secretary of State' departments - Home Office and Treasury.)

Allen's view is that:

He (Troup) represented the new generation, not limited to one social class or one profession. He was a liberal, tolerant man, and although perhaps over-cautious and no believer in bringing the professional expert into policy discussions, he played his full part in the extraordinary crop of legislation and crises of all kinds which marked the fourteen years for which he was in post.(17)

Although Troup was in the class definitions of the 19th 'a son of the Manse' he was a graduate of Aberdeen and Oxford Universities before entering the civil service.

In total contrast Shackleton's full-time education ceased at the age of 11 when he became a 'half-timer' in a cotton mill. Although there were political reasons behind his appointment as the first Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour in December 1916 the appointment, viewed in the light of the Northcote-Trevelyan report, was one of the last 'patronage' appointments of the type attacked by his political colleague Phillip Snowden in his evidence to the MacDonnell Commission in 1914 (See page 43).

However, had Shackleton beaten Hardie in the election for first chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party in 1906, he might have continued his political career as an

M.P. and senior trade union official and become the first Minister of Labour from 1916-1919, rather than his two trade union colleagues Hodge and Roberts who remained M.P.'s and became Ministers in the Lloyd George Coalition government.

Shackleton's appointment in 1921 as Chief Labour Advisor was not a demotion financially: he continued to draw the salary of Permanent Secretary, although it was the subject of attack in Parliament. But it was a 'demotion' in removing him from the role as head of department at a time when the Ministry of Labour faced a conflict of interest between the financial economies imposed by the Treasury on all departments, and in particular in their establishments, against the expanded administrative requirements that arose from the increase in the numbers of unemployed seeking benefit payments under the provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Acts. These problems were left to Masterton-Smith and after 1921 to his successor Horace Wilson.

1/3 The Treasury in 1919 and the creation of the Establishment Division of the Treasury.

A unified Home Civil Service was created by Order-in-Council on 1 September 1919. The civil servant who was to head the Home Civil Service for the next 20 years, and to be closely concerned in the relationship of the new Treasury Establishment Division with the Establishment Divisions of other Departments, was Norman Fenwick Warren Fisher.

Sir Warren Fisher.

Warren Fisher, as he was always known, was described after his death in 1948, "as having a career the summit of which, was attained when he was under forty years of age and will probably remain, unique in the annals of the Civil Service".(18) Fisher was born in 1879, educated at Winchester and Hertford College, Oxford. At Oxford he "concentrated relentlessly upon the achievement of a given objective. His aim was to enter the Higher Division of the Civil Service at the earliest possible moment. Fisher could not be diverted from his chosen path".(19) He took little part in University or College activities, and worked with a law coach to increase the number of subjects to take in the Civil Service examination. At that time there was generally no limit to the number of subjects a candidate could offer in the open competition.

In 1903 Fisher joined the First Division as a Class 2 clerk (Assistant Principal) in the Board of Inland Revenue. After 4 years, in September 1907, he applied for a transfer to the Treasury. Receiving no reply, he wrote again in April 1908. The Permanent Secretary at the Treasury, Sir George Murray, merely marked his letter "acknowledge receipt".(20) He remained at the Inland Revenue. In June 1908 he was appointed Private Secretary to the Chairman (Permanent Secretary) of the Board, Sir Robert Chalmers. In 1910 he was put in charge of a new section dealing with "Super Tax", which had been introduced in the Finance Act 1910.

The next year saw a new public body, which was to be

staffed by some of the outstanding civil servants of the first half of the C20th. To implement the National Insurance Act 1911 by the due date of 15 July 1912 a National Health Insurance Commission was appointed in November 1911. (David Shackleton was one of the Commissioners). The chairman was Sir Robert Morant, a senior Permanent Secretary from the Board of Education, and Fisher was loaned from the Board of Inland Revenue, joining the Commission in May 1912 to set up the regional organisation for the health insurance scheme. Other civil servants working for the Commission were Francis Floud, later to be Permanent Secretary in three Departments, including the Ministry of Labour, John Bradbury later a Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and John Anderson, later Permanent Secretary at the Home Office and in a subsequent political career, Home Secretary.

Warren Fisher returned to the Board of Inland Revenue in May 1913, becoming Deputy Chairman (Deputy Secretary) in 1914, and Chairman (Permanent Secretary) in August 1918. On 1 October 1919, just before his 40th birthday, he was appointed Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, and Head of the Civil service, remaining in this post for 20 years until his retirement from the Civil Service in 1939.

His latter years at the Board of Inland Revenue had an important impact on his concern for civil service organisation, which was to mark his years as Head of the Civil Service. The Board of Inland Revenue was a department in which there was still a tradition of filling senior posts from outside the Civil Service. When Sir Robert Chalmers, Chairman of the Board (and Fisher's

immediate superior), left the Board in 1911 to become Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, his successor, Sir Matthew Nathan, was one such appointment - his previous experience was as Governor of Natal. This appointment as head of the major revenue collection department of Government, which Fisher himself was to say to the Tomlin Commission "was probably the most specialist department of the lot".(21) was the type of "patronage" appointment, like Sir David Shackleton's, that was condemned by the MacDonnell Commission.

As Nathan was questioned by Philip Snowden, a Labour M.P. and a member of the Commission, who started his working life by entering through examination the Inland Revenue in 1886 in the Second Division as a 2nd Class Assistant Revenue Officer until being discharged because of ill health in 1893, it emerged that Nathan had previously had 18 months experience as Secretary at the Post Office before moving to the Inland Revenue.

Snowden	"What was your work in the public service immediately preceding your appointment at the Post Office?"
Nathan	"I was Governor of the Colony of Natal".
Snowden	"Did you have any special knowledge of Post Office work when you went there?"
Nathan	"No"
Snowden	"You had never had any experience of revenue work in the public service prior to that time?"
Nathan	"Except that as Governor of a Crown Colony one was responsible for its finances in the same way also one was responsible for its Post Office work".

Snowden "But you had no knowledge of what we might call the details of revenue administration?"

Nathan "No, not on the scale involved by the collection of revenue in this country." (22).

This exchange gives a picture in 1914 of the extent of the experience of a senior civil servant at Permanent Secretary level heading a major revenue collecting department immediately following the passing of the Finance Act 1910 which had introduced earned and unearned income for tax purposes, graduated tax and super tax.

During Fisher's four years from 1914 as Deputy Secretary of the Board, he reorganised the structure of the Department. Until 1916 the senior posts were Chairman, Deputy Chairman and two Commissioners: often all four posts had been filled from outside the civil service. After 1916 the two Commissioner posts were abolished and the three Secretaries in the Department - civil service grade Assistant Secretary - became unpaid Commissioners as part of their duties. In June 1919, when Fisher had been Chairman for ten months, the Treasury asked all department to re-organise their First Division staff, so as to create a "corps d'elite" that could be used as required in any department. The Treasury proposed a standardisation of grades and salaries of all First Division staff, and the abolition of differences between departments. This action was aimed to put the staff of Departments like the Inland Revenue and Labour in the same position as staff in "Secretary of State Offices", such as the Treasury, Home Office and the War Office. Fisher's reply to the Treasury minute on 30 June 1919 gave the thinking of the man, who

three months later, was to head both the Treasury and the Civil Service, "my proposals have proceeded throughout on the hypothesis of a unified Class 1 throughout the public service and of absolute equality of treatment between Department and Department". The translation of this thinking into action is central to some of the events examined over the period 1919 to 1946. O'Halpin in his study of Warren Fisher supports this view and considers, "The first three years of Fisher's time at the Treasury were decisive for him personally and for the civil service. Establishments policy was made broadly throughout the service...".(23) The realisation of Fisher's "hypothesis" for a unified service required departments to share a common policy in questions of pay, grading and recruitment: Fisher also recognised that the filling of senior appointments within departments (a particular feature of the Home Office policy of promotion from within) sustained departmental isolation, and the civil service as a whole should be the field from which candidates were considered. But his hope for this to be achieved was not subsequently sustained in the face of the public expenditure economies of the early 1920's and again in 1931.

The Treasury Reorganisation 1919.

Fisher was a member of the "Committee on Staffs 1918-19".³ This Committee had been set up because departments had enjoyed a generous measure of freedom in the

³ "Committee on Staffs 1918-19" The Bradbury Committee (Cmd. 62) H.M.S.O.

recruitment of staff during the 1914 war - urgency had been the main war-time priority, and large numbers of temporary staff had been engaged. The Bradbury Committee, in its final report of 21 February 1919, made a number of recommendations "with a view to an improvement of the system of staff management in the Public Service as a permanent measure".(24)

They recommended that, although departmental Establishment Officers should not be appointed by the Treasury, the appointments should have "Treasury concurrence". Establishment Officers should have senior rank, and be directly responsible to the Permanent Secretary, and a special Establishment Division of the Treasury should be created. The MacDonnell Commission had made the same recommendation,(25) The Haldane Committee recommended that there should be "A Standing Committee of Establishment Officers to assist and advice the Treasury".(26)

There was, therefore, a great deal of pressure for civil service reorganisation, and a strengthening of establishment control, when Fisher joined the Treasury on 1 October 1919. A few weeks later in the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer- Austen Chamberlain - admitted that the Treasury had been ill organised.

For years past it has had no single permanent head. The headship has been in commission. That is not a good system. By the common consent of all who have acted as Joint Permanent Secretaries to the Treasury, it is an unsatisfactory method of organisation, and it has only worked as well as it has done because of the determination of those who held office in that capacity to make it work...(27)

The decision on reorganisation had been detailed in a Treasury minute of 4 September 1919, and sent to all Departments in a Treasury Circular of 15 September 1919. The Permanent Secretary of the Treasury was to "act as Permanent Head of the Civil Service and advise the First Lord (Prime Minister) in regard to Civil Service appointments and decorations". The Permanent Secretary's advisory role on all senior appointments was further defined in another Treasury Circular of 12 March 1920 indicating that "the consent of the Prime Minister is required to the appointment (or removal) of Permanent Heads of Departments, their Deputies, Principal Financial Officers and Principal Establishment Officers".

In the Treasury the Permanent Secretary was to have three Controllers all reporting to him: they were responsible for the main divisions - Finance, Establishments and Supply Services.

All these changes were to be effective by Order-in-Council from 1 October 1919, the day Warren Fisher took up his new appointment. The old First Division titles for Administrative Class civil servants were changed:-

Principal Clerks became Assistant Secretaries Class 1
Clerks became Principals and Class 2 Clerks became Assistant Principals.

A number of departments did not have a Deputy Secretary, and a number of Principal Assistant Secretaries were appointed to head a division in a department - in the 1940's this grade was re-styled Under Secretary.

1/4 Civil Servants and the Government in 1919.

When Fisher took up his new appointment he found the Government pre-occupied with the need for economy in public expenditure. Following the December 1918 General Election, the "Coupon Election", when the Conservatives and Lloyd George Liberals had joined forces, the Conservatives were returned as the largest party in the House of Commons. Although Lloyd George remained Prime Minister in the Coalition Government, a number of other Ministers changed, and at the Ministry of Labour, Sir Robert Horne, a "Treasury" Conservative, who went on to become Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1921, replaced George Roberts, the trade union official.

The Government benches in the House of Commons were described as having on them "...a lot of hard faced men who look at though they have done very well out of the war".(28)

The Government decision on the economies required in the Civil Service were announced in a Treasury Circular of 12 March 1920 headed, "Control of Expenditure", and the emphasis moved to ensuring that the Civil Service had the right calibre of persons to fill the top positions. At this time Masterton-Smith was sent to join David Shackleton as Joint Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour. Hamilton summaries the position: "The Government had been seriously troubled in 1919 by the position in the Departments arising from the retirement of a number of senior officials and the difficulty of finding officials of adequate calibre to follow them. These misgivings did not

become less as the Government became more and more pre-occupied with the question of economy in expenditure. It was accordingly agreed, as Fisher had advised, that the first need was to have the right men in charge of Departments and that the resources of the Civil Service in manpower must be pooled to bring about this result."(30)

Fisher's immediate problems.

Fisher on his appointment in October 1919 was faced with the "technical", if not the "actual", presence of his predecessor Bradbury, who although seconded as the chief United Kingdom delegate to the Reparations Committee which met in Paris from 1919 to 1922 remained as a Permanent Secretary to the Treasury until his retirement on 30 June 1922.

In his first six months in his new appointment Fisher had to prepare for what emerged as the Treasury Circular of 12 March 1920 on the "Control of Expenditure". The background to this document was the attitude taken by the Cabinet Finance Committee when they considered and adopted the proposals of the Bradbury Committee on the organisation and staffing of Government offices (Cmd 62). Their attitude has to be viewed with reference to the final years of the Lloyd George coalition government of 1916-1922, particularly after the General Election of December 1918 - which gave the coalition Conservatives 335 seats in the House of Commons against 133 for the Coalition Liberals, and with Austen Chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Cabinet Finance Committee, a committee of politicians,

took a short-term view of Bradbury's proposals; they were more concerned with reducing the cost of administration than with improving the machinery of government. Bradbury had been concerned to secure a permanent change in the structure and authority of the Treasury, and the Cabinet Finance Committee at a meeting on 20 August 1919,(30) agreed changes in the organisation of the Treasury "with a view to the more effective control of expenditure". This organisation was to have a single Permanent Secretary, who would also be Head of the Civil Service. With the removal of the three joint Permanent Secretaries, (Chalmers who retired, Heath who was transferred to the National Debt Office, and Bradbury who was seconded to the Reparations Committee), it was possible to appoint Fisher in October 1919.

The three Controllers, who themselves ranked as Permanent Secretaries (Fisher as "primus inter pares" received an additional £500 per annum in salary), were already appointed when Fisher took over. Ramsey was Controller of Establishments - he had been appointed Treasury Establishment Officer in February 1919, Blackett was Controller of Finance, and Barstow Controller of Supply Services (Table B).

Therefore, Fisher's first task in the reorganisation of the Civil Service was to assert his authority over the three Controllers. He was aided in achieving this objective by the policy of retrenchment which was a priority in the minds of the politicians who had appointed him. If Fisher made changes, they had to have the appearance of reducing costs. In August 1919 the Cabinet

Finance Committee directed Austen Chamberlain to convene

a Council of the chief financial officers of the public departments under the Chairmanship of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury [Baldwin] to serve as a clearing house for information and discussion of financial reform and administrative economies. (31)

This council reported in January 1920,(32) and its report contained a number of Fisher's recommendations which were to enable him to work towards a greater degree of uniformity in the Civil Service: first giving the ultimate responsibility to heads of departments (Permanent Secretaries) for the financial affairs of their departments and, second, the Prime Minister's right to approve the appointments of Permanent Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Principal Finance Officers and Principal Establishment Officers, on the recommendation of Fisher as Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service. These arrangements were set out in the Treasury Circular of 12 March 1920 and have continued to operate in the British Home Civil Service since that date.

The effect of retrenchment.

The effect of the Treasury retrenchment policy in 1919/20 on establishment matters produced no reduction of the number of civil servants in either the Home Office or the Ministry of Labour. In the ten years from April 1920 to April 1930 there was a small increase in both departments: in the Home Office from 926 to 1,024, and in the Ministry of Labour from 17,835 to 18,076.(33) The real effect was in the diminution of promotion prospects for senior civil

servants in the two departments. For an Administrative Class civil servant from Principal grade upwards there was virtually no promotion for a period of ten years.

At the Home Office the six Assistant Secretaries, who had been awarded a K.B.E., a C.B.E., and 4 C.B.'s for their war time work in the 1919 Honours List, were still in the same grade in 1930. At the Ministry of Labour the six Principal Assistant Secretaries (Under Secretary), who were promoted to head a division in the reorganisation achieved by Masterton-Smith in 1920 (see Chapter 4), all remained in that grade for ten years, with the exception of Horace Wilson who succeeded Masterton-Smith as Permanent Secretary in 1921, without ever serving as a Deputy Secretary. With the second series of economies in public expenditure that followed the economic and financial crisis in 1931, Fisher had to face a further eight years as Permanent Secretary until 1939.

1/5 Conclusions.

From the introduction to the three departments as they existed in 1919-21 a number of conclusions are drawn.

Both the Home Office, and the Ministry of Labour, despite the contrasts in their age, size and function, had to face two similar changes during the period 1919 to 1921. First, to move to the formalised manning structures that were required in all departments following the introduction of the "Treasury" classes of Administrative, Executive, and Clerical grades. These classes had to be applied to all non-industrial civil servants in the implementation of the Order-in-Council of March 1920. The second was to carry

out the Treasury retrenchment policy of 1919/20 over establishment matters - that is, the control of the number of civil servants employed in the various classes and in the grades contained in each class.

At the Home Office taking Allen's view that:.. "he [Troup] was no believer in bringing the professional expert into policy discussions" put Troup ahead of Warren Fisher's own concept of the Administrative class civil servant as a "generalist", and it became one of the foundation stones in the 1920 reorganisation. But Troup stayed on at the Home Office until 1922 (when he was five years past the normal retirement age) and saw through both the reorganisation and retrenchment called for by the new Treasury Establishment Division.

These two related organisational aspects of relationships with the Treasury Establishment Division are examined in Chapter 4. For the Home Office the conclusion is shown that, whilst both reorganisation and retrenchment did not bring about a reduction in the overall number of civil servants employed, there was a lack of promotion for all Administrative class civil servants from the grade of Principal upwards for a period of ten years. Any increases in staff occurred in specialist grades who were employed in the regulatory inspection functions, which made up the Home Office establishment located away from the Whitehall headquarters's administrative staff.

In contrast the Ministry of Labour was only three years old in 1919, but age was not the only difference between the two departments. First, there were the differences in the background and careers of Shackleton and

Troup. Whilst Shackleton's appointment was one of the last "patronage" appointments condemned by the MacDonnell Royal Commission, it was even more a "political" appointment made to meet the requirement for improved industrial relations at a crisis period in the middle of the 1914-18 War. John Hodge, the first Minister of Labour, claimed the appointment "as being of his choosing" because to him Shackleton "was a man who had an inside knowledge of the Trade Union movement, a man who had the confidence of the work people...and who also, because of his character had a standing in the eyes of the employer that few men have".(34) Hodge saw the new Ministry (of which he was Minister for only six months) as a vehicle of social reform, which had inherited those aspects of the Board of Trade's responsibilities related to industrial relations, conciliation work, and the operation of the labour exchanges: but the two civil servants responsible for this work, Sir George Askwith, as Chief Industrial Commissioner, and William Beveridge, as Head of the Employment (Exchanges) Dept., had left the new Ministry in 1919 and 1917 respectively.

Lowe,(35) takes a different view of the appointment, and claims that Beveridge warned Hodge of the dangers of appointing an inexperienced civil servant to head the new department, although Shackleton had been a civil servant since 1910, first at the Home Office, and then in a public service appointment as a member of the National Insurance Commission. Beveridge submitted his own name for the position of joint Permanent Secretary: his views on Shackleton's appointment were supported since a joint

appointment was made in 1920, when Masterton-Smith joined Shackleton as joint Permanent Secretary.

A conclusion that followed from Shackleton's appointment in December 1916 arose from the change in emphasis that the end of the wartime industrial relations requirements brought to his Ministry in 1919. After the December 1918 General Election the social reforming role that the Ministry of Labour had inherited from the Board of Trade declined. Robert Horne, who followed the two wartime Ministers with their trades union background, "had a harder attitude to Trade Unions, and a keen interest in economy".(36) In 1920 Lloyd George, as Prime Minister of a Conservative dominated Coalition Government, approved the appointment of Masterton-Smith as joint Permanent Secretary, to cast "a fresh official eye" over the Ministry's organisation which coincided with the Treasury Establishment Division's two pronged requirement for both reorganisation and retrenchment in establishment affairs.

However, despite Ince's omission (he joined the civil service as an Assistant Principal at the Ministry of Labour in 1919) of Masterton-Smith's name in his list of all the Permanent Secretaries in the history of the Ministry of Labour (Whitehall series 1960), Masterton-Smith managed to carry out the reorganisation without consulting the Treasury Establishment Division (it was finally accepted by them in December 1923) and lasted for ten years. This new structure which was drawn up by an experienced civil servant, whose previous appointment, for two years had been as a Principal Assistant Secretary at the War Office and was in contrast to the political and trade union background

of his colleague Shackleton, and recognised the need of an additional class of civil servants.

He saw that the new 'Treasury' classes for Executive and Clerical grades were not appropriate for a 'social services' department with the majority of the staff based in regional and local offices; so a fourth class of 'departmental' grade was created, eventually receiving Treasury approval.

The final conclusion shows that despite the differences in age, size, and function between the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour; the 1920's saw the Ministry's Administrative class civil servants (based mainly at the various Headquarter's offices in London) remaining in the same static situation as their counterparts at the Home Office: only one of the six Principal Assistant Secretaries - as heads of divisions - being promoted during the 1920's, when Horace Wilson succeeded Masterton-Smith as Permanent Secretary in 1921.

Fry,(37) summarises the effect of this static situation as producing an administrative grade "permeated by the good all rounder tradition, as being suitable more for the night watchman state than the new interventionist one that the Ministry [of Labour] represented". Added to this factor there was a Cabinet Finance Committee, which in 1920 were more concerned with reducing the cost of administration than with improving the machinery of government. The effect of this view continued to influence the relationship between the two Departments and the Treasury Establishment Division on establishment questions until the late 1930's.

NOTES

- (1) Sir Frank Newsam, The Home Office (London : Allen and Unwin, 1954). p.19 (quoted by Newsam).
- (2) Sir Frank Newsam, Op. cit., p.25 (quoted by Newsman) Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners to inquire into Fees in Public Offices (appointed by Act 25 Geo.3, No.2)
- (3) Sir Frank Newsam, Op. cit., p.26.
- (4) Bodleian Library, Oxford Addison Papers Box 59 (Memo to Lloyd George, 6 March 1916).
- (5) Kenneth and Jane Morgan, Portrait of a Progressive: Political Career of Christopher Addison (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980). p.33.
- (6) H.M.S.O. Staff Employed in Government Departments 1920 (London: H.M.S.O., 1920)
- (7) David Botler and Anne Sloman, British Political Facts 1900-1979 (5th Ed) London: Macmillan, 1980) pp.257-62
- (8) Frank Bealey and Henry Pelling, Labour and Politics 1900-1960 (London: Macmillan 1958), p.112
- (9) Bealey and Pelling, Op. cit., Chapter 5 "Cotton and Clitheroe".
- (10) Bealey and Pelling, Op. cit., p.98
- (11) David Butler and Anne Sloman, British Political Facts 1900-1979 5th edn. (London: Macmillan, 1980). pp.331-334.
- (12) Colin Cross, Philip Snowden (London: Barrie & Rockcliff, 1966). p.75
- (13) Butler and Sloman, Op. cit., p.330
- (14) Bealey and Pelling, Op. cit., p.99

- (15) Bealey and Pelling, Op. cit.,
pp. 257-262 and p.330
- (16) Lord Allen, "Reflections of a Bureaucrat"
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- (17) Lord Allen, Op. cit.,
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- (18) "The Times" Sir Warren Fisher obituary
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- (19) Sir H. P. Hamilton, "Warren Fisher and the Public
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- (20) Sir H. P. Hamilton, Op. cit.,
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- (21) "The Tomlin Commission" Royal Commission on the Civil
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- (22) "The MacDonnell
Commission" Royal Commission on the Civil
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(London: H.M.S.O. Cmd. 6535).
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questions 14744-14751.
- (23) Eunan O'Halpin, Head of The Civil Services
(London: Routledge, 1989)
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- (24) "The Bradbury
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(London: H.M.S.O., 1919 Cmd.
62) Final Report paras 13-22.
- (25) "The MacDonnell
Commission" Op. cit.,
Fourth Report (Cmd. 7338)
Paras 99 and 101.
- (26) "The Haldane
Committee" The Machinery of Government
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H.M.S.O., 1918 Cmd. 9230)
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- (27) "Hansard" House of Commons Debates
(London: H.M.S.O., 1919 29
October 1919, Vol. 120
Columns 143-145).

- (28) J. M. Keynes, Economics Consequences of the Peace (London: Macmillan 1919). p.133 quoting a Conservative politician (often said to be Baldwin).
- (29) Sir H. P. Hamilton, Op. cit., p.72
- (30) Public Record Office, CAB 27/71 "Minutes of Cabinet Finance Committee" (20 August 1919)
- (31) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (20 August 1919)
- (32) Public Record Office, CAB 23/20 "Minutes of Cabinet Finance Committee" (30 January 1930)
- (33) H.M.S.O. Staff Employed in Government Departments 1920 and 1930 (London: H.M.S.O., 1920 and 1930)
- (34) John Hodge, Workman's Cottage to Windsor Castle (London: Collins, 1931). p.179
- (35) Rodney Lowe, "The Ministry of Labour 1916-1924 A Graveyard of Social Reform?" Public Administration Vol.52, 1974 p.426
- (36) Rodney Lowe, Op. cit., p.427
- (37) Geoffrey K. Fry, Statesmen in Disguise: the Changing Role of the Administrative Class of the British Home Civil Service 1835-1966 (London: Macmillan, 1969). p.40

CHAPTER 2

The Home Office, Ministry of Labour and Treasury Establishment Division 1921 to 1933.

This chapter illustrates in four parts the different method of procedure of the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour during the twelve years from 1921 to 1933. The four parts are linked so as to illustrate an objective of the thesis: to examine the Treasury Establishment Division's restraints on establishment matters over claims made by the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, with each having a different historical background in the Home Civil Service and a contrasting role.

The first part is a biographical study of the three Permanent Secretaries, John Anderson, Horace Wilson and Francis Floud; this study is linked to evidence of their party political attitudes. Further, to establish whether senior civil servants during the period 1919 to 1946 had firmer political attitudes than has been generally attributed to them, and if there is any evidence to show that these attitudes intruded to the detriment of their non-political role in advising ministers on establishment matters.

The second part is an examination of the organisational structures of the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, as they existed in the 1920's, showing the static nature of the Home Office against the limited growth of the Ministry of Labour, which continued until after the economic crisis and the public service economics that followed the collapse of the second minority Labour Government of 1929 to 1931.

The third part examines the contrast that emerged between the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour in dealing with two periods of retrenchment in public expenditure, 1920/21, and 1931, which showed the success of a new department, the Ministry of Labour against an old "Secretary of State" department, the Home Office. The 'static' nature of the Home Office in performing its regulatory role was maintained by the negative influence of its Permanent Secretary, John Anderson, from 1922 to 1932, and was in contrast with the growth of the Ministry of Labour, with its expanding administrative role.

The fourth and final part is an assessment of the structure and operation of the new Treasury Establishment Division, and of the two Controllers of Establishments who headed the division between its creation in 1919 and its re-organisation in 1932.

2/1 The Permanent Secretaries : Anderson at the Home Office, Wilson and Floud at the Ministry of Labour.

Few studies of the members of the Administrative Class in the Home Civil Service have produced detailed evidence of their political allegiances. Dale,(1) devotes a paragraph to the matter, with only a broad estimate of their possible allegiance to the three main political parties of the late 1930's, Conservative, Labour and Liberal. Thirty years later in February 1967 the Fulton Committee, amongst the ten surveys and investigations it commissioned, had the results of a detailed (58 question) questionnaire, with a follow-up interview of thirty Administrative Class civil servants who had entered the

Civil Service in 1956.(2) This survey included information as to how they had voted (only 2 of the 30 did not vote) in the March 1966 General Election.

The general image of the senior civil servant in the 1930's was one of anonymity coupled with service to the government of the day without any party political attachment. The validity of this view is tested in this chapter, with particular regard to the 'political' nature of the operations of both the Home Office, with its regulatory role in having overall responsibility for public order, and the Ministry of Labour with its responsibility for overseeing relations between employers and employees, and a major administrative role in the assessment and payment of benefit to the unemployed who in January 1932 reached their maximum in the years 1919 to 1946.

In the two departments there was a marked contrast in the political attitudes of the Permanent Secretaries who served between 1921 and 1933.

The political attitudes of David Shackleton and John Anderson can be determined from their career patterns: Shackleton had been a Labour M.P. and President of the TUC before his first civil service appointment in 1910, whilst Anderson took on a political career as a Unionist (Conservative) MP - and later a Minister - after leaving his last public service appointment in the Indian Civil Service in 1937. The Floud Papers (Churchill College, Cambridge Archives), and in particular Francis Floud's correspondence with his son after he had left the Home Civil Service in 1934 to serve as British High Commissioner in Canada, provide a picture of his political attitudes in

later life.

This picture is supported by discussions with his son Bernard Floud. Floud stated that his father had been a supporter of the Labour Party since his early career in the Civil Service, and he considered that his father's time as Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour, which covered the last year of the 1929 - 31 Labour Government, enabled Francis Floud to work closely with his Minister - Margaret Bondfield.⁴

Francis Floud and Horace Wilson both joined the civil service as clerks in the Second Division in 1894 and 1900 respectively and there were some similarities in their early lives. Neither came from a family with the financial means to support them in higher education. Floud's father was a country parson, and Wilson's a secondhand furniture dealer, but a contrast between them is shown in their own disclosures in works of reference such as "Who's Who". Floud always recorded his attendance at a village school and the scholarship which gave him a place at Cranleigh School. His studies whilst a clerk in the Department of Agriculture which enabled him to pass the Bar examinations in 1904 are mentioned in articles on his early career. In

⁴ Bernard Floud and I worked together at Granada Television Ltd., between 1958 and 1962 - he as Industrial Relations Adviser, and I as Personnel Manager. The background to our discussion was that we had both been civil servants: Floud, from 1942-51 in the Ministry of Information and the Board of Trade, whilst I had been in the Ministry of Supply from 1950-54, and in the Overseas Civil Service (formerly Colonial Service) from 1954-58. In addition we were both at that time prospective parliamentary candidates - a mutual interest in politics and the civil service led to discussions on the political attitudes of senior civil servants.

contrast, Wilson gave his school as Kurnella School, Bournemouth, when it was in fact the Kurnella Street Board School, and gave no details of his university education by part-time study whilst a clerk in the Board of Trade. After four years at the London School of Economics he graduated B. Sc. in 1908.(3)

Sir John Anderson

Anderson was born in 1882, the son of a successful Edinburgh stationer and later a photographer. He was educated at George Watson's College and Edinburgh University, obtaining at the age of 21 a 'First' in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He continued his education with two years of post-graduate studies at Leipzig University on the chemical properties of uranium, but his research paper was never submitted as a doctoral thesis at either Leipzig or Edinburgh.

He then spent a further year at Edinburgh studying Economics and Political Science to prepare himself for the Civil Service entrance examinations. 1905 was the last year in which candidates could offer any number of subjects in the open competition for the First Division appointments. Total marks depended on the number of subjects offered.

Anderson offered 14 subjects and obtained 4566 marks out of a possible 7500, the highest, except for one other candidate, ever to have been achieved by this method of entrance.(4) He was top of the list of candidates in 1905 and had the choice of an appointment to either the Indian

or the Home Civil Service. Despite the attraction of the higher salaries and allowances in the I.C.S., he chose to join the H.C.S. and was appointed to the Colonial Office as a Second Class Clerk (Assistant Principal) in the First Division.

In 1912 he was seconded to the National Insurance Commission chaired by Sir Robert Morant. He was promoted to Principal Clerk (Assistant Secretary) and joined a group of outstanding First Division civil servants who Morant had brought together to plan the organisation and draft the regulations for the implementation of the National Insurance Act 1911. The Commission became a forcing ground for a "corps d'elite" of civil servants many of whom progressed to Permanent Secretary appointments. In addition to Warren Fisher and John Bradbury, Anderson had amongst his contemporaries at the Commission, four other future Permanent Secretaries, Alexander Maxwell (Home Office), John Maude (Ministry of Health), Ernest Gowers (Inland Revenue) and Adair Hore (Ministry of Pensions). In May 1913 the first Secretary to the National Insurance Commission, Claude Schuster, was promoted to be the Permanent Secretary, Lord Chancellor's Office. Anderson was appointed to succeed him as Secretary, being promoted over a number of older and senior colleagues.

The formation of the Lloyd George Coalition Government in December 1916, which saw the setting up of the new Ministry of Labour, produced another new Ministry to deal with wartime shipping. Lloyd George took the control and requisition of merchant shipping away from the Admiralty and set up a separate Ministry of Shipping. Anderson was

appointed Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry on 8 January 1917 at the age of 34. He remained at the Ministry of Shipping until July 1919, when the Local Government Board and the Health Insurance Commission were merged to form the new Ministry of Health. Morant, who was appointed Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry, "had made his own acceptance of the post conditional on having his former colleague as his right hand man".(5) Anderson was appointed Second Permanent Secretary, and although he had attained the top rank of Permanent Secretary at an extremely early age, his rapid promotion had been to new 'non Secretary of State' departments. His willingness to make a sideways move came in October 1919 when he was appointed Chairman at the Board of Inland Revenue on the promotion of the previous Chairman, Warren Fisher, to be Permanent Secretary at the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service.

The department of Inland Revenue was one of the seven Departments of State, (the others being Admiralty, War Office, Home Office, Foreign Office, Board of Trade and the Treasury), but despite its long history, Inland Revenue was regarded at the time as subordinate to the Treasury, and had a regulatory role in the assessment and collection of taxes levied each year by the annual Finance Act. The Chairman in the first two decades of the C20th were either 'patronage' appointments such as Sir Matthew Nathan, a former Colonial Governor, or Chalmers and Fisher who had both moved on promotion from being Chairman of the Board to become Permanent Secretaries at the Treasury.

However, events in Ireland in 1920 took Anderson,

after only nine months at the Inland Revenue, to perhaps the most politically sensitive civil-service appointment at that time. The Irish Office, or 'Dublin Castle' as it was generally known (after the location of its offices), was responsible for the government of Ireland under the political direction of the Chief Secretary. The last Chief Secretary before Independence was Hamar Greenwood, a Liberal M.P. in the Coalition Government; he took up his appointment on 2 April 1920 but was not a member of the cabinet, although Field Marshal Viscount French, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (not usually a Ministerial office), was a member of the Cabinet from 28 October 1919 to 2 April 1921. The Prime Minister, Lloyd George, ordered a "thorough survey of the Chief Secretary's office in Dublin Castle".(6) Warren Fisher, as the newly created Head of the Civil Service, undertook this work, the outcome being his recommendation that Anderson should be seconded as Joint Permanent Secretary and Treasury Representative - the cumbersome title was a compromise; James MacMahon, a senior Irish civil servant, had held the post of Permanent Secretary, Irish Office, since 1918. Anderson and he became Joint Permanent Secretaries at the same time as Masterton-Smith was joining Shackleton as Joint Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour. The additional duties as Treasury Representative gave Anderson sole authority in financial matters; he was also concerned in discussions that would normally have been undertaken by his Minister, the Chief Secretary, with Anderson in attendance. The discussions in the autumn of 1920 involved secret meetings with Arthur Griffith, deputy head of the Sinn Fein

organisation and self-styled 'Vice President of the Irish Republic', since De Valera, the number one in Sinn Fein was in America. These discussions eventually led to the London negotiations between Lloyd George and Sinn Fein, which led to the Government of Ireland Act 1921. Anderson's role in Ireland made him a strong candidate for his subsequent Home Office appointment, when the Home Office assumed responsibility for the affairs of Northern Ireland after the partition of the 22 counties that became Eire (and later the Republic of Ireland) and the 6 counties of Ulster that remained part of the United Kingdom. Anderson left Ireland on 16 January 1922 a few hours before the formal transfer of power from the Viceroy (the Lord Lieutenant) to the Provisional Government of Ireland. Throughout his two years in Ireland Anderson had continued to hold nominally his post as Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue to which he returned in January 1922.

In March 1922 when Edward Troup retired, Anderson was appointed Permanent Secretary of the Home Office at the age of 40, having reached the highest rank (Permanent Secretary of a Secretary of State's Department) he was to achieve in the 20 years that remained before retirement. His contemporary Warren Fisher was at the Treasury, Head of the Civil Service and only two years older than Anderson. He remained at the Home Office for ten years, the longest time in one appointment in either his civil service or his political careers.

From 1932-37 he held a senior appointment in the Indian Civil Service as Governor of Bengal at the time when the Indian independence movement was rapidly developing.

When he left India in 1937, where he had enjoyed an income with allowances of £144,000 a year,(7) he retired from the civil service at the age of 58 with a pension of £1,200 a year and a lump sum payment of £3,248.(8) As a retired civil servant with a greatly reduced income he decided on a change of career.

Thereafter he followed a political career, being elected as Unionist (Conservative) M.P. for the Scottish Universities in 1938 - a seat he held until the University seats were abolished in 1950. He served as Lord Privy Seal (1938/9) and Home Secretary (1939/40) in the National Government of Chamberlain and as Lord President of the Council (1940/43) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1943/45) in the Churchill Coalition Government. He was created Viscount Waverley in 1952 and died in 1958 at the age of 73.

Sir Horace Wilson

When Masteron-Smith left the Ministry of Labour and Shackleton was moved to the new appointment as Chief Labour Advisor, the new Permanent Secretary was Horace John Wilson, the most controversial senior civil servant of the 20th. In the standard reference books, e.g. "Who's Who" Wilson gave only very brief details of his early life. No details were given except "entry to the Civil Service in 1900" at age 18. The first appointment mentioned is as Principal Assistant Secretary Ministry of Labour 1919. The "Imperial Calendars" from 1900-1919 provide details of his civil service appointments as: a Second Division clerk in

the War Office 1901-1905 and then the same grade in the Board of Trade 1906/07. He was appointed as an Assistant for Special Inquiries in the Commercial and Labour Statistics Dept. of the Board of Trade in 1908 and a Minor Staff Clerk in 1910, a grade between the Executive (Second Division) and Administrative (First Division) classes. From 1912-1916 he was Register to Industrial Councils; Board of Trade, and in 1917 transferred to the new Ministry of Labour and in 1918 was appointed Chief of Industrial Commissions: the previous holder of this post who had held the same post in the B.O.T., Sir George Askwith, having retired. In 1918 the Industrial Commission Dept. was reduced in size to two Assistant Commissioners, and Wilson moved to be head of the Wages and Arbitration Dept. with the grade of Assistant Secretary. In 1919 he was promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary in the same job and in 1921 to Permanent Secretary at the age of 39. He remained at the Ministry of Labour for nine years as Permanent Secretary until 1930 when he was appointed Chief Industrial Adviser to the Government, attached to the Board of Trade. In 1935 he was seconded for service with the Prime Minister, serving both Baldwin and Chamberlain and being closely associated with the "Appeasement" policy of Chamberlain. He completed his civil service career as Permanent Secretary at the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service from the retirement of Warren Fisher in 1939 until his own retirement in 1942. Although he lived another thirty years until his death in 1972 at the age of 90, he held only one other public office as Chairman of the National Joint Council for A.P.T.C. grades in local

government from 1944-51. An opinion of his abilities in the early 1930's was given by one of his civil service contemporaries, Sir Willaim Leith-Ross, who worked closely with Wilson when Leith-Ross was Chief Economic Advisor to the Government from 1932. Asked by Hugh Dalton, Minister of Economic Warfare (1940/42) when he was Dalton's Director General, for his opinion of Wilson, he replied "I always thought that Wilson was very good on industrial questions".(9)

Sir Francis Floud

In 1930 Wilson was succeeded at the Ministry of Labour by an experienced Permanent Secretary, who moved to take his third Permanent Secretary appointment. Sir Francis Lewis Castle Floud was born in 1875, the eldest son of the Rev H. Castle Floud. He gave a description of his early life in B.B.C. talk in the "Rungs of the Ladder" series in 1932.(10) "My education began at the village school. After a year or two [sic] I was sent to the local grammar school...At the age of twelve I was fortunate enough to get a scholarship for the sons of clergy at Cranleigh School...It was necessary to choose a career. I should have liked to go to the Bar but that was impossible for lack of means [in 1904 whilst a Second Division Clerk he studied and was called to the Bar at Lincolns Inn]. I left school came to London and attended the day classes of the Civil Service Dept. of Kings College. I was aiming for the second division of the Civil Service which at that time was recruited between the age of seventeen and twenty".

Floud entered the Board of Agriculture as a temporary clerk in 1894; as a Second Division clerk he was Private Secretary to the Permanent Secretary, and from 1904/07 Private Secretary to two Presidents of the Board. Promoted to the First Division he was Head of the Land Branch from 1907-1914 and an Assistant Secretary from 1914-1919. He became Permanent Secretary in 1920, 26 years after joining the civil service as a temporary clerk. He left the Ministry of Agriculture in 1927 and served for three years as Chairman (Permanent Secretary) of the Board of Customs and Excise until his final appointment in the Home Civil Service as Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour from 1930/34. On retiring from the Home Civil Service at the age of 59, he served as British High Commissioner in Canada from 1934/38 and as Chairman of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission from 1938/40. In his final retirement he was Chairman of the Agricultural Wages Board 1943/47. he died in 1965 at the age of 90.

The contrasting biographical pictures of the three Permanent Secretaries point to the evidence that emerges of their contrasting approach when dealing with establishment questions, and in their relationship with the Treasury Establishment Division.

The political attitudes of the Permanent Secretaries.

Both the background and careers of the Permanent Secretary at the Home Office and of the two Permanent Secretaries at the Ministry of Labour in the years 1921/33 need to be viewed in relation to the major events of the

period. Both Departments were concerned with sensitive areas of Government policy: law and order at the Home Office; and labour relations, industrial matters and unemployment benefits at the Ministry of Labour. In the middle and at the end of the period the civil servants served two minority Labour Governments, the first from 22 January 1924 to 3 November 1924 and the second from 5 June 1929 to 22 August 1931. There were two major events which had an impact on the two Departments, the General Strike 1926 and the economic crisis 1931 (examined in Section 2/3).

The Home Office between 1922 to 1932 was dominated by the personality of Anderson. "He was always very much Head of the Office - he gave to all below him a feeling of confidence in his strength, administrative experience, sagacity and judgment."(11)

As shown in Section 2/2 the Department remained virtually unchanged from the pre-war structure he inherited in 1922 after Troup's long period as Permanent Secretary since 1908.

What evidence is there of any political views during his period at the Home office? If one takes his predecessor Troup's book written when a young civil servant on the future of Free Trade, there is a possible indication that an element of Gladstonian Liberalism might have remained with Troup in his subsequent career. In Anderson's case, although he had imbibed much of his father's Gladstonian Liberalism (his father had been active in Liberal politics in Edinburgh) as a young man, "John [Anderson] had never been a party man and his prevailed

throughout this civil service career".(12)

In Chapter 1, the early career of David Shackleton, showed him progressing from a local Liberal councillor and junior Trade Union official to election as one of the first Labour M.P.'s who did not have Lib/Lab connections. His rise in the Parliamentary Labour Party to deputy Leader, and in Trade Union affairs to be President of the Trades Union Congress, established him as a "middle of the road" socialist in the years before his appointment as first Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour. In contrast, Horace Wilson, who succeeded him and Masterton-Smith at the Ministry of Labour in 1921, was hostile to the Labour party to the end of his career as a senior civil servant. Hugh Dalton writing in his diary in 1940: "Macmillan very interesting on events leading up to change of Government... He says that Amery was grand. Chamberlain's last effort, at the instigation of Sir H. Quisling [Dalton's name for Wilson] who was passionately anxious to prevent the Labour Party coming into Government was to send for Amery...".(13) and "Greenwood said he thought he still saw the finger of Sir H. Quisling in some things. I said I hoped that this would soon completely cease".(14) Wilson's earlier hostility to the Labour Party is shown in remarks from Lord Halifax to Dalton: "When he [Halifax] and Chamberlain and Sir Horace Wilson were returning together from Heston aerodrome [after the Munich Conference]... Halifax said to Chamberlain <<And now you ought to tell the House of Commons that you have invited the Labour and Liberal Leaders to join your Government. Then you will put yourself right with public opinion.>>

Chamberlain said <<I'm not sure about that. You had better speak to Horace [Wilson] about it>> and Horace did not approve".(15)

The Permanent Secretary who succeeded Wilson in 1930, Francis Floud, was a sympathiser with, if not a member of, the Labour Party, and after he had retired from the Home Civil Service was sympathetic to the extreme left in the late 1930's. The picture he gave of his life as a clerk in the Board of Agriculture provides an indication of his early thinking: "But fortunately I heard of a community of young men in one of the Squares in Bloomsbury who lived together under a simple rule of life, spending much of their time in Church and social work. We ran the house co-operatively".(15)

Forty years later when the British High Commissioner in Canada in correspondence with his son Bernard Floud (then an undergraduate at Oxford, a member of the Communist Party, later an Assistant Secretary at the Board of Trade and a Labour M.P. - 1964-67) he gave an insight on his political views, including his period as Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour. Francis Floud wrote a monthly letter from Ottawa to his son who was in his final year at Wadham College Oxford, having spent the summer vacation 1936 in Geneva for the League of Nations Union. Writing on 4 August 1936, "We have been revelling in Low [a political cartoonist] and are looking forward to reading Gallacher [the Communist M.P. for West Fife since 1935 who had just had a book published]. We are also reading the Left Book Club books....so my education in sound principles is progressing".(17) In September 1936: I have been

trying to get hold of Gallacher who is now in Montreal. I have written to him to ask him to come and have a meal with us if he comes to Ottawa. I have read his book which you sent me and I liked it very much".(18) In October 1936: "I am amused that you should think me indiscreet in writing to Gallacher. I didn't get any answer but should be interested to know if he ever got my letter. If I could get any evidence that it was opened by the Police I should have a good cause to protest to MacKenzie King".(19) (Canadian Prime Minister).

Floud's clearest definition of his political viewpoint was put in a letter in March 1937 "I feel that my education in the Communist point of view has progressed a long way. I can't say however that I am altogether convinced. I dislike the assumption in so much of the literature that the motives of their opponents are base and dishonest and they are the only people who are invariably high minded and unselfish. Gallacher and Hannington [Secretary National Unemployed Workers Movement, a Communist front organisation in the 1930's] I liked and can sympathise with their point of view but I think Palme-Dutt [a Communist Party theoretician] is an unfair controversialist and the pamphlet on the B.B.C. struck me as petty".(20)

In contrast to his successor at the Ministry of Labour, Horace Wilson, Floud was not a Chamberlain supporter, he wrote on 14 April 1937: "But I wish we weren't going to have Neville as P.M."

His period at the Ministry of Labour covered the last year of the second MacDonald Government, and after reading

Hannington's book in 1937⁵ he made a comment on the Labour Government's attitude to the N.U.W.M. in 1931. "I enjoyed Wal Hannington's book very much and wish I had met him when I was at the Ministry of Labour. But at that time the Labour Government had put an absolute ban on any dealings with the N.U.W.M., so we were never allowed to see any of them".(21)

The Floud papers provide only one side of the correspondence between Francis Floud; and his son, Bernard Floud's letters to his father are not available. There is no direct evidence to show if the son's influence led to the father - a former Permanent Secretary of three major departments to write: "I feel that my education in the Communist point of view has progressed a long way".

There is however a discrepancy concerning Bernard Floud's statement to me that his father enjoyed political compatability with his Minister Margaret Bondfield during the Labour Government of 1929-31. Francis Floud refers in his letters to the "absolute ban" imposed on any civil servant in the Ministry of Labour having "dealings" with Communist dominated organisations - such as the N.U.W.M: his statement "[I] wish I had met him [Hannington of the N.U.W.M]" leads to the conclusion that Francis Floud's political sympathies in 1931 might already have been further "left" than those of the Government he served whilst Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour.

At the Ministry of Labour, David Shackleton the trade unionist and former Labour M.P., was moved 'sideways' in

⁵ W. Hannington, The Problem of the Distressed Areas (London: Gollanz, 1937).

1921. Horace Wilson, appointed by Lloyd George in the Conservative-dominated Coalition Government of 1921, remained anti-Labour to the end of his civil service career. Francis Floud, serving at the Ministry of Labour in his last appointment in the Home Civil Service from 1930-34, showed in his correspondence with his son, written between 1935 and 1939, that he had moved to a viewpoint well to the left of the Labour Party.

At the Home Office, there is only a possibility that Edward Troup had maintained a Gladstonian Liberal approach during his long period as Permanent Secretary, and there is no evidence that his successor, John Anderson, had any political attitudes, at least until he left the Home Office in 1932.

The contrasts that emerge from the attitudes of Anderson, Wilson and Floud, indicate that there was no uniformity of political views amongst the top civil servants in the two departments, but a variety of views that stretched from 'right' to 'left' in party political terms. There is no evidence that their political allegiances coloured their roles as civil servants.

2/2 The organisation of the three Departments and their broad relationships.

The organisational structure of the Home Office and Ministry of Labour in 1917 showed the contrast of their respective functions.

The Home Office had six divisions to deal with the wide range of different regulatory matters that had become the responsibility of the Department during the 19th and

early C20th; safety in factories and mines, alien control, care of children, the probation service, the police, criminal matters and a miscellany of subjects which had not been specifically assigned to other Departments. Each division was headed by an Assistant Secretary.

Edward Troup, as Permanent Secretary, did not have a specific deputy and the 6 Assistant Secretaries reported directly to him. There were, in addition, two senior administrative officers, described in the 'Imperial Calendar' as "Assistant Under Secretaries", and paid from 1919 at the Deputy Secretary rate. The senior officials were Ernley Blackwell, a barrister who dealt with important criminal matters, and Malcolm Delevigne, who was responsible for industrial welfare and had David Shackleton as advisor in his first civil service appointment 1910/11. Each Assistant Secretary had a Senior Clerk (Principal) as a deputy - one of them in 1917 was Alexander Maxwell, who entered the Home Office in 1904 and was to be Permanent Secretary from 1938-48.

The regulatory functions were carried out by specialist departmental officers: the Factory Department was headed by a Chief Inspector with a support staff of Factory Inspectors, likewise the Mines Department had a Chief Inspector with Inspectors of Mines for the work of inspection. There were two Inspectors of explosives, four Inspectors under the Cruelty to Animals Act 1876, eight Inspectors of Reformatory Schools for juvenile offenders, an Inspector under the Inebriates Acts of 1879 and 1900 and one Inspector under the Aliens Act 1906. For the Police there were two Inspectors of Constabulary (both retired

Army officers), a Prison Commission for the administration of convict prisons and a Board of Control of doctors to administer the Lunacy and Mental Deficiency Acts.

In 1917, its first year of existence, the Ministry of Labour's organisation covered the work taken over from the Board of Trade. Its largest department was responsible for Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance. David Shackleton, as Permanent Secretary, had no deputy and the heads of the five departments as detailed below reported directly to him.

Each of the five departments was headed by an Assistant Secretary, and all of them had held similar appointments at the Board of Trade, when the departments had been part of the B.O.T. organisation.

The Labour Exchanges and the Unemployment Insurance Department (its Assistant Secretary William Beveridge was promoted to Second Permanent Secretary at the new Ministry of Food Control) was divided into two Departments. An Employment Department was headed by an Assistant Secretary and a Principal (Thomas Phillips who entered the Board of Trade as a Class 2 clerk (Assistant Principal) in 1906 and was Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour 1935/44), and an Unemployment Insurance Claims Department based at Kew, headed by a Controller with nine Divisional Officers. The Office of Trade Boards had a Secretary; the Department of Labour Statistics was headed by a Director. The Industrial Commissioners Department was headed by the Chief Industrial Commissioner, Sir George Askwith, who retired later in 1918 and was succeeded by Horace Wilson.

Although the first two years of the new Ministry of

Labour had an organisational structure of solely former Board of Trade functions, the responsibilities that were to give it growth, importance and problems in the next two decades had already started to emerge in the decision to split the Employment and Unemployment Insurance responsibilities into two departments, which two years later were to divide again into a number of further specialised functions.

In 1919 the Home Office had the same structure as two years previously with the same administrative class officers holding the same appointments - a feature of the Home Office during the 1920's was the almost total lack of promotion or movement of staff during Anderson's period as Permanent Secretary.

The Imperial Calendar of 1919 shows three of the six Principals as being "on loan to other Departments", and although 14 Assistant Principals had been appointed when post-war recruitment was resumed, three of them were also "on loan to other Departments".

In contrast, at the Ministry of Labour there had been both a growth and a restructuring of the departmental organisation. Shackleton was still without a deputy, and had reporting directly to him 16 Assistant Secretaries (or equivalent grades). This major departure from the Urwick 'rule of five', (22) form of organisational structure must have been a strong contributory factor in the decision to appoint a Joint Permanent Secretary in 1920.

By 1919 an Establishment Department had been formed, initially headed by an Assistant Secretary with a Principal, six Chief of Sections (C.E.O.) and eleven

Assistant Chief of Sections (S.E.O.). Whilst the Home Office, during the years 1919/31, did not show in its staff lists any officer specifically designed as being responsible for the establishment function. A Principal carried out the function in addition to other duties (see Chapter 3).

The contrasting approach of the two departments to the recognition of the need for an establishment function was brought about by two different factors: the first was one of size. By 1919 the Ministry of Labour as a new department, and after three years existence, had grown to employ nearly 18,000 civil servants. In contrast the Home Office as an old "Secretary of State" department employed under 1000 civil servants. Both departments between 1919 and 1931 showed only marginal growth in the numbers employed and the disparity of size remained.

The second factor was the difference in style. The Administrative Class structure of the Ministry of Labour had been built up by transfers from other departments, there was a need to build a common pattern and gain allegiance to a new department. In contrast the Home Office had a long established ethos of "once a Home Office man always a Home Office man".

The other new departments in the Ministry of Labour included a Finance Department with an Accountant General, Deputy Accountant General and an Assistant Accountant General: an Industries Department with three sections responsible for the Industrial Council, Trade Boards and the Office of Trade Boards each with a Principal in charge; and Intelligence and Labour Statistics Departments headed

by Assistant Secretaries. A Training Department had a Controller (Assistant Secretary) who had been head of the Labour Supply department in the former Ministry of Munitions, and a Wages and Arbitration Department to which Horace Wilson had moved as Assistant Secretary from the Industrial Commissions Department. A Publicity Branch had been created (one of the first in Government departments); the head was an Assistant Controller (a retired Major General), but the Branch had a short life and did not survive the cuts in civil service expenditure in 1921.

To meet immediate post-war needs there was a Department of Civil Demobilisation and Resettlement, and an Appointments Department for the resettlement of ex-officers of the Services. Unemployment matters were organised into two large departments, the General Managers Branch, covering the Claims and Records Office at Kew, the Divisional Officers and Employment Exchanges, and the second department was the Unemployment Insurance, Juveniles and Emigration Branch, with Thomas Phillips as Director (Assistant Secretary). These two departments were the large employers of staff in the Ministry through their Regional Offices, of which there were 14, and the local Employment Exchanges. Finally, there was a women's Branch, but the Assistant Secretary post was vacant and a Senior Principal, Miss F.H. Durham, headed the department with a Principal, a Chief of Section and a Deputy Chief of Section - all women to assist her, the largest group of female senior civil servants in any Ministry in 1919. Phillips is an example of how rapid promotion occurred in the early years of the Ministry of Labour, in contrast to the same

period in the Home Office. After being a class 2 clerk at the B.O.T. from 1904/16, he was a Principal for two years in the Ministry of Labour then promoted to Assistant Secretary in 1919, Principal Assistant Secretary (Under Secretary) later in 1919, Deputy Secretary in 1924 and finally succeeding Francis Floud as Permanent Secretary in 1934.

The post-war years.

The Bradbury Committee on staffs 1918/19 (Cmd. 62) in its final report in February 1919 had recommended the creation of a special Establishment Division of the Treasury. Warren Fisher was a member of the Bradbury Committee and on being appointed Permanent Secretary later in 1919 took this recommendation fully into account.

The new Treasury structure in 1919 had three Controllers, all reporting directly to the Permanent Secretary: a Controller of Finance, a Controller of Supply Services and a Controller of Establishments. The first holder of this appointment in 1919 was Sir Malcolm Ramsey (an analysis of the C.O.E's department and staff is given in Section 2/5).

In the Civil Service reorganisation in 1919 the position of Deputy Secretary became an official grade between Permanent Secretary and Principal Assistant Secretary. However, in salary the Controllers were paid £3,000 per annum, only £500 less than Fisher received in the new post of Permanent Secretary, Treasury and Head of the Civil Service. Other Permanent Secretaries, Troup,

Anderson, Masterton-Smith and Wilson each received £2,200 per annum and Deputy Secretaries £1,500, the then maximum of the Principal Assistant Secretary scale.

The remainder of the Treasury Administrative Class staff (the old First Division) in 1919 consisted of ten Assistant Secretaries, 21 Principals and 15 Assistant Principals - the new entry grade.

1919 was a year of large scale industrial disputes leading to strike action, and 35 million working days were lost because of strikes - a figure that was only exceeded in 1912, 1921 and 1926 during the years of 1900/79,(23). In 1920 there was a sharp increase in unemployment: the total exceeded one million for the first time and never went below this figure until 1940.(23) These two major social and economic events of 1919/20 did not produce any discernible change in the Home Office organisation. The Civil Service reorganisation had the effect of the two "Assistant Under Secretaries" being paid the Deputy Secretary salary - with the Legal adviser, Blackwell, receiving an additional £400 per annum allowance; their service had been recognised - they had both been made K.C.B.'s. The six Assistant Secretaries remained unpromoted, but likewise their service had been rewarded: one by a K.B.E., one by a C.B.E., and four by C.B.'s. The Principals had increased by two to eight - with none on loan to other Departments and the Assistant Principals reduced by one to 13 with only one on loan. A new legal appointment had been made of Assistant Legal Advisor. There were minor changes in the Inspectorate staff with one Inspector appointed to cover the Dangerous Drugs Act 1920,

which gave another regulatory role to the Home Office. A new Assistant Principal joining in 1920 was to add to the old pattern of Permanent Secretaries, who were 'Home Office men' throughout their civil service careers - Troup and Maxwell. He was Frank Newsam who had taken the reconstruction non-examination entry scheme for ex-servicemen and was to succeed Maxwell as Permanent Secretary from 1948 to 1957.

The Ministry of Labour in 1920 reflected in its organisation and staffing the post-war changes in industrial relations and increasing unemployment. The increase in staff was reflected in the Establishment Department; the head of the department had been promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary with two Assistant Secretaries in support. The Accountant General's Department had found the need for two offices, with the Accountant General and his Deputy remaining at the Ministry headquarters in London S.W.1. but the Assistant Accountant General moving to Kew, the headquarters of the Unemployment Insurance Claims Record Department. The Industries Department had two Principal Assistant Secretaries, one in charge of the Department; the other was seconded to the new International Labour Office which had been established in 1920 as one of the agencies of the League of Nations in Geneva. The three Divisions of the Industries Department remained, but the Industrial Council Division was restyled as the Joint Industrial Council Division, serving the new J.I.C.'s which had been created for a number of industries which had employees represented by trade unions, whilst the Trade Boards Division served the Trades Boards in

industries with little or no trade union membership. They were headed by a Principal in each division, the third Division - the Office of Trade Boards which was headed by a Chief Executive Officer reflecting a decline in the number of Trades Boards, against the increase in the number of Joint Industrial Councils, the majority of which were created in the early 1920's. The Industrial Courts Act, 1919, provided a standing body for voluntary arbitration and inquiry of industrial dispute, and the Ministry supplied the Secretary to the Industrial Court - an Assistant Secretary and staff.

There had been some restructuring. The Intelligence and Statistics Departments were merged, whilst a new Solicitors Department had been setup, staffed by three officers in the new Legal grades. The two major Departments in the Ministry had continued to expand, in both size and function. The Wages and Arbitration Department was headed by a Principal Assistant Secretary, Horace Wilson (whose next promotion was to be Permanent Secretary) assisted by an Assistant Secretary, two Principals and a new appointment, that of Chief Conciliation Officer with nine Conciliation Officers at each of the Regional Offices of the Ministry. The new conciliation service remained an element in the work of the Ministry until the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (A.C.A.S.) was established in 1974 and was made an independent statutory body by the Employment Protection Act, 1975. In 1920 there were three Assistant Principals in the Wages and Arbitration Department, two of whom became the first 'Ministry of Labour men' to reach Permanent Secretary -

Godfrey Ince 1944/55, followed by Harold Emmerson 1956/59.

The Employment Department was headed by Thomas Phillips promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary, assisted by two Assistant Secretaries, a General Manager Employment Exchanges with responsibility for the Unemployment Insurance Claims Record Office at Kew. The Publicity Department was the only department reducing in size. The Assisting Controller was replaced by an 'Officer in Charge' with a staff of three, and the Department closed in 1921.

The Treasury organisation showed an even greater growth relative to its size in the twelve months 1919 to 1920. Two Deputy Controllers of Establishments were appointed (with the grade of Principal Assistant Secretary). There were, in addition, two other new Principal Assistant Secretary posts. The Assistant Secretaries increased from 10 to 13, Principals from 21 to 30 and Assistant Principals from 15 to 29 (three serving as Private Secretaries to the Controllers). The increase in Assistant Principals, as in other Departments, represented the result of the resumption of recruitment in 1919, and in particular the limited competition for ex-servicemen to enter the Administrative Class without the normal system of examinations. The Treasury had succeeded in obtaining some of this group of entrants: the Imperial Calendar for 1920 shows that at the Treasury 29 Assistant Principals had been awarded between them, four Distinguished Service Orders and nine Military Crosses - one of this group of post-war entrants (as at the Home Office with Newsam and the Ministry of Labour with Ince) was to progress to become

Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, Edward Bridges, from 1945/56.

A measurement of the size of the three Departments in relation to the number of staff employed is available from 1919, when H.M.S.O. began publishing an annual report, "Staff Employed in Government Departments". For the three Departments the numbers as at 1 April 1920 were: Home Office 926, Ministry of Labour 17,825, and the Treasury 291, the second smallest number in all Government Departments, only the Exchequer and the Audit Department with 269 had less. Ten years later at 1 April 1930, the numbers were: Home Office 1,024, Ministry of Labour 18,076 and the Treasury 299.(24)

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the description of the administrative class civil servants that manned the two departments in 1919. First, the structure of the Home Office was centered around two senior administrative officers Blackwell, and Delevigne (paid from 1919 at the Deputy Secretary rate). Blackwell headed the criminal justice work of the Home Office - as the Criminal Division is still headed in 1991 by one of the five Deputy Secretaries, David Faulkner. Delevigne headed the regulatory function, which in 1919, had the generic title of "Industrial welfare" but which included in terms of civil servants employed the largest activity - the factory inspectorate.

All the inspectorate functions were staffed by specialist officers (later to be styled professional and technical class civil servants). Only the Police were inspected by retired Army Officers - a situation that

continued until after the 1939-45 war when retired senior police officers were appointed. The Home Office between 1919 and 1931 was, and remained, in establishment terms the preserve of lawyers and technical specialists.

Second, the Ministry of Labour during the same twelve years had Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance as its largest function in establishment terms. Tom Phillips, as an Assistant Secretary "learnt his trade" as the administrator responsible for these functions, taking him to Permanent Secretary of the Ministry and then as the first Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry of National Insurance. Whilst the Industrial Commissioners Department was "down graded" when Askwith (who had headed the same function at the Board of Trade) retired in 1918. Horace Wilson who succeeded him on promotion to Assistant Secretary acquired the experience which took him after reaching Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, to be "Industrial Adviser" to Neville Chamberlain, both as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and later as Prime Minister.

Third, the size reached by the Ministry of Labour by 1919 required, in addition to an Establishment Department set up in 1919, other specialist departments covering Finance, Industrial Councils, Trade Boards (inherited from the Board of Trade) and Labour Statistics. But new functions to meet the post-war needs, Civil Demobilisation and Resettlement, and an Appointments Department - largely used by ex-officers of H.M.F. did not survive the economy savings required in 1921-22, such peripheral activities did not appear again until 1944.

Finally, the limited competition for ex-servicemen to

enter the Administrative Class without the normal system of examination provided an outstanding intake, producing a Permanent Secretary for the three departments in Newsam, Ince and Bridges. Waterfield's evidence in 1942 to the Crookshank Committee supports this and show that of 158 Assistant Principals recruited in 1918/20, and still serving in the civil service, seven had reached Permanent Secretary and seven Deputy Secretary grade.

2/3 The years of crisis -1926 and 1931.

Two years from the period 1921 to 1933 have been taken for an examination of the organisation of the three Departments: 1926, the year of the General Strike, and 1931, the last year of the second Labour Government.

1926

At the Home Office the two future Permanent Secretaries both held Private Office appointments, Maxwell, an Assistant Secretary was Private Secretary to the Home Secretary, Joyson-Hicks; and Newsam, promoted to Principal, was Private Secretary to the Permanent Secretary, Anderson. When it became clear early in 1926 that on the expiry of the wage agreements between the coal owners and the miners on 1 May there was likely to be a national miners strike, a small inter-departmental committee, chaired by Anderson, was created to draw up emergency plans for consideration by the Cabinet. A plan was prepared which divided the country into eleven areas,

each with a Civil Commissioner who was in most areas a junior Minister in the Baldwin Government. In the allocation of specific responsibilities the maintenance of law and order was placed in the Home Office with its responsibility for the police. The Anderson plan was accepted by the Cabinet, and during the short period of the General strike in May 1926 the scheme was operated by a Cabinet Committee whose chairman was the Home Secretary. Executive action was handled by an Emergency Committee, chaired by Anderson, on which fourteen Government Departments were represented. The extra work involved was handled by the Permanent Secretary and the Private Office. The only change in the senior staff at the Home Office between 1920 and 1926 was the promotion of the longest serving Assistant Secretary to Principal Assistant Secretary. Additional responsibilities had been given to the Home Office after the Irish Independence Act, 1922, for the link with the Northern Ireland Government at Stormont increased the structure to seven Divisions (the Home Office used the title 'Division' in contrast to the Ministry of Labour use of 'Department'). Maxwell was promoted to the additional Assistant Secretary post, serving as Private Secretary to the Home Secretary from 1924/27, when he was succeeded by Newsam who held the same Private Office appointment from 1927/33.

At the Ministry of Labour Wilson had been the Permanent Secretary since 1921 (having never held a Deputy Secretary appointment), but unlike the first two Permanent Secretaries he had had a Deputy Secretary since 1924 when Phillips, one of the seven Principal Assistant Secretaries,

had been promoted. Shackleton retired after four years as Chief Labour Advisor on reaching the age of 62 in 1925. He was not replaced, and it is unlikely that Wilson, with his anti-Labour attitude, would have approached Steel Maitland (himself one of the 'right wing' in Baldwin's Cabinet) to retain a senior post which was a reminder of the Trade Union connection (in both Ministers and Permanent Secretary) in the early years of the Ministry of Labour. The contingency plan, drawn up by Anderson's committee, had given the Ministry of Labour the role to "occupy itself with the task of conciliation".(25) There is no evidence that it happened, although there had been a Ministry conciliation service available both at the London Headquarters and on a regional basis since 1920.

The Treasury organisation in 1926 was unchanged, except that in the Establishment Division, an Assistant Secretary was designated the Establishment Officer and two of the Principals as Assistant Establishment Officers (one of them was Bridges who had been promoted to Principal).

1931.

1931 was the third year of the second MacDonald Labour Government, a minority government that relied on the support of the Liberal M.P.'s in crucial votes in the House of Commons. The Government fell in August 1931 at the height of the economic crisis when the cabinet split on proposals to reduce public expenditure including the salaries of civil servants.

At the Home Office Clynes was Home Secretary with

Newsam as his Private Secretary. The position of the two senior officials reporting directly to the Permanent Secretary had been formally graded with Blackwell styled Legal Secretary and Delevigne as Deputy Secretary. The remainder of the organisation for the Administrative Class staff was unchanged.

The Ministry of Labour had changes in Permanent Secretary when Wilson had been moved in 1930 to become Chief Industrial Advisor to the Government, and for some months, Phillips, the Deputy Secretary, was acting Permanent Secretary until Floud moved from Customs and Excise in 1931 to the Permanent Secretary post. His Minister, until the change of Government in August 1931, was Margaret Bondfield, a former trade union official who had been Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour in the 1924 minority Labour Government. Her Private Secretary was Ince, who, before his promotion to Assistant Secretary in 1933, served as Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour 1930/33.

The years 1930/32 saw a rapid rise in the numbers of unemployed from 2.5 million in December 1930 to 2.8 million in September 1931 to the highest number (before 1980) of 2.9 million in January 1932.(26) The administrative work involved in the payment of Unemployment Insurance benefits and the operation of the Employment Exchanges was reflected in the size of the two departments dealing with this work in the Ministry. In 1931 the Unemployment Insurance Department had two Principal Assistant Secretaries, three Assistant Secretaries and seven Principals, whilst the Employment Department also had two Principal Assistant

Secretaries with four Assistant Secretaries and eight Principals. The Ministry in 1930 employed over 18,000 staff and the Establishment department had grown in size; it was re-styled as "Services and Establishment" headed by a Director (with the grade of Principal Assistant Secretary) assisted by two Assistant Secretaries and seven Principals.

The Treasury Establishment Division had undergone the greatest change by 1933. The rapid growth of the early 1920's with the appointment of two Deputy Controllers had been reversed by a process of "natural wastage". It had started in 1928 when one of the Deputy Controllers had been appointed to the Civil Service Commission as First Commissioner, and was not replaced. When in 1931 the second Deputy Controller was promoted to be Comptroller and Auditor-General of the Exchequer and Audit Department, he too was not replaced. The Controller of Establishments remained with an Establishment Officer and two Assistant Establishment Officers.

Two contrasting conclusions are drawn from the effect that the events of 1926 and 1931 had on the two departments. First, at the Home Office the four months preceeding the General Strike were one of a number of occasions when government assignments took Anderson away from his department on this occasion to oversee the implementation of the "Anderston plan" covering the executive action required from fourteen Government Departments, leaving the management of the office to his Private Secretary, Maxwell.

In contrast at the Ministry of Labour the General Strike had little effect on its day to day work. The

department's small industrial conciliation service was not called on in the coal industry dispute despite the Anderson contingency plan giving the Ministry of Labour the role to "occupy itself with the task of conciliation".

Had Anderson not been at the Home Office it is possible that neither department would have experienced any significant effect from the events of the seven days in May 1926.

Secondly, arising from the economic crisis of August 1931 the roles of the two departments were reversed. The fall of the minority Labour Government produced only one change at the Home Office: Clynnes was replaced by Samuel as Home Secretary. In contrast at the Ministry of Labour the growth in unemployment, reaching 2.9 million in January 1932 produced increased work for its two largest departments. The Employment Department (responsible for the Labour Exchanges) and the Unemployment Insurance Department required a combined establishment of four Principal Assistant Secretaries, seven Assistant Secretaries and 15 Principals.

But perhaps the most significant effect in establishment terms was also a result of the civil service economies that followed the 1931 economic crisis. In the Treasury Establishment Division the second of the Deputy Controllers left in 1931 on promotion, and was not replaced. This was followed in March 1932 by the reduction in the grade for Controller of Establishments from Permanent Secretary to Under Secretary when Rae succeeded Scott. This downgrading of the senior Treasury establishment appointment remained until 1946, and was

noted by the Select Committee on National Expenditure during 1941-42 in their war-time examination of the civil service, when in Paragraph 82 of their report, (27) they stated "As a result of twenty years of neglect, the outbreak of war found the Treasury insufficiently equipped to deal with the problems of administrative organisation which were forced upon it".

2/4 Contrasts in the structure of the three Departments.

A number of contrasts emerge from this analysis of the structure and organisation of the three Departments in the fourteen year period that followed the reorganisation of the Home Civil Service in 1919. Five can be summarised as:-

- (1) The static nature of the Home Office organisation and the influence of its Permanent Secretary from 1922 to 1932, John Anderson.
- (2) The growth of the Ministry of Labour and its effect on the organisation of the department.
- (3) Warren Fisher's reorganisation of the Treasury structure during his first two years as Permanent Secretary.
- (4) The emergence of three future Permanent Secretaries in the three Departments from the post-war intake of Assistant Principals in 1919/20.

- (5) The use of Private Office appointments as part of their career development.

The 'Anderson' effect.

The only change in the structure of the Home Office Administrative grades from the organisation that Anderson took over when succeeding Troup in 1922 until he left the Home Office in 1932 was an additional division to deal with Northern Ireland affairs. The nature of his work load at the Home Office is illustrated by his biographer's account of the average day of the Permanent Secretary. "By modern standards [writing in 1962] his office hours were not long. They were, however, very regular. It would be true that in those years one might have set one's watch by him. He arrived at the office punctually at 10.15 a.m: he went punctually to lunch at 1.15 p.m. and returned at 2.45 p.m. And he left at 6.15 p.m. He never took official files away from the office to work on them at home. He carried, not an official dispatch case, but a small attache case - which may have contained Blue Books (he was reputed never to read anything else) but never files".(28)

But this account of Anderson's day contrasts with the picture given by Dale in his description of the Higher Civil Service, and quoted by most of the authorities - Chapman, Fry, Kelsall, Roskill, writing about the average day of the Administrative Class in the 1920's and 1930's: "What happens to the official aristocracy when it disappears into its own fortress about 10.30 a.m. every weekday morning?... How do they spend the 8 1/2 hours until

7 or 7.15 p.m., the time about which most of them depart...".(29) This passage suggests that most of them did not take the one and a half hours' luncheon break enjoyed by Anderson, and finished work somewhat later than the Permanent Secretary of the Home Office.

Anderson's effect in preserving that static nature of the Home Office organisation may have been reflected in his detachment from the day to day duties and responsibilities of a Permanent Secretary. In his 10 years at the Home Office there was a long period when he was engaged on wider duties. He served as a member of the Royal Commission set up in 1924 to inquire into the National Health Insurance scheme established by the 1911 and 1912 Acts, and was the principal drafter of its majority report in 1926. In 1924 he was appointed chairman of a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence to inquire into Air Raid Precautions. This committee, which sat until 1926, made recommendations that became the basis of the A.R.P. organisation of civil defence in the Second World War. From 1929-31 he headed the team of senior civil servants working with the Lord Privy Seal's Committee (The Thomas Committee), who were given the task of examining the growth of unemployment.

During this period towards the end of his time at the Home Office "he was content to leave a large measure of the supervision of the office to Frank Newsam, Principal Private Secretary to the Secretary of State".(30) A lack of promotion was a feature for the Administrative Class staff at the Home Office, with only one promotion from Principal to Assistant Secretary and one from Assistant

Secretary to Principal Assistant Secretary between 1922 and 1931. The Imperial Calendar for 1932 indicates that Anderson finally made an effort to obtain promotion for two of the long serving Assistant Secretaries "This was felt in some quarters to be a last-minute recognition of earlier failure to look after the interests of his staff in the way that a Permanent Secretary nowadays would be expected to do".(31)

A Contrast of growth

In contrast the growth of the Ministry of Labour in the immediate post-war years resulted in the opposite effect, in particular for staff who transferred to the Ministry from the Board of Trade. This contrast is shown from the career progression of two Administrative Class civil servants who joined within two years of each other.

Thomas Phillips joined the civil service in 1906 as a Class 2 Clerk (Assistant Principal) at the Board of Trade, transferring to the Ministry of Labour in 1919 as an Assistant Secretary and promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary the same year and to Deputy Secretary in 1924, reaching Permanent Secretary rank in 1935 after 29 years. Alexander Maxwell joined the civil service two years earlier in 1904 as a Class 2 Clerk (Assistant Principal) at the Home Office; he was not promoted to Assistant Secretary until 1924 and to Principal Assistant Secretary until 1928 (as one of the Prison Commissioners on secondment from the Home Office). He became a Deputy Secretary in 1932, reaching Permanent Secretary rank in

1938 after 34 years. Whilst the Ministry of Labour produced rapid promotion for its senior staff, the first Permanent Secretaries failed to recognise the need for a Deputy and had a large number of Principal Assistant Secretaries heading a number of departments and reporting directly to them. Wilson, three years after he had taken over from Shackleton and Masterton-Smith, succeeded in having one of his Principal Assistant Secretaries promoted to a new Deputy Secretary post and the Ministry of Labour subsequently always had this post as part of its establishment.

Warren Fisher's "chiefs of staff".

In contrast to both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour Warren Fisher at the Treasury quickly in 1919 had three appointments approved of "Deputies" in the posts of Controllers of Finance, Supply Services and Establishments, and by 1920 the Controller of Establishments had two Deputy Controllers to assist him. When the work of the Treasury Establishment Division is examined in Chapter 3, it will be shown that this expansion was greater than the needs, so that by 1931 the two Deputy posts had been abolished and of the three Controller posts only that of Controller of Establishments remained.

The 'high flyers' of the new Administrative Class.

Another feature of the period 1919/33 was the emergence of the practice (that was to continue in the

Administrative Class) of using the "high flyers" amongst the Assistant Principals and Principals as Private Secretaries in Private Office appointments as part of their career development. The three Permanent Secretaries in 1919, Fisher, Troup and Shackleton, had never served in a Private Office appointment, Masterton-Smith was the exception, spending 13 years in various Private Office appointments - over half of his civil service career. Anderson and Wilson spent no period of their early civil service careers in Private Office duties and Floud's short period as Secretary to the Presidents of the Board of Agriculture was undertaken whilst he was a Second Division clerk. But for the 1919/20 intake of Assistant Principals who rose to become Permanent Secretaries, Ince at the Ministry of Labour, Newsam at the Home Office and Bridges at the Treasury, all had Private Office experience during this period.

2/5 The Controllers of Establishments and the Departmental Establishment Officers.

During the period 1919/33 there was no Home Office official who had the title of Establishment Officer. There is no evidence that the question was discussed between the Home Office and the Treasury Establishment Division.(32) In contrast to this real or perceived lack of a need for a designated "Establishment" role, the new Ministry of Labour quickly set up an Establishment Department. By 1918 one existed, and was headed by an Assistant Secretary with a "Deputy Assistant Secretary" - a departmental grade and six "Chief of Sections" and eleven "Assistant Chief of

Sections". In 1920, following the reorganisation of civil service grades, the Department was headed by a Principal Assistant Secretary with two Assistant Secretaries and supporting staff. Five years later, in 1925, there were in addition three Principals and six Assistant Principals in the Establishment Department. A feature of the use of staff in the Department that commenced in 1925 and continued for the remainder of the period was their secondment to Private Office duties. In 1925 one of the Principals was Private Secretary to the Minister, and of the 6 Assistant Principals one was Assistant Private Secretary to the Minister, one Private Secretary to the Parliamentary Secretary, one Private Secretary to Shackleton as Chief of Labour Adviser, and one Private Secretary to the Permanent Secretary - Wilson⁶. During the following year the head of department was restyled "Director" with the rank of Assistant Secretary but still with support staff of four Principals and six Assistant Principals. This structure remained the same until 1930 when the Director post was regraded to Principal Assistant Secretary with two Assistant Secretaries, seven Principals and five Assistant Principals, two of whom were on Private Office duties. Another feature of the staffing of the Establishment Department was the short time the Head of Department (or Director) served in that appointment during the 12 years from 1919/1933, 5 different Principal

⁶ Four of the seven went on to reach the grade of Permanent Secretary: Frank Tribe as Comptroller and Auditor-General, Mary Smieton at the Department of Education, and Godfrey Ince and Harold Emmerson at the Ministry of Labour.

Assistant Secretaries and/or Assistant Secretaries held the appointment.

The Treasury Establishment Division during the same period had two Controllers, the first, Sir Malcolm Ramsey, serving from 1919/21, was succeeded by one of his Deputies Sir Russell Scott who served from 1921/32.

Malcolm Ramsey was born in 1897 and educated at Winchester and New College Oxford. He entered the Civil Service in 1896 as a Class 2 clerk in the Foreign Office, transferring to the Treasury in 1897 as a Class 1 Clerk (Principal). From 1902/05 he served as Assistant Private Secretary to the Prime Minister (Balfour), and in 1905 was promoted to Principal Clerk (Assistant Secretary). He was a Principal Assistant Secretary at the Treasury from 1914/19 until his appointment to the new post of Controller of Establishments. His main achievement during the two years in this post was the setting up of the Whitley Council organisation to effect a joint consultation procedure with the civil service trade unions and staff associations. Ramsey chaired the Provisional Joint Committee with 15 representatives from the "Official Side" representing the Departments as employers, and 15 representatives from the "Staff Side" representing the trade unions and staff associations. The Committee reported in May 1919 recommending a National Whitley Council for all grades in the Home Civil Service. When it was established later in 1919, Warren Fisher was its first chairman, but shortly afterwards Ramsey became its chairman for the remainder of his time as Controller of Establishments. In 1921 he was promoted to Comptroller and

Auditor-General as Head of the Exchequer and Audit Department and remained there until his retirement from the civil service in 1931.

His successor, Russell Scott, had a civil service career outside the Treasury until his appointment as one of the two Deputy Controller of Establishments in 1920. Scott was born in 1877, educated at Manchester Grammar School and Wadham College, Oxford. He entered the civil service in 1901 as a Class 2 Clerk (Assistant Principal) in the Admiralty, served as Private Secretary to the Civil Lord to the Admiralty from 1904/07 (the same period as Masterton-Smith was Private Secretary to the Second Sea Lord). He was Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Indian Civil Service 1912/15 and an Assistant Secretary at the Admiralty 1917/20. After serving for a year as a Deputy Controller of Establishments, he succeeded Ramsey in 1921 and was Controller until 1932 when the post was abolished. His final civil service appointment was Permanent Secretary Home Office (succeeding Anderson) in 1932, until his retirement in 1938. The other Deputy Controller, also appointed in 1920, was Sir Gilbert Upcott. He was born in 1880, educated at Marlborough College and Corpus Christi College Oxford, and entered the civil service in 1903 as a Class 2 Clerk (Assistant Principal) in the Treasury, serving in Treasury appointments until his appointment as a Deputy Controller in 1920. He remained in this post until 1931 when he succeeded Ramsey as Comptroller and Auditor-General. He was Head of the Exchequer and Audit Department for 15 years until his retirement in 1946 at the age of 66.

There are a number of common factors in the careers of the three civil servants who headed the new Treasury Establishment Division in the first 12 years of its existence. All of them read classics at Oxford - Scott and Upcott being awarded a First in 'Greats'. Ramsey and Upcott had spent their earlier civil service careers in the Treasury before joining the Establishment Division, and all three subsequently reached the rank of Permanent Secretary, two as Comptroller and Auditor-General and Scott as Permanent Secretary, Home Office.

The fourth senior post established in the Treasury Establishment Division in 1920 was outside the main Administrative Class structure. In January 1920 a post of Director of Women's Establishments was created, and it was held from 1920/33 by Dame Maude Lawrence (D.B.E. 1926). Maude Lawrence was born in 1864 (the year her father, Lord Lawrence, was appointed Viceroy of India). She was educated at home and at Bedford College, University of London. From 1900 to 1902 she was a member of the London School Board, and from 1904 to 1905 on the London County Council Education Committee. In 1906 she joined the civil service as Chief Woman Inspector at the Board of Education until she was appointed Director of Women's Establishments in 1920 and remained in that post until her death in 1933. The Imperial Calendar gives an indication of her grade, showing her salary as being at the maximum of the Assistant Secretary scale throughout her thirteen years as Director.

A common factor in the four civil servants who formulated policies and practices on establishment matters in the decade following the first World War, a period which

saw considerable social, political and economic change, was that they had all been born in the middle of the 'Victorian Age' between 1864 and 1880. In background two of them were the sons of clergymen, one the son of a Glasgow University Professor, and one the daughter of a Victory of India.

In contrast the Permanent Secretaries of the two Departments that had to meet the policies and practices of the Treasury Establishment Division during the same period, whilst all being born in the same 'Victorian Age' between 1857 and 1882 had very different backgrounds: three of the six were not graduates, two entered the civil service in the Second Division. At the Home Office Troup was the son of a Church of Scotland clergyman and Anderson the son of an Edinburgh stationer/photographer. Whilst at the Ministry of Labour Shackleton was the son of a watchmaker, and Masterton-Smith the son of a stockbroker, succeeded by Wilson, the son of a second hand furniture dealer and Floud, the son of a country parson.

2/6 Conclusions

First, the contrasts that emerge in the biographical studies of the three Permanent Secretaries are more related to the differences in their management styles, than to any differences in political attitudes that existed, or were to develop later in their respective careers.

Anderson arrived at the Home Office when it had come out of the 1914-18 war without any major change to its organisation and structure. He headed the department for ten years, during which time his considerable

administrative skills were used in a variety of ways which removed him for long periods from the day to day work of the department. Six Home Secretaries, only one of whom held the office for more than two years, did not achieve any innovative changes in the department.

The increase in staff of 96 in a period of ten years arose from a limited growth in the specialist grades employed in the various inspectorates that were responsible for the Home Office's regulatory roles. Troup had not achieved any major organisational changes in his last two years as Permanent Secretary, which coincided with the retrenchment policy of the immediate post-war years from 1919 to 1922. Anderson, as shown in Chapter 4, waited until his last year as Permanent Secretary before attempting to achieve both a reorganisation of, and an increase in, the Administrative Class grades: this proposal also coincided with a retrenchment called for by the Treasury following the 1931 economic crisis.

Wilson and Floud, apart from the differences in their political attachments in party political terms, displayed marked differences in their reactions to their early life: Floud by his disclosures was clearly proud of his success, achieved despite his financial circumstances as a young man. In contrast Wilson by non-disclosure masked, and omitted, the details of his early life once he had established himself in a successful civil service career, and which from 1918 to 1922, gave him rapid promotion from Assistant Secretary to Permanent Secretary of a large department.

Second, the two contrasting views that emerge as to

whether Floud succeeded in establishing any political compatibility with his Minister during the last year of the 1929-31 Labour Government arise from the discussions with his son Bernard Floud, and Francis Floud's letters to his son. This evidence covers a specific event: Floud probably wished to establish contact with the N.U.W.M. at a time of mass unemployment. This quest in his own account was blocked by his Minister's fear of a 'pressure group' that was too far to the left of the Labour Government's thinking. Therefore, political affinity in party terms between Permanent Secretary and his Minister did not succeed in changing the Minister's view.

Third, in relation to the major social and political event of the period - the general Strike 1926 - Anderson emerged as the "overlord" of the senior civil servants from 14 departments who handled the executive action required through an Emergency Committee which was chaired by Anderson. In contrast although the Ministry of Labour had been given, as part of Anderson's 'contingency plan' the role to "occupy itself with the task of conciliation" there is no evidence that it happened.

The reason for this lies in the false picture that arises from examining only the overall growth in numbers employed in the Ministry of Labour following the Masterton-Smith reorganisation in 1921. Although the number of civil servants increased by 251 in the years 1920 to 1930, these increases were largely in the department responsible for the operation of the Labour Exchanges, and the calculation and payment of Unemployment Insurance benefits. The Employment Department grew in numbers and was headed by

Thomas Phillips who succeeded Floud as Permanent Secretary in 1935. In contrast the Wages and Arbitration Department (renamed Industrial Relations Department in 1924), which had set up a conciliation service and was headed by Wilson from 1919-22, was reduced in size from 200 to 24 in 1924 - reflecting the change in Government attitudes to state intervention in industrial relations matters, which continued until Ernest Bevin arrived at the Ministry in 1940.

The final conclusion is drawn from the examination of the structure and operation of the Treasury Establishment Division from its creation in 1919 to its reorganisation in 1932. Throughout the period, and working against the need for both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour to achieve some 'real' growth in establishments, there was the Treasury Establishment Division's requirement for "treasury men" to man the Division, and if possible to extend this requirement beyond its own operation.

The biographical studies of Fisher, the two Controllers of Establishments and their deputies, show that in contrast to Wilson and Floud, they were products of an entry system to the Administrative Class based solely on a written examination. This system was amongst the matters considered by the MacDonnell Commission (1912-15). As Chapman indicates in two comments on this method of entry:

...written examinations were not necessarily a reliable means for assessing qualifications such as general mental calibre, soundness of judgement, common sense, resourcefulness and resolution;

and

...that the syllabyus gave advantages to candidates educated at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, especially at Oxford...(33)

Five of the six were educated at Oxford, only Maude Lawrence, as a woman in the 1880's, had to be content with Bedford College, University of London; and all the men except Scott had had a period of Treasury experience before being appointed to their new positions as part of the 1919 reorganisation. The factors that linked them together were: loyalty to Treasury requirements plus the 'patronage' powers that were available to the first Permanent Secretary Treasury, who was also Head of the Home Civil Service. Both helped them in the subsequent progression of their civil service careers.

Two posts were available: first, Comptroller and Auditor-general, and second, First Commissioner, Civil Service Commission. The former was appointed by Letters Patent from the Crown, and the latter by Order-in-Council. Both were on the advice of the Prime Minister as First Lord of the Treasury, the Prime Minister being "assisted" in his advice by the Permanent Secretary, Fisher, as Head of the Civil Service.

Between 1920 and 1932 Ramsey the first Controller of Establishments, was in 1922 appointed Comptroller and Auditor-General. Scott on promotion succeeded him as Controller of Establishments until 1932 and was then transferred to succeed Anderson as Permanent Secretary at the Home Office. Upcott, Deputy Controller of Establishments, succeeded Ramsey as Comptroller and Auditor-General in 1931 when his Treasury post was

abolished.

If Treasury experience and Fisher 'patronage' were the keys to promotion, not all "Treasury men" proved to be the best choice. Chapman gives an example of this situation arising in the attitude of the First Commissioner, Civil Service Commission from 1927-39.

The main characteristic of Meiklejohn's relationship to the Treasury was deference and observance of Treasury control' it seems he nearly always did without question whatever was suggested by the Treasury...(34)

But not perhaps surprising, as Meiklejohn had previously been a "Treasury man" since 1902 and was Deputy Controller, Supply Services - a Fisher 'deputy chief of staff' from 1920-27.

The Treasury Establishment Division's requirement for 'Treasury men' in the years 1919 to 1933 extended beyond its own operations. A Treasury Man a major spending department like the Ministry of Labour added to the influence of the T.E.D. This extension of control was illustrated in 1919 on the appointment of Bowers as the first Accountant General at the Ministry of Labour, and as such responsible to the Permanent Secretary for the control of all expenditure. Ramsey was able to note that "he was very Treasury minded and...useful to Treasury interests".(35) Bowers remained at the Ministry of Labour in the same post until his retirement in 1934.

NOTES

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- (3) London School of Economics. Information Officer's note (1989).
- (4) John Wheeler-Bennett, John Anderson; Viscount Waverley (London: Macmillan, 1962). p.17.
- (5) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit., p.44.
- (6) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit., p.48.
- (7) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit., p.178.
- (8) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit., p.179.
- (9) Ben Pimlott, (ed.) The Second World War Diary of Hugh Dalton 1940-45 (London: Macdonald, 1986). p.7 16 May 1940 entry.
- (10) "The Listener". "Rungs of the Ladder VI" Talk by Sir Francis Floud, 22 June 1932. Vol.7 p. 910.
- (11) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit., p.84.
- (12) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit., p.182.

- (13) Ben Pimlott, (ed.) Op. cit.,
p.8 16 May 1940 entry.
- (14) Ben Pimlott, (ed.) Op. cit.,
p.14 20 May 1940 entry.
- (15) Ben Pimlott, (ed.) Op. cit.,
p. 140 8 January 1941 entry.
- (16) "The Listener" Op. cit.,
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- (17) Churchill College
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- (18) Churchill College, Op. cit.,
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- (19) Churchill College, Op. cit.,
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- (20) Churchill College, Op. cit.,
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- (21) Chuchill College, Op. cit.,
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- (22) L. Urwick, Elements of Administration
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concept for an effective span
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- (23) David Butler and
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Macmillan, 1980). pp.340-
341.
- (24) H.M.S.O. Staff Employed in Government
Departments 1920 and 1930
(London: HMSO, 1920 & 1930).
- (25) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit.,
p.103.

- (26) Butler and Sloman, Op. cit.,
pp. 340-341.
- (27) H.M.S.O. 16th Report Select Committee
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- (28) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit.,
p.87.
- (29) H.E. Dale, Op. cit.,
p.115.
- (30) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit.,
p.114.
- (31) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit.,
p.90
- (32) Public Record Office, File T162 582/E4080/1
Home Office Administrative
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- (33) Richard A. Chapman, Leadership in the British
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Sir Percy Westerfield and the
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- (35) Public Record Office, T1/12386/41565, (1919).

CHAPTER 3

The Treasury Establishment Division 1919-1933

This chapter illustrates how the Treasury approached the three issues of:- central control over establishments, the extension of civil service trade unions and staff associations, and the implementation of unified conditions of employment. These objectives were achieved by the rapid development of the Treasury Establishment Division and the extension of its powers in the fourteen years from 1919 to 1933; together with an examination of the Treasury Establishment Division's relationship during the same period with the Establishment Officers of two Departments, the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour.

3/1 The extension of its role.

Before 1919 the Treasury had little control of establishment matters within the individual departments.

(1) There was no central 'establishment policy', and as a consequence there was rarely any two-way communication between the Treasury and other departments on establishment matters.

The 1914-18 war saw the creation of a number of new Departments:- Air (1917), Food (1918), Labour (1916), Scientific and Industrial Research (1916), and two Departments specifically to meet war-time requirements: Munitions (1915-21) and Shipping (1917-20). Some of these war-time creations rapidly became large employers of civil servants, many of whom were recruited on a temporary basis

with various terms of employment.

The unified Civil Service of October 1919 presented the Treasury with the task of attempting to create and to operate a centralised system of control over establishments for all departments whether they were new creations like the Ministry of Labour or old Secretary-of-State departments like the Home Office.

The Treasury had also to exercise its new powers of central direction at a time when attitudes to employment, including those of civil servants, were undergoing change in the immediate post-war years.

Treasury Establishment Division.

The Treasury Establishment Division was created at a time of changing attitudes to employment which marked the period immediately after the 1914-18 war and saw in the two years 1919 and 1920 the greatest number of working-days lost because of industrial disputes in the eighty years from 1900-1979 (with the exception of 1921 - the year of the miners' and transport strikes, and 1926 - the year of the General Strike).

The Royal Commission on the Civil Service (The MacDonnell Commission 1912-16) had emphasised the limitations on Treasury control of establishments. Without any central control the Treasury was not adequately informed about practices in other departments and relied on the traditional 19th century technique of appointing an 'ad hoc' committee of inquiry to deal with each problem as it arose. As the MacDonnell Commission argued, this method was no

longer good enough to meet changing conditions and attitudes.

Such occasional committees are probably constituted every time they sit. They deal at each sitting with different matters, not with the same matter in different phases; they can never accumulate and transmit to their successors that knowledge of men, of official practice, and of service capacities, feelings and aspirations which it is essential that controlling authorities should be enabled to draw upon if service administration is to be equable and prescient.(2)

Another consequence of the 1914-18 war was the growth in numbers employed in the civil service - adequate staff had been the main war-time priority, particularly after the Lloyd George coalition government came into office in December 1916; and large numbers of temporary staff were engaged. The Bradbury Committee, chaired by John Bradbury a Joint Permanent Secretary at the Treasury, - The Committee on Staffs 1918-19 (Cmd.62) - made amongst its recommendations the need for an improvement of the system of staff management in the civil service. The narrow definition of 'establishments' as being the control, the correct grading, and payment of civil servants of all grades, became and remained the chief concern of the Treasury Establishment Division. How this task was carried out in a large department - the Ministry of Labour - is examined later in this chapter.

Early Developments.

The development and extension of the role of the Division came in response to other factors, three of which were external, but had an effect on the workings of the

civil service and on those in its employment. The first concerned the employment of women: they had been recruited in large numbers during the 1914-18 war and held in the main temporary appointments in the Clerical and Executive grades - many in new departments like the Ministry of Labour. These women civil servants were seeking a number of changes in their conditions of employment: first, that they should receive equal pay with men for similar work; second, that they be offered "established" or permanent employment; and third that they should not be required to resign on marriage. One of the first reports produced by the Civil Service National Whitley Council in February 1920 looked at these topics and, in particular, that of "equal pay for equal work" on which the Staff Side had divided views. The representatives of the Post Office staff and Government industrial staff were opposed to equal pay. At the same time the question was debated in the House of Commons. On 20 May 1920 the House passed without a division a resolution, "that it is expedient that women should have equal opportunity of employment with men in all branches of the Civil Service and under all local authorities, providing the claims of ex-servicemen are first considered, and should receive equal pay".(3) Ten M.P.'s of all parties spoke in support of the resolution, but the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Stanley Baldwin) spoke against.⁷

⁷ Baldwin put the Treasury case that whilst the principle of equal pay for equal work was accepted, the financial cost prevented implementation in 1920: a case used by successive Treasury spokesmen until the passing of the Equal Pay Act, 1970.

On 5th August 1921 the House of Commons passed a further resolution: again without a division, and accepted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Robert Horne, a former Minister of Labour, because this resolution did not call for the immediate implementation of equal pay but said "that having regard to the present financial position of the country, this House cannot commit itself to the increase in Civil Service salaries involved in the payment of women in all cases at the same rate as mens; but that the question of the remuneration of women as compared with men shall be reviewed within a period not exceeding three years."(4)

The Treasury did not take much account of either the two House of Commons resolutions, or the C.S.N.W.C. report, and in August 1921 issued a Treasury Circular (TC 50/21) which laid down that all women civil servants should be unmarried or widows, unless an exception was granted "in the interests of the service". The response to the negative attitude of the Treasury (Treasury Circulars were issued by the Establishment Division and signed by the Controller) was the setting up of a committee to further the recognition of women's rights in the civil service - The Joint Committee of Women in the Civil Service.

The response of the Treasury Establishment Division was revealed when a junior woman civil servant was asked to sit on this Committee. In March 1921 Sir Vincent Baddeley, a Principal Assistant Secretary at the Admiralty, minuted J.H. Craig, an Assistant Secretary in the Treasury Establishment Division.(5) Baddeley asked Craig to minute the Controller of Establishments (Ramsey) about the

Principal Lady Superintendent at the Admiralty who had received an invitation from the London Society for Women Civil Servants to sit on the Joint Committee of Women in the Civil Service. Despite the high sounding title of the civil servant concerned the appointment was graded as Higher Clerical Officer which ranked 11th in the thirteen "Treasury Classes" established in 1919. The civil servant was Miss E. Bass -who had been awarded the OBE in 1919 for her service at the Admiralty during the 1914-18 war. Craig minuted Ramsey on 29 March 1921 "we should deprecate the acceptance by a responsible officer [sic] engaged on establishment work of such a position in the organisation of a body whose activities are directed largely through political channels of putting pressure on the Government to increase the pay of certain classes of Government employees."(6)

Ramsey wrote to Baddeley on 2 April 1921 repeating Craig's advice and adding "the objection to such a contingency would entirely outweigh any advantage that might be derived from the fact that the officer so situated would be kept in touch with the activities of the organisation".(7) It appears that the Controller of Establishments was not averse to having a 'mole' in the committee if it would produce useful information of its activities. The matter ended on 4 April 1921 with Baddeley in a minute to Ramsey concurring "My instinctive view was the same as yours but I thought I had better ask you first".(8) Such was the reaction of a Principal Assistant Secretary to the view of a Permanent Secretary about a Higher Clerical Officer in what they both saw as a

challenge to the established pattern of authority which had controlled the handling of staff matters up to 1919. It can also be taken from Baddeley's minute to Ramsey that the power of the Treasury Establishment Division in such matters - however minor - was already emerging.

Reaction to trade union activities.

The second external factor was the growth of civil service trade unions and staff associations immediately after the 1914-18 war. The first civil service staff associations were in the Post Office, organising telegraph clerks and postal clerks. These two staff associations merged in 1914 to form the Postman's Federation, which itself merged with some other Post Office staff associations in 1920 to form the Union of Post Workers. The other group of civil servants to be organised in the early C20th were the clerical grades who had an Assistant Clerks Association which was formed in 1902, becoming the Clerical Officers Association in 1919 and the Civil Service Clerical Association in 1922. Both the U.P.W. and the C.S.C.A. were trade unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress (except between 1929 and 1946 when civil service trade unions were precluded from affiliation by the Trades Disputes Act, 1927). They were amongst the 14 largest trade unions in the United Kingdom, both having over 200,000 members. The C.S.C.A. had a full time General Secretary from 1917, W.J. Brown, who was active in Labour Party politics from 1923 and was the Labour M.P. for Wolverhampton West from 1929-31. He supported Mosley and

his New Party and resigned from the Parliamentary Labour Party.(9) Brown remained General Secretary of the C.S.C.A. until 1942. The U.P.W. also had a full time General Secretary from 1920, John Bowen, who held the appointment until 1941. Other grades of civil servants were represented by trades unions formed between 1919 and 1921. The Society of Civil Servants - representing Executive Class grades; the Institution of Professional Civil Servants - representing Professional and Technical Class grades; and the First Division Association - representing Administrative Class grades up to the rank of Permanent Secretary. All these civil service trade unions, together with some smaller ones representing Departmental grades, formed the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council when it was set up in 1919.

Despite the formal recognition from 1919 onwards of trades unions representing all grades of staff in the civil service from Postmen to Permanent Secretaries, the Treasury Establishment Division held a view that there was a possible conflict of interest between the work performed by even junior grades of civil servants and their membership of the trade union appropriate to their grade. An example of this view came from the Home Office in 1921 and was supported by the Treasury Establishment Division. A. Crapper, a Principal in the Home Office, wrote to the Treasury Establishment Division on 1 November 1921,(10) about a junior civil servant who had asked for special unpaid leave to attend the Clerical Officers Association annual conference as a Home Office delegate. Crapper asked "should officers on establishment work act as a delegate

for the Staff Side?". He added that the shorthand typist concerned "is a woman of discretion, with no particular reason to suppose she would give away any information". He indicated that his Permanent Secretary (Troup) who had been consulted "did not want to raise any unnecessary objections". Craig, who had handled the Principal Lady Superintendent Admiralty matter, minuted W.R. Fraser, a Principal Assistant Secretary,(11) that the lady in question [a 'woman' in the Home Office minute became a 'lady' in the Treasury minute] is a confidential shorthand typist for all staff work" and "that on staff matters the Home Office is very leaky". Fraser replied to Crapper on 9 November 1921,(12) restating the decision on the Principal Lady Superintendent and added for good measure that "certain Administrative Officers in the Treasury Establishment Division had resigned their membership of the F.D.A., and the same action had been taken by some of the Official Side of the National Whitley Council". It is difficult to see the relevance of this reported action by some senior civil servants for a request from a shorthand typist for unpaid leave to attend a staff association annual conference, but it indicates the concern of the Treasury Establishment Division about a "conflict of interest" after the National Whitley Council had been in operation for only two years. Fraser's minute went on-"that for subordinate people like shorthand typists the problem was to put it bluntly - of the Officer giving information away". The Treasury Establishment Division advice was "to indicate privately [sic] that she should resign her position in the Clerical Officers Association in

favour of someone not so closely in touch with Establishment officials." The files do not indicate if either the advice was given or taken.

Relations with external bodies.

The third external factor which came into the ambit of the Establishment Division's wide role was the concern of other public bodies about civil service staff matters. In the early 1930's there are examples of the reaction of the Treasury Establishment Division to approaches from a new Public Corporation - the B.B.C. The B.B.C. was created as a Public Corporation on 14 December 1926, with Sir John Reith as its first Director General: Reith was known to be keen to promote information on any career opportunities that might exist during the period of high unemployment in the early 1930's.

During 1932 a series of radio talks on various types of careers was planned, and contact was made with the T.U.C. Education Department, which provided contacts in a number of industries, and the Ministry of Labour.(13) The Director of Services and Establishments at the Ministry of Labour, Humbert Wolfe, a Principal Assistant Secretary, was approached by de Lothbiniere, the first Head of B.B.C. Talks department, who suggested a 20 minute talk on "Careers in the Civil Service", and Wolfe wrote to Fraser at the Treasury.(14) Fraser replied on 15 December 1932, showing hostility to the proposal for a number of apparently conflicting reasons.(15) "It is not a good time to advertise the Civil Service as a career. In the first

place we are having difficulty in maintaining a trickle of recruits in the interests of the Service, against many and varied types of misrepresentation and do not want to make the position more acute than it is. Secondly, everybody knows about the Civil Service as a career; and thirdly we get far too many candidates for all our vacancies." This last statement appears to be contrary to his first point. In a handwritten note Fraser added "I see that in 1931 a proposal for a M.O.L. pamphlet on the Civil Service as a career in the "Choice of Career" series was not proceeded with in view of our objections". The Ministry of Labour "Choice of Career" pamphlets were the main source of information used by careers masters in Grammar Schools in the decade up to 1939. A further handwritten insert on the file copy of Fraser's letter noted: "Fisher [Permanent Secretary] and Rae [who had succeeded Scott as Head of the Establishment Division] therefore agree that we should politely edge Mr. de L off the ball". The B.B.C. request for a 20 minute talk on careers in the civil service had reached the top of the Treasury hierarchy.

Wolfe replying to Fraser on 16 December 1932 (16) referred to "the row about new recruits to lower grades" and then developed a different approach: "It remains true that all of us are seriously alarmed by the shrinkage of candidates for Third Class officer grades [a Ministry of Labour departmental entry grade equivalent to Assistant Principal] and for Administrative grades. I feel that the C.S. is definitely losing good University material by the absence of adequate information as to the prospects in these directions". Wolfe went on to hope that Fraser would

not discourage the B.B.C. but would "permit them to give a lecture" [sic.]. Fraser was clearly concerned by Wolfe's new line of argument, and sent the papers to the Civil Service Commission for their views. Weekes, an Assistant Commissioner at the C.S.C., replied on 19 December 1932 (17) agreeing that they did not want to "enlarge publicity for lower-grade posts". Weeks went on "The British are a patient people, but if times were not so bad we should risk losing our public with 200 clerical vacancies offered to 3241 competitors, 50 Executive to 977": the complete opposite from Fraser's comment on "maintaining a trickle of open recruits".

Weekes disagreed with Wolfe's view on the Administrative class competition and enclosed ten pages of tables showing increased numbers of applicants, and the academic history of the highest placed candidates in the 1932 competition. His minute continued "Meiklejohn [First Commissioner at the C.S.C. since 1928, previously a Deputy Controller Supply Services] had a letter recently from Ernest Barker⁸ bemoaning the amount of first rate University material for which nothing but school mastering or the civil service is now available" and "a number of Heads of Houses are concerned with the number of first class candidates who have failed".

Fraser and Rae saw de Lothbiniere of the B.B.C., and Fraser's subsequent minute to Rae(18) summaries the Treasury Establishment Division's view: "The C.S.C.

⁸ Sir Ernest Barker (1874-1962) was at that time (1932) Professor of Political Science and Fellow of Peterhouse Cambridge.

confirms, to advertise any post of the Civil Service as a career would be -

- (a) unnecessary
- (b) undesirable from the point of view of candidates and the civil service
- (c) provocative from many points of view".

Having dealt with the B.B.C. request, Fraser then chose to make a general attack on the Ministry of Labour: "This incident is evidence in support of my view previously expressed to you, that the large staff in the M.O.L. is not entirely due to the cause commonly attributed but is very largely due to unnecessary work". The matter ended with Fraser writing to Wolfe on 21 December 1932, indicating that "Mr. de L had agreed to leave the Civil Service out of the B.B.C. series of talks on careers".

The B.B.C.(19) did not appear to be greatly concerned with their Head of Talks being "politely edged off the ball". There is no B.B.C. file note of his discussion with Rae and Fraser and the series of talks on careers went ahead without one on civil service careers. The minutes between the Ministry of Labour and the Treasury Establishment Division show that Fraser was more concerned by Wolfe's suggestion that failure to publicise the Administrative Class vacancies was having a detrimental effect on recruitment than by the other aspects of his suggestion on careers in the civil service in the early 1930's. Wolfe's suggestion was taken by Rae and Fraser as a threat to the 'open competition' policy which had been restored after the "competitive selection" for ex-servicemen had ended in 1924 and had produced entrants to

the Administrative Class like Newsam, Ince, Emmerson and Bridges. For the lower grade posts it was sufficient to say "everybody knows about the Civil Service as a career" and "we get far too many candidates for all our vacancies". However, the pass list for the Administrative Class "open competition" supplied by the C.S.C. to Fraser showed that both Wolfe and Fraser missed an essential point. Certainly there was no shortage of applicants, nor was the entrance examination the main limiting factor. The reason was simply the small number of vacancies. In the 1932 'open competition' for entrance to the Administrative Class of the Home Civil Service, excluding Inspectors of Taxes for the Inland Revenue, there were 110 applicants who took the examination for 15 places.

Civil Service Management.

These three examples of the reaction of the Treasury Establishment Division to external factors that arose in the fourteen years from 1919 show how the civil service was managed in the years up to the 1939-45 war. The first, is how relatively minor matters reached the top of the Treasury hierarchy. It is difficult to conceive that an invitation to a Higher Clerical Officer to join a committee looking at matters of women's employment in the civil service, or a shorthand typist attending the annual conference of the Civil Service Clerical Association, would have been a matter of such great concern after 1939. It is doubtful whether a request for a twenty minute talk by the B.B.C. about careers in the civil service would have

continued to be referred to the Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service. The evidence shows the anxiety of the Treasury Establishment Division about the external threat that they saw in "conflict of interest" that might arise with the growth of civil service trade unions and staff associations. There was also a reluctance to have any publicity for the civil service even in the form of a short talk in a general series on careers in a variety of occupations.

The second, specific to one of the Departments, is the hostility shown by senior civil servants in the Establishment Division to the Ministry of Labour at a time (in the early 1930's) when the department was concerned with the administrative responsibility for the large number of unemployed who had registered at the local Employment Exchanges and received unemployment insurance benefits paid to them by Ministry of Labour officials. Fraser's minute to Rae suggests the large number of staff employed in the Ministry of Labour was "very largely due to unnecessary work".

The extension of the role of the Treasury Establishment Division into the affairs of all departments bears the mark of Warren Fisher's principal concern during his twenty years as Head of the Civil Service from 1919-39. "Perhaps Fisher's main contribution was his insistence on the unity of the Civil Service. This principle was not new: the reform of the Civil Service in the 19th, notably the introduction of a common system of recruitment had shown the way. But the disorganisation resulting from the 1914-18 war had put the clock back, and, following the

advocacy of <<identity in purpose and unity of action>> by the Bradbury Committee on Staff, it was left for Fisher as Secretary to the Treasury to take the lead in applying this principle to Civil Service affairs".(20)

The third relates to the central authority which Fisher created for the Treasury Establishment Division in pursuit of his insistence on creating a unity of the Civil Service in conditions of employment for each specific class of civil servants regardless of the Department in which they were employed.

These common conditions of employment were promulgated to all departments by means of "Treasury Circulars", usually referred to as T.C.'s. They took the form of letters signed by the Controller of Establishments on behalf of "The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury". The Circulars not only dealt with conditions of employment for the three "Treasury Classes" - Administrative, Executive and Clerical - but covered civil servants holding minor positions at the bottom of the long civil service hierarchy.

An example was T.C. 17/21: signed by Ramsey on 18 April 1922, which dealt with "Future Organisation of Established Messenger Staff". This Circular detailed the hours of work, holidays and rates of pay for all the Messengers employed in the civil service. The use of the description "established messenger staff" had an important meaning in that "established" meant permanent, as opposed to temporary, and was an example of the tidying up operation that took place in the early 1920's after the disorganisation resulting from the 1914-18 war. An

"established" messenger in 1922 might be at the bottom of the hierarchy, but he had the same security of employment as the Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and, like Fisher, would receive a pension at age 60. In return he would receive the same rate of pay only if employed in a busy Department like the Ministry of Labour with its London offices situated at various locations, or if employed in the static atmosphere of the Home Office, with its one office in Whitehall. The Treasury Circular even made provision for the messengers at No.10 Downing Street where "abnormal hours" did not attract overtime pay, but "some provision for time off in lieu". A large part of T.C. 17/21 dealt with the subject of "assimilation" - a matter that featured in a number of T.C.'s of the 1920's. The assimilation of civil servants employed in the same general type of work, e.g. Messengers, involved a great deal of instructions and calculations to ensure that all those in the grade who had been recruited by departments before the setting up of the Treasury Establishment Division were brought into the Treasury structure in their rates of pay, hours of work and holidays. For some civil servants who had a higher rate of pay than the one laid down in a T.C., the offer of "established" as opposed to temporary employment meant a reduction in pay and other changes in their conditions of employment.

Although many of the civil servants in the lower grade whose terms of employment were determined by the contents of the T.C.'s were themselves members of the civil service trade unions and staff associations, a Treasury Circular was not a collective agreement like the agreements made at

National and Departmental Whitley Councils. The T.C.'s were 'management' documents sent to all Departments for implementation.

From March 1921 the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council created a way of advising all civil servants of the contents of Treasury Circulars and of other agreements affecting their employment through a monthly publication priced originally at 2d. a copy, the Whitley Bulletin. Issue No.1 of this official Publication of the National Whitley Council (Staff Side) for the Civil Service appeared in March 1921. An editorial each month was written by the Secretary of the Staff Side of the N.W.C., and an early editorial in Issue No.3 (May 1921) showed the concern that was being felt in the implied interference by the Treasury Establishment Division with negotiations at Departmental Whitley Councils over "Departmental Reorganisation Schemes".

Departmental Whitley Council Work.

One of the first decisions of the post-war Lloyd George coalition government, elected in December 1918, was on the economies required in the civil service. They were announced in a Treasury Circular of 12 March 1920 headed "Control of Expenditure". This T.C. required departments to examine schemes of reorganisation with the aim of reducing public expenditure in the size and structure of all civil service departments.

The Whitley Bulletin of May 1921 said: "Practically all Departments are now the subject of schemes arising from

the National Reorganisation reports... Certain schemes are favourably commented on by Departmental Staff Side; but arbitrary settlements against Departmental Staff Side protests are also being reported. Particularly flagrant cases of this procedure have been brought to notice in Departments where the Departmental Official Sides have practically agreed on appropriate schemes with their Staff Sides, but have subsequently found objections raised elsewhere and have had to bow to the controlling authority".(21)

However, at the same time some positive results were reported in the Whitley Bulletin. In Departments which had experienced a rapid growth in both size and structure during the 1914-18 war a large number of departmental grades of civil servants had been created. As shown in Chapter 2, this incidence was a feature of the early organisation in the Ministry of Labour and the decision had to be made - was it to be a permanent feature in the post-war civil service, against Fisher's objective of a unified service with grades common to all departments. This aim however proved to be impossible and the May 1922 issue of the Whitley Bulletin gave details of the restructuring of a major Ministry of Labour department into departmental grades. This agreement was the "Reorganisation of the Provincial Offices of the Ministry of Labour Employment and Insurance Department".(22) Agreement had been reached at the Ministry of Labour Departmental Whitley Council on 10 March 1922.

The basis of the agreement was for a Departmental class within the Ministry with departmental grades. The

agreement provided for 5 grades ranging from 1st Class Officer - in charge of a local office, down to Employment Clerk. Salary scales were agreed for each grade but, although departmental grades, the salaries were linked directly to the "Treasury Class" grades established as part of the 1919 reorganisation. The 1st Class Officer received the same salary as a Senior Executive Officer, and the Employment Clerk the same salary as a Clerical Assistant. The agreement also covered such matters as hours of work, overtime payments and annual leave. The area in which these agreements negotiated by Departmental Whitley Councils were far ahead of their time than other collective agreements between employers and employees in the private sector was in manning levels. This agreement laid down that for every 1st Class Officer there would be two 2nd Class Officers and ten 3rd Class Officers, 33 Employment Officers and 66 Employment Clerks.

The 'price' that Warren Fisher and the Treasury Establishment Division had to pay for a unified civil service were agreements on manning levels with a clear division of work loads and responsibilities that have remained until present day.

The civil service trade unions and staff associations of the 1920's were able to achieve in collective bargaining agreements certain conditions of employment which their counterparts in the private sector have been unable to achieve 70 years later. The only positive benefit that the Treasury achieved by this type of Department Whitley Council agreement was for "the assimilation of all old grades".(22) This action had the effect in the Ministry of

Labour that the many individual grades and salaries that had been created by the rapid growth of the Ministry's Employment and Insurance Department in its many Provincial Officers were all assimilated into a standard five grade structure of civil servants at Executive and Clerical levels.

3/2 The relationship with the Departmental Establishment Officers.

The contrast in the relationship between the Treasury Establishment Division and the Establishment Officers of the two Departments in the fourteen years between 1919 and 1933 is shown, first, by the difference in their structures. Three government committees: The Bradbury Committee on Staffs 1918-19; The Haldane Committee on the Machinery of Government 1918; and the MacDonnell Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1912-16 had all recommended the appointment of departmental Establishment Officers. The Establishment Officers were to have senior rank and to be directly responsible to the Permanent Secretary.

The Home Office

Throughout this period the Home Office choose not to have a designated Establishment Officer, and the Home Office publication "The Home Office 1782-1982" stated that not until 1938 was the first full time Establishment Officer appointed, when an officer was seconded from the Ministry of Labour,(23) The structure and size of the Department remained static in the fourteen years following

the reorganisation of the Home Civil Service.

The tenor of the Home Office attitude to a number of matters centred around the personality of the Permanent Secretary, John Anderson; he had been described as "having every intellectual attitude except a sense of humour: in that respect also he was perhaps god like".(24) Anderson's sense of status was manifest as much to his equals as to subordinates, as two examples show. "He dealt very decisively with the Treasury's habit, which had already begun, of writing to other departments *de haut en bas*". On one occasion he wrote to Sir Warren Fisher, head of the Treasury, and got a reply from a subordinate; he promptly despatched this reply back to Fisher with a note saying: "When I write to you I expect a reply from you. Please see to it".(25) To an outsider: "Anderson was once heard dictating a reply to a solicitor who had presumed to send a reminder - perhaps in intemperate terms - about an unanswered letter: "I am directed by the Secretary of State to return herewith your letter, the contents of which do not commend themselves to him".(26)

During this period with the autocratic rule of Anderson the lack of any training for young Administrative class civil servants in the Home Office is described by K.B. Plaice: "in 1929 there was no system of training... an Assistant Principal on his first day having to send a minute to a Deputy Under Secretary of State was like being taught to swim by being thrown into the Sargasso Sea; and when one Assistant Secretary returned a draft with only the comment "It won't do", it took nine successive drafts to achieve satisfaction. The Home Office attitude towards

newcomers in the Administrative grade was that the important thing was to take the conceit out of them".(27)

But on establishment matters, as shown earlier in this chapter, minutes between the Home Office and the Treasury Establishment Division in the 1920's were written and sent by a Principal, who was able to indicate that his Permanent Secretary was in agreement with the view he was putting to the Treasury Establishment Division.

The Ministry of Labour.

In contrast to this procedure an Establishment department had been set up in the Ministry of Labour shortly after its creation as a new Department in 1917. The rapid growth of the Ministry during the latter years of the 1914-18 war produced a need for establishment matters to be the responsibility of an Assistant Secretary, and after 1920 of a Principal Assistant Secretary.

A feature of the Ministry of Labour Establishment department during this period was that its size and structure changed with changes of Permanent Secretary. The first Establishment Officer, Watson, set up the department under Shackleton, continued under Masterton-Smith and Horace Wilson, until Watson retired in 1925. His successor in 1926, Marsh, had been an Assistant Secretary in the Establishment department since it was formed in 1918. On the replacement appointment being made, the title was changed to "Director", the grade however was reduced to Assistant Secretary with four Principals reporting to the new Director.

In 1930, when Francis Floud succeeded Horace Wilson as Permanent Secretary, the title was again changed to "Director of Services and Establishment Department". Marsh was moved to another department in the Ministry and promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary. The new Director, Humbert Wolfe, had been a Principal Assistant Secretary in other departments of the Ministry of Labour since 1920 and headed the Services and Establishment Department until 1934, covering four of the five years that Floud was Permanent Secretary.

This period was when two opposing factors affected the work of the Ministry of Labour. On one hand the early 1930's produced a time of reduced public expenditure arising from the effects of the 1932 economic crisis with the consequent retrenchment in the Civil Service, both in the numbers employed and salary levels. On the other hand during the same period the increase in the numbers unemployed (reaching a peak in 1932) produced an increased work load for the Ministry, as the Department responsible for the staffing of the Employment Exchanges and the payment of unemployment benefits.

The minutes between the Services and Establishment Department and the Treasury Establishment Division during this time show that Wolfe was a forceful advocate of his Department's viewpoint: relations with the Treasury Establishment Division were strained so that there was an underlying hostility to the Ministry of Labour on establishment matters.

The Treasury Establishment Division as a determinant of career progression.

Humbert Wolfe's career in the civil service is an example of the effect that the Treasury had during this time on the career progression of senior civil servants.

Wolfe, educated at Bradford Grammar School and Wadham College Oxford, was a Principal in the Employment Department of the Board of Trade. He transferred to the Ministry of Labour in 1918 on promotion to Assistant Secretary in the Unemployment Insurance Department, the same year he was awarded the C.B.E. for his wartime work. In 1925 when promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary to head the General Department of the Ministry (he had acted as a Principal Assistant Secretary since 1920), he was awarded the C.B. - a mark of a successful career with the strong possibility of further progression. However, after his four years as Director of the Services and Establishment Department and his conflict with the Treasury Establishment Division, promotion did not follow. In 1935 when Floud retired and his Deputy Secretary, Tom Phillips, was appointed as Permanent Secretary, a civil servant from another Department replaced him as Deputy Secretary. Wolfe, as the senior Principal Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Labour, remained in the same grade heading the Employment Training Department.

In 1939 there was again a vacancy for Deputy Secretary because of a pending retirement. A Treasury file gives a picture of the procedure that was followed in making this level of senior appointment, which since the 1919 reorganisation had required the approval of the Prime

Minister. Wolfe's name was put forward and Warren Fisher, in his dual role as Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, was minuted by Phillips on 25 January 1938.(28) "Writing on behalf of my Minister, subject to Prime Minister's approval he wishes to appoint Mr. Humbert Wolfe one of the Principal Assistant Secretaries to fill the vacancy in post of Deputy Secretary which will arise next March on retirement of present holder. My Minister would be glad if you would be good enough to submit this proposal to the Prime Minister for his approval". The same day Warren Fisher added his comments "Prime Minister - As you know I am not altogether happy about the higher direction in certain branches of the Civil Service; I cannot pretend to be enthusiastic about this proposal. But after careful consideration and consultation, I have reached the conclusion that it should be accepted if you agree". Neville Chamberlain replied also the same day "Then I agree". Two days later on 27 January 1938 Fisher closed the file with the note "Informed Sir T. Phillips".

Humbert Wolfe was Deputy Secretary for less than two years and died in January 1940.

3/3 Conclusions.

The Treasury Establishment Division following its creation in 1919 took on two roles. the first was a general role of overseeing the collective agreements that were negotiated to assimilate the terms of employment of Departmental classes into the general employment conditions

of the three Treasury Classes which had been created in 1919.

Large Departments such as the Ministry of Labour had many of these Departmental classes, the Home Office (a small department in employment) had few of them. The Treasury Establishment Division showed a relaxed attitude to agreements reached at Departmental Whitley Councils, and conceded an important factor on manning levels for the grades agreed for these Departmental classes, which has remained a feature of civil service collective agreements to the present day.

The second role of the Treasury Establishment Division was to make its position as one of "primus inter pares" with the Departmental Establishment Officers, in that comparatively minor staff matters were referred to it for comment and guidance. The Treasury Establishment Division was strongly opposed to relatively junior civil servants who were employed on staff matters being involved in any activities concerned with trade unions or staff association matters. The Treasury Establishment Division also resisted any Departmental participation with external bodies on civil service matters, e.g. the B.B.C. talks and the Ministry of Labour leaflets on careers.

On the second matter, that of the Treasury Establishment Division's relations with the departmental Establishment Officers, the comparison is one sided: the Home Office by virtue of its size and its static structure in the 1920's did not find it necessary to create an establishment Officer function on a full-time basis, and the autocratic nature of its Permanent Secretary Anderson

was sufficient to keep the Treasury Establishment Division at bay.

In contrast, the large and ever-expanding Ministry of Labour was the subject of close scrutiny by the Treasury Establishment Division which indicated in their internal minutes hostility to the actions of the Ministry of Labour "that the large staff in the M.O.L. is not entirely due to the cause commonly attributed but is very largely due to unnecessary work".(29) A Ministry of Labour Establishment Officer of the early 1930's, Humbert Wolfe, became the focal point of this criticism, but perhaps his outside interests show that it was not totally unjustified. During a career in the Ministry of Labour of 22 years, 18 years of which were at the level of Principal Assistant Secretary, Wolfe had published 36 books of poetry and on the theatre, with only one book related to his work "Labour Supply and Regulation"⁹ In the eyes of the Treasury Establishment Division the Ministry of Labour was overmanned with junior civil servants, and one of its Principal Assistant Secretaries was underemployed. But despite Warren Fisher's comment to the Prime Minister made after nearly 20 years as Head of the Civil Service, that he was, "not altogether happy about the higher direction in certain branches" he chose not to block a promotion to Deputy Secretary that had the support of the Minister. An example of Winnifrith's assertion that "a Minister is supreme master in his own Department".

⁹ Humbert Wolfe, Labour Supply and Regulation. (Carnegie Endowment of International Peace). No.7 in British Series on the History of the First World War.

NOTES

- (1) Maurice Wright, Treasury Control of the Civil Service (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
- (2) "The MacDonnell Commission" Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1912-15 (London: H.M.S.O, 1916 Cmd. 7338) para.95.
- (3) 'Hansard' House of Commons Debates (London: H.M.S.O., 1920) Vol. 129, Columns 1539-1580.
- (4) 'Hansard' Op. cit., 1921 Vol. 145, Columns 1890-1948.
- (5) Public Record Office, T162/72/E6704, Minute of 21.3.1921.
- (6) Public Record Office, Op. cit., Minute of 29.3.1921.
- (7) Public Record Office, Op. cit., Minute of 2.4.21.
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- (9) G.W. Jones, Borough Politics: A study of Wolverhampton Borough Council 1888-1964 (London: Macmillan, 1969). p.60.
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- (11) Public Record Office, Op. cit., Minute of 3.11.21.
- (12) Public Record Office, Op. cit., Minute of 9.11.21.

- (13) B.B.C. Written Archives File R51/630 1932.
Centre, Reading,
- (14) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
T162/977/E28481.
- (15) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
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- (16) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
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- (17) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
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- (18) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
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- (19) B.B.C. Written Archives, Op.cit.,
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- (20) Sir H.P. Hamilton, "Warren Fisher and the Public
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Administration Vol. 29, 1951.
p.71.
- (21) Whitley Bulletin, No.3, May 1921.
- (22) Whitley Bulletin, No.15 May, 1922.
- (23) H.M.S.O. The Home Office 1782-1982
(London: H.M.S.O, 1981) p.14.
- (24) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
p.41.
- (25) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
p.41.
- (26) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
p.41.
- (27) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
p.42.

(28) Public Record Office, T162/971/E15119/01
Minute of 25.1.38.

(29) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
T162/977/E28481
Minute of 21.12.32.

CHAPTER 4

Two contrasts in the role of the Treasury Establishment Division 1919-1933.

This Chapter illustrates the contrasting effect that two recommendations of the Bradbury Committee on Staffs (Cmd.92) had on the Treasury Establishment Division.

Two of the principal reforms that emerged from the reorganisation of the Civil Service in 1919 produced a contrast within of the Treasury Establishment Division during the period 1919-1933. The first concerned the work of the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers, which was set up as a result of one of the recommendations of the Bradbury Committee on Staffs. In its final report the committee recommended the creation of a "Standing Committee of Establishment Officers in the principal Departments for the purpose of assisting and advising the Treasury".(1) The second concerned the institution of regular investigations by the Treasury of "the actual working methods of the departments with the Establishment Officers as a recognised system" (2) with particular reference to the Administrative Class of civil servants.

There was a sharp contrast in the manner and method adopted by the Treasury Establishment Division and the Departments in meeting these two requirements when the recommendations of the Bradbury Committee were put into effect. These contrasts are seen first by examining the minutes of the Establishment Officers Committee,(3) from its 1st meeting on 19 May 1919 to its 33rd meeting on 14 April 1933: and second, by an examination of the reaction of the Treasury Establishment Division to requests from the

Home Office and the Ministry of Labour on the organisation of their administrative staff over the same period.

One of the aims of Fisher and Ramsey during the period from 1919 to 1922 was to create a centralised form of control over establishments covering the terms and conditions of employment for all civil servants from Permanent Secretaries to charwomen and messengers. They saw the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers as the vehicle that could be used to bring it about. What they failed to recognise was the local strength that would develop, at departmental level, with the setting up of Departmental Whitley Councils as part of a growth of "Whitleyism", and its effect in determining establishment questions about the employment of civil servants up to the senior grade in the Executive Class.

An analysis of the work of the Standing Committee of the Establishment Officers shows that the Treasury Establishment Division achieved its aim of unifying the terms and conditions of employment for a wide variety of junior civil servants. This uniformity was achieved even if a department like the Home Office chose to be represented only occasionally at the meetings of the Committee; all departments were bound by the decisions arrived at as long as any civil servants covered by the decisions were employed in that department. To that extent the policy of achieving unified conditions through central control was met. In contrast to the non-active role played by the Home Office in the work of the Committee, the Ministry of Labour had a representative at every meeting. But whilst the Committee was discussing such minor matters

as to whether "the lofty walls of the War Office" could be cleaned by women cleaners, the Ministry of Labour Departmental Whitley Council (as examined in Chapter 3) was, under the encouragement of Permanent Secretary Wilson, negotiating agreements covering a departmental class of civil servants in the Ministry's largest department. They established not only the grades to be employed, from the equivalent of Senior Executive Officer down to Clerical Assistant - but also the number to be employed in each grade, thereby creating manning levels of far greater significance, in expenditure terms, than the decisions arrived at between 1919 to 1933 at the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers.

4/1 The Work of the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers 1919-1933.

(a) The early years.

The first meeting of the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers was held on 19 May 1919. Ramsey, the first Controller of Establishments, was in the chair, supported by four staff from the Treasury Establishment Division, with 11 Departmental representatives. Ramsey had given his views on the Committee to Fisher the previous month. He considered it should meet frequently and stressed that it was "of considerable importance that the Committee should consist of officers having the rank of Assistant Secretary or at any rate, high standing in their respective Departments".(4) Fisher responded: "as I have mentioned to you on sundry occasions, we here

regard the post of Principal Establishment Officer as one of the utmost significance".(5) Fisher at this time was still Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue.

At the first meeting the Ministry of Labour was represented by Miss Durham, an Assistant Secretary, who was head of the Women's Branch; there was no representative from the Home Office. The Committee agreed its terms of reference:-

- (1) The Committee would meet fortnightly.
- (2) Ramsey would be chairman, or, if absent, Treasury Establishment Division representative would take the chair.
- (3) Departmental members should attend in person; only in an emergency a substitute might be sent.
- (4) No question could be raised that was not on the agenda: members could submit questions in the form of memoranda.

These terms of reference made it clear that the Treasury Establishment Division regarded this committee as an important part of the new relationship between the Division and other Departments. The minutes show, however, that except for the fourth term of reference about written submissions on the matter to be discussed, the other three were soon ignored.

The Committee met fortnightly for two months until the end of July 1919, and then met again only in November and December of that year. In 1920 it met in February, twice in March, and again in May, September

and November. By the end of 1920, after being in existence for 18 months, the Committee had met on only 14 occasions, not even averaging one meeting a month.

As Controller of Establishments, Ramsey chaired the early meetings in 1919, then he attended occasionally, leaving the chair to his deputy Scott, following his appointment as Deputy Controller of Establishments in 1920.

The Departmental members attending were not always the Establishment Officer; often substitutes attended. However, from the November 1919 meeting the Ministry of Labour always sent Marsh, an Assistant Secretary (and deputy to the Establishment Officer), as their regular member of the Committee. The Home Office sent a representative to two meetings, (March and May 1920) when a different Principal attended on each occasion.

The items discussed in the early years of the Committee divided on one hand into conditions of employment for large groups of civil servants employed in all the Departments, and on the other hand with matters often affecting small groups of very junior grades of civil servants who were employed in most of the Departments.

In the first category a paper was discussed at the second meeting dealing with points raised by the Secretary (W.J. Brown) of the Clerical Officers Association (from 1920 the Civil Service Clerical Association). One concerned the promotion of Assistant Clerks (Clerical Officers) to the Second

Division (Executive Class). The question was discussed at five meetings of the committee, without any firm conclusion or decision being reached. This outcome is not surprising, as promotion from the Clerical to the Executive classes was still under consideration when the Fulton Committee on the Civil Service was set up forty seven years later in 1966. Other topics in this category which were considered at meetings in 1919 and 1920 were about the payment of "acting allowances" for civil servants who carried out the work of a higher grade but without being promoted, and the granting of paid sick leave to temporary staff.

In the second category an example of the type of issue discussed was the "annual leave for charwomen". This topic was first raised at the November 1919 meeting, and a quick decision appears to have been taken, namely that all the charwomen cleaning government offices should receive "6 days leave with pay" but with a proviso that there should be "no additional expense incurred for any substitution involved". Four years later the matter was raised again, and a paper was submitted for consideration by the Committee at its meeting in July 1924. The Office of Works expressed concern at the leave granted to charwomen and "feared repercussions on the grades of coal porter and labourers in the Royal Parks". The Treasury Establishment Division responded to this departmental fear of the practice of granting paid leave to the bottom grades in the civil service by asserting that - "the conditions of charwomen were

unique - no concession need logically be extended to other grades". After further consideration the Committee agreed that the standard leave conditions for all charwomen employed in the civil service (except those employed in the Post Office, who had the benefit of having their conditions of employment negotiated by the Union of Post Office Workers), were to remain at 6 days per annum, but increasing to 12 days after five years' continuous service. The question of substitution whilst these civil servants took their week's annual holiday was covered by a special provision for small offices, e.g. a local Ministry of Labour unemployment benefit office. "In an office with only one charwoman, the charwomen who desired [sic] to take leave would be called on to meet the cost of a substitute during her absence".

These examples of the work undertaken by the Establishment Officers Committee during the early years of its existence show a number of trends in its scope of operation.

Despite the decision to meet on a fortnightly basis, the amount of business put forward by Departments appears to have justified only quarterly meetings after the initial period of two months. The Committee divided its business into two categories. The first covered major matters of employment conditions - opportunities for promotion from the Clerical to the Executive class (in response to pressure from one of the largest civil service Trade Unions, the Civil Service Clerical Association), and

the conditions for granting acting allowances and sick leave for temporary staff who formed a large part of the junior grades in the immediate post war years. In the second category of minor matters affecting small groups of civil servants, the issue of holidays for charwomen was elevated from being a departmental matter to one on which the Treasury Establishment Division was moved to record the view that "the conditions of service of charwomen were unique": and after it had been considered at a meeting attended by a Permanent Secretary, half a dozen Principal Assistant Secretaries and fifteen Assistant Secretaries.

But behind the apparently trivial decision-making were the fundamental purposes of the Treasury Establishment Division: first, to have agreement from all Departments on a unified approach to establishment matters, and second, that all Departments should follow the decisions reached at the Establishment Officers Committee whether or not a department chose to send a representative to the meetings - the minutes were circulated to all Departments.

(b) The subsequent years.

After 1920 the frequency of meetings declined still further. The Committee met three times in 1921, in January, February and March. No meetings were held in 1922, and one in 1923. Meetings were held in March, July and November 1924, November 1926 and August 1927. After being in existence for eight years the Committee

had held only 24 meetings. This pattern continued in the early 1930's, with two meetings in 1928, two in 1929 and one in each of the years 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933.

At the 33rd meetings of the Committee held on 11 April 1933, James Rae was in the chair, having succeeded Scott as Controller of Establishments in 1932, but only with the rank of Under Secretary (Scott having succeeded Anderson as Permanent Secretary at the Home Office). Rae had three other Treasury Establishment Division officers to support him, and 27 Departmental Establishment Officers attended: nearly all Departments were represented.

The infrequent meetings held between 1921 and 1933 discussed some major matters about employment conditions. Civil servants were being transferred from Department to Department, and from one geographical location to another. Five meetings of the Committee considered "Removal allowances and housing difficulties". The male equivalent of the charwomen, the Messenger/paper Keeper grades, had their conditions of employment discussed at five meetings in the late 1920's. The reduction in public expenditure in the late 1920's and early 1930's was reflected in discussions on "the economic use of stationery" on five occasions. During the later years the committee found itself reduced to discussing such matters as "whether to continue the issue of fountain pens".(6) and on three consecutive meetings in November 1925, November 1926 and August 1927 on the

method of cleaning "the lofty walls of the War Office".(7) and whether women cleaners should be used for this work in view of the high ladders that had to be climbed. The minutes for this period indicate that the most contentious item discussed at four consecutive meetings concerned the storage of departmental records. Before the Public Record Act 1958 there was no statutory obligation on a department to transfer its records to the Public Record Office: but the growth of paper work had meant that old records could not be stored in departments, and a disused H.M. Prison had been taken over as a Records Store. Departments complained at great length of the time taken in sending civil servants to the store and the difficulty of finding the records at the store which appears still to have been staffed by prison officers.

The Purpose of the Establishment Officers Committee.

The purpose of the Establishment Officers Committee was to create the means of developing and co-ordinating the varied employment conditions that existed in government departments in 1919.

It formed part of the three-pronged fork that Fisher found already created for him when he went to the Treasury in October 1919. The other prongs were: the introduction of "Whitleyism" through the National Departmental Whitley Councils, and that Fisher, as Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, should act as the

Prime Minister's adviser on top civil service appointments in the grades of Permanent Secretary, Deputy Secretary and the appointment of Principal Finance Officer and Principal Establishment Officer in all departments.

As has been illustrated in the examples cited, the effectiveness of the Establishment Officers Committee soon diminished. After holding a dozen meetings in its first year of existence, it met on only twenty one occasions in the next twelve years. The civil service soon lost the taste for the changes that had been proposed by the Gladstone and Bradbury Committees of 1918 and 1919.

The main process of standardisation was not achieved in the Establishment Officers Committee - although the decisions it made were effective in all Departments whether they chose to send a representative to the meetings or not. The contrast in the attitude of the two Departments being examined is shown by the regular attendance of the Ministry of Labour representatives, and the very infrequent attendance (two) by the Home Office representatives.

The standardisation that did take place during the period 1919 to 1933 was achieved through the medium of the Whitley Councils, not always at the level of the National Council, but in the Departmental Whitley Councils and in sub committees,(8) Fisher and the Treasury Establishment Division were content to allow reorganisation and standardisation of conditions to be carried out through the Whitley system. The Ramsey/Brunning Committee,(9) had recommended the setting up of a National Whitley Council but with a recommendation that the N.W.C. deliberations were to be confined to "posts within a maximum range of

£500 a year", which at that time was the maximum salary of a Senior Clerk (Senior Executive officer). This decision had left the organisation of the administrative grades of the civil service from Assistant Principal upwards untouched and under the control of the Treasury Establishment Division. How the Division dealt with this level of civil servants in two Departments - the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour is shown next.

4/2 Home Office and Ministry of Labour Reorganisation of Administrative staff.

These two examples are of attempts made by the Home Office to obtain, first, an increase in the number of Administrative class grades employed in the Department, and second, to obtain promotion for some of the same grades. The reaction of the Treasury Establishment Division to both attempts was to mount strong resistance to the proposals, and to use in the first attempt an informal approach by the Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, Fisher, to the Home Secretary of the day, Edward Shortt.

Reorganisation proposals from Troup 1920/21.

The first attempt was made by Troup in December 1920 when he was approaching retirement after his long career (since 1880) at the Home Office, and towards the end of his fourteen years as Permanent Secretary.

He had a new Home Secretary, Edward Shortt, who after

the General Election held in December 1918 (the 'Coupon Election' which returned the Lloyd George coalition government) was appointed Home Secretary on 10 January 1919. Shortt had a relatively short period as a Liberal M.P., being first elected for Newcastle upon Tyne (City) in the January 1910 General Election, where in a two-member constituency he joined the other member, Walter Hudson (Labour), who had been elected in 1906. His only ministerial experience before being appointed Home Secretary was for 9 months as Chief Secretary for Ireland from April to December 1918.

At the end of 1920 the organisational structure of the Home Office had remained unchanged for some years, although in the first two decades of the 20th century the Home Office had assumed additional responsibilities.

In the civil service reorganisation of 1919 the position of Deputy Secretary became the official grade between Permanent Secretary and Principal Assistant Secretary (Under Secretary). The grade of Permanent Secretary was given to the three controllers in the Treasury: Establishments, Finance and Supply Services. The three controllers at the Treasury reflected the salary of their Permanent Secretary Fisher, who was awarded a salary of £3,500 per annum, whilst the 3 controllers each received £3,000 per annum.

Other Permanent Secretaries (including Troup) received a salary of £2,200 per annum, and his two "Deputy Secretaries" received £1,500 per annum (being the then maximum of the Principal Assistant Secretary grade). In

1920 Troup's two "deputies" were specialist officers styled Assistant Under Secretaries. Ernley Blackwell was a lawyer who dealt with murder trials and criminal law questions. His role was to recommend to the Home Secretary, through the Permanent Secretary, whether the Royal Prerogative of mercy should be granted to convicted murders, substituting a sentence of penal servitude for life in place of hanging (under the "100 years rule" his reasoning in these matters will not be available at the Public Record Office until 2020). Malcolm, Delevigne, the other Assistant Under Secretary, dealt with the industrial welfare work of the Department (to which David Shackleton had been first appointed as Senior Labour Adviser in 1910). Delevigne "specialised increasingly on its international aspects".(10) The main volume of work in the Home was handled by six Assistant Secretaries, each of whom headed a Division, reporting directly to the Permanent Secretary Troup. With this un-reorganised structure still having to perform the work of the Home Office in the immediate post-war years, Troup wrote to Fisher in December 1920.(11) "All Heads of divisions except possibly two are overworked: [meaning four out of six] and the whole administrative staff is worked [sic] many hours every week beyond the seven hour day or the 42 hour week". Troup went on to argue that there was a need to make special provision for the Finance and Establishment functions (two years after the Bradbury Committee had made a similar recommendation).

Troup continued, "The Establishment work now takes a great part of the time of Division D (Children's Division) although we are under a Parliamentary pledge that the

division shall devote practically all its energies to the work connected with children".(12) the "work connected with children" that Troup referred to arose from the legislation passed by the Liberal Government in 1908, the first Children's Act, which covered for the first time child neglect. The imprisonment of children was abolished, and Remand Homes for children set up for children awaiting trial, the trial of children to take place in special Juvenile Courts.

Troup then listed his Administrative class staff as:

- 1 Permanent Secretary
- 2 Assistant Under Secretaries (Blackwell and Delevigne)
- 6 Assistant Secretaries (each heading a Division)
- 8 Principals
- 20 Assistant Principals
- 4 Temporary Administrative Officers (recruited during the 1914-18 war).

He pointed out to Fisher that 15 of the 20 Assistant Principals had less than 18 months service, being largely the 1919/20 intake of ex-servicemen recruited under the reconstruction method of entry (but including Newsam a future Permanent Secretary).

Troup's application for additional Administrative class and other staff was modest: one additional Assistant Secretary, 2 additional Principals and 8 Class 2 Staff (Executive Officers). Perhaps he was having regard to the Bradbury Committee's recommendation on the extended use of Executive class staff on routine administrative work.(13)

Troup also requested that an additional seventh Division be set up, headed by an Assistant Secretary, to cover: Finance, Establishments, Representation of the People Act work (electoral registration), the Licensing Laws (carried over from the Defence of the Realm Act) and the new Dangerous Drugs Act of 1920.

In response to Troup's letter, Fisher, Ramsey, the Controller of Establishments, and Scott, the Deputy Controller of Establishments, met him in January 1921. Ramsey's handwritten notes of their meeting, (14) record: "No case for separation of Establishment work; [hardly in line with the Bradbury Committee recommendations] or Dangerous Drugs work. A Principal could undertake the Establishment work as part of Division D (Children's Division). An examination of the work of the Assistant Principals would follow".

Scott then replied to Troup's letter on 17 February 1921, (15) in tones that could have been written before the Northcote - Trevelyan report of 1854, 65 years earlier:

whilst it is desirable and necessary that young upper division men are put through the mill with a view to giving them a good knowledge of the detail and thereby preparing them for their coming responsibilities as Principals of the administrative staff proper rather than because of the essential suitability of the work to upper division men. We feel so far as this is concerned, the work would be at least as well done by men who had grown up in the atmosphere of the Home Office administration as by Class 1 recruits, and on this account the selected Staff Officers under Section 51 of the reorganisation Report, would be really the most effective agents.

Scott reminded Troup that he had agreed with the Staff

Side of the Home Office Departmental Whitley Council to "replace two or more of the Assistant Principals in posts to be filled by Higher Clericals who by that time will have shown their qualification for dealing with administrative work".

The crunch to Troup's request for additional Administrative class staff came in the report on the work of Assistant Principals prepared by Grieve of the Treasury Establishment Division.(16)

I got the impression that a very thin and wholly artificial line has in the past been drawn between the Administrative and Routine work...hard to imagine an office where the one merges more easily into the other. The effort to maintain a sharp line drawn round the administrative side of the work is very artificial. I saw two cases where an Assistant Principal had started a case and had afterwards turned it over to a 2nd Division Clerk [Executive Officer] who brought it to the point of decision. However, I think the ring fence attitude is likely to be strictly maintained.

After this critical examination of Troup's request, Ramsey agreed a revised Administrative class structure for the Home office:-

- 1 Permanent Secretary
- 1 Deputy (with the grade of Assistant Under Secretary)
- 1 Legal Secretary (with the same grade)
- 1 Principal Assistant Secretary
- 5 Assistant Secretaries
- 11 Principals
- 17 Assistant Principals

Troup was not granted his additional division, but one Assistant Secretary was promoted to Principal Assistant

Secretary, and one Assistant Principal to Principal, but the Home Office lost two Assistant Principals, replaced by 2nd Division Clerks. If the Administrative class at the Home Office did not increase in numbers they received some recognition for having to work more than "a seven hour day and a 42 hour week". The two Assistant Under Secretaries were each awarded a K.C.B., and the six Assistant Secretaries were awarded one K.B.E., four C.B.'s and one C.B.E. between them.

Troup returned to the relative status of his two "deputies" Blackwell and Delevigne in a letter to Fisher of 1 March 1921,(17) in which he argued that Blackwell's duties as "Legal Secretary" entitled him at least to an additional allowance on top of his salary as an Under Secretary. Attached to Troup's letter there is an undated note by Ramsey: "Sir W. fisher discussed this with Mr. Shortt and told him we could not agree with this proposal. He was not disposed to allow something special for a Legal Officer. Mr. Shortt was to consider: the new move is with him".

Nothing happened on Troup's proposal for some months, but the Lloyd George papers show that at the same time the Prime Minister was putting direct pressure on the Home Secretary, Edward Shortt, for economies in his Department. On 23 May 1921 the Prime Minister wrote a personal letter to the Home Secretary,(18) enclosing a copy of the Treasury Circular on the reduction of Public Expenditure (Troup as Permanent Secretary and Chief Accounting Officer would have received the same T/C direct from Fisher) and asking Shortt to give "his personal attention" to achieving economies in

his Department. This example indicates direct ministerial intervention which involved a triangle of the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary and the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service in several establishment matters during 1921 and early 1922. Notwithstanding the call for economies in expenditure, a minute from Ramsey to Troup on 20 June 1921,(19) agreed to the payment of an extra allowance of £400 per annum to Sir Ernley Blackwell.

Six months later, early in 1922, the question of a successor to Troup as Permanent Secretary had to be considered, and private correspondence between Fisher and the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister's personal private secretary shows the support that the Home Secretary was giving to Sir Ernley Blackwell.

On 9 February 1922 in a handwritten minute to the Prime Minister.(20) Fisher raised the question of a successor to Troup as Permanent Secretary at the Home Office. Fisher indicated that he favoured Sir John Anderson (who had succeeded Fisher as Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in 1919) but went on to say that Shortt had suggested Sir Ernley Blackwell. Getting no response from Lloyd George, Fisher followed up his minute with another handwritten one on 2 February 1922,(21) addressed to Miss Frances Stevenson, the Prime Minister's personal private secretary. Fisher hoped that Lloyd George would announce Anderson's appointment as successor to Troup, in spite of the Home Secretary's unwillingness to take someone from outside the Home Office.

This second unofficial approach produced the desired

result for Fisher: Sir John Anderson was appointed Permanent Secretary at the Home Office in March 1922. In October 1922 the Lloyd George Coalition Government was defeated at the General Election, and Edward Shortt ceased to be Home Secretary. Sir Ernley Blackwell remained the Legal Secretary at the Home Office, drawing his additional allowance of £400 per annum (first granted to him in 1921) until he retired in 1933.

Reorganisation proposals from Anderson 1929 and 1931.

During ten years at the Home Office Anderson made only two approaches to the Treasury Establishment Division about the number of Administrative class staff that he required for the Department.

The first was in December 1929 when he wrote to the Treasury, (22) seeking permission for three additional Principals, one Assistant Principal and two Staff Officers (Executive Officers) to strengthen four of the Divisions. Anderson indicated that the matter had been discussed informally with Craig (of the Treasury Establishment Division) and "agreed to by him". Anderston went on to say "For some time past it has been felt that the pressure on the Administrative Staff was more than the men could be expected to carry". He went on to detail the increase of work "including the preparation of the Home Office internal war book and co-ordination with other Departments in connection with the general war book". Scott, Controller of Establishments, replied to Anderson on 3 January 1930 agreeing the additional posts.

The next approach was made two years later in November 1931. At this time Anderson was already aware that he was going to leave the Home Office to take up his last public service appointment as Governor of Bengal, and he made an effort to obtain promotion for some of his long-serving Administrative Staff and to recognise the administrative structure at the Home Office. Even his biographer John Wheeler-Bennett who wrote in laudatory terms of most of Anderson's work was moved to say of his attempt to help his staff that "That was felt in some quarters to be a last minute recognition of early failure to look after the interests of his staff in the way that a Permanent Secretary nowadays would be expected to do".(23)

The main problem that faced Anderson was that he had left his proposed reorganisation until a time of economic crisis with the House of Commons demanding cuts in public expenditure - including the civil service. A National Government had come into office, following the October 1931 General Election. MacDonald was Prime Minister in a Conservative dominated House of Commons, Chamberlain had succeeded Snowden as Chancellor of the Exchequer in November 1931, and Herbert Samuel, a Liberal, was Home Secretary.

Anderson had spent little time at the Home Office during the previous two years, serving from 1929 to 1931 as head of the team of senior civil servants who worked with the Lord Privy Seal's Committee (The Thomas Committee) which had been given the task of investigating unemployment during the three years of the Labour Government 1929-31.

Anderson made this absence the main reason for his

failure to seek additional administrative staff and to carry out a reorganisation earlier. During his absence from the office the ideas for reorganisation were probably first formulated by the Principal Private Secretary to the Home Secretary, Newsam: "he [Anderson] was content to leave a large measure of the supervision of the Office to Frank Newsam".(24)

In contrast to Troup's requests to Fisher ten years earlier (again shortly before the Permanent Secretary left the Home Office) Anderson's requests were couched in almost emotional terms, as in a personal letter to Fisher.(25) which discloses an earlier informal discussion. A useful method of achieving results.

It will be a great wrench to leave the Home Office, but I shall go with a much lighter heart if I can secure, before I leave, approval for a scheme of reorganisation of the higher staff which I submitted to you informally last summer. As you know I have had this business in hand for a very long time. Had I not been taken away from the Office for special work for the best part of two years, the scheme would have been with the Treasury and I do not doubt sanctioned long before the financial crisis came along and for the time being blasted all our hopes...The organisation is terribly inelastic; we have far too many juniors doing the work of Principals; [a point the T.E.D. had made in their report in 1921] partly as a result of this, promotion is seriously congested; and finally, we cannot tackle at all quite a number of important jobs including all work for the Committee of Imperial Defence

- a goodpoint to make to Fisher in view of Hankey's powerful role as Secretary of the C.I.D., and the fact that Anderson himself had been chairman of a sub-committee of the C.I.D. from 1924 to 1926 looking at the question of air raid precautions.

A "diagrammatic statement" (organisation chart) was attached to the letter and Anderson claimed that the net additions he was asking for were one Under Secretary, three Assistant Secretaries and three Principals. For an unemotional man, he ended his letter "I beg you to consider whether in the wholly exceptional circumstances you could give me the great satisfaction of seeing this scheme through before I go".

In contrast with the time taken in dealing with Troup's request in 1921, Fisher did not keep Anderson waiting and replied the same day:(26)

Many thanks for your letter of today referring to our past talks on the subject of your considered proposals for a certain measure of long overdue reorganisation of the Home Office. I certainly had no intention, when we spoke again in September, of conveying that I thought it would be right to postpone for much longer a reform that was needed in the interests of efficiency; all I meant, and you agreed, was that at that particular juncture the matter would have to be left a little longer. I gather that your present idea is to provide for the scheme to come into operation in 1932-33, though even then by degrees in some respects. You may take this semi official letter as authority for the arrangement; you will no doubt in due course write formally. I note that there will be no increase in the total of your Estimates.

In the economic, financial and political climate of the day, this operation was a good example of "mandarin" to "mandarin" collusion.

The nil increase in the Home Office Estimates was reached by a process of virement, transferring money between different heads of the Estimates. Fisher had

estimated the increased cost of the additional staff at £3,000 per annum. In his formal letter to the Treasury he adjusted this figure to a cost of £1,000 per annum over 3 years 1931, 1932 and 1933, a case of "constructive accounting". The £1,000 per annum was offset against another sub-head in the Home Office Estimates for these years by showing a similar amount of increase in the fees received for the registration of aliens under the Aliens Act: anticipating the increase in the number of alien refugees that would arrive from Germany in the 1930's.

Anderson made a formal application to the Treasury on 10 December 1931, (Ho. 594/139). His letter was sent to Fisher direct under personal cover. Fisher wrote on the letter "Approved N.F.W.F. 10.12.31". The Treasury Registry stamp shows that the letter was not officially received until 11 December 1931. On the letter there is attached a handwritten note by Fisher addressed to Craig of the Treasury Establishment Division "The requisite reorganisation of the Home Office on its administrative side has been the subject of close study by Sir J. Anderson and myself personally over a long period of time. Attached is the result which I have approved N.F.W.F. 10.12.31".(27)

Scott as Controller of Establishments sent a formal letter of authority on behalf of the "Lords Commissioners of the Treasury" on 23 December 1931. There is no minute or note on the files to indicate that he was consulted on the matter.

The number of administrative class civil servants at the Home Office in December 1931 when Anderson put forward his reorganisation were virtually unchanged since Troup had

put forward his request 10 years earlier, except for the five additions Anderson had obtained in 1929. They consisted of:-

- 1 Permanent Secretary
- 1 Deputy Secretary
- 1 Legal Secretary
- 1 Principal Assistant Secretary
- 6 Assistant Secretaries
- 17 Principals
- 18 Assistant Principals
- 4 Staff Officers.

In Anderson's proposals it was noted that three of the senior civil servants were due to retire shortly - Delevigne, Deputy Secretary; Blackwell, Legal Secretary; and Pedder, Principal Assistant Secretary. They did, Blackwell being the last of the three to retire in June 1933.

The new establishment agreed:-

- 1 Permanent Secretary
- 1 Deputy Secretary
- 3 Under Secretaries
- 9 Assistant Secretaries
- 20 Principals
- 18 Assistant Principals/Staff Officers
- 1 Legal Adviser (graded Under Secretary)
- 1 Assistant Legal Adviser (graded Assistant Secretary)

The new organisation structure (Table E) gave each of the three Under Secretaries responsibility for two Divisions - they reported directly to the Permanent

Secretary. Three Assistant Secretaries heading the other three Divisions reported to the Deputy Secretary, like the Legal Adviser and the Chief Finance Officer.

The organisation chart indicated that "Assistant Principals where shown, are to be regarded as interchangeable with Staff Officers".

Anderson achieved his new structure with some promotions for his staff before he left the Home Office, and the Treasury achieved their wish to reduce the number of Assistant Principals by making the work interchangeable with Staff Officer grades, which had been resisted by Troup in his proposals of 1921.

"Gamekeeper turned Poacher" - Scott and the Treasury 1933.

Sir Robert Russell Scott succeeded Anderson as a Permanent Secretary at the Home Office in 1932. Scott was born in 1877 and was 55 when he was appointed Permanent Secretary - 15 years older than Anderson when he received the same appointment in 1922. Scott was educated at Manchester Grammar School and Wadham College, Oxford, where he obtained a first in 'Greats' in 1900. He joined the Admiralty in 1901 as a Class 2 Clerk (Assistant Principal), and was Private Secretary to the Civil Lord 1904-07. He was seconded as Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Indian Civil Service from 1912-15 (for his services to the R.C. as a Principal he was made a Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, ranking next in order of precedence to the Honorable Order of the Bath). He was promoted to Assistant Secretary at the Admiralty in 1917

and went to the Treasury as Deputy Controller of Establishments in 1920, serving a year as deputy to Ramsey, the first Controller of Establishments.

The last survivor of the Treasury Establishment Division civil servants of that period, Sir Robert Fraser (who served in the Treasury from 1914-1939 and was Secretary to the Gladstone and the Ramsey-Brunning Committees), attributed the success of the reorganisation in the early 1920's to two men: Stuart Brunning on the staff side and Russell Scott on the official side. Although Ramsey was C.O.E. from 1919-21, Scott was the real power.(28) Scott succeeded Ramsey as C.O.E. in 1921 and held this post for 11 years during the apogee of the Treasury Establishment Division's power. He was Permanent Secretary at the Home Office from 1932 until 1938 when he retired from the civil service.

In Home Office establishment matters raised with the Treasury establishment Division Scott was ideally placed to be the "gamekeeper turned poacher". Such an occasion arose in 1933: Ernley Blackwell, Legal Secretary, was finally due to retire on reaching the age of 65 in June 1933. Scott wrote to the Treasury on 14.2.1933.(29) requesting that Blackwell's senior assistant should be appointed Legal Adviser (with the rank of Under Secretary) and this proposal was approved.

The problem arose on the proposed appointment of the Assistant Legal Adviser. On this matter the Treasury Establishment Division mounted all its opposition, reaching up to the Head of the Civil Service, Fisher - but in the

end Scott's recommendation supported by the Home Secretary, Sir John Gilmour (who had succeeded Herbert Samuel in September 1932), prevailed - showing the impotence of the Treasury Establishment Division when faced with strong ministerial intervention. Another example of the effect of the role of ministers in establishment matters.

The person put forward by Scott was A.H. Houston, who had joined the Home Office in 1917 (at the age of 44) and was now 60. Before joining the Home Office he had been in active practice as a barrister, and had helped in the setting up of the Probation Service.

Scott indicated to the Treasury Establishment Division that "the Secretary of State wished to appoint Houston in the unestablished [non pensionable] appointment as Assistant Legal Adviser until he reached the age of 65". The file comments (T162/582/E 4080/1) indicate that the T.E.D. attacked this request from Scott noting that "Houston should have gone in the 1921/22 reorganisation, but somehow had managed to become Secretary of the Probation Committee", at a salary of £380 per annum, despite him being "non service and possessing considerable private means". Another view was that "the proposal is a strange proceeding. But it is an internal appointment...cannot point to any rule or regulation affecting legal appointments which his proposal could be said to violate". The next T.E.D. official took a different line of attack, writing "We should be shot at by more than one staff association. The Home Office could have the pick of the Assistant Chief Clerks [Principals] in the Service any one of whom would jump at the chance of getting such an

appointment".

The attack on Houston's appointment concerned his personal background - he was not an ex-service man (although he was 44 when he joined the Home Office in 1917), he had considered private means, the promotion would take him from earning under £400 per annum to an Assistant Secretary's salary of £900 per annum, and the most relevant point: there were more experienced civil servants in other Departments who should have been considered.

The file reached Warren Fisher, who minuted Craig, Treasury Establishment Officer, (30) "I agree with Roberts, Wardley, Parker and Tricket [the four T.E.D. officials who had made comments on Houston's appointment] that the proposal is open to gravest objection...in stark contrast to treatment accorded to ex-service salaried officers in the Ministry of Pensions, several of whom have drawn salaries of about £1,000 a year and have served for years with distinction, and are now being established as Clerical Officers on much lower salaries... Would it be possible in any way for Sir C. Schuster [Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor 1915-1944, the longest serving Permanent Secretary in the Home Civil Service] to write as it were, spontaneously [sic] to Sir R. Scott, referring to Sir E. Blackwell's retirement, suggesting that this should mean promotions lower down, asking if this is so and other legal staffs might have a look in".

Fisher indicated that Rae (who had succeeded Scott as Controller of Establishments) wanted to see the papers. Craig did not take up Fisher's suggestion, and in his covering note to Rae brought the matter into perspective by

expressing his doubts "as to the right of the Treasury to overrule the choice of the Minister in charge in filling a vacancy by the appointment of someone already serving in the Department. In the last resort I do not think we can".

On 9 March 33 Rae saw Scott and minuted.(31) "Houston has been specifically selected by the Home Secretary after very careful consideration of his qualifications and experience... The Home Secretary is satisfied that the appointment is the best possible and he is prepared to defend it to all and sundry". Rae further argued that the new rate of pay was justified because Houston was "doing work far in excess of his pay". Rae concluded, "In the circumstances we cannot reject the appointment, strange as it may seem. It is the Minister's responsibility and in our reply we should merely note that he proposes to appoint Mr. Houston". An example of ministerial supermancy on internal appointments.

On 15 March 33 Rae, the newly appointed Controller of Establishments, wrote to Scott, the newly appointed Permanent Secretary at the Home Office, the most formal of formal letters.(32) "My Lords [of the Treasury] note that Sir John Gilmour proposes to appoint in an unestablished capacity to the post of Assistant Legal Adviser on the authorised scale of £900 x 50 - 1,000 [the Assistant Secretary scale] Mr. A. Houston, the temporary Administrative Officer in question."

The new "gamekeeper turned poacher" had won his first encounter with the Treasury Establishment Division. Why did this internal appointment produce such a reaction, and

involve (at least in the background) the head of the Civil Service and the Home Secretary? There are a number of inter-related factors which contributed to the reactions between the Home Office and the Treasury Establishment Division.

First, Scott had been a strict upholder of procedures during his period as C.O.E., and his old subordinates in the Treasury saw Scott, now the Permanent Secretary, ignoring these procedures in the Houston case.

Second, to promote an unestablished civil servant at the age of 60 when public expenditure cuts were affecting all civil servants (they had all had a 5% reduction in salary in 1931) produced the personal arguments against Houston that he was "non service" and had "considerable private means".

Third, Fisher, as Head of the Civil Service, made another "back door" suggestion of a contact between the Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor and Scott, but it was not followed up. Fisher did not make a direct intervention round the back door as he had done with Frances Stevenson at the time Anderson was being considered for Permanent Secretary.

Fourth, and the argument that in the end prevailed, was the support Scott could call on from his minister, Gilmour. Once this point had been put firmly to Rae, the new C.O.E. it strengthened Rae's view that the Treasury did not have the authority to block an internal appointment even if it was to a grade in the Administrative Class.

In summary, the Treasury could achieve its control over numbers and grades for Administrative Class

appointments, but once they had been agreed (the Fisher correspondence with Anderson), they had no real control over how a particular vacancy was filled. Although "staff associations" were mentioned, there is no evidence that the First Division Association was involved in the Houston promotion.

The contrast in the Treasury Establishment Division's effectiveness or ineffectiveness will be seen again in examining its relationship with the Ministry of Labour during the same period.

The Ministry of Labour reorganisation 1919-1925.

Sir Geoffrey Ince in his history of the Ministry of Labour in the Whitehall series, (33) gives a succinct picture of this early period:

The early years were far from encouraging. The Ministry was born in crisis and went from one crisis to another. It seems strange now to think that in the early 1920's there was a possibility of its abolition. Before it was firmly established it was called upon to deal with two problems of great difficulty - grave industrial unrest and serious unemployment. (34)

In that brief description of the early years Ince highlights the dual function that was given to the Ministry of Labour: one, an interventionist role in working with employers and employed to resolve industrial disputes, the other an administrative role in having the responsibility of finding and channeling job vacancies to fit people, and for those remaining unemployed to administer the Unemployment Insurance Scheme and make benefit payments

through local offices - the Labour Exchanges of the 1920's and 1930's.

When the Ministry of Labour was set up in December 1916, the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, gave weight to its interventionist role which continued during the Coalition Government until November 1922. But the Conservative Government that followed had less concern with its efforts as a mediator in industrial disputes, and at the same time was concerned with reducing the cost of administering the Unemployment Insurance Scheme which required increased numbers of civil servants to staff the local offices as the numbers of unemployed increased after 1920. In this year David Shackleton, the first Permanent Secretary, was joined by Masterton-Smith as a joint Permanent Secretary.

However, on the question of their respective salaries, Masterton-Smith was addressed as Permanent Secretary. In a letter from Ramsey, C.O.E., to Masterton-Smith in August 1920, (35) Ramsey referred to the Asquith Committee which had considered "Salaries attached to principal posts in the civil service" and went on: "The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have decided the salary of the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Labour shall be £3,000 from the date of your appointment, and for Sir David Shackleton from 1 March 1920. It being understood that the number of Secretaries shall be reduced to one on the occurrence of a vacancy".

The level of salaries paid to Permanent Secretaries in the early 1920's does not appear to have followed the Asquith Committee recommendations which placed a Permanent Secretary of a "first class" Department at £3,000 per annum

and a "second class" Department at £2,200 per annum. At the Ministry of Labour Shackleton and Masterton-Smith each received £3,000, but when Wilson succeeded Masterton-Smith in 1921 he received only £2,200. At the Home Office the reverse occurred. Troup retired in 1922 on a salary of £2200 whilst Anderson when he succeeded him received £3,000. Whether a Department was regarded as "first" or "second" class appears to have related to the office holder rather than the responsibilities involved.

Following Masterton-Smith's appointment in April 1920, a large scale reorganisation took place in the Ministry of Labour, and in October 1920 Masterton-Smith issued a "Special General Order" under his signature.(36)

It detailed the respective responsibilities of himself and Shackleton:

As a consequence of the experience gained since the appointment of Sir David Shackleton, K.C.B. and Sir James Masterton-Smith, K.C.B. to be Joint Permanent Secretaries of the Ministry of Labour the Minister has approved the following arrangements: Sir David Shackleton is designated Chief Labour Adviser (for all Office purposes). He will deal with General Labour policy, with Employers' Associations and Trade Unions, Employment Policy, Wages, Hours, Disputes, Trade Boards and Joint Industrial Councils.

For Office purposes Sir James Masterton-Smith will have the designation Secretary of Ministry of Labour responsible to the Ministry for organisation and general management of all departments. The work of the Department divides into two broad groups:-

- (1) Central body of general administration relates to employment and conditions of employment relations between employer and employed. Formulation of general Government labour policy.

- (2) A group of common services - finance, control of establishments and legal advice.
- (3) After-war responsibilities in two temporary departments, Training, Appointments and Civil Liabilities.

The General Order to all staff spelt out the division of responsibilities - the interventionist work going to Shackleton, and the administrative work to Masterton-Smith. The three main departments, Industrial Relations, General and Employment and Insurance were each headed by a Principal Assistant Secretary (now Under Secretary) reporting to the Permanent Secretary. In the "Common Services" departments, Establishments was headed by a Principal Assistant Secretary, Finance and Solicitors were each headed by specialist staff. The two temporary departments had an ex-Colonial Service civil servant heading Training and a retired Army Captain heading Appointments and Civil Liabilities -both these departments had ceased to exist by 1925.

Whilst the appointment of Masterton-Smith to join Shackleton as joint Permanent Secretary had been deal with at the Treasury (Ramsey's letter of August 1920), the Ministry of Labour General Order detailing the new organisation structure had been decided internally. It was not until November 1920 that Masterton-Smith wrote to the Treasury,(37) sending a copy of the General order "for information" but seeking agreement for the reorganisation on the lines indicated in the General Order.

Ramsey and Scott saw Masterton-Smith and indicated that "the organisation was not perfect but would accept it

on a provisional basis for the near future". Scott confirmed the discussion in a letter to Masterton-Smith, (38) that "semi-officially" the arrangements described in the General Order are "not regarded in any way final". He made some suggestions on additions to the common service departments and concluded: "it represents a considerable advance in organisation and is accepted as a provisional arrangement and a basis for future development."

The reaction by the Treasury Establishment Division to this large reorganisation was considerably more muted than, when in the same year, Troup at the Home Office wanted to make some minor reorganisation in his Department. The "provisional basis for the near future" was to last for ten years, except that Masterton-Smith was moved to the Colonial Office in August 1921 (the date Ince shows Shackleton ceasing to be Permanent Secretary), and Horace Wilson who headed the Industrial Relations department - the one dealing direct with Shackleton as Chief Labour Adviser who was promoted from Principal Assistant Secretary to Permanent Secretary.

With Wilson's appointment as Permanent Secretary the Ministry of Labour reverted to having one Permanent Secretary, but Shackleton remained as Chief Labour Adviser for a further four years. He continued to be paid a salary of £3,000 per annum and Wilson's salary was increased to the same amount: they both enjoyed the salary of a Permanent Secretary of a "first class" department. This state of affairs produced a series of attacks made by back bench Conservative M.P.'s until Shackleton retired in

November 1925.

The attack on the Chief Labour Adviser appointment.

Attacks by politicians on the right have been a feature of the reaction to appointments of former trades union officials to Government appointments since they were first made by the Lloyd George Coalition Government of 1916-22. Similar reactions have also been displayed by some historians of the "Peterhouse School", notably Cowling.(39) He singles out William Brace, who "became a permanent official in the Ministry of Labour".(40) William Brace was a former trade union official, President of the South Wales Miners Federation 1906-10 and a Labour M.P. from 1906-20 (serving as Parliamentary Secretary at the Home Office from 1915-19). When he lost his seat in 1920 he was appointed as a Chief Labour Adviser but at the Department of Mines not the Ministry of Labour, where he remained until 1927. Cowling puts Brace in the wrong Ministry by relying on the Bridgeman Diaries - Bridgeman a Conservative M.P. had served as Parliamentary Secretary at the Ministry of Labour under two former trade unionists as Minister. Hodge and Roberts, from 1916-19, whilst Shackleton was sole Permanent Secretary. Cowling, whilst acknowledging "there were clever men amongst the trade union leaders, Smillie was one. So was Thomas. So also was Brace - who at Bridgeman's instigation was given the goal of the Labour leader - a permanent and pensionable post in Ministry of Labour".(41)

Fifty years before Cowling gave his views but put

Brace in the wrong Ministry, there was an attack on Shackleton's appointment from a different direction. In the House of Commons in the period August 1921 to November 1925 a number of back bench M.P.'s questioned successive Ministers of Labour on the aspect of the Ministry's structure which involved the Chief Labour Adviser. An examination of the Parliamentary Questions and answers given show that Ministers of Labour managed successfully to confuse the issues raised.

The first Parliamentary Question was asked by Locker-Lampson, a Conservative M.P., two weeks before Masterton-Smith left the Ministry. The Minister was asked.(42):

(1) Whether it will be possible to dispense with one of the two joint Permanent Secretaries at an early date. (2) Why the salary of one of the joint Permanent Secretaries has lately been doubled from £1,500 to £3,000 a year?

The Minister (Dr. T. Macnamara, a Liberal) replied:

When the Ministry of Labour was first formed at the end of 1916, the staff of the Department included a Permanent Secretary and also the Chief Industrial Commissioner [Sir George Askwith who had held the same post in the Board of Trade]. In 1919 the attempt was made to combine the duties attaching to the two into one and the same office. Experience proved that with great increase in the volume of business the work could not be effectively done by one officer; and in April 1920, arrangements were made to free Sir David Shackleton from the duties attaching to the permanent head of the Office, and to enable him to devote himself exclusively to the work required to Chief Labour Adviser. These arrangements involved the appointment of a separate Secretary of the Ministry. It was further decided by the Government to assign both officers appointed the salary of £3,000

a year, in common with the permanent heads of other offices included in the category of first class Departments. The salary and rank attaching to the Chief Labour Adviser are personal to the present holder and will be reviewed when the post becomes vacant.

The Minister's answer confused the duties to Chief Industrial Commissioner (a post established to administer the Trade Board Act of 1909 which set up wage fixing machinery in certain "sweated" industries) with the wider duties of the Chief Labour Adviser.

J.H. Thomas, a Labour M.P., in two supplementary questions, tried to get the Minister to admit that Sir George Askwith's post became redundant in 1919, but the Minister said it was before his time as Minister and he could not answer. Kinlock-Cooke, a Conservative M.P., in the final supplementary question, asked "Did he not [Shackleton] receive £250 a year as a trade union official". Shackleton had not been a trade union official since 1907, and for five years before his appointment as Permanent Secretary, was a member of the National Health Insurance Commission. The Minister replied that he did not know what his salary was, but went on: "I desire to say that it is impossible for me to place too great a value on his services".

The next Parliamentary Question came in the last months of the Coalition Government, when Colonel Ashley, a Conservative M.P., asked the Minister to explain why senior officials in the Ministry of Labour cost only £1,500 a year in 1920, but by 1922 their salaries totalled £5,200 a year. (43) The Minister, Macnamara, in reply disclosed that "when the Ministry of Labour was formed in 1916 the staff

included a Secretary [Shackleton] at £1,500 and also a Chief Industrial Commissioner [Askwith who was a lawyer] at £2,000. He then repeated the details of the organisation given in his reply in August 1921. He ended his reply disclosing that the new Permanent Secretary, Wilson was receiving £2,200 a year and that the "new arrangements effected a saving of £2,150 a year".

During the Conservative Government of October 1922 to January 1924, there was one Parliamentary Question on the subject, this time for written answer: Captain Bolst-Erskine asked the Minister: "Whether in view of the urgent need for economy he is prepared to abolish the post of Chief Labour Adviser which carries a salary of £3,000 per annum".(44) The Minister, Sir Michael Barlow, replied "The post of Chief Labour Adviser was created as the result of the experiences of successive Minister of Labour, and, in my opinion it would be detrimental to the public interest to abolish the post". His written reply then listed the responsibilities of Shackleton in the same words as the General Order issued in October 1920. His reply ended by repeating the undertaking "that had already been given that the post will be reconsidered on the occurrence of a vacancy".

There were no Parliamentary Questions on Shackleton's appointment during the short period of the minority Labour Government from January to November 1924. A year later in November 1925 Shackleton had reached the age of 62, past the normal retiring age of 60 for senior civil servants. Steel-Maitland was the Minister in the Conservative Government, and when Shackleton's retirement was announced,

another Parliamentary Question was asked by the Hon. E.C.

Harmsworth, a Conservative M.P.(45):

whether, with a view to economy, the salary attached to the office of Chief Labour Adviser to the Ministry will, on the retirement of its present occupant be reduced from its present amount, seeing that it is larger than the Minister's own salary? [which for Ministers who were not Secretaries of State, had been fixed at £2,000 a year in 1831 and was not increased until 1937, when all Ministers received £5,000 a year]". Steel-Maitland replied: It is proposed to arrange for the carrying out of the function hitherto performed by the Chief Labour Adviser by a re-distribution of duties amongst the existing staff of the Department.

David Shackleton retired at the end of November 1925 despite the regular Parliamentary Questions on his position as Chief Labour Adviser, successive Ministers of Labour supported his appointment. The Treasury Establishment Division accepted the organisational structure that had created this position. Perhaps both were aware that there had been no Parliamentary Questions on the salary paid the Chief Industrial Commissioner, Askwith (£500 a year more than the then Permanent Secretary's salary), or the £400 a year allowance paid to Blackwell from 1921 until his retirement in 1933, giving him a salary equal to his Permanent Secretary Anderson.

Steel-Maitland's answer had the fact that the "redistribution of duties" at the Ministry of Labour had taken place earlier in 1925 when Tom Phillips, the Under Secretary in charge of the Employment and Insurance Department (the Labour Exchanges), had been promoted to Deputy Secretary.

From 1925 the three Under Secretaries heading the "administrative" departments reported to the new Deputy Secretary, while the heads of the "common services" departments, Finance Establishments and Solicitors reported direct to the Permanent Secretary.

This structure continued until Horace Wilson was succeeded by Francis Floud in November 1930.

In contrast with the Home Office, the Ministry of Labour's structure set out in the October 1920 General Order and accepted by the Treasury Establishment Division as "being for the near future", lasted for ten years with only the substitution of a Deputy Secretary post when the Chief Labour Adviser appointment disappeared on Shackleton's retirement.

4/3 Conclusions

Three conclusions can be drawn from this examination of the attempts made by the Treasury Establishment Division to implement two recommendations of the Bradbury Committee on Staffs (Cmd.62).

First, the recommendation the Bradbury Committee had seen the creation of the Standing Committee of Establishment Officer as a mean of "assisting and advising the Treasury". The terms of reference laid down by Ramsey for the working of the Committee showed that this was his purpose: the Committee was to meet on a regular (fortnightly) basis and agree standard conditions of employment for junior civil servants. But Ramsey had underestimated the growing power of staff associations and

civil service trade unions in the early 1920's. Therefore, except for the intervention of the C.S.C.A on the promotion of Clerical grades to Executive grades (which it did not resolve), the Committee was soon overtaken by the work of the Departmental Whitley Councils dealing with these matters.

Scott, as the second Controller of Establishments, saw this development happening, and from 1921 onward the Committee was reduced to having infrequent meetings on minor matters, such as the issue of fountain pens and the economical use of stationery. Even when they considered holidays for charwomen, those in the Post Office who were covered by collective agreements with the appropriate trade unions were excluded. The work of the Establishment Officers Committee was soon superseded by the extension of "Whitleyism" in the civil service, covering civil servants in two of the three "Treasury" classes from the grade of Clerical Assistant to Senior Executive Officer.

The second conclusion arises from the action taken by the Treasury Establishment Division in response to another recommendation of the Bradbury Committee for investigations of "the actual working methods of the departments with the Establishment Officers as a recognised system" with particular reference to the Administrative Class of civil servants.

A number of contrasts emerged in relation to the differences between the two departments and their relationship with the Treasury Establishment Division. First, their differences in age, second the political significance of the appointments, and third, the seniority

of the staff involved in the decisions, the methods used, and the skills deployed.

In 1921 reorganisation of the administrative class structure attempted by the two departments differences of age favoured the recently created department.

The proposals by Troup, towards the end of his 41 years as Permanent Secretary of an old "Secretary of State" department that had taken on additional regulatory responsibilities between 1907 and 1920, were treated in a formal and distant manner by the Treasury Establishment Division. Fisher's concept of the distinction in duties between the three 'Treasury' classes produced a criticism of the use of Assistant Principals on work that could be performed by executive class civil servants, and Ramsey saw "No case for separation of Establishment work", which was completely against the Bradbury Committee recommendation.

In contrast the Ministry of Labour, only 5 years old, achieved a major reorganisation which was presented as a "Fait accompli" to the Treasury Establishment Division by the "stop gap" Permanent Secretary, Masterton-Smith. His appointment in 1920 to join Shackleton had however a greater political significance than that generally attributed to it. The Asquith letters to Venetia Stanley (46) show that Masterton-Smith, when Private Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Churchill, was on terms of close personal friendship with Asquith in the early years of the 1914-18 War. Masterton-Smith was the only civil servant present at a number of luncheon and dinner parties given by Asquith, and he telephoned information on Admiralty matters direct to the Prime Minister. His

subsequent service between 1917 and 1920 at the Ministry of Munitions and the War Office during the Lloyd George coalition government gave him experience in the politics of Whitehall which exceeded that obtained by Ramsey, who spent the war years as an Assistant Secretary in the sheltered confines of the Treasury.

The "political" significance of some of the senior appointments made in the two departments is illustrated by contrasting the effect that was achieved by the Treasury Establishment Division's intervention.

At the Home Office there were conflicting decisions made with regard to the Legal Adviser, Blackwell. In March 1921 Fisher rejected Troup's request for a special allowance to be paid to Blackwell: passing the decision to the Home Secretary, the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, had been pressing the Home Secretary, Shortt, to achieve economies at the Home Office. Three months later, the Controller of Establishments, Ramsey approved a £400 per annum allowance (equivalent to the then salary of a Senior Executive Office) which Blackwell had for 12 years until he retired in 1933, five years after normal retirement age. Blackwell clearly had the support of the Home Secretary, and in February 1922 Fisher had to indicate this factor to the Prime Minister when making a recommendation on who should succeed Troup as Permanent Secretary. Fisher was able to exercise his authority as Head of the Civil Service by indicating that his preference was for Anderson. He followed this view in a personal note to the Prime Minister's personal private secretary again pressing Anderson as his recommendation - this indirect intervention

by the Head of the Civil Service saw Anderson appointed.

In contrast, at the Ministry of Labour between 1921 and 1925 successive Ministers of Labour in three governments were left to defend the appointment, and salary paid, to Shackleton without any evidence of advice or support from Fisher and the Treasury Establishment Division: the lack of any political support after 1921 for the interventionist role called for in Shackleton's responsibilities had its effect in the T.E.D.

Third, in some appointments the decisions made, the methods used, and the skills deployed depended on whether the proposal had the support and backing of the Minister concerned.

Successive Ministers of Labour supported Shackleton's position as Chief Labour Adviser until he retired in 1925 at the age of 62, despite continued opposition from some Conservative M.P's. But in 1922 when a replacement for Troup was being considered, Fisher's choice prevailed over that of the Home Secretary, Shortt. In contrast in 1933 shortly after Scott had moved to be Permanent Secretary at the Home Office, he met with a sustained attack from the Treasury Establishment Division (involving Fisher at one stage) on his proposal to make an internal appointment at Assistant Secretary level. The strength of Home Secretary, Gilmour's, support for Scott produced a collapse of the Treasury Establishment Division's opposition to the candidate for promotion; although their opposition on personal grounds was weak, they had a strong case for qualified candidates from other departments being considered.

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- (5) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Fisher to Ramsey 4.4.1919).
- (6) Public Record Office, File T162/300/E11650 (December 1929).
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| (13) "The Bradbury Committee" | <u>Op. cit.,</u>
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| (14) Public Record Office, | <u>Op. cit.,</u>
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| (15) Public Record Office, | <u>Op. cit.,</u>
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| (19) Public Record Office, | <u>Op. cit.,</u>
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- (24) John Wheeler-Bennett, Op. cit.,
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- (25) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
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- (26) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
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- (27) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
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- (43) "Hansard" Op. cit.,
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- (44) "Hansard" Op. cit.,
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CHAPTER 5

The years of growth 1933-1939

The Chapter examines the years of growth in the two departments between 1933 and 1939 first, in relation to the Permanent Secretaries of the period, Scott at the Home Office and Floud and Phillips at the Ministry of Labour with James Rae at the Treasury Establishment Division. The second examination is of the two departments' relationships with a restructured Treasury Establishment Division, showing contrasts with the previous decade. Third, evidence is shown of a shortage of Administrative Class civil servants at the Home Office (particularly of Assistant Principals), with examples as to how this problem was met. Fourth, the growth of the numbers of civil servants employed at the Ministry of Labour is examined relative to the continuing high level of work required of the Insurance and Employment Exchange Departments, with the additional requirement to establish a manpower planning service ahead of the management thinking of the 1930's which became part of the Ministry of Labour's responsibility in 1939.

The six years before the second world war were years of growth for both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour. At the Home Office there were new responsibilities from April 1935: an Air Raids Precautions Department was set up to act on behalf of the various Government Departments who were concerned with Civil Defence. At the Ministry of Labour, although the highest pre-war number of unemployed was reached in January 1932 (2,955,000 insured workers registered as unemployed), the number of unemployed

was still at 2,032,000 in January 1939, and the payment of benefits provided the greatest part of the Ministry's work.

The work load of the two departments is reflected in the growth in the establishment figures of the number of civil servants employed. At the Home Office there were 1,024 civil servants employed on 1 April 1930, and 1,688 on 1 April 1938 (an increase of 64.8%), and at the Ministry of Labour 18,076 civil servants employed on 1 April 1930 and 26,934 on 1 April 1938 (an increase of 49.5%). The Treasury also had an increase in its establishment over the same period, from 299 in 1930 to 344 in 1938, an increase of 15.0%. This growth in the number of civil servants employed in the three departments compares with a much smaller growth during the previous decade from April 1920 to April 1930, when the percentage increase in the number of civil servants employed in the three departments were 10.6% at the Home Office, 1.3% at the Ministry of Labour, and 2.7% at the Treasury.

The years of growth saw a number of major organisational changes affecting the three Departments. The Treasury had undergone a restructuring in 1932 (Table D), when the Controller (Permanent Secretary) posts, including the post of Controller of Establishments, were abolished and replaced by three Under Secretary posts, reporting to the Second Secretary and not to the Permanent Secretary of the Treasury as they had done since the 1919 reorganisation. The largest employing department at the Home Office remained the Industrial Division, with its responsibility for the Factory Inspectorate covering safety in factories and workshops; but from 1937 the A.R.P.,

Department grew rapidly as the other large employing department of the Home Office. At the Ministry of Labour the passing of the Unemployment Act 1934 divided the work of paying unemployment benefit between the Ministry of Labour and a new Unemployment Assistance Board which was largely staffed by civil servants seconded from the Ministry of Labour.

The Unemployment Act distinguished between "unemployment benefit" which was paid from the Unemployment Fund administered by the Ministry of Labour to insured workers who became unemployed, registered at the Ministry of Labour Employment Exchanges, and satisfied certain contribution requirements; but unemployment benefit was paid for only a limited period. For the long term unemployed the 1934 Act provided "unemployment assistance", a means tested benefit paid directly from the Exchequer funds and administered by the Unemployment Assistance Board (which became the Assistance Board in 1940, and from 1948 until 1966 the National Assistance Board). It followed from this that after 1934 the Ministry of Labour lost its monopoly of paying benefit to all unemployed insured persons which it had taken over from the Board of Trade in 1917, and retained only the benefit payments to the short term unemployed - a circumstance that continues until the present day.

5/1 The Permanent Secretaries: Scott at the Home Office, Floud and Phillips at the Ministry of Labour, with James Rae at the T.E.D

Sir Russell Scott.

Russell Scott reached his final civil service

appointment as Permanent Secretary at the age of 55 and served his last six years at the Home Office.

After an outstanding academic performance at Manchester Grammar School and Wadham College Oxford where he was awarded a first in "Greats" in 1900, his civil service career at the Admiralty was one of slow progress. Although seconded as Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Indian Civil Service from 1912 -1915 (which earned him first decoration, as Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India), he did not reach Assistant Secretary grade until after 17 years service. His rapid advancement came with his appointment as Deputy Controller of Establishments to Ramsey in 1920, (with the grade of Deputy Secretary) and then, succeeding Ramsey in 1921 as Controller of Establishment (with the grade of Permanent Secretary). He was Controller of Establishments for eleven of the thirteen years that this post was part of the Treasury Controller structure as set up by Fisher after the 1919 reorganisation. On the abolition of this position in 1932 he was transferred to succeed Anderson at the Home Office. Although he lived for 12 years after retirement from the civil service in 1938, he was not appointed to any of the temporary public service appointments that many of his contemporaries, including Fisher and Floud, held during the 1939-45 war. In his dealing with the Treasury Establishment Division there was a marked contrast between the early years 1932-34 and the remainder of his period as Permanent Secretary. He inherited the enlarged Administrative Class structure at the Home Office that Anderson and Fisher had agreed in 1931-32 and on which

Scott was not consulted as Controller of Establishments. In 1932 soon after his appointment as Permanent Secretary he was personally involved in a dispute with the Treasury Establishment Division about the appointment of an over-age, unestablished civil servant, A.H. Houston, as Assistant Legal Adviser (as detailed in Chapter 4). The matter was finally resolved in Scott's favour after the intervention of the Home Secretary, Gilmour. After this episode(1), the Permanent Secretary took little direct action on Home Office establishment matters with the Treasury Establishment Division over Administrative Class grades.

On a number of occasions when Assistant Principal appointments were being considered, an Assistant Secretary at the Home Office, who had handled establishment matters at a lower level for many years, first as a Principal, and later as an Assistant Secretary, Crapper, corresponded with Fraser an Assistant Secretary who was the Treasury Establishment Officer reporting to Rae, who as Under Secretary headed the Treasury Establishment Division. Scott involved himself in 1937 on the need to set up a War Planning Section in the Home Office, and at the end of 1937 (shortly before he retired) on the setting up of the new Air Raid Precautions Department; but on the salary to be paid to the new Inspector General of the A.R.P. Department (who was a retired R.A.F. Wing Commander) the salary of £1,800 per annum was agreed between Fisher and the Home Secretary, Hoare, with no evidence that the Permanent Secretary was either consulted or involved.

Sir Francis Floud

At the Ministry of Labour Francis Floud was appointed Permanent Secretary in 1930. His career was a total contrast to those of Scott and Phillips. Floud was also 55 at the time of his appointment as Permanent Secretary, but it was his third Permanent Secretary appointment, having previously served as Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture (being appointed Permanent Secretary in 1920 at the age of 45) and then as Chairman of the Board of Customs and Excise. His four years at the Ministry of Labour was his last appointment in the Home Civil Service. In 1934 at the age of 59 he was appointed as British High Commissioner in Canada where he served until 1938. He was Chairman of the Bengal Land Commission from 1938-40 until his retirement. In contrast to Scott he held a number of public appointments in his retirement years. He was Chairman of an Appeal Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors from 1940-46, Chairman of the Road Haulage Wages Board 1941-45, Chairman of the L.C.C. staff Arbitration Tribunal 1941-51 and Chairman of the Agricultural Wages Board from 1943-47.

Floud's earlier civil service career, and evidence of his political sympathies have been examined in Chapter 2. His four years at the Ministry of Labour can be seen as a contrast to the Treasury-orientated years of his predecessor Horace Wilson. Floud came to the Ministry of Labour as Permanent Secretary when staff morale was at its lowest since the pressures exerted on the joint Permanent Secretaries Masterton-Smith and Shackleton during the 1920-

21 retrenchment. Francis Floud, who had risen from a Second Division clerkship to become the Permanent Secretary of three major departments, knew civil service organisation at every level and during his four years at the Ministry served two Ministers, joining the Department half way through Margaret Bondfield's three years as Minister in the 1929-31 minority Labour Government and serving Sir Henry Betterton during his three years as Minister in the National Government.

Floud's impact as Permanent Secretary can be measured in his achievements in establishment matters during a period of consolidation, with two Ministers who made little impact outside their ministerial roles. The major establishment problem throughout the 1920's had been to assimilate the large proportion of middle and junior grade civil servants in the Ministry who were "unestablished", i.e. temporary civil servants. As Lowe,(2) indicates: in 1920 77% of the Ministry of Labour civil servants had both insecurity of job tenure, and no recognised seniority in their grade. A third problem was the considerable number of departmental grades in the largest departments of the Ministry covering Unemployment Insurance and Employment Exchanges.

Horace Wilson had supported the assimilation of the temporary departmental grade civil servants into the conditions applicable to the "Treasury Classes" at either Clerical or Executive class level, but this assimilation had to be in the form of "open" competition, so that all civil servants of similar grade could compete for the vacancies. Whilst this arrangement was in keeping with the

Fisher 1919 reforms for a unified civil service, it meant in practice that younger civil servants could compete against the older ex-servicemen who had joined the Ministry of Labour in 1919-20. Wilson never conceded to the Ministry of Labour Departmental Whitley Council their right to have a say in the determination of grading the jobs involved in the assimilation process.

Floud, however, drawing on both his experience of other departments and his natural sympathies with the executive and clerical grades, used his period as Permanent Secretary to rectify this state. On his retirement from the Ministry of Labour in December 1934, the Staff Side of the Departmental Whitley Council made a presentation to him and the comments of the Staff Side members indicate what he had achieved.(3) The Vice Chairman of the Whitley Council said "Your own early struggles have left you with a very human sympathy with the under dog and a real desire to improve his lot. Your first act on this Council was to concede a most vexatious point, the determination of the question of grading, a decision which it can be fairly said, gave a new lease of life to Whitleyism in this Ministry. The reorganisation of a large number of Branch Employment Officers by unanimous agreement was a substantial part of a long overdue reform which the Staff Side had been endeavouring to secure for many years". The representative of the Civil Service Clerical Association said: "Your career constitutes a complete answer to the Official Side's growing enthusiasm for extravagant measures of open recruitment". The representative of the M.O.L. Staff Association mentioned the two major changes which Floud had

introduced in staff relations: "One of the first things you did was to settle the question of whether the grading of work was proper to Whitley. The second big thing was the question of discussing on Whitley the procedures of the Ministry".

Floud had brought meaningful joint consultation to the Departmental Whitley Council, and his response to the Staff Side comments indicates the risk he had taken. "...we have been able to settle the question of the status of Branch Managers and Branch Officers; [he avoided using the more direct word -grading], we have also done something to reduce the excessive number of inspections of Exchanges" (this reference was to the financial losses that occurred in benefit payments -sometimes because of frauds by Ministry of Labour staff). "With the goodwill of both sides [of the Whitley Council] it has been possible to introduce a system of joint audit and inspection" - which was a very advanced form of industrial participation by the employer and the employee in the early 1930's. Floud justified his decision to extend the boundaries of joint consultation in the Ministry: "This is a thing which I have never regretted, which I am sure was the right thing to do, and which has already produced fruitful results; we have all come to find it was the right thing to have done and has repaid the risk we undertook".

In his concluding remarks Floud linked his support for internal promotion within the Ministry with the appointment of his successor as Permanent Secretary. "I have always been in favour of the principle that promotion should take place in departments and it is a matter of real

satisfaction to me that I am able to leave the department in charge of Sir Thomas Phillips".

Sir Thomas Phillips

Thomas Phillips on his appointment as Permanent Secretary in January 1935 was the first "home grown" Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour. Although Horace Wilson had joined the Ministry from the Board of Trade, he had served for only three years as a Principal Assistant Secretary before he was promoted over more senior civil servants to replace Masterton-Smith and Shackleton as Permanent Secretary in 1921. (He left the Ministry of Labour in 1930 to serve the Prime Minister, MacDonald, as Chief Industrial Adviser, and to attend the Ottawa Conference in 1932 to assist Chamberlain who was Chancellor of the Exchequer - and to establish "his grip over Mr. Chamberlain".) (4) Thomas Phillips was educated at Machynlleth County School and Jesus College Oxford, he was awarded a first in "Greats" in 1906, and joined the Board of Trade as a Class 2 Clerk (Assistant Principal) the same year. He specialised in copyright matters and was Secretary to the British delegation to the International Copyright Conference in 1908, and secretary of the Copyright Committee in 1909. In 1910 he was appointed Joint Secretary of the Imperial Copyright Conference. In 1913 as a Principal he moved to the Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Department which was headed by Beveridge. Phillips transferred to the Ministry of Labour as a Principal in the Employment Department, and was

promoted to Assistant Secretary in 1919, and to Principal Assistant Secretary a year later. In 1924 he was promoted to Deputy Secretary, when this post was first created in the Ministry of Labour, at the early age of 41. He was Deputy Secretary for eleven years under two Permanent Secretaries, Wilson and Floud - neither of whom had served in that position. His years as Permanent Secretary divided equally between the years up to the 1949-45 war, and the majority of the war years until 1944. He served two very different ministers, having Ernest Brown in the National Government of 1935-40 and Ernest Bevin in the Coalition Government of 1940-45. Phillips left the Ministry of Labour in November 1944 to be first Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry of National Insurance, retiring in 1948 at the age of 65. Like his predecessor at the Ministry of Labour, Floud, he held a further public service appointment in retirement as Chairman of the War Damage Commission from 1949-59. His public service career covered 53 years.

Sir James Rae

The head of the restricted Establishment Division was James Rae whose career in the civil service was in total contrast to his two predecessors Ramsey and Scott. Rae was educated at Owen's School, Islington. He entered the civil service in 1895 as a boy clerk at the age of 16, and was appointed a Second Division clerk (Executive Officer) in the Board of Education two years later. He was promoted to Staff Clerk (Higher Executive Officer) in 1911, and to Senior Staff Clerk (Senior Executive Officer) in 1912 when

he transferred to the Insurance Commission. From 1914 he was acting First Class Clerk (equivalent to Principal) and transferred to the Treasury in 1919. He was promoted to Assistant Secretary in 1920 (at the age of 41) when he was appointed Establishment Officer in the new Treasury Establishment Division.

After ten years as Treasury Establishment Officer Rae was promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary (Under Secretary) in 1930 and Knighted. As a former Second Division Clerk he was made a K.B.E. and had to wait until 1937, two years before retirement, to be made a K.C.B. On taking over from Scott as head of the Establishment Division in 1932 Rae received no further promotion: with the abolition of the Controller appointment, the post had been down-graded from Permanent Secretary to Under Secretary.

He retired in 1939 on reaching the age of 60, but there was another role which Rae had undertaken for most of his service with the Treasury Establishment Division. In 1922 he acted as Secretary to the Royal Commission on Honours (Cmd. 1789), which was chaired by Lord Dunedin (who as A.G. Murray had been Lord Advocate and later Secretary of State for Scotland in the Salisbury Government of 1900-05). It sat from September to December 1922. The Royal Commission was set up following the "sale of honours" scandal involving the Prime Minister, Lloyd George and Maundy Gregory. The Royal Commission recommended that a Political Honours Scrutiny Committee should be established to examine all recommendations for honours to be awarded for "political services". Rae was the first Secretary of

that Committee from 1923 until his retirement in 1939.

Despite his retirement occurring shortly before the beginning of the 1939-45 war, Rae was given only one wartime public appointment. He served as a member of the British Supply Board in the United States and Canada 1939-40. However, after the war in 1946 at the age of 67, he was made a member of the Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors - a semi-permanent Royal Commission which had sat from 1919 to 1935 to consider claims arising from the 1914-18 war, and again from 1946-56 considering claims from the 1939-45 war. Rae was a member for ten years until 1956 and died in the next year.

James Rae's "saving the candle ends" approach had served the Treasury Establishment Division well in the years following the Civil Service economies of 1931 and up to the late 1930's, but was not appropriate to the expansionist requirements of the war years. In old age he was no doubt considered to be a useful "Treasury man" to have as a member of a Royal Commission of technical experts, examining the claims for reward from Public Funds from other technical experts who had made war-time inventions.

The careers of Rae, Scott, Floud and Phillips show considerable contrast in the personalities and backgrounds of the four civil servants who made up the triangle of Treasury Establishment Division - Home Office - Ministry of Labour in the years of growth up to 1939.

Rae had risen from the ranks, but first came to the notice of Warren Fisher when they were both at the Health Insurance Commission in 1921 as part of "Morant's

Kindergarten": his additional duties from 1923 as Secretary to the Political Honours Scrutiny Committee gave him an "insider position" in relation to the Head of the Civil Service greater than he would normally have had as an Assistant Secretary and Establishment Officer.

At the Home Office in 1932 he was faced by his old Controller, Russell Scott, who was Permanent Secretary there until his retirement in 1938, although (as will be shown later in his chapter) Scott distanced himself from direct involvement in establishment matters. Rae had only a year of working with Alexander Maxwell as Permanent Secretary before his own retirement.

At the Ministry of Labour, Francis Floud, who had also risen from a Second Division clerkship, was reaching the end of his Home Civil Service career, and was the most experienced Permanent Secretary of his day with the Ministry of Labour being his third Permanent Secretary post. The internal reorganisation of the Ministry of Labour departmental classes had been started by Horace Wilson and had the general approval of the Treasury. Floud's greater use of the Whitley Council machinery was not a matter that greatly concerned Rae and the Treasury Establishment Division. Tom Phillips's period as Permanent Secretary from 1935 went beyond Rae's time at the Treasury by five years, and took the Ministry of Labour into its wider role as Ministry of Labour and National Service, with Phillips meeting the needs of the Ministry wartime expansion supported by its most powerful Minister - Ernest Bevin.

5/2 Departmental relationships with a restructured Treasury Establishment Division.

Home Office.

The Home Office establishment increased by nearly 65% in the eight years from 1930 to 1938. At the beginning of this period the Administrative class structure was virtually unchanged from ten years previously when Troup had made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain an increase in the number of Administrative Class civil servants at the Home Office. The Treasury Establishment Division had been critical of the employment of Assistant Principals on work which they considered could be reasonably performed by Staff Officers (Executive Officers).

Scott as Deputy C.O.E. had reminded Troup of the agreement with the Staff Side of the Home Office Departmental Whitley Council to replace two or more Assistant Principals "with Higher Clericals who will have shown their qualification for dealing with administrative work". Troup finally obtained Treasury approval to have 17 Assistant Principals, which remained the agreed number through the 1920's. In Anderson's reorganisation of 1931-32 the number was increased by one; although the posts were still inter-changeable with Staff Officers.

When Scott himself became Permanent Secretary, the number of Assistant Principals in post at the Home Office had fallen to 12, and the total of Administrative Class civil servants from Permanent Secretary to Assistant Principal amounted to only 44. The Industrial Division under the Deputy Secretary Delevigne was the largest employer of staff. The Factory Department having 158

inspection staff, from the Chief Inspector of Factories (whose salary was the same as an Under Secretary) to 45 Factory Inspectors Class 1A, and 80 Factory Inspectors Class 1B; this inspectorate, which carried out the main regulatory function of the Home Office, made up 15.6% of the total staff of the department.

There were other small inspectorates performing regulatory functions - 4 Inspectors of Explosives, an Adviser on Fire Questions, a Petroleum Adviser and 2 Official Analysts. The other Home Office regulatory roles dealt with Immigration, Children, Dangerous Drugs, Cruelty to Animals, Inebriates and the Police and had small departments in comparison with the Factory Department. There were only 25 Inspectors (or Immigration Officers) in the Aliens Branch, nine Inspectors in the Children's Branch, two Inspectors under the Dangerous Drugs Act of 1920, two under the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876, and one under the Inebriates Acts 1879-1909. The Police forces of England and Wales were inspected by two Inspectors of Constabulary, and there was one Home Office Pathologist and two Medical Advisers, these last three being part-time appointments.(5)

One of the failures in the development of the Ministry of Labour in the 1930's was its inability to absorb the Factory Department of the Home Office whose responsibility for safety and working conditions in factories should logically have been part of the Ministry of Labour structure; but the obstinacy of Delevigne who "was prepared to die on the steps of the Home Office rather than yield one iota of its prerogatives to any upstart

department".(6) prevented this change happening. Although Delevigne retired in 1932, and the Mines Act of 1931 made the Inspectors of Mines part of the Mines Department at the Board of Trade, it was not until June 1940, after Bevin had become Minister of Labour, that the Factory Inspectorate was transferred from the Home Office to the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Additional responsibilities for the Home office

As described in Chapter 4, John Anderson had made, as part of his case to Warren Fisher in 1931 for additional Administrative staff, an additional responsibility of the Home Office liaison with other departments in the preparation and maintenance of the "War Book".

Anderson had also let it be known to Fisher that the Committee of Imperial Defence (with Fisher's rival Maurice Hankey as Secretary) was concerned that this work should have high priority. As a result of being given responsibility for the "War Book", the Home Office was seen as the department most suited to undertake any additional work related with non-military matters that might arise in a major European war. In April 1935 an Air Raids Precautions Department was set up at the Home Office to act "on behalf of the various departments dealing with Civil Defence". However, as the 1932 organisation chart of the Home Office (Table E) shows, this work had not been given high priority. The Division responsible reported through an Under Secretary, and had an Assistant Secretary in charge, but he had only one Principal and one Assistant

Principal to assist him. The Division, as well as having responsibility for the War Book and Civil Emergencies, covered Traffic matters, Firearms, and the control of Lotteries and Sweepstakes (which were illegal in the United Kingdom but not in Eire).

As described in Chapter 3, in 1932 there was an exchange of minutes between Fraser at the Treasury and Wolfe, as Head of the Services and Establishment Department of the Ministry of Labour, on the alleged shortage of candidates for the Administrative Class 'open competition'. In taking opposite positions on this matter they both missed the essential points: that there was no shortage of candidates nor was the entrance examination the main limiting factor. The reason was simply the small number of vacancies: the 1932 'open competition' for the Home Civil Service had 110 applicants for 15 places.

The Home Office was allocated one of the 15 successful candidates, John Pimlott, whose career is examined later in the chapter. He had been placed 3rd in the 'open competition' pass list and joined the Home Office as an Assistant Principal, giving the department a total of 14 (two serving as Private Secretaries) out of an agreed establishment of 18 - the other posts being filled by Staff Officers (Executive Officers). The additional work that arose from the setting up of an A.R.P. Department in 1935 highlighted the shortage of Assistant Principals and specialist civil servants, and this shortage was met in a variety of ways.

The Assistant Principal Shortage.

Despite being faced with a number of urgent problems, the Home Office establishment function had remained unchanged for fifteen years. Crapper was still in charge (he had been promoted to Assistant Secretary) after being a Principal for 14 years¹⁰. As an Assistant Secretary responsible for a Division Crapper had in addition to being Establishment Officer responsibility for Byelaws, Vivisection, Birds, Control of advertisements and Honours. The Bradbury Committee recommendation of 1919 that all departments should have an Establishment Officer reporting directly to the Permanent Secretary solely with responsibility for all establishment matters had been ignored at the Home Office.

Crapper's slow promotion - he retired in 1937 as an Assistant Secretary, was typical of the progression of Administrative Class civil servants in the Home Office, and was perhaps a reason for the failure to attract the required number of Assistant Principals. Treasury criticism in 1922 of the use of this 'cadet' grade on work that could be performed by 'higher clericals', plus the very slow promotion prospects, had not helped to build the department up to the staffing levels agreed with the Treasury Establishment Division.

¹⁰ Alfred Crapper joined the Home Office as a Boy Clerk in 1891 and was promoted to Second Division Clerk (Executive Officer) 1893, and to the First Division as a Second Class Clerk (Assistant Principal) 1913, Principal 1919 and Assistant Secretary 1933; he retired in 1937 at the age of 64. He dealt with Home Office establishment work during the period 1919 to 1937.

In August 1936 Crapper minuted Fraser at the T.E.D. that the Home Office had three vacancies for Assistant Principals but had agreed to take only one Assistant Principal from that years 'open competition' - or perhaps only finding one successful candidate who had indicated the Home Office as his first choice.(7) The Home Office request was to consider filling the two remaining vacancies by bringing in Factory Inspectors to "assist on administrative work; if satisfactory, Treasury approval would be sought for their appointment to the Administrative Class". This suggestion was useful as the majority of Factory Inspectors were graduates, some in engineering and/or science, and technical knowledge was required in the new A.R.P. Dept.,

The Home Office then produced three candidates for the two vacancies. One of them was put forward on humanitarian grounds, a woman Factory Inspector "badly injured whilst serving as an Inspector and doing administrative work in Industrial Division".(8) The Treasury view was put in a "semi official" letter from a Treasury Principal to Crapper - "Miss Usher [the Inspector concerned] we see is nearly 49 and must, we feel on that score be ruled out for appointment to what is essentially a cadet grade which, in so far as it is not recruited from the Administrative Class Examination, is filled by the selection of young "flyers" from other grades for training in administrative work... already has the chance of showing her full paces on administrative work and if she is not made an A.P. it would still of course be open for you to consider her at any time for promotion to a Principalship".(9)

The Treasury were not going to be seen to reject Miss Usher on humanitarian grounds (there was no Disabled Persons Employment Act in 1936), and used her age as a reason for rejection, but offered the prospect of a Principal's appointment in the future when her age would not be a bar. (Miss Usher was promoted to Principal in 1939). Crapper indicated that his Permanent Secretary agreed to the omission of Miss Usher's name from the list of candidates. Finally, Rae on 6 November 1936, three months after the proposal for the two Assistant Principal appointments had been first put to the Treasury Establishment Division, agreed the appointment of two Factory Inspectors Class 1B: a man aged 37, and a woman aged 32 as Assistant Principals, minuting that the Treasury would "waiver examination regarding knowledge and ability".(10)

Two contrasts in career progression.

The second approach to the shortage of Assistant Principals followed the suggestion that had been made in the Treasury minute which had rejected Miss Usher on age grounds, but referred to "young flyers" from other grades for training in administrative work. In December 1938 the Home Office Establishment Officer minutes the T.E.D. about a young Clerical Officer of "exceptional merit", with a view of his promotion to Assistant Principal - which would take him through five grades and two classes in the civil service structure.

John McCarthy was 24 years old and had joined the

civil service in 1931 at the age of 17 as a Clerical Officer in the Post Office, transferring to the Home Office in August 1936 as a Clerical Officer in the A.R.P. Department. The supporting minute,(11) said he had "shown considerable ability, his duties were concerned with A.R.P. warning and lighting problems which would ordinarily have been allocated to an Assistant Principal". The staffing problems of the Home Office, with a Permanent Secretary who had been Controller of Establishments for eleven years, had reached the position where a Clerical Officer was performing the duties of an Assistant Principal without receiving any intermediate promotion.

A file note prepared by a Principal in the T.E.D. shows that there had been a number of similar promotions in the 1930's (when only 13.6% of the candidates for the "open competition" were being offered places as Assistant Principal). The War office had two such promotions, a 36 year old Clerical Officer in 1933 and a 37 year old Clerical Officer in 1934. The Home office itself had a 36 year old Clerical Officer promoted in 1934, but he was an ex-service entrant to the civil service and had passed the entrance examination for the Indian Civil Service! In April 1934 the Colonial Office had put forward another ex-service entrant, a Clerical Officer aged 39. The T.E.D. had proposed to appoint him as a Higher Clerical Officer (a one grade promotion) whilst "on trial" in an Assistant Principal post. This proposal was not acceptable to the Colonial Office who re-submitted him for direct appointment to Assistant Principal, which was accepted by the T.E.D. in October 1934.

A Treasury Principal in a patronising minute to Parker, the Treasury Establishment Officer,(12) wrote of the Home Office candidate: "Age 24, just outside the age limit for Administrative Class examination. Was probably one of a crowd when in Post Office but has emerged since transfer. Home Office allege difficulty in filling Assistant Principal posts. I feel doubtful if he has sufficient experience". Parker noted that he agreed such promotions were exceptional but noted one in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries of "a Mr. Sparks who was only 23". On 23 December 1938 the appointment to Assistant Principal was approved.

Whilst this Home Office promotion of a "young flyer" was only one of a number that took place in the mid to late 1930's, it provides the opportunity of contrasting the career progression of two administrative class civil servants who entered the Home Office by contrasting methods of selection. 1938 was the year before Sir Percy Waterfield became First Commissioner of the Civil Service Commission, a position he held until 1951. Waterfield soon started his long fight with the Treasury to revise the method by which Administrative Class civil servants were recruited. Although he eventually succeeded in having the old "open competition" offered in two ways: Method A - retaining the old examination method, and Method B - a mixture of tests, group discussion and interviews, Waterfield held to his view, inherited from his predecessors Leathies and Meiklejohn, that an Oxbridge "First" was the "sine qua non" of a good candidate.

McCarthy stayed in the Home Office during the 1939-45

war as Assistant Principal and Principal; in 1945 he was promoted to Assistant Secretary at the age of 31 and moved to the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance. In 1956 he was promoted to Under Secretary at the age of 42, and appointed the first Controller of the Central Office of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance at Newcastle. He remained 18 years in this appointment, but without any further promotion until his retirement in 1974. In contrast, John Pimlott was educated at Hele's School, Exeter, and Worcester College, Oxford, being awarded the Stanhope Historical Essay Prize. Placed 3rd in the 1932 "open Competition" examination, he entered the civil service at 23 as an Assistant Principal in the Home Office and was soon identified as a "high flyer". In 1938 whilst McCarthy was still a Clerical Officer, he served as Assistant Private Secretary to the Permanent Secretary, Alexander Maxwell. Promoted to Principal in 1939 at the age of 30, he served as Assistant Private Secretary to the Home Secretary, Samuel Hoare, and was then promoted to Assistant Secretary at the age of 34. He was Private Secretary to the Home Secretary, Herbert Morrison, from 1943-45. He left the Home Office to continue as Private Secretary to Herbert Morrison during Morrison's first two years as Lord President of the Council in the Attlee Government until 1947.

Still as part of a "high flyer's" civil service career he was awarded a Home Civil Service Commonwealth Fellowship in the U.S.A. in 1948. He was promoted to Under Secretary in 1951 (at 42, the same age as McCarthy's promotion). He served as an Under Secretary in the Ministry of Materials

until 1954, when this Ministry became part of the Board of Trade. Pimlott received no further promotion, serving as an Under Secretary at the Board of Trade from 1955-60, and at the Department of Education and Science from 1960 until his retirement in 1969. In these contrasting careers of two Administrative Class civil servants, the "Gentlemen v Players" syndrome worked only in regard to the award of the customary honours. Pimlott was awarded his C.B. in 1953, after two years as an Under Secretary; McCarthy did not get his C.B. until 1963 after seven years as an Under Secretary. The "100 years rule" at the Public Record Office, covering the personal files of civil servants, prevents any source material being available as to how the Treasury Establishment Division viewed the later careers of both men. McCarthy made steady progress from a clerical grade to the third most senior grade in the Home Civil Service. Pimlott, after a "high flyers" career progression to Under Secretary stayed in that grade for the remainder of his career. One source has suggested a possible reason "He was too close politically to his Minister, Herbert Morrison, and paid for this in his subsequent career in the civil service".(13)

The application of the "Fisher" principle

The third approach to the shortage of Assistant Principals at the Home Office was a more traditional one: posing the question are they available in other departments? Additional posts were agreed with the Treasury in 1937. An additional Assistant Principal in the

Aliens Department was required because of the increased applications for Naturalisation from Italians entering the United Kingdom and seamen. The first were refugees, and the later foreign seamen who wanted U.K. citizenship in order to obtain employment in the Merchant Navy which was expanding after the shipping depression of the early 1930's. An additional Assistant Principal was needed in the Industrial Division to draft the Statutory Orders required after the passing of the Factories Act 1937, which consolidated earlier factory and safety legislation. In October 1937 Scott and Rae in a quick exchange of minutes agreed on an additional Principal to work on the "War Book". To fill two of these vacancies an Assistant Principal from the Department of Agriculture, Scotland, and another from the Department of Health, Scotland, were transferred to the Home Office.

This changed attitude by the Treasury Establishment Division towards the needs of the Home Office had been achieved only by the intervention of the Home Secretary direct to the Head of the Home Civil Service. The matter started with a minute from Scott, who was in his final year as Permanent Secretary to Rae, entitled "War Planning". (14) "In view of the present policy of H.M.G. that the war preparation of all Government Departments should be expedited he (the Secretary of State) has under review the duties which fall to the Home Office in this connection, and has come to the conclusion that the existing staff and arrangements are inadequate to secure that these duties are carried out in a manner consistent with that policy". Scott proposed a new War Planning section, consisting of a

Principal, an "Established" Clerical Officer and two "Established" Shorthand/Typists, a modest request. Rae replied, six weeks later,(15): "I am to request you to inform the Secretary of State that my Lords [of the Treasury] presume that much of the work described... would not require frequent repetition once the several schemes have been drawn up. They doubt accordingly whether the permanent maintenance of a separate Section could be justified. On the understanding that the number of staff assigned to this service will be reviewed and if possible reduced at the end of the year. Agreed: 3 "established" (the Clerical Officer and 2 Shorthand/Typists) in place of the temporary posts previously authorised. Agreed: a Principal could be transferred to this work - my Lords do not see Their [sic] way to sanction the addition of another post of Principal to the establishment of the Home office". Such was the attitude of the T.E.D. to War Planing in March 1937.

The position had changed by July 1937 Rae, in approaching other departments for staff to be transferred to the Home Office, indicated that the Home Secretary, Hoare, had made an appeal to Warren Fisher: "Position of the Home Office is really desperate especially in view of their extraordinary heavy job in connection with A.R.P."(16)

The Air Raids Precautions Department.

Although an A.R.P. Department was set up at the Home Office in April 1935 and the additional work was the

catalyst which changed the attitude of the Treasury Establishment Division to the staffing needs of the Home Office, the Air Raids Precautions Act 1937 gave legislative approval to the new Department. In December 1937 Scott wrote to Rae,(17) setting out the staffing of the new Department.

A retired R.A.F. Wing Commander, Hodsall, had been appointed Inspector General at a salary of £1,800 per annum, half way between the salaries of Deputy and Under Secretary. Eady, formally of the Ministry of Labour and the first Secretary of the Unemployment Assistance Board, would transfer to the Home Office as Deputy Secretary: there would be additional Administrative Class staff of an extra Under Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and two Principals; also £3,000 per annum had been allocated for clerical staff. It was a very different position from nine months earlier when Rae had invoked "Their Lordships" to refuse a request for an additional Principal on War Planning work. Rae, contented himself with noting:(1) The new post of Under Secretary had been agreed with Scott because the new Permanent Secretary, Maxwell, would not have a Deputy Secretary "on Home Office matters". Eady would be solely concerned with A.R.P. work,(2) The salary for Wing Commander Hodsall had been agreed between the Home Secretary, Hoare, and the Head of the Civil Service, Fisher. Rae replied to Scott's letter the same day, agreeing the new appointments. This letter was Scott's last correspondence with his old department on establishment matters and perhaps the only one when he came out on top as a former "gamekeeper turned poacher".

The Home Office Establishment Department.

Amongst the matters that Scott did not resolve during his six years as Permanent Secretary at the Home Office was the creation of an Establishment Department - that is a department existing in its own right under the terms of the Treasury Circular of 1920 (T.C. 8/20)

When Crapper retired in 1937, establishment work was taken over by another Assistant Secretary, but again on a part-time basis with other responsibilities in his Division. The A.R.P. Department was not located in the Home Office building in Whitehall, but in Horseferry Road, and Hodsall set out recruiting specialist staff, which included a large number of retired Service officers.

In October 1938 the new Permanent Secretary, Alexander Maxwell (the first since Troup to have risen from Assistant Principal to Permanent Secretary in the Home Office), decided that an Establishment Division should be set up in the Home Office. He minuted Rae, (18): "I have come to the conclusion that in view of the work arising in connection with Home Security measures and especially the Regional Organisation it is necessary to create a special Establishment Division of the Home Office... officer with the rank of Under Secretary should be appointed as Principal Finance and Establishment Officer. If Hancock can be transferred from U.A.B. I should be glad to recommend to the Home Secretary to appoint him... should the Prime Minister be willing to approve this appointment" [this approval was required under the terms of the 1920 Treasury Circular].

Rae wrote the same day to Warren Fisher: "I have on several occasions recently pressed Sir Alex Maxwell to bring in a good officer of Principal Assistant Secretary status from outside for the purpose of acting as P.F. and E.O. The existing arrangements in this sphere are I am sorry to say deplorably weak, Hancock could be transferred to the H.O. from the U.A.B. he is already a P.A.S. Recommend the post be approved". Fisher must have contacted the Prime Minister immediately and replied, again the same day: "This has been approved. N.F.W.F."

Rae advised Maxwell the next day, indicating that the appointment was approved under the terms of the Treasury Circular of 12 March 1920 on two conditions: First, that the U.A.B. agreed to the transfer, and second, that the Home Secretary accepted Maxwell's recommendation. Hancock was appointed on 2 November 1938 and, in addition, Wilson an Assistant Secretary also from the U.A.B, was appointed as Establishment Officer. Nearly 20 years after the Bradbury Committee had recommended that all departments should have a Principal Finance and Establishment officer, and nearly 19 years after Treasury Circular 8/20 had laid down the procedure for such appointments to be made, the Home Office set up an Establishment Division.

Hancock and Wilson moved quickly to agree with the Treasury the shape of the new Division, noting that the old establishment function had been carried out by an Assistant Secretary working part-time on establishment matters, assisted by two Clerical Officers. Heads of Divisions had gone direct to the Treasury, and they noted "The system has naturally worked badly and must cease". It was agreed that

the new Division would consists of Hancock as an Under Secretary, Wilson as an Assistant Secretary, supported by a Principal, a Staff Officer, a Higher Clerical Officer and two Clerical Officers. One of Wilson's first requests to the T.E.D. was made in December 1938 about the promotion of Clerical Officer McCarthy to Assistant Principal. This showed the positive role the strengthened Home office establishment Division presented to the T.E.D.

The Approach of War

On 1 April 1938 the Home Office establishment had reached 1,688 an increase of 650 in eight years. With the growth of the A.R.P. department, particularly after the Munich Agreement in September 1938, the establishment reached nearly 2,000 by the early months of 1939. As Peden comments(19) "... large sums were voted for A.R.P. following the Air Raids Precautions Act 1937. The manifest deficiencies in A.R.P. in September 1938 were due at least partly, in the Treasury view, to the Home Office's preoccupation with gas attack, to the neglect of preparations to deal with high explosive bombs".

Peden's view is supported by the Home office establishment details for 1938,(20) which gave the staffing of a second Civilian Anti-Gas School at Easingwold, Yorkshire. Not until 1939 did the Home Office appoint as an "Adviser" a Consultant Civil Engineer "as to advice as to Trench Reconstruction" [sic], presumably to advise on how civilian A.R.P. trenches were to be reconstructed after they had been damaged by air attack.

At the same time the Home Office had been strengthening its staff of "Expert Advisers". It had appointed in 1938 a Press Liaison Officer, one of the first departments to have a Public Relations function, two Fire Advisers, an Adviser on "Scientific Aids to Police Work", an Adviser on Police Wireless and Communications and two Medical Advisers on "Toxicological questions".

In the April 1939 establishment details, (21) five months before the outbreak of war, the Administrative Class civil servants in the Home Office were: Permanent Secretary Maxwell; Deputy Secretary, Eady (responsible for all A.R.P. matters); Inspector General of A.R.P., Hodsall; eight Under Secretaries; eighteen Assistant Secretaries (including Newsam who was to succeed Maxwell as Permanent Secretary in 1948); and 39 Principals. The A.R.P. department had the largest number of Administrative Class civil servants, headed by the Deputy Secretary and the Inspector General. In addition it had three of the eight Under Secretaries (of whom one was seconded from the Ministry of Health and one from the Department of Inland Revenue); five of the 18 Assistant Secretaries of whom two were "acting appointments" - an example of civil service grading that was to be a feature of the war years when civil servants acted in a grade above their substantive appointments, also of the Armed Forces in war, e.g. a Major acting as Brigadier. The A.R.P. Department had nine of the 39 Principals, with two seconded from the Unemployment Assistance Board and one from the Post Office, with two Assistant Principals acting as Principals.

The last Home Office approval from the Treasury

Establishment Division before 3 September 1939 came in July 1939 when it was agreed that three Assistant Principals could be appointed in the Home Office as "Resident Clerks".

(22) They were appointed on 31 July 1939 to work on a three-shift basis over 24 hours and received an "allowance of £60 per annum" plus "free quarters, attendance, fuel and light" - they were the original "Duty Officers" who exist today in all Government departments.

The last organisational matter that concerned the Home Office immediately before the 1939-45 war was the transfer, in July 1939, from the Home Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal, of its responsibilities under the A.R.P. Act 1937 and the Civil Defence Act 1939. Samuel Hoare at the Home Office relinquished these responsibilities to Sir John Anderson, former Permanent Secretary at the Home Office who had been appointed Lord Privy Seal on 31 October 1938. A new Ministry of Home Security was set up with joint Permanent Secretaries, Sir Thomas Gardener and Sir George Gater. Gater became sole Permanent Secretary in 1940, after being Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry of Supply for a few months (he had been Clerk of the London County Council under Herbert Morrison - who became his Minister in October 1940).

On the outbreak of war 3 September 1939 Anderson and Hoare exchanged portfolios, Hoare becoming Lord Privy Seal and a member of the War Cabinet, and Anderson, Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security but not in the War Cabinet. On the formation of the coalition Government in May 1940 Hoare was replaced as Lord Privy Seal by Clement Attlee, but Anderson remained as Home Secretary and

Minister of Home Security until October 1940 when he was replaced by Herbert Morrison.

Ministry of Labour

The Ministry of Labour establishment increased by nearly 50% in the eight years from 1930 to 1938. Although the highest pre-war numbers of unemployed was reached in January 1932 (2,955,000 insured workers registered as unemployed), the number of unemployed was still at 2,032,000 in January 1939, and the payment of benefits provided the greatest part of the Ministry's work. Three changes arose in the Ministry of Labour - the need for a Regional structure, changes in Unemployment Insurance registration and the new National Service role.

Unemployment benefits, "the dole", had been paid to claimants on a local basis since the National Insurance Act 1911, and the Employment Exchanges (originally styled Labour Exchanges under the 1909 Act of that name) were used for this purpose. The Ministry of Labour as with all Government departments did not have a formal regional structure.

Regional structures

The first expansionary move was made by Francis Floud in 1931 when a regional structure termed "Outstations" was set up.(23) England, Wales and Scotland were divided into seven regions, based on regional offices: North East - Leeds, South East - London, South West - Bristol , North

West - Manchester, Midland - Birmingham, Wales - Cardiff and Scotland - Edinburgh. Each regional office was headed by a Regional Controller with the rank of Assistant Secretary, with a Principal as Deputy Regional Controller. The regional offices were staffed by a departmental class of civil servants. This class had been established through the machinery of the Ministry of Labour Departmental Whitley Council in 1931 (page 213). A First Class Officer had the same employment terms as a Senior Executive Officer, a Second Class Officer the same as a Higher Executive Officer, and a Third Class Officer the same as an Executive Officer.

Whilst the new regional organisation required additional staff, it became the basis of a structure that was already in operation when the Ministry had to take on the additional responsibilities for National Service registration required by the Military Training Act 1939, without incurring any further increase in staff. An important result after September 1939 in meeting war-time needs was the use made by the Home Office and the Ministry of Home Security of a similar regional structure to operate their Civil Defence and Fire Service organisations. The pattern of the 1931 Ministry of Labour regional organisation became part of the structure for many other departments: it is still used in the Department of Employment (successor to the Ministry of Labour), Department of the Environment, Department of Trade and Industry and the Health and Safety Executive.

In 1932 the Industrial Relations Department was also expanded on a regional basis. Whilst the Chief

Conciliation Officer (an Assistant Secretary) remained at the London headquarters, Outstation (Regional) Conciliation Officers were appointed to the London, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham and Cardiff offices. A Regional Conciliation Officer was not appointed for the South West Region, and in Scotland the Regional Conciliation Officer was based in Glasgow as the centre of the Clyde Valley concentration of heavy engineering industries. The Regional Conciliation Officers had the grade of First Class Officers (S.E.O) and reported directly to the Chief Conciliation Officer in London.

The setting up in 1932 of the Ministry of Labour conciliation service on a regional basis followed an upsurge of industrial disputes centred on the Yorkshire wool textile industry and the Lancashire cotton spinners and weavers between 1929 and 1932. During these four years 3,258,000 working days were lost because of industrial disputes in the wool textile industry, and 15,310,000 days lost through disputes in the cotton textile industry - each dispute lasted an average of six weeks.(24) As with the main regional organisation of the Ministry of Labour the regional conciliation service was in a position in September 1939 to expand to meet the war-time need for assistance in the urgent settlement of industrial disputes.

Changes in Unemployment Insurance Legislation.

The second change in the Ministry of Labour structure during the years of growth arose from two legislative changes concerned with the payment of unemployment

insurance benefits. The first was introduced during the 1929-31 minority Labour government: the Unemployment Insurance Act 1930 made qualification easier for transitional benefits - these benefits were paid to claimants in need of assistance but unable to fulfil the usual qualifying conditions. The Act also abolished the requirements that a claimant should be "genuinely seeking work". However the Act placed responsibility for the long-term unemployed directly on the Exchequer, and receipt of long-term benefit was subject to a household "means test" which was not abolished until the Determination of Needs Act 1941.

Hugh Dalton in his diary gave an account of some of the problems that arose during the passage of the legislation through the House of Commons in December 1929.(25) "... Bondfield [Minister of Labour] at her worst... they had Bondfield up in Cabinet, and again before a small Cabinet Committee, and told her she must be prepared to meet objections and bring the clause [on transitional benefits] into line with party policy. Uncle [Henderson, Foreign Secretary] thinks if we had been in two years MacDonald [Prime Minister] would have asked her to resign. She says administration would become impossible if amendments accepted... She is under the thumb of her officials. The staff at the Ministry of Labour is ruining this Government". (Francis Floud succeeded Horace Wilson as Permanent Secretary a year later in November 1930).

The second of the legislative changes was contained in the Unemployment Act 1934, under which an amended scheme was introduced. This new scheme distinguished between

"unemployment benefit" paid from the Unemployment Fund for a limited period to claimants who satisfied the contribution conditions, and "unemployment assistance" paid subject to a "means test" to those still needing assistance after exhausting their entitlement to benefit, or to those not entitled to benefit (usually because of a lack of the required number of contributions between two periods of unemployment). The long-term unemployment assistance was paid directly by the Exchequer through a new Board, the Unemployment Assistance Board.

The requirement for the Ministry of Labour to undertake the administration of the transitional benefits provision contained in the 1930 Act, which had caused concern to the Minister, Margaret Bondfield, led to a new Transitional Payments Department being set up in 1933. The new Department had a Principal Assistant Secretary (C.W.G. Eady) in charge, supported by an Assistant Secretary and two Principals: the Transitional Payments Department worked alongside the existing Unemployment Insurance Department administering the payment of benefits from the Unemployment Fund. When the U.A.B. began to operate in June 1934, Eady was appointed as Secretary (with the rank of Under Secretary). The other Administrative Class civil servants transferred to the Board were two Principal Assistant Secretaries, Watson and Reid, on loan from the Ministry of Labour, four Assistant Secretaries and nine Principals.

Sir Henry Betterton (later Lord Rushcliffe who had served as Minister of Labour since the National Government was formed in August 1931 became the first Chairman of the

Board. He was succeeded as Minister of Labour by Oliver Stanley. Eady extended his administrative experience as the senior civil servant responsible for setting up a new department. As described earlier in this chapter he was transferred to the Home Office in 1938 as Deputy Secretary with responsibility for the new A.R.P. Department.

The Approach of War and the National Service role.

At 1st April 1938 the Ministry of Labour establishment had reached 26,934, an increase of 8,800 in eight years. The regional organisation set up in 1931 and the expansion of the Industrial Relations Department with a regional conciliation service had produced an increase in establishments. The Unemployment Assistant Board was largely staffed by civil servants on loan from the Ministry of Labour and still shown in the Ministry's establishment figures.

This expansion by 1938 had produced an increase in the services departments: the Services and Establishment Department was headed by a Director (Principal Assistant Secretary), supported by two Assistant Secretaries and seven Principals. The Statistics Department was headed by a Director (Assistant Secretary), a Deputy Director (Principal) and six Senior Executive Officers. A General Department which had existed in the early years of the Ministry at its London headquarters was reactivated and headed by a recently promoted Principal Assistant Secretary, Geoffrey Ince. The third change in the structure of the Ministry occurred in May 1939 with the

passing of the Military Training Act by which all men on reaching the age of 20 were liable to be called up for military training for a period of six months. The Ministry of Labour was given a new role that was both administrative and regulatory: for the first time a civil authority was given the responsibility to undertake the registration, medical examination and calling up for military service. To do this work the Ministry already had a regional organisation and this organisation provided regional centres (later extended to all major cities and towns) for registration and examination, with the new National Service Department as part of the London headquarters. With the outbreak of war six months later the National Service Department became the largest Department in the Ministry during the years 1939 to 1945.

A Principal Assistant Secretary who had headed the Unemployment Insurance Department since 1935 moved to the new Department, three Assistant Secretaries and six Principals formed the support staff. In contrast, and reflecting the fall in the number of unemployed persons, the Unemployment Insurance Department had an acting Principal Assistant Secretary in charge, one of the two Assistant Secretaries was on loan to Imperial Airways and the posts of Chief Insurance Officer (Assistant Secretary) and two Deputy Chief Insurance Officers (Principals) were abolished. On the outbreak of war 3 September 1939 there were no organisational changes in the Ministry of Labour; the National Service Department remained part of the Ministry. However the title was changed to reflect the wider responsibilities to the Ministry of Labour and

National Service (this title did not revert to Ministry of Labour until 1959 when the cessation of compulsory military service was announced to take effect from the end of 1960).

Ernest Brown who had been appointed Minister in 1935 in the Baldwin Cabinet did not become a member of the Chamberlain War Cabinet. On the formation of the coalition government in May 1940. Brown was replaced by Ernest Bevin, who joined the Churchill War Cabinet in October 1940.

A number of factors emerge from the relationships of the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour with the Treasury Establishment Division from 1919 to 1933, and during the years of growth from 1933 until the outbreak of war in September 1939.

The first concerns the effect that the Treasury Establishment Division restraints had on the regulatory role of the Home Office in regard to two aspects of social policy: the law concerning Liquor Licensing and Gambling. The nature of the Home Office function had always been regulatory, which tended towards the preservation of the "status quo" ante. This ethos continued during Troup's long tenure as Permanent Secretary, extending over fourteen years until 1922. He had only a small team of Administrative Class civil servants headed by two long-serving Under Secretaries: Blackwell headed the Legal Department concerned with criminal law matters, and Delevigne headed the Industrial Division: His main responsibilities were the regulatory duties of the Factory Inspectors, and, until 1931, the Mine Inspectors.

In 1919 the two Under Secretaries were supported by

six Assistant Secretaries, the majority of whom had been in the same grade for 10 years, and six Senior Clerks (Principals). The other regulatory functions were covered by small teams of inspectors who monitored the social legislation that ranged from the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876 to the Dangerous Drugs Act of 1920.

John Anderson's period at the Home Office from 1922 to 32 was marked by two contrasts, the first was the amount of time he spent away from the Home Office on other work, e.g. as chairman of the inter-departmental committee of civil servants concerned with co-ordinating emergency organisation both before and during the General Strike 1926, and again chairing the committee of civil servants that worked with the Thomas committee on unemployment that sat from 1929 to 1930. In contrast he left establishment questions to one of his Principals, Crapper, to put proposals to the T.E.D. where Scott often left it to his Establishment officer, Rae, to respond. Again, like his predecessor Troup, Anderson only undertook a major review of his administrative structure when he knew he was leaving the Home Office (in his case not retirement but to become Governor of Bengal). Both Permanent Secretary's appear to have regarded establishment work a dreary chore best left to lower staff, and not a matter of much importance.

When Anderson was eventually moved to effect a major reorganisation of the administrative staff at the Home Office, he used the pending retirements of Blackwell and Delevigne to good effect, although in fact they did not finally go until 1932-33 when both were past the retiring age of 60. By agreeing not to replace them Anderson

obtained T.E.D. approval for a Deputy Secretary, three Under Secretaries with additional Assistant Secretaries and Principals to create the Divisional structure discussed in Chapter 4. (Table E).

An example of the "status quo" ante being maintained over the 20 years from 1919 to 1939 was in the area of social legislation which affected a majority of the adult population - namely Liquor Licensing and Gambling. The Licensing hours for Public House had been greatly restricted by the Defence of the Realm Acts passed during the 1914-18 war. "Off course" cash betting on horse racing and sweepstakes were illegal. The Home Office divisional structure operating from 1932 placed responsibility for these two related matters in different Divisions. The Assistant Secretary responsible for formulating Licensing policy also had responsibility for the Shop Acts, Explosives and Dangerous Drugs, whilst the Assistant Secretary responsible for Gaming policy, also had responsibility for Road Traffic legislation, Firearms, the War Book and Civil Emergencies.

Neither of these public policy matters had any innovative work done to them, and by the late 1930's the licensing laws were being circumvented by the growth of private drinking clubs for "members only", so avoiding the restriction on the hours when drink could be sold, and the gaming laws by the illegal "importation" of sweepstake tickets from Eire and "football pools", which evaded the law by being conducted on a credit basis, by post - the stake money being sent the next week.

However, if these two major social topics did not

receive Home Office attention because of any Ministerial interest by the four Home Secretaries that served between 1933 and 1939, they were matters which had been considered by the Head of the Civil Service. Warren Fisher went on pre-retirement leave and handed over to his successor Horace Wilson on 20 May 1939 and was appointed Regional Commissioner designate N.W. Region. Five days earlier in a long letter to Wilson, (26) he wrote a "cri de coeur" on his twenty years as Permanent Secretary at the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, listing many of the failures, and, at the end of the letter set out "a few of the many points I have noted over the years and tried - without much success - to bring to some issue. They are as you will see, a mixed bag, greatly varying in significance".

Fisher listed them under a number of headings - Colonial Administration, Foreign, Machinery of Government, Local Government and Judicial Appointments. However, the list was headed with what he termed "Social" and two of his three points covered Licensing and Gaming. His views on these matters were ahead of his time -" 1. Licensing Laws to be amended so to replace restriction on hours by requirements that public houses shall be grouped in large premises where food, games like Dominoes and other amenities shall be provided as well as alcohol (more resembling cafes). 2. Introduce Sweepstakes under appropriate safe guards and supervision. Make facilities the same for the poor as for the rich and thus reduce the extent to which the former are unconscionably molested".

Whilst there is no direct evidence that the regulatory legislation would have been examined, and if necessary

amended, if there had been greater Ministerial interest in the Home Office; the diversion of establishment resources to Civil Defence activities reduced the possibility further after 1937.

The second factor relates to Scott's approach to the establishment requirements of the new Air Raids Precautions Department. Scott never showed the strength on establishment matters that might have been expected from a former Controller of Establishments. He had inherited the new organisational structure for the Home Office which Anderson had agreed with Fisher, and on which he had been bypassed as head of the Treasury Establishment Division. When Blackwell finally took retirement in 1932 at the age of 65, Scott was soon engaged in a ridiculous dispute with the T.E.D. over the appointment of an Assistant Legal Advisor.

As detailed in Chapter 4, both the Home Office and the Treasury Officials showed remarkable obstinacy in a dispute over the appointment of an unestablished civil servant who was to be paid at the minimum of the Assistant Secretary scale of salary. Scott only won the day by invoking the support of his Home Secretary Gilmour - something he was to do again five years later. Establishment work continued to be carried out by an Assistant Secretary on a part-time basis. This arrangement was one that brought adverse comment from Rae when the appointment of a Home Office Principal Finance and Establishment Officer was put forward by Maxwell, soon after Scott had retired.

Scott never appeared to have achieved any real impact against the resistance of Rae and the T.E.D; on a personal

basis, Rae must have known Scott's personality well after serving as his deputy for eleven years, and although an A.R.P. department had been agreed in 1935 and the Home Office became the department responsible for civil defence, Scott was still opposed by the T.E.D. in seeking an additional Principal for his War Planning section in 1937.

What came to Scott's rescue was the Air Raids Precautions Act of 1937, and the Home Secretary Hoare's intervention with Fisher on the shortage of Administrative Class civil servants to man the new Department.

The third factor, is that despite the apathy that existed on establishment questions from 1932 to 1937 there were two positive innovations achieved. The promotion of a Clerical Officer to Assistant Principal, although four similar appointments had been made in three other departments, was a rare event in the civil service, and still is today. The promotion of two specialists civil servants from the Factory Inspectorate to the Administrative Class was a forerunner of many similar appointments made in the war years from 1939 to 1945.

The continuing weakness in the Home Office's relations with the Treasury Establishment Division through the 1920's to the mid 1930's, despite a former Controller of Establishments becoming Permanent Secretary at the Home Office in 1932, was followed by the expansion of the Home Office in the late 1930's occasioned by the needs of national security, and this change did something to turn this weakness into a position of strength for Scott's successor Alexander Maxwell when he was appointed Permanent Secretary in January 1938.

In contrast the relationship of the Ministry of Labour with the Treasury Establishment Division showed the effect that the positive approach of Floud and Phillips had on the organisation of the department.

First, the organisational structure of the Ministry of Labour between 1920 and 1939 was based on the reorganisation devised and implemented by Masterton-Smith in October 1920 with the separation of the administrative and interventionist roles: although the interventionist role declined between 1924 and 1932 the overall framework survived. Second, in a large department staff relations were an important factor in determining the success or otherwise in the operation of the organisation. Third, the size of the Ministry of Labour gave it an advantage in achieving internal establishment changes in contrast to the detailed scrutiny of minor establishment changes that the Home Office was subjected to by the Treasury Establishment Division at least until 1937.

Although Horace Wilson was recognised as a "Treasury man" he had accepted the role of the Whitley Council at both national and departmental level: he was chairman of the National Joint Whitley Council from 1932 to 1939 and continued as a member from 1939 to 1942 whilst Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service. Where he differed from his successor at the Ministry of Labour, Floud, was that he regarded the Whitley process as a means of joint consultation: Floud regarded the Whitley process at departmental level as a means of joint determination. Joint consultation is not a decision making process whilst joint determination is.

Allowing for the laudatory remarks made at retirement presentations, the comments of the representatives of the staff associations and trade unions representing the middle and junior grades of civil servants in the Ministry of Labour showed a regard for Floud's recognition of the need to assimilate and grade the departmental classes which had been part of the organisational structure since the Ministry was set up in 1916. Floud was able to put this support to effective use when creating a regional organisation in 1931, and a year later when he revived a moribund Industrial Relations and Conciliation Department on a limited regional basis.

Both these actions provided the Ministry of Labour with the framework for the larger regional organisation that was required when the National Service function became part of the Ministry's responsibility in 1939. Floud's successor in January 1935, Phillips, had already demonstrated his role as the "Insurance man" and had served as Deputy Secretary with both Wilson and Floud from 1924 to 1934 when the Unemployment Insurance Department required the largest part of the total Ministry establishment.

When the National service function became part of the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour, Phillips was able to utilise the establishment resources of a decentralised regional organisation concerned with Unemployment Insurance, which declined as the number of unemployed persons fell, to meet the new requirement for the registration, examination and call-up of men under the Military Training Act 1939.

5/3 Conclusions.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the contrasting relationship between the two departments and the Treasury Establishment Division during the year 1933 to 1939.

At the Home Office, Scott's appointment as Permanent Secretary did not produce the change in relationship that might have been expected from a former Controller of Establishments. Scott continued to leave establishment questions to be dealt with by a junior official Crapper, who in addition had other departmental responsibilities: only on Maxwell's appointment in 1938 was the rank of the Home Office Establishment Officer raised to the level that Fisher had expected following the Treasury Circular of 19 years earlier.

Second, at the Ministry of Labour the continuation of an organisational structure originally devised by Masterton-Smith, adapted by Floud and utilised by Phillips, together with the size of the department allowed internal establishment changes to be effected without the detailed scrutiny that the Home Office, until 1937, was subjected to by the Treasury Establishment Division. Floud and Phillips laid the groundwork for the regional structure that was required when National Service was added to the department's responsibilities in 1939. Whilst in contrast a separate Ministry had to be set up in 1939 to take on the regional responsibility of the Home Office for Civil Defence.

NOTES

- (1) Public Record Office, File T162/582/E4080/2 "Home Office Administrative Appointments" 1935-41.
- (2) Rodney Lowe, "The Ministry of Labour 1916-1924: A Graveyard of Social Reform" Public Administration Vol.52 1974. p.429.
- (3) Churchill College Archives, Cambridge, Francis Floud Papers Box FLUD 4/4.
- (4) "Cato" (Michael Foot, Peter Howard and Frank Owen), Guilty Men (London: Gollancz, 1940) p.63.
- (5) H.M.S.O. Imperial Calendar 1933 p.p.152-256.
- (6) H.B. Butler, Confident Morning (London: Macmillan, 1950). p.158.
- (7) Public Record Office, File T162/582/E4080/2 (Crapper to Fraser 6.8.1936).
- (8) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (13.10.1936).
- (9) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (20.10.1936).
- (10) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (6.11.1936).
- (11) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (14.12.1938).
- (12) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (17.12.1938).
- (13) Conversation with his son, Professor Ben Pimlott (17.3.1986).
- (14) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Scott to Rae 2.2.1937).
- (15) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Rae to Scott 25.3.1937).
- (16) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (13.7.1938).
- (17) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Scott to Rae 23.12.1937).

- (18) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Maxwell to Rae 13.10.1938).
- (19) G.C. Peden, British Rearmament and the
Treasury 1932-1939
(Edinburgh: Scottish Academic
Press, 1979).
p.p.196-197.
- (20) H.M.S.O. Imperial Calendar 1938.
- (21) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
1939.
- (22) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(31.7.1939).
- (23) Public Record Office, File LAB12 "Ministry of
Labour Establishments" 1916-
46.
- (24) David Butler and British Political Facts
Anne Sloman, 1900-1979 5th Edn. (London:
Macmillan, 1980). p.339.
- (25) Ben Pimlott, (ed.,) The Political Diary of Hugh
Dalton 1918-40 and 1945-60
(London: Macdonald, 1987).
p.p. 78-79.
- (26) British Library of Warren Fisher Papers
Political and Economics Box 2/38-44.
Science, London,

CHAPTER 6

The years of war 1939-45

The requirements of war soon produced an extended role for both the Home office and the Ministry of Labour. This chapter examines how the two departments responded to their wider roles, with particular reference to the increase required in establishments to meet their increased work loads. The relationship of both departments with the Treasury Establishment Division is connected to the roles played by a new Permanent Secretary at the Home Office, Sir Alexander Maxwell, and the last four years of Sir Thomas Phillip's ten years as Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour, and the first year of his successor Sir Godfrey Ince's twelve years as Permanent Secretary. These relationships are measured against the Treasury Establishment Divisions's operation immediately following the retirement of Warren Fisher after 20 years as Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, and his successors Horace Wilson, from 1939 to 1942, and Richard Hopkins from 1942 to 1945. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the effects of the Crookshank Committee, the Rae Committee and the House of Commons Select Committee on the control of the Civil Service on the relationship of the two departments with the Treasury Establishment Division. This assessment shows that whilst the three committees made criticisms of the role of the Treasury Establishment Division in the inter-war years, control of establishments in the 1939-45 war years remained firmly with the Treasury. Control of establishments did

not pass to the Ministry of Labour: a key factor being that "direction of labour" for which the Ministry of Labour had statutory powers over employees in the private sector did not extend to civil servants until the last month of the war in Europe in May 1945.

6/1 The wider role of the Home Office

The wider role of the Home Office took the form of a new Department being created: on 3rd September 1939 a Ministry of Home Security was set up by an Order in Council, and Sir John Anderson, who had succeeded Sir Samuel Hoare on the same day, was designated Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security. To assist him in his additional Parliamentary duties the Home Secretary had a Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Home Security, appointed on 6 September 1939 (Alan Lennox-Boyd), and a second Parliamentary Secretary appointed on 24 October 1939 (William Mabane).

For the purpose of this thesis the administrative class civil servants of the two departments are regarded as part of the wider wartime role of the Home Office.

Although the Ministry of Home Security had its own Permanent Secretary, for the first year 1939-40 Sir Thomas Gardiner, on loan from his position as Director General of the Post Office, the majority of its administrative class civil servants were also on loan, either from the Home Office or from other department. The administrative purpose of creating a new Department was to separate the long-established regulatory roles of the Home Office from

the new administrative roles which the Home Office had been given when the Air Raids Precautions department had been set up in 1937. The Ministry of Home Security took over all the A.R.P. responsibilities, with the exception of the financial grants made to local authorities for A.R.P. work, which remained with the Home Office A.R.P. Grants Branch. By the beginning of 1940 the new Ministry had created a full administrative class structure,(1).

The Ministry of Home Security.

To the Permanent Secretary, Gardiner, there were three senior staff reporting: a Deputy Secretary, Eady, in charge of the A.R.P. Department, the Inspector General A.R.P., Wing Commander Hodsall, and a Chief of Civil Defence Operational Staff, a retired General, Sir Hugh Ellas. Eady as head of the A.R.P. Department had five Under Secretaries reporting to him, all on loan from other departments, including one from the Home Office. The eleven Assistant Secretaries were also all on loan from other departments, seven from the Home office. There were 18 Principals, again all on loan with eight from the Home Office, and the ten Assistant Principals were all on loan from the Home Office.

The A.R.P. Department was divided into various Branches: a Supply Branch, a Camouflage Branch, an Engineers Branch, a Research and Experimental Branch. The two-Anti-Gas Schools had been given a wider role and were restyled A.R.P. Schools, but they had the same retired military staff manning them.

A new war-time operation was the Women's Voluntary Service for Civil Defence manned by voluntary staff who gave a back-up service in assisting A.R.P. and Fire Service staff during air attacks. The General Secretary of the W.V.S. was a civil servant, Miss Mary Smieton, an Assistant Secretary on loan from the Ministry of Labour (in 1959 she became the second woman to reach the rank of Permanent Secretary when appointed Permanent Secretary, Department of Education).

Civil Defence Regional Organisation.

The major administrative feature of the new Department was the creation of a regional structure for supervision of the operation of civil defence at local level. This regional structure of the Ministry of Home Security was the one created by the Ministry of Labour in 1931 and extended when its manpower registration and mobilisation schemes became fully operational in 1941. The Ministry of Home Security regional structure divided the country into 12 regions, nine for England, two for Scotland and one for Wales. Each region was headed by a Regional Commissioner assisted by a Deputy. These appointments were filled by local figures and retired senior civil servants. Each region had a Principal Officer who was a civil servant at Assistant Secretary level, although many of the posts were filled by temporary appointments.

When the first Regional Commissioner and Deputy Regional Commissioner appointments were made between September 1939 and May 1940, the National Government of

Chamberlain was still in office and many of these appointed were supporters of that Government,(2) which later in the war led to occasional confrontations, the most famous being between Herbert Morrison, who succeeded John Anderson as Home Secretary in October 1940, and Warren Fisher who was serving in his retirement as Regional Commissioner, London. This episode ended with Fisher being dismissed by Morrison (3).

The Defence Regulations.

The Home Office itself soon faced an extended role as a result of the wartime regulations that were promulgated as Defence Regulations under the provisions of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939, which passed through all its stages in Parliament on 24 August 1939 during Samuel Hoare's last few days as Home Secretary.

The Defence Regulations gave to the Home Office two major additional regulatory roles, needing additional staff to carry them out. The first was the extended control of aliens entering and leaving the United Kingdom, and the internment of enemy aliens resident in the United Kingdom. The second was the censorship of mail. When a Ministry of Information was revived (there had been one in the first world war from February 1918 to January 1919) on 4 September 1939, it was given the responsibility for censorship, but this role was soon recognised as being in conflict with its main role of giving rather than restricting information. During the short period from January 1940 to May 1940 when Sir John Reith (the former

first Director General of the B.B.C.) was Minister of information, it was decided that censorship was a regulatory function, and in March 1940 the Ministry of Information transferred to the Home Office its function for censorship under the Defence Regulations,(4).

The irony of this transfer of responsibilities was that the Home Office found that the location of its new censorship operations were the offices and staff of the two football pool's companies in Liverpool - Littlewoods and Vernons. (See Chapter 5 for the details of this successful attempt to overcome the archaic gambling legislation which the Home Office continued to attempt to regulate until the 1960's) The checkers of football pools' documents became the censors of all mail sent to, or received from outside the United Kingdom to allied, neutral, and enemy states between 1940 and 1945.

Whilst the Home Office gained an additional regulatory role in censorship work; in June 1940 (a month after Ernest Bevin succeeded Ernest Brown as Minister of Labour) the Ministry of Labour took over responsibility for the major regulatory work of the Factory Inspectorate - although this war-time measure was not made permanent until April 1946. The Home Office never regained this task which had been with the Home Office since the inception of the Factory Inspectorate in 1833. (Delevigne did not "die on the steps of the Home Office" to prevent it happening; he died from natural causes in 1950). This war-time transfer was more than the movement of a regulatory role from one department to another; it had a greater significance in that working conditions, including health and safety, were

seen by the wartime Coalition Government as being more correctly an administrative function, and therefore to be the responsibility of an administrative rather than a regulatory department, with Ernest Bevin a more powerful Minister of Labour than earlier ones.

The effect on the establishment levels at the Home Office was considerable. In January 1940, shortly before the transfer of responsibility, the staff of the Factory Department totalled 208,(5) consisting of a Chief Inspector, four Deputy Chief Inspectors, eleven Superintending Inspectors, a Senior Medical Inspector, ten Medical Inspectors, eleven Electrical and eleven Mechanical Inspectors and 159 Factory Inspectors Class 1A and 1B.

Although the Home Office lost its Factory Department staff to the Ministry of Labour in June 1940, by the beginning of 1940,(6) the Administrative staff had doubled from the number employed four years earlier, even allowing for those on loan to the Ministry of Home Security. In 1935 Administrative Class staff from Permanent Secretary to Principal, including the Legal Department totalled 39. By 1940 they had been increased to a Permanent Secretary, a Deputy Secretary (in charge of the Ministry of Home Security A.R.P. Department), and seven Under Secretaries, of whom one was on loan to the Ministry of Home Security. Amongst the Under Secretaries was Frank Newsam, who was to succeed Maxwell as Permanent Secretary in 1948 and had charge of all matters about aliens and their internment from 1940-43. There were 23 Assistant Secretaries (seven on loan to the Ministry of Home Security) and 37 Principals (eight on loan to the Ministry of Home Security). The

Legal Department had grown to a Legal Adviser, two Assistant Legal Advisers and two temporary Legal Advisers, giving a total of 74 against the 39 of 1935. The new Public Relations Department had, in addition to the Public Relations Officer, a Deputy, and three Press Officers - showing early recognition of the importance of information and press relations during the war.

The Finance and Establishment Division, which had been set up by agreement between Maxwell and Rae in 1938, had expanded into three Branches reporting to an Under Secretary, Hancock. The Finance Branch had an Assistant Secretary, two Chief Executive officers, three Senior Staff Officers (Senior Executive Officers) and ten Staff Officers) (Higher Executive Officers). There was a new A.R.P. Grants Branch which retained the Home Offices' responsibility for A.R.P. grant payments to Local Authorities, a war-time example of a "Secretary of State" Department retaining the 1919 principle of its Permanent Secretary being the Chief Accounting Officer for all financial payments. Although the Ministry of Home Security had operational responsibility for all A.R.P. work at both national and regional levels, the Home Office remained the "paymaster". The A.R.P. Grants Branch had an Assistant Accountant General, a Chief Accountant, three Accountants and nine Assistant Accountants (of whom four were temporary appointments). The Establishment Branch had an Assistant Secretary, a Principal, an Assistant Principal, a Senior Staff Officer and five Staff Officers, of whom the Principal and three Staff Officers were on loan to the Ministry of Home Security. The Branches responsible for

the other Home Office regulatory roles - Drugs, Children, Probation, Firearms and Explosives had the same complement of Inspectors as in 1939. The Inspectors of Constabulary had been increased from two to three - another retired service officer. Home Office thinking in the 1920's and 30's was that the civilian police forces of England and Wales had to be "inspected" each year by retired service officers rather than by retired police officers.

Alien control.

The other regulatory Branch of the Home Office at the outbreak of war in September 1939 was the Immigration Branch. Alien immigration, that is the entry of non-British subjects into the United Kingdom, was first examined by a Royal Commission chaired by Lord James, which sat from March 1902 to August 1903 (Cd. 1741). Control of immigrants was exercised by the Home Office with Immigration Inspectors and Immigration Officers at all the main ports, which at that time were the places of entry in the United Kingdom. The Home Office was also concerned with applications from resident aliens to become British subjects through a process of naturalisation, when aliens were granted a certificate by which in law they became British subjects. The control of entry was a regulatory process: the issue of certificates of naturalisation was an administrative process. (See Chapter 5 for the approval of an additional Assistant Principal to deal with increased applications from Italians and seamen wanting U.K. citizenship).

Aliens who had been allowed entry and resided in the U.K. were required to register with the police. This provision was part of the Aliens Restriction Act 1914, which had been passed by Parliament on 4 August 1914 as part of the "emergency" war-time legislation of the 1914-18 war and never repealed. By the beginning of 1940,(7) the Immigration Branch staff had not increased from its 1939 level of a Chief Inspector, a Deputy Chief Inspector, a Superintending Inspector, seven Inspectors and fifteen Chief Immigration Officers.

The occupation of most of Western Europe by the advancing German Army brought considerable changes to the Home Officer's role during May and June 1940. The aspect of immigration that became the new responsibility of the Home Office in 1940 was not the control of entry, which was the regulatory role it had exercised between the wars. After September 1939 only a few citizens from neutral countries were granted entry against the virtually uncontrolled entry of citizens from allied countries. The Home office responsibility switched from a regulatory to an administrative function: the control of enemy aliens who were resident for various reasons in the United Kingdom. The dual role that the Home Office had to undertake over aliens during the years 1939-45, becoming both regulatory and administrative, gave Maxwell as Permanent Secretary and the Treasury Establishment Division the need to find a suitable senior civil servant to take on this responsibility. Their choice was Frank Newsam who had joined the Home Office in 1919 under the Reconstruction non-examination method of entry for ex-servicemen, having

been a Captain in the Army and awarded the Military Cross. He had had private office experience as private secretary to Anderson (when Permanent Secretary in 1926 and during the General Strike), and as private secretary to four Home Secretaries from 1927 to 1933 (Joynson-Hicks, Clynes, Samuel and Gilmour).

He was loaned to the Ministry of Home Security in September 1939 and served for a short time as Principal Officer for the South East Region. In April 1940 he returned to the Home Office as an Under Secretary, reporting direct to Maxwell, with responsibility for enemy aliens and their internment. As the Gillman's describe him(8) "Newsam was a tall dominating figure with an intriguingly dark pigmentation, the product of a mixed match amongst his forbears in Barbados". Newsam was educated at Harrison College Barbados before going to St. John's College Oxford.

He was described as being "...renowned in Whitehall for his unusual inclination to speak his mind. Whitehall also considered him as a liberal, a term not necessarily applied with approval."

Newsam with his Permanent Secretary, Maxwell, and his Minister, Anderson, combined to provide strong opposition to those who wished to alter the administrative arrangements that had to be made in applying the policy for the internment of enemy aliens. "...they used every stratagem for obstruction and delay known to Whitehall: setting up committees, calling for reports, seeking to spread responsibilities, making concessions in slow and considered steps. For connoisseurs of the political

process, it was a superb performance worthy of greater success than it achieved".(9)

The background to this extended regulatory role which had been a Home office responsibility since 1914 had not produced any significant increase in the staff of the Immigration Branch in the years leading up to the 1939-45 war. Chapter 5 discussed how the Treasury resisted any additional staff for the Home Office War Planning operation, and, although the number of German, Austrian and Czechoslovakian citizens admitted as "refugees" had reached 55,000 by September 1939, the Home Office Immigration Branch had not been staffed at a level which allowed for any detailed checks to be made. The staff of the Immigration Branch had increased only by one between 1931 and 1939.

Other than the requirement for aliens to register with the police after being allowed entry, the condition for entry was that "the alien concerned should not become a charge on the state". Many aliens entering the U.K. in the 1930's indicated that they had either the means to support themselves or friends already in the U.K. who would support them. The Jewish community promised to support all Jewish refugees. Other aliens claiming to be refugees were allowed to enter on "extended-visitors" permits. The internment of enemy aliens had caused considerable problems for the Home office in the 1914-18 war. In 1923 the Committee of Imperial Defence took the view that the policy to be followed in the event of another European war was to expel enemy aliens to their country of origin. This policy was reviewed in April 1938,(10) when the C.I.D. set up a

committee to consider "The Control of Aliens in war". The Home Office was represented on this committee along with the War Office and the intelligence agencies. The committee endorsed the long established policy that all enemy aliens who had been allowed to enter the U.K. since 1 January 1919 should "be required to return to their own countries".(11) When war was declared on 3 September 1939, enemy aliens were allowed until 9 September to leave the U.K. 2,000 German citizens left by that date and only about 100 who wished to leave failed to meet the deadline set.

As the great majority of enemy aliens claimed that they had entered the U.K. as refugees, those that accepted expulsion by 9 September 1939 represented virtually all those who had good reason to return to their own country, which at that stage of the war meant German or Austria. Faced from the beginning of the war with a failure of the policy of returning enemy aliens to their own countries the Home Office had to revise their regulatory role of expulsion into answering the question: should those enemy aliens who remained in the U.K., either as refugees or not, be allowed to remain at liberty or be interned?

The initial Home Office role was to administer 120 Tribunals which were set up, with a legally qualified chairman and two lay assessors, to interview all enemy aliens who had chosen to remain in the U.K. These tribunals had to place enemy aliens, German and Austrian citizens, but not refugees from Czechoslovakia who, in a statement from Home Secretary Anderson on 4 September 1939, were not classified as enemy aliens, into 3 categories:-

Category A - those to be interned

- Category B - those who were not to be interned but were subject to restrictions on movement, residence and reporting to the police
- Category C - those who could remain at liberty without restrictions.

Both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour had officials attending the tribunal hearings, the former to assist tribunals in understanding the various considerations open to them, and the latter to help tribunals to decide whether those enemy aliens placed in Category B or C should be given a work permit.

By November 1939 the tribunals had considered 35,000 cases and placed only 348, under one per cent, in Category A for internment. The final total of cases considered (which was reached by April 1940) was 73,800. Of these, 64,200 were placed in Category C giving them their liberty without restriction.(12) The Anderson-Maxwell "formula" had achieved a regulatory role for the Home Office, and through the use of tribunals had involved only the Home Office Immigration Branch civil servants who were used to assist the tribunals.

But the invasion of Norway, the occupation of Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Occupied France during April, May and June 1940 changed the circumstances. The case for or against internment became one for political rather than administrative decisions. What Maxwell and Newsam had to provide for successive Home Secretaries, Anderson and Morrison, was support in their discussions with the Prime Minister, Churchill, and the majority of his Cabinet who favoured the internment of all enemy aliens, regardless of

whether they had been placed in Categories B and C by the Home Office tribunals. Political pressures for internment reached their peak by mid-1940. On 10 June 1940 Italy entered the war, and 19,000 Italians, many of whom had resided in the U. K. for many years, became enemy aliens. The majority of them could not be classified as refugees, but only a few were regarded by the intelligence agencies to be active supporters of Mussolini. The Home Office and the Foreign Office had plans for only 1,000 - 1,500 to be arrested and interned. The Prime Minister responded immediately. Displaying no regard for the elaborate arrangements the Cabinet had agonized over he issued the terse instructions: "Collar the lot".(13)

By the end of July 1940 the number interned reached its peak of 27,200 of which 19,200 were interned in camps in the U.K., the remainder being sent to camps in Canada and Australia. Although the period of internment lasted until November 1944, the majority had been released by November 1943 reducing the administrative work load of the Home Office officials headed by Newsam.

Two examples of career development.

The operation of internment policy, and its many changes, was Newsam's responsibility as an Under Secretary. His success lay in handling the Home Office aspects of applying policy - one example being his humane attitude to drafting instructions to Chief Constables for the arrest and detention of internees during the large scale operation from May 1940, ameliorating the instruction from the Prime

Minister.

He was promoted to Deputy Secretary in December 1941. This promotion followed the A.R.P. organisation becoming fully operational, so that by the end of 1940, Wilfred Eady, who had remained nominally "number two" to Maxwell, did not return to the Home Office. Instead he went for a few months as Deputy Chairman of the Board of Customs and Excise, before being promoted to Chairman with the rank of Permanent Secretary in 1941. The vacancy in the Home Office establishment was filled by Newsam's promotion to Deputy Secretary, the appointment he held until he succeeded Maxwell as Permanent Secretary in 1948.

The progression of Newsam and Eady to top-grade appointments in the civil service provides an example of the effect that the extended roles given to the Home Office from 1937 onwards had on the career prospects of administrative class civil servants in an old "Secretary of State" department that had offered only extremely limited career prospects in the years between 1919 and 1937.

Newsam's career followed Maxwell's. Both reached Permanent Secretary without serving in any other department. Newsam had Private Office experience as Private Secretary to four Home Secretaries between 1927 and 1933, and reached the grade of Assistant Secretary in 1939 after 20 years at the Home office. Maxwell also had to serve 20 years at the Home Office before becoming an Assistant Secretary. Without the wartime expansion Newsam might have expected to reach only Under Secretary as his final grade before retirement.

Newsam was promoted to Under Secretary in 1940, and to

Deputy Secretary at the end of 1941 after serving only 18 months as an Under Secretary. Although he had to wait seven years until he succeeded Maxwell (who was 58 when appointed Permanent Secretary and 61 when Newsam became his deputy, but because of the war did not retire until he was 68), a short period in one of the Home Office's major wartime activities gave him the accelerated promotion he needed for each Permanent Secretary.

Eady had a totally different career pattern in the civil service. Entering in 1913 as a First Division clerk, after obtaining a "first" in classics at Jesus College Cambridge, he served for a year in the India office and for three years in the Home Office before transferring to the new Ministry of Labour in 1917 as the Private Secretary to its first Permanent Secretary David Shackleton. He obtained the rapid promotion that emerged in the expanding Ministry of Labour and by 1929 at the early age of 39 was a Principal Assistant Secretary as head of the Unemployment Insurance Department. When the Unemployment Assistance Board was set up in 1934, he was transferred as Secretary to the Board, with the rank of Under Secretary (paid at the maximum of the Principal Assistant Secretary scale), and might have remained there for the rest of his career. Many Ministry of Labour Principal Assistant Secretaries, after early promotion, suffered the "plateau effect" of the civil service economies of the 1930's and received no further promotion.

As examined in Chapter 5, the creation in 1937 of an A.R.P. Department at the Home Office called for a civil servant with administrative experience of a large

department, and in 1938 Eady was promoted to Deputy Secretary (at the age of 48) and transferred to the Home Office to head the expanding A.R.P. Department. In September 1939 on the outbreak of war he was transferred on loan to the new Ministry of Home Security which took over responsibility for the A.R.P. function.

After this function was fully operational by the end of 1940 he was transferred again: the fifth departmental move in his civil service career, this time to the Board of Customs and Excise, serving as Deputy Chairman for a few months before his promotion to Chairman (Permanent Secretary) in 1941. Finally, in 1942, after Horace Wilson had retired as Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service and had been succeeded by Richard Hopkins, Eady was transferred to the Treasury as Second Secretary, with the rank of Permanent Secretary and remained there until his retirement in 1952 at the age of 62.

Eady in contrast to Newsam is an example of the Warren-Fisher doctrine that administrative-class civil servants should have gained experience in a number of different departments. Therefore, whether the requirement of the Home Office for an experienced administrator, as opposed to an Under Secretary with only regulatory experience for its expanding role in Air Raid Precautions in 1937, resulting in Eady's transfer from the U.A.B., was the overriding reason for his subsequent progression to Permanent Secretary level is questionable.

Lord Allen of Abbeydale, who joined the Home Office in 1934, and later served as Deputy Secretary, Ministry of

Housing and Local Government, from 1955-60, and as Second Secretary at the Treasury from 1963-66 before becoming Permanent Secretary, Home Office, 1966-72, concedes that the Home Office tended to have an incestuous promotion policy from 1908 to 1957, when three out of the five Home Office Permanent Secretaries spent their whole civil service careers inside the Home Office, and that this situation produced in the Treasury a lack of knowledge of what the Home Office actually did. But he counters this view with an example of Newsam's work whilst an Assistant Secretary in the 1930's in making his mark as a potential Permanent Secretary, without subsequently gaining any experience outside his department.

Allen comments,(14) "It is worth noting that Maxwell, like Troup before him and Newsam after him, spent the whole of his career inside the Home Office; and also that many of the difficult decisions in which they were concerned could be handled by the Home Secretary and his advisers without consultation with any department...All this meant that the Home Office tended to be a little aloof from the rest of Whitehall and I know that when I was at the Treasury I was surprised to discover how little some of my colleagues there knew of what went on in the Home Office".

On Newsam's work he says,(15) "Frank Newsam, who, it is now sometimes forgotten, was amongst many other things the main provider of ideas for tackling the problems set by the blackshirts [Mosley's British Union of Fascists] in the thirties". This state of affairs resulted in the passing of the Public Order Act 1936 controlling street demonstrations, which was updated fifty years later in the

Public Order Act 1986.

The extended regulatory and administrative roles of the Home Office were recognised in September 1939; the mainly regulatory roles remaining with the Home Office, and the new administrative roles concerned with Air Raid Precautions, and from 1941 the National Fire Service, being assigned to the Ministry of Home Security. The staffing of the new department was met by the secondment of Administrative Class civil servants from the Home Office and other departments plus the recruitment of temporary specialised staff, a number of them being retired Service Officers.

A combination of Ministerial (Anderson and Morrison) and senior civil servant (Maxwell and Newsam) effort achieved some amelioration of the draconian measures favoured by Prime Minister, Churchill, and the majority of the War Cabinet on the treatment of "enemy aliens". As Permanent Secretary during the war years Maxwell's human attitude "gently but firmly kept Morrison and the department committed to the liberal principles in which he [Maxwell] so passionately believed".(14)

The impact of war-time needs produced two wider roles to the Home Office and created a need for a division to be made between the expanded regulatory role which the department had to undertake from September 1939 in the control of enemy aliens and the administrative role concerned with civil defence.

The extended regulatory role required a rapid expansion of its Immigration Branch which had remained unchanged in size for 20 years, and with a complement in

January 1940 of only 25 civil servants. The application of the war-time Defence Regulations became the responsibility of Newsam. He, with the support of his Minister Anderson, and his Permanent Secretary Maxwell, applied a liberal approach to the rules on internment in the face of contrary pressures from the Prime Minister Churchill, and the majority of his War Cabinet.

The administrative role covering civil defence for which the Home Office had been responsible since the Air Raids Precautions Act 1937 was hived off into a new Ministry of Home Security although the Minister remained responsible for both departments. The new department required a regional structure for the operation of civil defence at local level and adopted a similar structure to the one devised by Floud for the Ministry of Labour in 1931. In establishment terms this regional structure provided the new department with the same organisational framework that had been devised in the Ministry of Labour to service in the early 1930's its two largest departments, Employment and Unemployment Insurance.

The administrative requirements for the civil defence operation provided another war-time career development: Eady (who had joined the Home Office from the Ministry of Labour in 1937) was loaned to the new Ministry of Home Security as a Deputy Secretary. He was responsible for the administration of civil defence until it became fully operational at the end of 1940.

The static nature of the Home Office establishment between 1933 and 1939 did not provide the means to take on a wider administrative role without the creation of a

second department. Treasury Establishment Division prudence had failed to forecast the needs of war.

6/2 The extended role of the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

In contrast to the needs of the Home Office the 1939-45 war brought about a reversal in the administrative requirements that had sustained the main role of the Ministry of Labour since 1919. From 1933 there had been a gradual decline in the number of unemployed persons registered for unemployment benefit. The numbers had reduced from the peak to 2,955,000 in January 1932 to 1,230,000 in August 1939, and, although since 1934 the payment of a "means tested" benefit to the long-term unemployed had been administered by the Unemployment Assistance Board, the main administrative role had remained with the Ministry of Labour.

This role covered the management of 1,200 local Labour Exchanges which were used for the payment of unemployment benefit and acted as "job centres" for matching unemployed men and women to suitable vacancies notified to the Labour Exchanges by employers. (Private employment agencies except for certain types of clerical work and for domestic services, were unknown in the 1930's). The legislation governing the payment of unemployment benefit - there were 16 amending Acts between 1920 and 1934: - required the unemployed to show that they "were genuinely seeking work". This provision meant that they had to attend an Employment Exchange on two days each week to "sign on", followed by an attendance on a third day when the benefit due was paid in

cash.

These regulations gave the staff of the Exchanges experience of complicated, if routine, administrative work that was not experienced on such a large scale in any other government department. The other administrative work they carried out was the issue, and exchange each July, of the Insurance Cards held by all employed persons. This work provided the Ministry of Labour with the only national records of employment that existed. They were obtained from each Insurance Card, which had a coding indicating the type of work performed by the cardholder, including any changes in the type of work.

To collate and use this information the Ministry had set up a Statistics Branch. It was one of the first departments to have this type of specialised function. In 1939(16) the Statistics Branch was headed by a Director with the rank of Assistant Secretary, a Deputy Director, four Chief Executive Officers, five Senior Executive Officers and six Higher Executive Officers, and was to play a major role in the manpower administration that became the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour from September 1939 onwards.

The Military Recruitment Role.

The new administrative function for military recruitment was created by the passing in May 1939 of a Military Training Act, under which all men on reaching age 20 were called up for military training for a period of six months. Previously all military recruitment had been a

matter for the three service departments, Admiralty, War Office or Air Ministry. The Military Training Act gave the responsibility to a civil department, the Ministry of Labour which was required to carry out the registration, medical examination and calling up of men for military training. As Ince commented, (17)... "those few months between May and September [1939] when war broke out, enabled us to set up a machine for this purpose and get it running and the result was that, at the outbreak of war on 3 September 1939, we were in a position to change over from calling up people for military training to calling them up for military service".

As the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 24 August 1939 gave two major additional regulatory roles to the Home Office, another Act which passed through all its stages in Parliament on Sunday 3 September 1939 gave the Ministry of Labour the first of its major administrative responsibilities during the 1939-45 war. The National Service Act gave the Ministry the responsibility of calling up men for service with the Armed Forces. In December 1941 the National Service (No.2) Act extended these responsibilities to the calling up of women for service with the Armed Forces. On 3 September 1939 the Ministry became the Ministry of Labour and National Service and continued to have this title until 12 November 1959. National Service itself did not end until the last call up of men in December 1960.

The administrative processes for military service involved three stages. The first was registration which was achieved by men, and later women, being required to

register at Employment Exchanges by age groups. By 1942 the groups covered all men aged between 18 and 50 and women between 18 and 40. The second stage was to sort them into those who were "reserved", i.e. those in reserved occupations and not liable to call up, and "unreserved" who were liable to call up, subject to being medically fit. Medical boards, each consisting of five doctors (reduced to four in 1942), were established at 300 of the main Employment Exchanges. Those medically examined were put into five grades, 1,2, 2A 3 and 4. Those in grades 3 and 4 were not called up; those in the other grades were called up. The third stage of the Ministry's procedure dealt with the preferences indicated by those registered for call up about whether they wanted to serve in the Navy, Army or Air Force: "so far as it was possible, we honoured that preference".(18) The Ministry then issued the enlistment notices from one of their 113 allocation offices, also based at Employment Exchanges. The persons called up reported to their unit and passed from the administrative control of the Ministry on becoming members of the Armed Forces.

The administrative processes of call-up to the Armed Forces was only one of a number of "manpower planning" tasks undertaken by the Ministry of Labour and National Service between 1939 and 1945. The Armed Forces were increased from 477,000 in June 1939 to their peak of 5,000,000 in June 1944. It is a paradox of history that the high level of unemployment that continued from the late 1920's to the outbreak of war in 1939 provided the administrative structure that enabled the Ministry to be

equipped to handle the wartime roles that were assigned to it in 1939. The number of registered unemployed "signing on" at the Employment Exchanges still amounted to 1,270,000 in June 1939 and had only fallen to 683,000 by December 1940. Thereafter the number rapidly decline reaching the lowest recorded figure of 54,000 by December 1944. The facilities and staff of the Employment Exchanges were able to be utilised for what Ince as the Ministry's Director General of Manpower from 1941-44 described as "mobilising this nation to a greater extent than any other nation in the world".(19) He summarised the wartime responsibility of the Ministry of Labour and National Service as involving "the calling up of men and women for the Forces...on the one hand the supply of manpower for civil defence and for munitions and other vital industries and services on the other. The fundamental aim of Government's manpower policy was to mobilise our resources at such a speed and in such a way that the navel, military and air forces of the country and the war production of the country reached their highest points at the time when maximum impact against the enemy was needed".(20)

There was no reduction in staffing levels. Although the numbers of unemployed had been gradually reducing during the late 1930's they still remained at 1.25 million in 1939. Since May 1939 the Ministry had the responsibility for the Military Training Act which produced additional work for the Employment Exchanges so that the numbers of civil servants in the Ministry increased from 26,900 in April 1938 to 31,600 by the outbreak of war in September 1939. The additional wartime work produced a

further increase, until the peak was reached in April 1942 when the total stood at 42,000.

The other war-time roles

The registration processes involved in the call-up of men and women for the armed services produced two side roles for the Ministry which had regulatory as well as administrative aspects.

The first concerned applications for postponement of call up because of exceptional hardship. If a person considered that calling up at a particular time would impose exceptional hardship, application could be made for the postponement of the call-up date. The Ministry had the power to grant postponement, but not the power to refuse. In such cases the matter was referred to a hardship committee, a tripartite body consisting of an independent chairman, with an employer's and an employee's representative, the first of a series of similar types of committee used by the Ministry to adjudicate on decisions made under its wartime powers. 300 hardship committees were set up; and for a further appeal against a committee's decision use was made of machinery establishment for appeals under the Unemployment Insurance Acts. The "Umpire" appointed under these Acts heard and determined appeals against decisions of the hardship committees, a further example of the adaptation of existing Ministry administrative processes to meet its war-time requirements.

The second side role related to those who, on

registering for military service, stated that they had a conscientious objection to performing this service. The legislation required this objection to be heard by a tribunal sitting in public. The Ministry had the administrative responsibility for the 15 tribunals and the six appellate tribunals that were set up. Decisions were made to grant either total objection, or as in the majority of cases grant conditional objections with alternative non-military service. This system provided a complete contrast to the military tribunals sitting in private which had dealt with objectors in the 1914-18 war.

Direction of civilian manpower.

The largest of the Ministry's extended administrative functions lay in the direction and control of civilian manpower. This function was both extended, and adapted, as manpower needs changed from May 1940 until June 1944.

The first task was to refine the broad categories of "reserved" occupations that had been created as part of the call-up process. This function was undertaken by continuously reviewing those occupations classified as "reserved" and establishing as a system of "age control". This review could lead to a change in the age at which a certain occupation would be reserved, depending on the needs of war-time industry for certain groups of employees. Manpower boards were set up, each with five specialised members - all being Ministry of Labour and National Service civil servants, many recruited as temporary staff for their specialised knowledge. These boards considered 4,800,000

cases of deferment between 1942 and 1945.

The second task was the overall control of manpower, achieved by regulations made by the Minister under the provisions of the Emergency Powers Act 1940 which passed through all its stages in Parliament on 22 May 1940. Regulation 58A, made in May 1940, gave the widest powers ever made in the U.K. for the direction of labour. The Minister could "direct any person of any age... to perform any service which he is capable of performing at the rate for the job". This Regulation provided the basis for the large-scale movement of manpower into the war industries and the re-distribution of manpower within those industries. To achieve this direction of labour "duly authorised officers" were appointed by the Ministry from Ministry of Labour civil servants and designated as "National Service Officers". There was no statutory right of appeal against their decision to direct a person to a job. But the Ministry allowed appeals against an N.S.O. to go to a local appeal board, again with three members as in the hardship committee dealing with postponement of call up. One of the effects of the direction of labour powers was to reduce the number of unemployed registered with the Employment Exchanges.

The next stage in the direction of civilian manpower was made under the Restriction of Engagement Order in June 1940 which required all skilled tradesmen to be engaged through an Employment Exchange. To enforce this order Labour Supply Inspectors were recruited by the Ministry from both industry and the trade unions. The Industrial Registration Order, made in August 1940, established

facilities for the training and retraining of men and women for the war industries, and 267,000 men and women attended Training Centres operated by the Ministry, and a further 86,000 at courses organised by local authority Technical Colleges.

In March 1941 the first of a number of essential work orders was made, the Essential Work (No.1) Order. It reduced the power of an employer to dismiss, or an employee to leave a designated job, without the consent of the Ministry. By 1945 the Essential Work Orders covered 8,600,000 employees in a wide variety of jobs. The final order was made in May 1945 when the wartime build-up of civilian manpower had passed its peak. In August 1943 the Notice of Termination of Employment Order produced a check on any employee leaving employment, and enabled the Ministry to keep a check on any run down in employment in a particular industry or occupation.

From 1940 to 1944 the Ministry was given administrative responsibility for manpower planning and control, greater than that exercised by the other major Allied powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., or the three major Axis powers, Germany, Italy and Japan. In the 1939-45 war Britain was the only country to have compulsory military service for single women in the age group 18 to 40, and the total control and direction of civilian manpower, both men and women in the age group 18 to 55.

Ince has indicated the size of the administrative exercise undertaken by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, "During the war we carried out 32,000,000 registrations of persons for one purpose or another, and

under the Registration of Employment Order (58A) we carried out 8,800,000 individual interviews, and our employment exchanges and appointments officers, during the war, filled vacancies ranging in quality from the highest skilled and administrative staff to ordinary unskilled labourers' jobs, amounting to no less than 22,500,000".(21)

The Ministry had set up in 1931 a decentralised regional structure to fulfil its administrative duties under the Unemployment Insurance Acts, and from 1932 had a small-scale regional conciliation service. The principal activities of the Ministry remained in its headquarters located in various London offices. Few administrative class staff above the grade of Principal (or in a few cases Assistant Secretary) were based in the regional offices. In September 1939 there were nine Regional Offices, each headed by a Regional Controller, and 1,200 "local offices", mainly Employment Exchanges. When the post of Director General of Manpower was created in June 1941, Ince was appointed and he extended the number of regions to 12 so that they conformed to the civil defence regions operated by the Ministry of Home Security. The regional structure developed on a local basis in addition to the already establishment Employment Exchanges, 44 manpower Boards, 113 military allocation offices and 31 appointments offices. Towards the end of 1939-45 war, the Ministry set up of 370 resettlement advice offices to deal with the build-up of service men and women returning to civilian employment.

The Ministry of Labour and National Service structure from 1940.

Whilst the administrative staff of both the Home Office and the Ministry of Home Security remained in London during the war, a decision was taken to transfer some departments of the Ministry of Labour to hotels, requisitioned as office accommodation in Southport, Lancashire, where they remained until the end of the war.

The senior administrative staff remained at Montague House, which had been the Ministry's London headquarters since 1920. Phillips had a Deputy Secretary, Frank Tribe, appointed in January 1940 when Humbert Wolfe, who had been promoted to Deputy Secretary in 1938 (despite the reservations of Warren Fisher - described in Chapter 4) died. Tribe had reporting to him the seven Principal Assistant Secretaries heading the major divisions of the Ministry, a structure that proved to be inadequate for the wartime expansion. It had to be revised in May 1941. Sir Frank Leggett was Chief Industrial Commissioner, although described as "Chief Adviser on Industrial Relations" in the official list.(22) Ranked as a Deputy Secretary he was paid £200 per annum less than Tribe. Ince as the headquarters Under Secretary was on loan to the War Cabinet Office, Production Executive.

The seven divisions, each headed by a Principal Assistant Secretary, were located according to war-time needs either in London or Southport.(23) Unemployment Insurance (including liaison with the U.A.B.), which was running down as unemployment decreased, was in Southport with two Assistant Secretaries and four Principals.

Employment remained in London, with three Assistant Secretaries and seven Principals. The Training and Juvenile Division was in Southport with two Assistant Secretaries and four Principals. The growth in the numbers of civil servants employed, mainly temporary appointments, required a large Services and Establishment Division, again located in Southport. It had three Assistant Secretaries, six Principals and six new temporary posts, paid as Principals or Assistant Principals. Their titles indicate the extended nature of establishment responsibilities, two Chief Inspectors and a Deputy Chief Inspector, a Chief Instructions Officer and two Assistant Chief Instructions Officers.

The three Divisions closely concerned with the wartime expansion remained in London. The National Service Division had three Assistant Secretaries, seven Principals and a Chief Publicity Officer, the Military Recruitment Division had four Assistant Secretaries and six Principals, and the Industrial Relations Division had an Assistant Secretary and a Principal, supported by a regional staff of Chief Conciliation Officers based in London, Glasgow and Birmingham, and by Conciliation Officers in Manchester, Leeds, Bristol and Newcastle. In contrast the International Labour Branch had a greatly reduced work load and consisted of a Principal and a Staff Clerk (Executive Officer), both temporary civil servants.

This detailed examination of the extended role of the Ministry of Labour to include National Service provides the contrast that emerged from 1939 onwards between the establishment requirements of the two departments.

The Home Office divided to form two departments: the Home Office remained the regulatory department responsible for the control of aliens, censorship, criminal law administration and various inspectorial functions, although it lost the Factory Inspectorate to the Ministry of Labour and National Service in June 1940. The Ministry of Home Security took on the administrative role, responsible for civil defence, and from 1942 for the national fire service.

In contrast the Ministry of Labour was equipped to take on a new administrative role concerned with National Service. This was achieved by adopting the structure that already existed for employment services provided through local Labour Exchanges and with the staff available from the Unemployment Insurance operation which declined as unemployment was reduced by 1942 to a virtual nil figure. The statistical information that already existed in the Ministry's records provided the basis for the National Service registration of men and women of all age groups, to which was added an administrative structure capable of assessing their medical suitability for military service, their conscientious objection to such service if this arose, their deferment for various reasons, and through the direction of labour under Defence Regulation 58A, and the Essential Work Orders to control the private sector civilian workforce of the United Kingdom.

All this was achieved by an increase in the establishment of an existing organisational structure that had been set up on a regional basis in 1931.

Did the Ministry of Labour take over the Treasury Establishment Division?

What effect did the war-time powers of the Ministry of Labour have on the control of the Treasury Establishment Division over establishment matters? Lee, (24) considers that the Ministry of Labour had "displaced the Treasury through its powers to register and allocate civil servants". This view confuses two separate war-time functions of the Ministry of Labour: registration for military service and direction of manpower.

First, registration for military service was an administrative role given to the Ministry under the National Service Act 1939 for men, and the National Service (No.2) Act 1941 for women. The Ministry performing the "National Service" part of its responsibilities undertook the registration and medical examination of all persons (including civil servants) who were subject to call-up to military service. For this aspect of its work civil servants were in no different position from other persons liable for military service. The age groups from which persons were exempt from call-up were laid down under regulations made under the Acts, which changed from time to time between 1939 and 1945. The Kennet Committee in 1941 (Cmd 6301) recommend raising the age limit for certain classes of civil servants before they became exempt from call-up.

Second, this administrative role had no part in the allocation of civil servants to particular employment. The direction of manpower was a separate regulatory role carried out by the Ministry of Labour under Regulation 58A,

and by means of Essential Work Orders, both made under the Emergency Powers Act 1940.

On the direction of labour, as shown later in this chapter, the Head of the Treasury Establishment Division in 1942 advised the Treasury Liaison Officers that the operation of Defence Regulation 58A was, as far as it applied to civil servants, restricted to cases in which the person concerned had exceptional qualifications, and the Minister of Labour, Bevin, accepted that the civil service was exempted from the jurisdiction of the machinery which applied generally to the rest of the population.

Whilst an Essential Work Order for civil servants was under consideration from 1942 onwards by the Treasury Establishment Division, an order was not made covering civil servants until May 1945 - one of the last made under the Defence Regulations when already 8,600,000 other employees were covered by the provisions of Essential Work Orders. There is no evidence that the Ministry of Labour displaced the Treasury on establishment matters between 1939 and 1945.

6/3 The reforming Permanent Secretary at the Home Office - Maxwell: the final years at the Ministry of Labour for Permanent Secretary Phillips.

Sir Alexander Maxwell.

Alexander Maxwell's years as Permanent Secretary from 1938-1948 can be summed up as years of reform. Despite five of those years from 1939-45 being years of war, the Home Office experienced a greatly extended role in civil liberties. Lord Allen, who served as Assistant Private

Secretary to Home Secretary Morrison during this period, described Maxwell's achievements as - "During the darkest days of the war he [Maxwell] stuck up for liberal ideals and the rights of individuals in a way which the world will never know. Heaven knows, enough people were locked up under Defence Regulation 18B and the Aliens Order, but the waves of panic which swept over Whitehall from time to time could have led to more arbitrary and sweeping measures if it had not been for Maxwell's gentle but firm powers of persuasion. Herbert Morrison came to the Home Office with what I might describe as the standard prejudices about the Department, and was astonished to discover, as he indeed put it to me as a humble assistant private secretary, that it was the country's last bastion of liberty...A great man".(25)

Morrison's biographers Donoghue and Jones make the same point: "He [Morrison] owed much to the humane influence of his capable Permanent Secretary Sir Alexander Maxwell, who gently but firmly kept Morrison and the department committed to the liberal principles in which he so passionately believed".(26) On capital punishment for murder Morrison was not an abolitionist but when considering possible reprieves which lay in his power to recommend to the Crown he was again influenced by Maxwell. "He looked closely at extenuating circumstances which might justify a pardon. He was encouraged in this by his humanitarian Permanent Secretary, Maxwell, who was a strong believer in the abolition of capital punishment and influenced the department towards greater liberalism on this as on other issues".(27)

Sir Thomas Phillips

In contrast, Sir Thomas Phillips had been Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour for five years when war broke out in September 1939. He was 56 and due to retire in 1943. Joining the Ministry in 1919 as an Assistant Secretary from the Board of Trade, he was essentially an "insurance man" and served in the 1920's as a Principal Assistant Secretary in charge of the Employment Department which extended the employment exchanges, and then in charge of the Unemployment Insurance Department which administered the payment of benefits. He had ten years as Deputy Secretary under Horace Wilson and Francis Floud as Permanent Secretaries. When he was Deputy Secretary, the Principal Assistant Secretaries of the major Departments reported to him, so that he had a wide knowledge of the administrative role of the Ministry when he became Permanent Secretary, which enabled the additional National Service responsibilities to be added to the other Ministry of Labour responsibilities on 3 September 1939. In 1938 he obtained promotion for Humbert Wolfe to be his Deputy Secretary. Wolfe after being educated at Bradford Grammar School and Wadham College Oxford was one of the first transfers from the Board of Trade in 1917, where he was a Principal in the Employment Department to the new Ministry of Labour. He served as a Principal Assistant Secretary in four of the Ministry's main departments, Industries, General Services, Establishments, and Employment and Training, and was in conflict (as discussed in Chapter 3) on a number of occasions with the Treasury Establishment

Division. Outside his civil service duties he published 36 books of poetry and essays, and one book entitled "Labour Supply and Regulation". Allan Bullock, the biographer of Ernest Bevin, has described him as "better known as a poet and essayist than for his mastery of labour statistics".(28) Phillips, however, appointed him as Chairman of a departmental committee, which in 1939, examined the manpower question and showed the limitations of official knowledge, and more important, how little had been done to provide for manpower needs.

Ernest Brown had been Minister of Labour since 7 June 1935 during the whole of Phillips' period as Permanent Secretary. He believed in the "free market" for labour supply. Brown, who had an undistinguished period as Minister, was detested by many Labour M.P.'s as the Minister responsible for the administration of the U.A.B. regulations. He had been a lay preacher and was described by Aneurin Bevan as having "the immunity of the pulpit [which] has deprived him of the disciplines of intellectual integrity".(29) Michael Foot, as Bevan's biographer, considered him an "inspired choice" as Minister of Labour in the mid 1930's. "He had no other interest but to serve his masters; they would smirk at his conceits and his gaucheries whilst contentedly profiting from the way in which he would use his big voice and bravado in rough and tumbles with the Labour benches. He was the brawny butler employed to keep the lower servants in their place".(30)

How Tom Phillips, his Permanent Secretary, viewed him, is not known: Phillips from a Welsh grammar school went to Oxford to achieve high distinction as a classics scholar,

achieving a First in both Mathematical and Classical Moderations followed by a First in Greats and the Gaisford Prize for Greek Prose - all that the Northcote - Trevelyan Report had hoped for. He had served in a Department that had been one of the least important home departments before 1939, mainly concerned with unemployment insurance, but it had amongst its senior civil servants, "a number who, equal to the demands made on them by its conversion into a key administrative and economic ministry faced with the problems of manpower and war production needs and was to see ten of them reach the rank of Permanent Secretary or its equivalent".(31)

After a short illness Humbert Wolfe died in January 1940 and Phillips was left without a Deputy Secretary at a critical time of expansion. The new Deputy Secretary appointed in March 1940 was Frank Tribe, a Principal Assistant Secretary in the Employment Department who had been loaned to the Cabinet Office in September 1939. This appointment was not the choice of Phillips who had wished to see Leggett, the Principal Assistant Secretary in charge of the Industrial Relations Department, promoted. This episode showed again the strained relationship that existed from time to time between the Ministry of Labour and the Treasury Establishment Division. Tribe had the support of Wilson, who as Head of the Civil Service advised the Prime Minister on appointments at Deputy and Permanent Secretary level. Tribe's appointment illustrated the limits of the powers of a Permanent Secretary when faced with not having the agreement of the Head of the Civil Service or the intervention of his Minister.

In May 1940 the Chamberlain Government resigned: Churchill appointed Ernest Bevin, the General Secretary of the largest trade union in the U.K - the Transport and General Workers' Union - Minister. He joined the War Cabinet in October 1940. Bullock in considering the new Minister's view of his Permanent Secretary describes their relationship: "Bevin who had never met anyone like this before was at first mystified by him [Phillips] then discovered his gifts as a draftsman and from this went on to acquire genuine respect for Phillips' lucidity of mind and disinterested judgement".(32)

Early in 1941 Bevin became concerned with the work load that fell on Phillips and Tribe to whom all the Principal Assistant Secretaries reported. In correspondence with Horace Wilson, Permanent Secretary at the Treasury, Bevin sought to get Ince back to the Ministry to free Tribe from having to deal with labour supply matters. Amongst the matters Bevin put to Wilson in a personal letter on 13 May 1941,(33) he made as his first point: "I am not prepared in any circumstances to part with Sir Thomas Phillips as Permanent Secretary while I am Minister", which remained Bevin's view until 1944. Other ministers in the Churchill government expressed views given to them by officials in their Department on their counterparts in other departments. Dalton recorded them in his wartime diaries.(34) Two views on Phillips are both critical: the first in July 1940, gave the view "that neither the Ministers of Supply or Labour are being well served by their principal permanent officials, Robinson [Permanent Secretary Ministry of Supply 1939-40] and Phillips...".

Three years later, in November 1943, when Phillips had reached the normal retirement age of 60, Dalton in a discussion with his Permanent Secretary at the Board of Trade, Overton, on the work of the Steering Committee on the location of industry, noted Overton's view as "Old Phillips seems a bit of an old buffer, and not much use for this purpose".

In contrast, whilst Bevin did not retain his original view that he would not in any circumstances part with Phillips, he put his weight to a proposal for Phillips' continued employment in the civil service. When Phillips reached 60 in April 1943, he asked to continue until October so he would complete 37 years pensionable service. Bevin indicated that he wanted him to stay until October 1944, and Phillips advised Hopkins, who had succeeded Wilson as Permanent Secretary at the Treasury, accordingly.

In March 1944 Hopkins recorded in a file note,(35) his discussion with Bevin on Phillips' future, which indicates Bevin's recognition of the need for a younger Permanent Secretary but at the same time the wish for Phillips' experience in state insurance to be utilised: "...the turnover from war to peace would be a very severe test for the Ministry of Labour, he [Bevin] would like to have younger hands in charge by that date or before." Bevin hoped Phillips could be used in the proposed new Ministry of Social Insurance - not necessarily in charge but at any rate in a consultant capacity on legislation and the regulations that would follow. A month later Hopkins minuted the Prime Minister,(36) having first sent a draft to Bevin for his comments, showing something (discussed

later in the Chapter) of the relationship of the Head of the Civil Service after Fisher with a powerful minister in the Churchill government. "The Minister of Labour has informed me that he wishes shortly to make changes in the chief permanent post in his Ministry. Sir Thomas Phillips has been Permanent Secretary since 1935 and has just passed the age of 61. In as much as the turnover from war to peace is now being prepared and will put not only a severe but also a prolonged strain on the Ministry of Labour, Mr. Bevin would like, by a date not later than next October, to have in charge younger hands capable of seeing the whole programme through". Hopkin's minute then outlined the proposed changes at the Ministry of Labour and concluded: "You will appreciate that these proposals do not arise from any dissatisfaction on Mr. Bevin's part with the services of Sir Thomas Phillips. On the contrary he hopes that use may be made of his wisdom and experience when the time comes to set up the organisation under the proposed new Minister of Social Insurance if and when this is created. I should expect that in due course an appropriate arrangement on these or similar lines can be made". Nine days later Hopkins' minute was returned, marked: "So proceed W.C."(36)

Hopkins advised Bevin that the Prime Minister had agreed that Phillips should be Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Insurance, and on 16 November 1944, the day the National Insurance Act received the Royal Assent, a press statement announced Phillips' new appointment, a position the "old buffer" of Dalton's diary was to hold until 1948 and his retirement from the civil service at the

age of 65. He was to serve as Chairman of the War Damage Commission for a further ten years.

6/4 Establishment Division after Fisher. Wilson's three years at the Treasury.

Wilson came to the Treasury after spending five years as "Industrial Adviser" to two Prime Ministers, Baldwin and Chamberlain. Lowe suggests that Wilson from his time at the Ministry of Labour, together with his Accountant General Bowers, "felt their duty to not lie in the championing of social reform but in the effecting of Treasury control from within the department".(37) To politicians of various shades of opinion Wilson became anathema after the events of September 1938 and his association with Chamberlain's appeasement policy. In Hennessy's opinion: "He [Wilson] was, in effect, Chamberlain's chef de cabinet and in those crucial years of 1938-9 was the most loathed civil servant in the land".(38) Michael Foot, as one of the three authors of "Guilty Men" (1940), devotes a chapter to Wilson and attacks his antecedents in the manner of the polemic journalist, which he was at that time: "Sir Horace's rise to power is a wonderful story. His father was a furniture dealer. His mother kept a boarding house. Sir Horace was born in a Bournemouth back street. He went to the local board school. In course of time he got into the Civil Service as a Second Division man...It is an easy standard to achieve. The examination for the grade is open to those who have reached the advanced stages of a Secondary School education". No reference is made to Wilson's subsequent B.Sc. (Econ) obtained as a part-time student at the London

School of Economics in 1908, eight years after he had entered the Civil Service. Wilson himself makes no reference to his degree in "Who's Who" but only to his subsequent Honourary Fellowship of the L.S.E.

Wilson's actions as Head of the Civil Service from September 1939 to August 1942 fall into three distinct periods as some examples of his dealings with the Ministry of Labour show. The first period was whilst Chamberlain remained Prime Minister until 16 May 1940. In January 1940 Phillips had sought Treasury approval for a special grade for Leggett, the Ministry of Labour Chief Industrial Commissioner, with a salary of £2,000 per annum, just below Deputy Secretary (Wolfe) at £2,200. Wilson replied that he could be described as "Chief Labour Adviser" but resisted Phillips' view that Leggett's old Under Secretary post should be retained. He went on to say, (39): "Such an appointment seems to be unnecessary: your machine has worked well since Humbert [Wolfe] was made Deputy Secretary and Leggett Under Secretary. We [sic] propose to substitute Tribe for Humbert and in Tribe all are agreed that you are getting a first rate man, carefully trained [Tribe had been Private Secretary to Wilson when he was Permanent Secretary Ministry of Labour] and of wide experience....I am conscious of the burden your Ministry is carrying in its dual capacity and of the saving we have achieved by not setting up a separate Ministry of National Service [as the Home Office had done on 3 September 1939 with a separate Ministry of Home Security] but you have run very smoothly for some months now..." Wilson concluded that they should leave the position as it was.

The second period followed the change of Government in May 1940. Wilson, on becoming Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, had stayed in his office at 10 Downing Street next to the Prime Minister, which he had occupied since 1935,(40) On 16 May 1940, a few days after Churchill became Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan remarked to Dalton,(40): "It is as hard getting rid of him [Wilson] as getting a leech off a corpse". Dalton gives a graphic account of how Wilson was forced to leave his office,(41). "The day Winston took over Sir H. Quisling came to his room as usual but found that the parachute troops were already in possession. Brenden Bracken and Randolph Churchill, the latter in uniform, were sitting on the sofa. No words were exchanged. These two stared fixedly at Sir H. who silently withdrew, never to return".

In May 1941, six months after Ernest Bevin had succeeded Ernest Brown as Minister of Labour, Wilson in a formal letter to Bevin, wrote,(42): "My dear Minister, I confirm discussion with Phillips and Tribe [who had succeeded Wolfe as Deputy Secretary] on the Ministry of Labour staffing needs." Wilson went on to detail a number of changes in the top structure of the Ministry; but he was no longer dealing with Brown - "Chamberlain's butler". The next day Bevin replied,(43): "Dear Sir Horace Wilson, Your personal letter of 10 May. I had thought it was agreed in our talk on the telephone last Friday that you would not carry the matter any further until I returned and had had an opportunity of discussing it with you further". Bevin went on to detail four senior appointments he wished to make and the civil servants he wished to see in these

posts, ending his letter to Wilson: "I shall be glad to hear that it has been possible to make these arrangements at an early date, as the matter is urgent". Wilson responded promptly, indicating that Bevin's main changes to co-ordinate the Labour Supply and National Service Departments under a Director General of Manpower were agreed, but another request for the return of Emmerson to the Ministry of Labour provided Wilson with a chance for some inter-Ministerial disagreement.

That the issue was considered at the highest level is indicated by the fact that all the related correspondence is contained in the Bridges' papers. Bridges was then Secretary to the War Cabinet. It also provides an example as to where the Fisher policy of transferring a "high flyer" from one department to another created problems in a wartime civil service. The senior civil servant concerned was Emmerson. As a long serving Principal Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, he was promoted to be Secretary of the "Special Areas" in 1937, and at the beginning of the 1939-45 war was loaned to the Ministry of Home Security to head the administration team in the A.R.P. Department. In May 1941 Bevin wanted him seconded to the Production Executive of the War Cabinet to release Ince to become Director General of Manpower. Horace Wilson could no longer look to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Prime Minister, for support, so he devised another approach. He obtained an undated handwritten note from Gater, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Security. The file,(44) indicates that this note was altered into letter form and sent as a copied letter attached to Wilson's reply to

Bevin.

Wilson agreed with Bevin's requirement for a Director General of Manpower Planning and that Ince would be made available: "Bridges has been told what is in mind". He concluded his letter to Bevin "I told Gater last night what you had in mind and what you said to me in your letter. The difficulties with which Home Security are confronted are set in the enclosed letter from Gater: they seem pretty formidable". In a handwritten note on his copy, Wilson noted "The Chancellor is going to sound Mr. M. [Morrison] about this, H.J.W.". A couple of days later, Kingsley Wood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, wrote to Bevin,(45): "My dear Ernest, I had a talk with Morrison about Emmerson being spared to go to the Production Executive to replace Ince". He went on to detail the work at the Ministry of Home Security on "the new fire arrangements", a reference to the National Fire Service which was set up in 1941 to combine all the local authority fire services into one N.F.S. Kingsley Wood ended his letter by hoping Bevin would accept the view to "Leave Emmerson at the M of H Security and find someone else for the Production Executive". The next day Bevin received further pressure, this time from Morrison in a letter marked "Secret". He wrote in less personal terms than the Conservative Chancellor.(46) "Dear Ernest" and went on to say, as a follow up of their discussion, he had reviewed the staff position at the Ministry of Home Security and "the heavy duties laid on the Department in connection with fire". Morrison restated all the points Gater had made in his "letter" to Wilson. He concluded: "Emmerson is doing work

of the highest national importance and I do not believe it would be in the national interest for him to be transferred at the moment". He copied his letter to Anderson as Lord President of the Council and Kingsley Wood (both of whom at that time were in the War Cabinet, with Bevin, whilst Morrison wasn't). As a result of Wilson's machinations Bevin had to wait several months before Ince could take up his new duties and the final wartime organisational structure for the Ministry of Labour was set up (Table F). Emmerson was released to rejoin the Ministry of labour early in 1942.

The third period of Wilson's time as Head of the Civil Service was in 1942. The actions he took on establishment matters indicate that he already knew that he was to be retired on his sixtieth birthday (23 August 1942), although other Permanent Secretaries, e.g. Phillips and Maxwell, were to be retained after the normal retirement age because of wartime needs. An example of Wilson's caution in his final months occurred in June 1942, when he minuted the Prime Minister,(47) indicating that Bevin had agreed to release Tribe, his Deputy Secretary, to be Secretary of the new Ministry of Fuel Light and Power: "Sir Frank Tribe - who has had varied experience - has been marked out to become Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour when a vacancy occurs. His work at the new Ministry will add further to his experience and increase his qualifications for the Ministry of Labour". Ince, as Director General of Manpower, was to replace Tribe as Deputy Secretary.

In an undated file note,(48) Wilson indicated the Prime Minister's approval to the Ince appointment. He went

on to write a strange and conflicting note of a conversation with Ernest Bevin: "Then proposed by the Minister of Labour to make 2 Deputy Secretary appointments. At Sir H. Wilson's suggestion Mr. Bevin suggested [sic] sending Sir F. Leggett to America on publicity work with Mr. Harold Butler: the latter refused to agree, other ideas were mooted". Phillips responded to Wilson's suggestion in a handwritten memo.(49) "I reported our conversation to Mr. Bevin: contrary to my speculation he is not prepared to lose Leggett. He has mapped out in his mind a sphere of action largely in the international, colonial and reconstruction fields for which he wants to use a Deputy Secretary - regards Leggett as particularly suitable". Faced with a confirmation of Bevin's wishes from his Permanent Secretary, Wilson considered a last attempt to prevent Leggett's promotion and drafted a memo for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kingsley Wood, although since 19 February 1942 Wood had ceased to be a member of the War Cabinet. His draft memo started,(50): "In recent months the top of the Ministry of Labour has undergone considerable expansion and it has attained the following proportions". He went on to list the senior civil servants: Permanent Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Chief Industrial Commissioner, Director General of Manpower, and three Under Secretaries - and their salaries, totalling in 1942, £15,100 a year. He indicated that Bevin wished to appoint two Deputy Secretaries to replace Tribe. One appointment, Ince, had already been approved by the Prime Minister. At a crucial point of the war, with the Ministry engaged in its maximum work on manpower matters,

Wilson conceded that "work has expanded and requires duplication [sic] at this point. As a wartime measure there is probably a case for the two posts". He went on to make the case against Leggett's promotion - he would be 58 in December 1942. "Emmerson and Ince are about 50" (Emmerson was 47 and Ince, 52). "It was decided some time ago that Leggett did not have the qualities required in a Deputy Secretary, he was passed over in favour of Tribe". After recommending Ince and Emmerson for promotion to Deputy Secretary, Leggett to remain as C.I.C., Wilson made his main point but also expressed his doubts that it would be accepted: "Do not feel that Sir Frederick Leggett's appointment as Deputy Secretary is the right one in the interests of the Ministry of Labour. The appointment (which would arise, of course, only if you sanction the additional post) is one that requires the P.M.'s approval. No doubt Mr. Bevin would press his point with the P.M."

Wilson, aware that Sir Richard Hopkins was going to succeed him in a few months time, appears to have had second thoughts and marked his draft "Sir R. Hopkins, I would like a word with you about this". Whatever the words between them were is not known, but the draft memo is marked: "Not sent forward". Instead, Wilson, in a final attempt to stop Leggett's promotion, wrote a personal letter to Phillips, (51) in which he conceded the need for two Deputy Secretaries and made a last forlorn attempt to block Leggett's promotion. "The Treasury would be prepared, as a war-time measure, to authorise the second post of Deputy Secretary and I would be ready to recommend for the P.M.'s approval the appointment of Ince and

Emmerson to be Deputy Secretaries". He then restated the case against Leggett and how he was "passed over" in place of Tribe and before that Humbert Wolfe - whose own promotion had been resisted by Fisher in 1938. (see Chapter 4): "the view taken about Leggett when Wolfe died [in January 1940 when Wilson was still all powerful with Prime Minister Chamberlain] holds good today". Wilson then started to back down: "I need hardly say that the responsibility for the decision rests with the Minister. As you know, my function is to submit for the P.M.'s approval proposals for the appointment of heads of departments and their deputies, and it is part of my responsibility to make a recommendation... I do not see how I can be party to a recommendation in Leggett's favour". Wilson still unwilling to backdown completely ended his letter to Phillips by picking up Bevin's point on new duties for Leggett, perhaps a "special post" the holder "to be given responsibilities largely of an industrial nature, look at the matter afresh, add to his duties as C.I.C."

Phillips replied to Wilson in a personal letter the next day, (52) saying he had shown Wilson's letter to Bevin and that there was no issue on the structure of two Deputy Secretaries and a C.I.C. The issue was who was to fill the posts. Tribe had been doing the duties outlined by the Minister and he (Bevin) regarded Leggett as specially qualified to deal with them: they were not suitable to be added to the C.I.C's duties. "As regards Leggett's age and personal qualifications Mr. Bevin fully recognises your right to express your own view, but he wishes me to say that he has also known Leggett for many years [Bevin had

first met him as a trade union official in 1917] and, for two years, has had close association with him in the Ministry: in this knowledge he has come deliberately to the conclusion that Leggett is the right man to be appointed to one of the Deputy Secretaries. A settlement obviously ought not to be delayed much longer and, in the circumstances Mr. Bevin proposed to communicate himself with the Deputy P.M." (Attlee).

Wilson's final note on Ministry of Labour establishment matters came a few days later.(53) Attlee had spoken to him about Phillips' letter and he had Bevin's view. Wilson had given "his [sic] Treasury view". He went on "It was evident that Mr. Bevin had pressed his view on Mr. Attlee:- matter not one to be delayed for the return of the P.M. [who was abroad]... I did not think any course was open but for him, as Deputy P.M. to agree with Mr. Bevin, upon whom, as the Minister in charge of the M. of L. the responsibility of course rests. For reasons which Mr. Attlee would appreciate I made reference to the talk I had with him about Sir Cosmo Parkinson and Sir Eric Machtig¹¹ it would not be expected that I should support the recommendation. Mr. Attlee said he would communicate with Mr. Bevin".

Leggett and Ince were promoted to be Deputy Secretaries. Leggett retired in 1945 at age 61, but held six further appointments as a member of various Government

¹¹ Sir Cosmo Parkinson was Permanent Secretary Colonial Office from May 1940- seconded for "special duties in the Colonies" in April 1942 until he retired in 1944. Sir Eric Machtig was Permanent Secretary Commonwealth Relations Office from 1940 until he retired in 1948.

committees between 1945 and 1952. Emmerson was appointed C.I.C. and succeeded Ince as Director General of Manpower in 1944. In 1946 he was promoted to be Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Works, and in 1956 returned to the Ministry of Labour as Permanent Secretary until his retirement in 1959. Sir Frank Tribe, the Wilson protege, did not return to the Ministry of Labour but was appointed Comptroller and Auditor General in 1946 until his retirement in 1958 - the Government "watchdog" on expenditure after an earlier career spent in one of the main spending departments. Wilson, in his final months as Head of the Civil Service, had underestimated the relationship between the trade union leader who had become Minister of Labour, and the civil servant who had known the Ministry since it was set up in 1917. Bullock's view of Leggett is that "more than twenty years experience had given him a shrewd knowledge of the trade union world and Bevin was the man who he most wanted to see as Minister of Labour".(54) Bevin held a similar high opinion of Leggett: "He doesn't settle industrial disputes he fondles them".(55)

Sir Richard Hopkins

Hopkins, who succeeded Wilson as Permanent Secretary at the Treasury in August 1942, was in cricketing terms a "nightwatchman", put into bat whilst awaiting the availability of the main batsman - Bridges, who was serving as Secretary to the War Cabinet. Hopkins was already 62.

His civil service career had started in the Department of Inland Revenue, rising to become Chairman of the Board

from 1922 to 1927. Since 1927 he had served at the Treasury under Fisher and Wilson. He was Controller of Finance and Supply Services from 1927 - 32 and Second Secretary from 1932-42. He had enjoyed the rank and salary of a Permanent Secretary since 1922. During his three years at the top, he was assisted by two Second Secretaries. He had no problems over any of the senior appointments made in the Home Office or the Ministry of Labour. Newsam was already Deputy Secretary to Maxwell. Ince's appointment to succeed Phillips in 1944 had his support, and Emmerson replaced Ince as the second Deputy Secretary: but Wilson's "selection" of Tribe as the successor to Phillips presented Hopkins with a need to put the record straight. In October 1942, two years before Phillips' move from the Ministry of Labour, a file note,(56) indicates a discussion between Phillips and Hopkins, when Phillips indicated that Bevin had taken strong exception to a phrase used by Wilson in the May 1942 correspondence to the effect that it was understood that he [Phillips] would be succeeded by Tribe. Phillips indicated that Bevin's view was that whilst Tribe would have been very suitable and the natural successor had he remained at the Ministry of Labour: "as matters stand today Mr. Bevin's judgment would be given in favour of Ince". In a handwritten note on the memo, Hopkins added: "Sir F. Tribe knows that in Sir H. Wilson's view he was the natural successor at the Ministry of Labour, but was expressly told that there was no commitment in this sense". To ensure he distanced himself from his predecessor he wrote in the same terms to Ernest Bevin. The two Permanent Secretaries at

the Treasury between September 1939 and March 1945 provide contrasts in their relationship on establishment matters with the two departments.

Wilson who enjoyed the confidence and support of his Prime Minister, Chamberlain, showed different approaches in three periods that covered his time at the Treasury. Until the fall of the Chamberlain government in May 1940 he exercised strong control over senior appointments requiring the Prime Minister's approval, as shown in his support for Tribe against the candidate favoured by Phillips for Deputy Secretary Ministry of Labour. After May 1940 he faced a changed relationship with Phillips who soon enjoyed the support of his Minister Bevin. This change did not prevent Wilson from continuing to use delaying tactics, including trying to win the support of Morrison as Home Secretary against the release of Emmerson from the Ministry of Home Security to enable Ince to take up his appointment as Director General of Manpower. The third period was during his last year as Permanent Secretary when Wilson recognised that powerful Ministerial intervention by Bevin prevailed against his view on senior appointments, with Leggett and Ince both being appointed as Deputy Secretaries.

What Wilson failed to recognise after 42 years as a civil servant was that once his "power base" built up around his close relationship with Chamberlain had gone, his role as arbiter of senior appointments was greatly diminished.

Whilst Hopkins had enjoyed the rank and salary of a Permanent Secretary since 1922, he was 62 when he succeeded Wilson, a "caretaker" appointment until Bridges was

released from the War Cabinet Office to succeed him in March 1945. For Hopkins a succession pattern had already been determined in the two departments: Newsam was Deputy Secretary under Maxwell, and Ince had Bevin's support to succeed Phillips as Permanent Secretary in 1944.

He made sure that he was not associated with any possible suggestion that he had supported his predecessor's wish that Tribe and not Ince, should have been Phillips successor in 1944.

These events give strong evidential support to Winnifrith's assertion that a Minister could always exercise supremacy over the wishes of the Treasury Establishment Division when concerned with departmental promotions at Deputy and Permanent Secretary level which had the Minister's support.

It also illustrates the differences that existed in the Ministry of Labour and National Service between the period prior to May 1940 when Horace Wilson continued to have the support of the Prime Minister Chamberlain, - with a supine Minister Ernest Brown, measured against a situation that changed when Churchill became Prime Minister, with a strong Minister in Ernest Bevin.

The next section examines how during this period of changed relationships three war-time committees examined establishment matters in the civil service.

6/5 War-time Committees on establishment matters

During the final months before Wilson retired and during the early months of Hopkin's new appointment two

departmental committees were set up to examine the role of the civil service in the reconstruction period (civil service jargon to cover the years immediately after the end of the war) and to attempt to achieve manpower savings in government departments.

The work in 1942-43 of two Treasury departmental committees is examined to ascertain the effect, if any, that their reports had on the relationship of the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour with the Treasury Establishment Division during the remaining war years from 1943 to 1945.

The first is the Crookshank Committee,(57) and the second the Rae Committee.(58) Both these committees predated the setting up of the Machinery of Government Committee (the Anderson Committee). The Cabinet decision in August 1942 to set up this committee was not ratified until a Prime Minister's directive of 19 October 1942(59). By this time both departmental committees had nearly completed their work, their two reports were issued in November 1942 and February 1943. A third study conducted at the same time was the inquiry into the civil service carried out by the House of Commons Select Committee on Expenditure which sat between December 1941 and October 1942 and published its report,(60) in November 1942.

Whilst the Crookshank Committee was asked "to conduct a general survey of the form of, and the conditions of service in, the Home Civil Service after the war".(61) the Rae Committee was given a war-time task "to secure further by economies in the use of manpower investigated but the Treasury in consultation with Establishment Officers"(62):

a task that had been close to Rae's heart when he was Head of the Treasury Establishment Division from 1932 to 1939.

The Crookshank Committee.

The Committee was formed in June 1942 when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kingsley Wood, invited the Financial Secretary Treasury, Harry Crookshank, to chair the committee with the terms of reference outlined above. The Committee was to have four other members, two of whom were to be of Permanent Secretary rank, but to be chosen "excluding the Permanent Secretaries of Service and Supply Departments and others on intensive war-time activities", the other two members were to be civil servants chosen to give "balance between wise mature counsel and more youthful enthusiasm".(63)

The two Permanent Secretaries chosen were - Thomas Gardner, Director General of the Post Office (who had been seconded as the first Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Home Security 1939-40), and Donald Fergusson, Permanent Secretary Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The other civil servants were Waterfield, the First Civil Service Commissioner then aged 54, and Wilson Smith who had been promoted to Under Secretary in the Treasury Establishment Division a month before, after serving Kingsley Wood as his Principal Private Secretary for two years; he was 37. The Committee held its first meeting on 6 July 1942 and held fourteen meetings, its last meeting being on 21 December 1942.

The input by members of the committee consisted of a

number of papers submitted by Gardner and Waterfield. The minutes show that Ferguson contributed little to the discussion, put no papers in, and had no comments on the draft report prepared by Wilson Smith which was largely re-written by Gardner and Waterfield. At its second meeting the Committee considered a paper by Gardner detailing the history of the Assistant Principals appointed to the Post Office between 1925 and 1939. From the analysis of the details given two facts emerge - first, that after providing the "training" years the Post Office lost the majority of its Assistant Principal intake to other departments, and second, that Gardner did not have a high opinion of the majority of the intake whether or not they had stayed at the Post Office or transferred to other departments.

Of the 29 Assistant Principals appointed, two had resigned (one a woman on marriage), eleven had transferred to other departments, six were on loan to other departments and four were serving in HMF, only six remained at the Post Office. Of these, four had been promoted to Principal and two remained as Assistant Principal (both were registered as conscientious objectors under the provisions of the National Service Act). Because of the large outflow from the Post Office to other departments no transfers had been allowed since 1935. Gardner gave comments on those who had transferred, but declined to comment on three of them who had transferred to the Treasury! (one of whom was Wilson Smith). He regarded the overall quality as "not good". Of the sixteen still on the Post Office "establishment" including those on loan and serving in HMF, he considered

only two or three would be "fit for Under Secretary or Regional Director appointments".(64) From the details given of the eleven who had transferred to other departments before the 1935 embargo, only one had reached Under Secretary grade (Wilson Smith at the Treasury), three had reached Assistant Secretary grade and seven Principal grade.

Waterfield followed this paper with one that was much more optimistic on the career progression of the 1919 post-war intake - designed to support his view that recruitment to the Administrative Class should have a larger element of interviews in the selection process. His paper gave details on the career progression up to 1941 of all the Assistant Principals who had entered the civil service by means of the Reconstruction Competition in 1919-20, which was largely based on applicants' war record and interviews, and which had produced Bridges, Newsam and Ince. Of the 202 Assistant Principals recruited that year, seven were serving as Permanent Secretary, seven as Deputy Secretary, 29 as Principal Assistant (Under) Secretary, 88 as Assistant Secretary, whilst 27 had reached Principal grade and 44 had retired or left the civil service. Of the 27 who had only reached Principal grade after 22 years service there was one in the Home Office and one in the Ministry of Labour(65). At the penultimate meeting on 14 December 1942 Waterfield gave a critical view on the past practices of the Treasury Establishment Division claiming that "it often exercised undue influence over Departmental Establishment Officers even on matters which did not involve principles of unusual application". The minutes record that Wilson

Smith conceded that there was "some truth in this".(66) At the last meeting of the Committee a week later it was agreed that Wilson Smith would prepare a draft report for circulation and comment. Fergusson who had made little impact at the meetings had no comments to make: Gardner and Waterfield succeeded in having the draft virtually re-written. Gardener had comments on the working of the Whitley system, on Treasury relations with Departments on establishment matters, and he supported Waterfield on his suggestions for revised selection procedures. Waterfield also made suggestions on training, on the setting up of a Civil Service Staff College (which had to wait for implementation until the Fulton Report - 26 years later), and possible revision to the civil service superannuation rules to allow civil servants to spend periods in the private sector and return to the civil service without loss of superannuation rights.

The report of the Crookshank Committee was finalised in February 1943 (the same month as Crookshank left the Treasury to become Postmaster General - causing him to write to Gardner confirming that Gardner was free to continue to make his comments, despite Crookshank becoming his Minister). The report went to Hopkins (who had succeeded Wilson in August 1942) and although its terms of reference were to look at "the form of, and conditions of service in, the Home Civil Service after the war", the report made a number of trenchant criticisms of the civil service during the inter-war years from 1919 to 1939. If, as has been suggested by one authority, Wilson Smith's appointment in May 1942 as Under Secretary in charge of the

Treasury Establishment Division was with "a clear brief to concentrate on reconstruction questions"(67), the input of Gardner and Waterfield on the Crookshank Committee report diverted this brief to an examination of the failings of the Treasury Establishment Division in the inter-war years.

At paragraph 22 the report said that during the inter-war years there had been -

no planned policy governing the number of vacancies for Administrative Class entrants. [The numbers had ranged from 10 in 1927 to 64 in 1939]. The smallness of the intake in the years immediately after the resumption of competitive examinations in 1925 must also be regarded as responsible to a large extent for the grievous shortage of trained administrative staff during the war.

In paragraph 23 there was strong criticism of the effectiveness of the two year probationary period followed by all Assistant Principals after their entry to the Administrative Class. Between 1925 and 1939 there had been no cases of the dismissal of a new entrant either during or at the end of the probationary period. The report stated -

It is difficult to believe that no single recruit of that period proved to be unsuited to the needs of the civil service. The real truth is that for reasons of sentiment or otherwise, there was no genuine probationary test.

Paragraph 24 went on to give a view for the future -

One essential feature in any plans for a more efficient civil service must be for a more ruthless policy towards individuals. Heads of Departments must be encouraged to put efficiency first and sentiment last.

Towards the end of the report there were criticisms of the inter-war Heads of Departments which could be directed

at Anderson's period at the Home Office from 1922 to 1932 and Wilson's period at the Ministry of Labour from 1921 to 1930.

In Paragraph 55 the report gave the view -

It is all too common for Heads of Department to concentrate their attention upon policy and upon serving their Ministers to the detriment of management of the Department which should be an integral part of their duties.

The report then related this criticism to the status in the inter-war years of the departmental Establishment Officers.

If it was the recognised practice to give men [sic] destined for high office in a Department a term of service on establishments duty, this would both stand them in good stead later in their careers [as with Ince and Bridges] and would help to raise the status of the Departmental Establishment Division which at present is all too often looked upon as the Cinderella of the Administrative Divisions.

The report concluded with a direct attack on the role of the Treasury Establishment Division -

There is a need for greater personal contact between the Establishments side of the Treasury and their appropriate numbers in other Departments. The Treasury staff must be ready to be more flexible than in the past and spend more time in Departments co-operating in the solution of problems on the spot....In the Treasury as in other Departments those engaged on Establishments work are entitled to have the importance of their work recognised; for their part, they must take a much broader and less negative view of their function.

Four months after receiving the report Hopkins convened a meeting with the Permanent Secretaries of the major Departments to discuss - "Problems of the post war civil service". The first meeting was held on 5 July 1943,

with Hopkins in the chair and Wilson Smith as secretary. Sixteen Permanent Secretaries attended, including Maxwell and Phillips. Hopkins indicated that he would like to have the views of those present before having "informal and non-committal discussions with the National Staff Side" (of the Whitley Council). He expressed the hope that the discussion of the Crookshank Committee report would be "something in the nature of a Second Reading debate". Although all the Permanent Secretaries made some contribution, those of Maxwell and Phillips are examined as they highlight some of the problems experienced by the Home Office and Ministry of Labour in the inter-war years.

On post-war recruitment Hopkins hoped that the civil service would avoid the worst mistakes of the last post-war period and hold a balance between ex-service entrants, war-time temporary staff and the new age groups coming forward each year. Phillips responded that if the chances of employment for ex-service men were bad (as they had been in 1919), there would again be great political pressure for places for them in the civil service; whilst Maxwell emphasised the need for a process of selection for all grades as distinct from the automatic recruitment of unemployed ex-service men that had occurred after the 1914-18 war. At the third meeting on 20 July 1943 the same concern emerged in a discussion on the recruitment to the Administrative Class. The general view was that 25% should enter by an "interview only" method of selection (as had occurred between 1919 and 1925). Phillips was alone in opposing this change because he saw dangers of "patronage and nepotism". Bridges made a comment strange to anyone

versed in selection techniques and called it recruitment "by selection" rather than "by interview", in so doing he confused a process with a particular method.

The last meeting was on 4 September 1943 and discussed the work of the "Treasury classes" and their grades. Maxwell considered that the Home Office had suffered through having no "executive cadre" and would welcome its introduction. Phillips supported this idea and thought it wrong that executive grade should be limited, as they were in the Ministry of Labour to finance, accounts and statistics work. He urged that Administrative Class grades should have to transfer to "outstation work" moving from the Ministry of Labour headquarters and even from other departments. Finally in a discussion on a "one grade civil service" Phillips was again in a minority in supporting this idea, which was opposed by all his other colleagues.

The meetings did not proceed beyond Hopkins "Second reading Debate", and the Crookshank Report was finally issued on 24 September 1943 to the Heads of all Departments as a Treasury memorandum with a covering letter from Hopkins. The work of the Crookshank Committee had little effect on the relationship of the Treasury Establishment Division and the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour during the remainder of the war years and up to March 1946.

The Rae Committee

The Rae Committee had a war-time task to seek savings in civil service manpower, but it was also a "political" creation. In May 1942 (a month before the Crookshank

Committee was set up) the Lord President's Committee decided that: "to secure further economies in the use of manpower there should be an investigation by the Treasury in consultation with Departmental Establishment Officers".(68) Bevin, a member of the Lord President's Committee, thought this was an "heroic measure". He considered that the "Ministry of Labour should investigate demands for additional staff from Government Departments in the same way as for other employers".(69) On 29 May 1942 Wilson Smith discussed the matter with Horace Wilson and it was agreed "to do all to meet the Minister of Labour's wishes and cooperate on the lines he wishes".(70)

On 2 June 1942 Wilson wrote to Phillips on "the manpower position in the civil service". He made four points:-

- (1) make sure staff were not wasted by faulty organisation.
- (2) examine any departmental activities to be dropped for the war period.
- (3) restrict recruitment until all staff were fully and properly employed.
- (4) examine staffing in Departments not expanding - no reserves to be kept.(71)

He proposed a departmental committee for which the Treasury and Ministry of Labour would each nominate one member under an "independent chairman", Rae. Phillips replied on 12 June saying that his Minister's concern was "about the manpower position in the civil service in that the civil service was exempt from the jurisdiction of the machinery which applies generally to the rest of the population", but he went on to indicate that Bevin was not suggesting the same machinery should apply, but "the civil

service should set an example".(72) This statement does not support the view of one authority "That the Treasury faced a challenge from the Ministry of Labour and National Service, then anxious to establish machinery for controlling the civil service comparable to that which it already exercised over private industry".(73)

On 1 July 1942 there was the first mention of a possible Essential Work Order for the civil service.(74) Phillips indicated that Bevin was opposed to "tying persons to an undertaking" (the civil servants description of the effect of an E.W.O.) in which the employees did not have the benefits provided under the provisions of an E.W.O for their terms and conditions of employment, especially welfare and training facilities - which were not available in all civil service departments. On 17 July Wilson Smith sent a draft letter on the role of Rae Committee for Wilson to consider before sending it to the Heads of Departments.(75) He indicated that Departmental Establishment Officers were not keen on an investigation putting "a fifth wheel on the coach". Wilson Smith went on to indicate that the Establishment Officers "were grateful that the Treasury and not the Ministry of Labour would be in charge of the new procedures". Again, this assertion does not support the view of the commentator who states "The Ministry [of Labour] which had in a real sense displaced the Treasury through its power to register and allocate civil servants, gave some support for the notion that establishments questions should be separated from the Treasury proper".(76) Wilson advised all Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments on 14 July 1942 that

the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Minister of Labour wanted "greater economy of manpower in the civil service". A standing committee had been appointed with Rae as chairman and a senior officer from the Treasury and the Ministry of Labour. The two senior officers were: Ritson a Principal Assistant Secretary on loan to the Treasury since September 1939 from the Department of Inland Revenue, who had acted as Head of the Treasury Establishment Division until succeeded by Wilson Smith on his promotion to Under Secretary in May 1942. The Ministry of Labour nominated Glenn, also a Principal Assistant Secretary, in charge of the Labour Supply Department A (there were two Principal Assistant Secretaries in this Department). The Committee held its first meeting on 17 July 1942 and met at weekly intervals until January 1943. The minutes show that as a means of achieving "greater economy of manpower" the Rae Committee was a non-event.

At three of its earlier meetings the Committee discussed the appointment of eight Treasury Liaison officers who were to be attached to departments, and liaise with the Treasury Establishment Division on manpower matters, in August 1942 they were appointed: two in London and one each in Edinburgh, Blackpool, Chester, Birmingham, Harrogate and Bristol, towns to which departments had dispersed some of their staff. Departments were invited to attend the Committee and discuss their manpower requirements. At four meetings representatives from the War Office, Ministry of Supply, Post Office, Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise and Assistance Board attended. At the meeting on 13 August Arton Wilson, the Ministry of

Labour Head of Services and Establishments, attended and told the Committee that his Ministry had set up a departmental committee to review all its activities in 1938, and that on 3 September 1939 the Ministry had closed its Claims and Records Office at Kew, Trade Board inspections had been reduced, and all detailed office work at local Labour Exchanges had been cut to the minimum. Arton Wilson went on to tell the Committee that in the Ministry of Labour headquarters there had "always been a Chief Inspectors Branch" who were the organisation experts - a good riposte to the minuscule O and M organisation which the Treasury set up June 1942, with a staff of eight, and the appointment of James Pitman (the grandson of Isaac Pitman the inventor of shorthand) with the pretentious title of Director of Organisation and Methods - a position he held until becoming the M.P. for Bath in July 1945.

Arton Wilson told the Committee of the work of the new Chief Instructions Branch (perhaps the clearest title assigned to a civil service function). This Ministry of Labour Branch was responsible for seeing that after departmental policy had been decided, the "instructions" for implementation were the responsibility for the Chief Instructions Officer and his staff. This aspect was an essential function where 39,000 of the 42,000 civil servants employed in 1942 were based at "outstations" away from the Ministry of Labour headquarters. Arton Wilson finally agreed that there should be:-

- 1) a detailed inspection of three "typical" Labour Exchanges.

- 2) a review of all departmental procedures that had not been modified for a year or more.
- 3) a circular to go from either the Minister or the Permanent Secretary to all managers urging (sic) a reduction of staff.
- 4) a review of all headquarters activities with an examination of all work on the borderline between policy and procedure.

A similar undertaking had been given to the Treasury Establishment Division for the Home Office by Troup in 1921, and Phillips was making a plea for the extension of the work of executive class civil servants to the Heads of Department meeting examining the report of the Crookshank Committee.

The Rae Committee on 7 October 1942 received a written report from the Home Office and Ministry of Home Security. This response prompted the Committee at the same meeting to agree that: "authority should not in future be given to Departments for additional staff without an ad hoc inspection by a Liaison Officer.(77) The Committee met the Treasury Liaison Officers for the first time on 20 October and Ritson gave them an explanation of the operation of Defence Regulations 58A (covering the direction of Labour) in as far as it applied to civil servants, "individual direction was restricted to cases in which the person concerned had exceptional qualifications for the post" - this statement refutes the view that the Ministry of Labour had powers to register and allocate civil servants on an unrestricted basis. He also advised the Liaison Officer that an Essential Work Order for the civil service "was being drafted and considered, but until the Departments agreed to accept the implications of such an Order little

progress was likely to be made".(78) The Committee spent its subsequent meetings examining requests from Departments for additional staff - an example being one received from the Ministry of Food for 92 Rodent Officers to supervise a 1000 Civil Defence workers released from Civil Defence duties to undertake rat destruction at the Ministry emergency food stores. At the 14 October meeting Arton Wilson returned to report on the inspection of three "typical" Labour Exchanges as a result of which "a number of returns had been eliminated" (this action was not surprising at a time when the number of unemployed registered for benefit had fallen to 104,000). He asked the Committee, no doubt with some irony in the presence of Glenn, for an additional 100 Inspectors of Labour Supply. The Committee considered this request at three subsequent meetings but the minutes do not indicate whether a decision was ever reached.

In November 1942 the Committee agreed a short report on its activities, the conclusion is a clear statement that their work had been a non-event.

Too early to judge the effectiveness of the Committee by any purely numerical test, though in many directions economies have been achieved. The effectiveness of the Committee shows from the clear indication that the appointment and activities of the Liaison Officers has increased awareness amongst Departments to keep constantly in mind the acuteness of the manpower situation.

In December 1942 the Committee had another meeting with the Treasury Liaison Officers. The TLO's met again in January, February and March 1943 at which the members of the Rae Committee attended. The result was a revised

"organisation circular" issued by Ritson to the TLO's in March 1943: the Rae Committee did not meet again, any progress in achieving staff savings in all Government Departments other than Service and Supply Departments were reported to the Cabinet sub-committee - Reduction of National Government Staffs Committee,(79) through the TLO's reporting to the Treasury Establishment Division.

The Rae Committee was a piece of "political window dressing" - set up by Wilson in his last month as Permanent Secretary Treasury and Head of the Civil Service to meet Ernest Bevin's view that by departments sharing staff there was a potential saving "of 5000 bodies". It became a committee of three senior civil servants who spent three hours every Thursday, for six months, considering requests for minor additions of staff in a variety of departments. It did not have any effect on the relationship of the Home Office with the T.E.D. - the Home Office did not attend the Committee but sent a written report. The Ministry of Labour used the Committee to show that as a department they had a team doing O and M work as early as 1938, but agreed on four actions which did little to achieve any staff reductions in a department employing in 1942, 42000 civil servants, third only to the Service Departments' 134000 and the Ministry of Supply's 61000, out of a total of 686000 non industrial civil servants.

Select Committee on National Expenditure 1941-42.

The third war-time examination of the civil service which ran concurrent with the Crookshank Committee and the

Rae Committee was the Select Committee on National Expenditure Session 1941-42.(80) The Select Committee examined "The Organisation and Control of the Civil Service".

They noted that in June 1942 the old "Investigating Section" of the Treasury had been restyled as an Organisation and Methods Department, and sixteen of the "larger Government Departments had been encouraged to set up O and M sections". In the event only five departments decided to do so - Admiralty, Air Ministry, Ministry of Aircraft Production, Ministry of Food and Board of Trade, (at this time Arton Wilson was explaining to the Rae Committee that the Ministry of Labour had had its own "organisation committee" since 1938).

The Select Committee examined the Treasury organisation structure following the appointment in August 1942 of Hopkins to succeed Wilson. Hopkins was supported by two Second Secretaries (Permanent Secretary grade), one responsible for Finance, with two Under Secretaries covering Home Finance and Overseas Finance, the other Second Secretary had two Under Secretaries reporting to him - one an Under Secretary (Supply) and the other an Under Secretary (Establishments) - Wilson Smith who had four divisions reporting to him:

Establishments (General).

Establishments (Government and Allied Services).

Law and Order.

Defence personnel.

The Treasury O and M Department gave evidence to the Committee. By the end of 1942 it had 48 staff under Pitman

as Director of O and M (11 permanent civil servants and 37 temporary civil servants) - their grades ranged from 12 Clerical Officers to one Assistant Secretary. The staff was divided between 24 based in the Treasury and 24 assigned to the departments which had "been encouraged" to set up internal O and M sections: Admiralty, Air Ministry, Ministry of Aircraft Production, Ministry of Food and Board of Trade.

The Select Committee noted without comment, that the Head of the Treasury Establishment Division post had been downgraded in 1932 from Permanent Secretary to Under Secretary.

The Select Committee report in November 1942 had a number of conclusions and recommendations critical of the Treasury.

Paragraph 82 stated:

As a result of twenty years of neglect, the outbreak of war found the Treasury insufficiently equipped to deal with the problems of administrative organisation which were forced upon it.

In paragraph 86:

For a variety of reasons it has been up to now [November 1942] the policy of the Treasury to restrict the scope of the O and M department to lower levels. One reason for this was quicker results would be obtained if enquiries started in the lower grades where staff are most numerous. The work was innovative and proceeded modestly [sic] in order to gain confidence. If departmental autonomy is to be maintained larger questions of organisation arise. It can only be handled by officers so highly placed that their recommendations cannot be ignored by their most senior colleagues or even by Ministers.

The limited growth of O and M as a Treasury function

in the war years is shown by the details given by Ablondi,(81) which show that by 1946 the total staff of the O and M department had declined from the 1942 total of 48 to 39, and the highest figure in the first seven post-war years was 86 in 1949.

The major recommendation of the Select Committee was that the House of Commons should appoint a standing committee to "monitor and investigate the Civil Service". The Anderson Committee on the Machinery of Government rejected this recommendation,(82).

Three diverse committees, Crookshank, Rae and the Select Committee on Expenditure, all examined the work of the civil service, and in particular the work of the Treasury Establishment Division between December 1941 and March 1943. None of the three committees had any impact on the relationship of the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour with the Treasury Establishment Division during the remaining years of the 1939-45 war and up to 1 March 1946.

6/6 The Treasury Establishment Division 1939-1946.

James Rae as Head of Establishments exercised the most powerful influence on Treasury establishment decisions of all the holders of that post from 1919 to 1946. He also occupied a strong personal position that none of his predecessors held, in his secretaryship of the Honours Scrutiny Committee for 16 years from 1923-1939, which made him the "Patronage Secretary" for the Civil Service, in an age when the number of "K's" a Permanent Secretary acquired was an added mark of prestige. It did not seem to have a

detrimental affect on those who had dealings with him on establishment matters; Phillips and Maxwell both acquired two, awarded in the 1930's. Fisher, in contrast, was awarded his first "K" in 1919, and his third in 1928: nothing followed on his retirement in 1939.

After Rae's retirement in 1939 the T.E.D. had two Heads of the Establishment Division during the war years, the first being Ritson, a Principal Assistant Secretary seconded from the Department of Inland Revenue (who attracted the address of "Dear Ritzzy" from some departmental Establishment Officers when minuting him on establishment matters!). He was succeeded in May 1942 by a Treasury civil servant, Wilson Smith, promoted to Under Secretary and who headed the T.E.D. until March 1946. Neither enjoyed the authority that had rested with the two Controllers from 1919 to 1932 and with Rae from 1932 to 1939.

The Establishment Officer's Committee which had been moribund since the early 1930's (the work of the Standing Committee of Establishment Officers between 1919 and 1933 is examined in Chapter 4) was revived in July 1941.(83)

Ritson suggested to the Establishment Officers of the major departments, that whilst it was not proposed to "revive" the old Committee a few departmental Establishment Officers might meet when "matters of interest arise". Departments employing 5000 + civil servants were invited to send a representative. All the Service and Supply departments responded, plus the Home Office, Ministry of Labour, Inland Revenue, Ministry of Health, Board of Education and the Assistance Board. Later in 1943 it was

agreed to include the Ministries of Pensions and Works.

Arton Wilson represented the Ministry of Labour while

Wilson, Establishment Officer, the Home Office.

The Committee met every six weeks for a total of 35 meetings between July 1941 and October 1944. The majority of items discussed with the Treasury Establishment Division representatives (usually Ritson and Miss Sharp an Assistant Secretary on loan from the Ministry of Health who later in 1955 became the first women Permanent Secretary in the Home Civil Service) concerned interpretation of the many Establishment Officer Circulars issued to cover war-time conditions e.g. travel allowances, lodging allowances and home leave - for civil servants dispersed to offices away from London, also various conditions applying to temporary civil servants. Occasionally policy issues for the Home Civil Service came to the Committee for discussion: at the January 1943 meeting Waterfield's paper on "Post-war (Reconstruction) Recruitment to the Civil Service" originally submitted to the Crookshank Committee was circulated. At the July 1943 meeting a draft Control of Employment (Civil Servants) Order to be made under Regulation 58A was discussed, which eventually became the Essential Work Order for civil servants in May 1945.

The revived Establishment Officer's Committee had some use as a war-time means of communication between the Treasury Establishment Division and the larger departments. It did not however attempt to emulate its predecessors' efforts in the 1920's to produce some standardisation of the conditions of employment for various classes and groups of civil servants.

The Treasury Establishment Division had exercised its restrictive policies on the establishment needs of other departments for two decades, but reacted quickly to meet its own post-war needs. In May 1945 a week after the end of the war in Europe and two months after Bridges had succeeded Hopkins as Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, the Head of the T.E.D., Wilson Smith, minuted Bridges on the need for 20 Principals by the beginning of 1946(84): "mainly to replace those who will leave and a certain strengthening as a result of discussions with Heads of Divisions". In May 1945 the Treasury establishment was 32 Principals and 28 temporary Principals.

Wilson Smith made two proposals: "(1) to scour the resources of the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour - we are in a position to operate a priority demand on behalf of the Treasury" and, "(2) cajole other Departments into giving help - Ministry of Home Security, Ministry of Information, Inland Revenue, Assistance Board, Ministry of Labour, we must get people at once without regard to the date of departure of those who will be leaving us". Wilson Smith's minute concluded: "I am now ready to discuss with you and 2nd Secretaries what additional measures we should take e.g. in relation to the Universities or the Armed Forces in order to unearth [sic] people of Principal standing for the Treasury". Bridges replied two days later,(85) indicating that he had discussed the situation with Barlow, Eady and Gilbert, the three Second Secretaries: "We agreed all the steps you are taking to get personnel, and you undertook to let us have

draft letters which could be sent to a limited number of people in the Universities with the hope of collecting (a) a few people of the standing of Principal (b) possibly certain men of Assistant Principal standing. These would come in on a temporary basis. We agreed that the right thing was to get a few names of suitable people before approaching the Service Departments".

The Treasury "gamekeeper" had become a formidable "poacher" when seeking its own requirements for the immediate post-war years.

6/7 Conclusions

The growth of the Home Office, the setting up of the Ministry of Home Security, and the extended role of the Ministry of Labour to include National Service from September 1939 created requirements for an increased number of senior Administrative Class appointments to be made. This requirement produced several disagreements up to 1942 between the head of the Civil Service and the Ministry of Labour.

Wilson's attempt before his retirement in August 1942 to determine who should succeed Permanent Secretary Phillips, and who should be appointed to the second Deputy Secretary vacancy required intervention by Bevin to Deputy Prime Minister Attlee to ensure that his department succeeded against the Treasury view. Thus, on such appointments the wishes of a Minister prevailed over the wishes of the Head of the Civil Service and the Treasury Establishment Division.

Another fact emerging from the war-time need for additional experienced Administrative Class civil servants was that the "saving-of-candle-ends" approach of the Treasury Establishment Division in the late 1920's and 1930's had an effect on a small department like the Home Office which suddenly had to expand into two Departments in September 1939 and borrow senior civil servants, like Emmerson. (Two years later he was urgently needed by his old department, the Ministry of Labour). Against this approach a large Department like the Ministry of Labour had been less affected by the T.E.D's "savings" policy: and despite Fisher's view on "the quality" of the Ministry of Labour's senior civil servants in 1938 at the time of Humbert Wolfe's promotion to Deputy Secretary, the department was to produce people capable of reaching Permanent Secretary level, starting with Eady in 1941 and Tribe in 1942, and reaching a total of ten with Mary Smieton's appointment in 1959.

From the study of the examination made into the work of the Civil Service undertaken in 1942 by the Crookshank and Rae Committees and the House of Commons Select Committee on Expenditure, criticism emerged of the role of the Treasury Establishment Division in the inter-war years. The shortage of Administrative Class civil servants to meet war-time requirements was shown to have arisen from the inadequate numbers recruited in the open competitions held between 1926 and 1939. To which was added the failure of the two-year probationary system for Assistant Principals in failing to weed out any who showed themselves unsuitable for continued employment in the civil service.

The Rae Committee papers showed that rather than supporting a view that the Ministry of Labour superseded the Treasury in controlling establishments it produced evidence to the contrary, which showed that control remained firmly with the Treasury, and that "direction of labour" for which the Ministry of Labour had statutory powers over employees in the private sector did not extend to civil servants.

Finally, the setting up of a limited O and M Section in the Treasury (which actually declined in number between 1942 and 1946) was ignored by the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour - the latter having set up its own "Organisation Branch" in 1938.

NOTES

- (1) H.M.S.O. Imperial Calendar 1940
p.p.211-212.
- (2) H.M.S.O. Op. cit., amongst the
Regional Commissioners were:
Lord Harlech, Lord Trent, Sir
Ernest Gowers, Earl of
Dudley, Earl of Cranbrook,
Admiral Evans.
- (3) Bernard Donoughue and G.W. Jones, Herbert Morrison: Portrait
of a Politician (London:
Wiedenfeld and Nicholson,
1973). p.301.
Morrison in 1942 reprimanded
the Deputy Regional
Commissioner, North West, for
misuse of his official petrol
allowance. He resigned.
Warren Fisher, Commissioner,
London Region, in a letter to
"Manchester Guardian"
23.3.42. referring to the
matter being "Handled with
such Prussianism by a
Minister of the Crown".
Morrison replied moderately,
which produced an arrogant
reply implying an ex-mandarin
was not accountable to a mere
Labour minister. Morrison
sought Fisher's resignation
which, when refused, led to
Morrison dismissing him.
Correspondence published in
full ("Times" 2.4.42.) was to
Morrison's benefit.
- (4) H.M.S.O. Imperial Calendar 1940.
- (5) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
p.p. 206-209.
- (6) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
p.p. 210-212.
- (7) H.M.S.O. Op. cit.,
p.210.
- (8) Peter Gillman and Leni Gillman, Collar the Lot: How Britain
Interned and Expelled its
War-time Refugees (London:
Quartet Books, 1980). p.92.
- (9) Peter Gillman and Leni Gillman Op. cit.,
p.93.

- (10) Public Record Office, File HO144/21254/700450/13
(April 1938).
- (11) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(May 1938).
- (12) Peter Gillman and Leni Gillman, Op. cit.,
p.45.
- (13) Peter Gillman and Leni Gillman, Op. cit.,
p.153.
- (14) Lord Allen, "Reflections of a Bureaucrat"
The Home Office Bicentenary
Lectures (London: R.I.P.A.
1982). p.p.28-29.
- (15) Lord Allen, Op. cit.,
p.28.
- (16) H.M.S.O. Imperial Calendar 1939
p.258.
- (17) Sir Godfrey Ince, "Mobilisation of Manpower"
Public Administration Vol.
24, 1946. p.4.
- (18) Sir Godfrey Ince, Op. cit.,
p.6.
- (19) Sir Godfrey Ince, Op. cit.,
p.14.
- (20) Sir Godfrey Ince, Op. cit.,
p.3.
- (21) Sir Godfrey Ince, Op. cit.,
p.12.
- (22) H.M.S.O. Imperial Calendar 1940 p.252.
- (23) H.M.S.O. Op.cit.,
p.p. 253-264.
- (24) J.M. Lee, Reviewing The Machinery of
Government 1942-1952
(Birkbeck College, 1977).
p.14.
- (25) Lord Allen, Op. cit.,
p.p. 27-28.
- (26) Bernard Donoughue and G.W. Jones, Op. cit.,
p. 289.
- (27) Bernard Donoughue and G.W. Jones, Op. cit.,
p. 309.

- (28) Allan Bullock, The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin Vol.2. Minister of Labour 1940-45 (London: Macmillan, 1967). p.8.
- (29) Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan Vol. 1 1897-1945 (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1962). p.255.
- (30) Michael Foot, Op. cit., p.255.
- (31) Sir Godfrey Ince, The Ministry of Labour and National Service (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960). p.200.
- (32) Allan Bullock, Op. cit., p.120.
- (33) Public Record Office, File T273/120 "Ministry of Labour and National Service: Changes in senior appointments 1940-54". (Bevin to Wilson 13.4.1941).
- (34) Ben Pimlott (Ed.), The Political Diary of Hugh Dalton 1940-45 (London: Macdonald, 1986).
- (35) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (File note Hopkins 28.3.1944).
- (36) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (331) (Hopkins to Churchill 21.4.1944).
- (37) Rodney Lowe, "The Erosion of State Intervention in Britain 1917-24" Economic History Review Vol.31, 1978 p.280.
- (38) Peter Hennessy, Whitehall (London: Secker and Warburg, 1989). p.85.
- (39) Public Record Office, File T273/102 "Appointments Senior Staff Ministry of Labour 1940-45" (Wilson to Phillips 16.1.1940).
- (40) Ben Pimlott (ed.), Op. cit., p.9.
- (41) Ben Pimlott (ed.), Op. cit., p.9.
- (42) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson to Bevin 10.5.1941).

- (43) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Bevin to Wilson 13.5.1941).
- (44) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson to Bevin
19.5.1941).
- (45) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Kingsley Wood to
Bevin 30.5.1941).
- (46) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Morrison to Bevin
31.5.1941).
- (47) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Wilson to Churchill
9.6.1942).
- (48) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
- (49) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Phillips to Wilson
16.6.1942).
- (50) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Wilson draft memo
16.6.1942).
- (51) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Wilson to Phillips
18.6.1942).
- (52) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Phillips to Wilson
19.6.1942).
- (53) Public Record Office, Op. cit.,
(Wilson file note 23.6.1942).
- (54) Allan Bullock, Op. cit.,
- (55) Allan Bullock, Op. cit., p.120 quoted by
Bullock.
- (56) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Phillips to
Hopkins 8.10.1942).
- (57) Public Record Office, File T162/931/45491/06/1-2
"Crookshank Committee".
- (58) Public Record Office, File T162/692/E45240/1-2
"Civil Service Manpower (Rae
Committee)".
- (59) J.M. Lee, Op. cit., p.11.
- (60) H.M.S.O. 16th Report of Select
Committee on National
Expenditure 1941-1942 (House
of Commons 102).

- (61) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson to Wilson Smith 1.6.1942).
- (62) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson to Wilson Smith 26.5.1942).
- (63) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson Smith to Fraser 19.6.1942).
- (64) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Gardner memorandum 25.7.1942).
- (65) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Gardner memorandum 25.7.1942).
- (66) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Minutes of meeting 14.12.1942).
- (67) J.M. Lee, Op. cit., p.10.
- (68) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson to Wilson Smith 26.5.1942).
- (69) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Phillips to Wilson 26.5.1942).
- (70) Public Record Office, Op.cit., (Wilson Smith to Ritson 29.5.1942).
- (71) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson to Phillips 2.6.1942).
- (72) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Phillips to Wilson 12.6.1942).
- (73) J.M. Lee, Op. cit., p.14.
- (74) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Phillips to Wilson 1.7.1942).
- (75) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Wilson Smith to Wilson 17.7.1942).
- (76) J.M. Lee, Op. cit., p.14.
- (77) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Minutes of meeting 7.10.1942).
- (78) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Minutes of meeting 20.10.1942).
- (79) Public Record Office, File CAB/87/88 "Reduction of National Government Staffs Committee" (December 1942).
- (80) H.M.S.O. Op. cit., House of Commons 102.

- (81) Raymond Ablondi, "The development and functioning of O and M in British Central Government" (unpublished London PhD thesis 1955). Table 2.
- (82) J.M. Lee, Op. cit., p.11
- (83) Public Record Office, File T162/939/E4011/1 and 2 "Establishment Officers Committee 1941-44".
- (84) Public Record Office, File T199/62/E0128/64/1 "Reorganisation of Treasury Divisions dealing with Establishments work; 1945 Proposals". (Wilson Smith to Bridges 15.5.1945).
- (85) Public Record Office, Op. cit., (Bridges to Wilson Smith 17.5.1945).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

The study examines the period between 1919 and 1946 in relation to the Treasury Establishment Division's restraints on establishment matters over claims made by the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, with each having different historical background in the Home Civil Service and a contrasting role.

It examines the effect restraints had, and how the two departments in the late 1930's produced contrasting approaches to meet the requirements of their extended war-time roles.

First, the study concludes that the effects of these restraints would have had a greater, and possibly harmful impact in 1939 had the Home Office not quickly changed its incestuous establishment policy and adopted the Fisher concept (originally formulated in 1919) for the interchange of Administrative Class civil servants between departments: whilst, in contrast, the Ministry of Labour was able to adapt its pre-war administrative role to meet the requirements of its extended war-time role.

Second, that between 1919 and 1939, the personality, style and political attitudes of the individual Permanent Secretaries had small effect on the success (or otherwise) of their dealings with the Treasury Establishment Division: in contrast, the war years from 1940 to 1945 produced ministerial support, especially from Ernest Bevin at the Ministry of Labour which had greater effect.

Third, it is shown that senior civil servants during the

period 1919 to 1946 had firmer political attitudes than has been generally attributed to them, but there is little evidence to show that these attitudes intruded to the detriment of their non-political role in advising ministers on establishment matters.

Fourth conclusion is drawn from the contrast between Bridges' claim that the greater delegation of authority to departments on staff numbers arose from the expansion of the civil service between 1939 and 1945. His view was that this change was "fostered by the more cordial and trustful relationship which came to exist between the Treasury and the Departments".(1) Another authority makes a different claim: "The Ministry [of Labour] which had in a real sense displaced the Treasury through its powers to register and allocate civil servants, gave some support for the notion that establishment questions should be separated from the Treasury".(2) A study of two war-time departmental committees,(3) shows that far from the Ministry of Labour displacing the Treasury, the Treasury succeeding in maintaining its control of establishment matters even to the extent that an Essential Work Order for the Civil Service covering the control of the employment conditions of civil servants was delayed by the Treasury until 1945, and was one of the last E.W.O made under the Defence Regulations.

Fifth, it shows that for the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour the needs of war were the catalyst required to recognise that 'contrasting establishment needs' existed in two very different departments of the Home Civil Service.

The nature of Treasury Establishment Division restraint.

The Treasury Establishment Division from its birth in 1919 was an instrument for the Treasury's restraint of public expenditure. This objective was achieved by the nature of its three principal roles of exercising control over establishment questions from all Departments in the Home Civil Service, with particular reference to the second of Winnifrith's heads: the control of numbers and grading.

The attempts by Troup in 1921, and Anderson in 1931 Chapter 4, to achieve some growth in the Administrative Class organisation at the Home Office met with a negative response, although both proposals were necessary to meet the increased regulatory responsibilities that had been given to the Home Office such as in the Control of Aliens (1919), the Control of Dangerous Drugs (1920), and in the major responsibility for the affairs of Northern Ireland (1920 and 1922).

However, the reduction in public expenditure called for in the early 1920's provided the Treasury Establishment Division with the means of denying Troup the chance of reorganising the Home Office before his retirement in 1922, and although Fisher agreed with Anderson that a Home Office reorganisation was "long overdue", Anderson's proposals had to be phased in over a period of three years after he had left the Home Office.

This attitude of the Treasury was not confined to control over the number of Administrative Class civil servants employed but extended down all the grades. An example of this rigid control was shown when a Home Office

request was made in 1937 for a Principal and three additional clerical staff for a new War Planning Section, which was met with the Treasury Establishment Division response: "that the number of staff assigned to this service will be reviewed and if possible reduced at the end of the year".(4)

With the Ministry of Labour, Treasury Establishment Division control took the form of negative abstention, failing to approve formally the Administrative Class reorganisation effected by Masterton-Smith 1921. Chapter 4.

Although the two Departments differed in their historical backgrounds, with the Home Office remaining largely a regulatory department until the mid 1930's when the creation of an A.R.P. Department gave it a new administrative role, the Ministry of Labour acquired from the Board of Trade a large-scale administrative role in managing the employment exchanges and the payment of unemployment insurance benefits with only a subsidiary regulatory role in overseeing the operation of Trade Boards (later Wages Councils) and providing secretarial services to Joint Industrial Councils.

On the control of numbers, the Treasury Establishment Division did not differentiate between a small regulatory department and a large administrative department, but the "negative abstention" shown to the Masterton-Smith reorganisation in 1921 at least gave some recognition of the Ministry of Labour's need to retain adequate numbers of civil servants to perform its administrative functions arising from the high levels of unemployment that existed from the early 1920's to the late 1930's. This need had

the effect of producing between April 1921 and April 1938 a 49% increase in the total number of civil servants employed in the Ministry of Labour.(5)

The effect of the Treasury Establishment Division's restraints.

The aim of Warren Fisher in his major reorganisation of the Home Civil Service in 1919 was to create a unified service in the three 'Treasury' classes of civil servants employed in all departments. A correlation to this aim was increased mobility of Administrative Class civil servants who would, as part of their career development, move between departments. In the Home Civil Service before 1919 the old "Secretary of State" departments had followed a practice of internal promotion. At the Home Office Troup, Blackwell and Delevigne spent the whole of their Civil Service careers in the same department.

In contrast, the creation of a number of new departments during the 1914-18 war (Munitions 1915, Labour 1916, Pensions 1916, Scientific and Industrial Research 1916, Air 1917 and Shipping 1917) enforced a movement of senior civil servants needed to set up the departments. The creation of the Ministry of Labour saw Shackleton moving from the National Insurance Commission to become the first Permanent Secretary, his immediate subordinates being Askwith as Industrial Commissioner, Rae and Phillips in the Employment Department, Basham in the Unemployment Insurance Claims Department, Reid in the Office of Trade Boards, and McLeod in the Department of Labour Statistics,(6) all being transferred from the Board of Trade.

The 1919 reorganisation took place at a time when Fisher was faced with the imminent retirement of a number of senior civil servants (nine Permanent Secretaries retired between 1919 and 1922) and with a Government that became more and more preoccupied with economy in public expenditure. Hamilton in his assessment of Fisher's contribution to the reorganisation of the Civil Service suggests that these two factors had an important impact on the reorganisation: "It was accordingly agreed, as Fisher had advised, that the first need was to have the right men in charge of Departments and that the resources of the Civil Service in manpower must be pooled to bring about this result".(7) At the Home Office the first need was met by Anderson (who had served in five Departments, three as Permanent Secretary) succeeding Troup in 1922 as Permanent Secretary. At the Ministry of Labour Masterton-Smith (who had served in three Departments) joined Shackleton in 1920 as Joint Permanent Secretary.

The second factor which required manpower resources to be pooled became part of the Treasury Establishment Division's restraints that had a considerable effect on the Home Office's own incestuous establishment policy by perpetuating departmentalism against the mobility concept that had been formulated as part of the Fisher reforms. This change came about in the attempt by Troup in 1921 to achieve some restructuring in his department. This attempt was met by the T.E.D. response for a need to 'pool' the work performed by his Assistant Principals and Staff Officers (Higher Executive Officers). Although an Assistant Secretary and an Assistant Principal received

promotion, the Home Office lost two Assistant Principals who were replaced by Executive grades. Following this attempt at reorganisation between 1920 and 1929 there was neither promotion nor movement of any Administrative Class civil servants in the Home Office, despite its additional regulatory responsibilities and preparation of the "War Book". Anderson's belated proposals for reorganisation had to wait until after the economic crisis of 1931/32 had passed.

The Home Office's attitude on staffing was, therefore, to some extent encouraged by the restraints imposed by the T.E.D. which ran counter to the central concept of the Fisher reorganisation to breakdown departmentalism, but which for its implementation required growth in departments which would produce a need for mobility of Administrative Class civil servants between departments. Chapters 4 and 5 showed that in consequence the growth that was required from the mid 1930's, with the creation of administrative duties for the Home Office following the setting up of the A.R.P. Department, produced a crisis which was heightened by the failure to attract candidates successful in the annual 'open' competition for Assistant Principals to opt for the Home Office because of its static career prospects.

The crisis was averted by the transfer of some Administrative Class grades from other departments (including Eady as an Under Secretary from the Unemployment Assistance Board, with Hancock, a Principal Assistant Secretary, also transferring from the U.A.B. to become the Principal Establishment Officer). Internally specialist grades (Factory Inspectors) were promoted to Administrative

Class grades as Assistant Principals, and the Home Office participated in the limited promotion exercise of a Clerical Officer to Assistant Principal as in the case of John McCarthy. Chapter 5.

In the Ministry of Labour a major reorganisation was achieved as a result of the 'direct action' taken by Masterton-Smith in 1921. The organisational structure he introduced remained through the 1920's and 1930's, and in contrast to the Home Office provided promotion opportunities for a number of the Administrative Class civil servants who had transferred from the Board of Trade and other departments when the Ministry of Labour was established in December 1916. A number of Assistant Secretaries were promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary (Under Secretary) and headed what the Ministry of Labour described in the "Imperial Calendar" as "Head of Department" positions - the use of the description "Division" to signify an Under Secretary's responsibilities did not develop in the Ministry of Labour until the late 1940's.

Although the majority of the Principal Assistant Secretaries promoted in the early 1920's remained in the same grade until retirement, some transferred to other departments, e.g. Eady to the Home Office in 1937, and Hancock to the Unemployment Assistance Board when it was set up in 1934, taking over from the Ministry of Labour responsibility for the administration of unemployment benefit payments to the long-term unemployed. An example of the accelerated promotion prospects afforded in the Ministry of Labour was the progression of Horace Wilson.

He was a Principal in the Employment Department of the Board of Trade at the time of his transfer to the Ministry of Labour in 1917: when Askwith retired in 1918 he was appointed Industrial Commissioner with the rank of Assistant Secretary, in 1919 he was promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary as Head of the Wages and Arbitration Department, and in 1921 to Permanent Secretary at the age of 39.

In contrast, Fisher's aim to break down departmentalism failed in the Home office where a small but old established "Secretary of State" department saw the effect of the Treasury Establishment Division restraints in support of the public expenditure economies of 1920-21 produce a static condition with no promotion or movement of their Administrative Class civil servants for a decade. Whilst a new department, the Ministry of Labour, achieved its reorganisation without the formal approval of the Treasury Establishment Division, and then expanded to meet the increased administrative work produced by the growth in unemployment through the 1920's and early 1930's. In contrast to the Home Office, when the need arose to take on additional duties in administering the requirements of the Military Training Act 1939, the Ministry of Labour was equipped for the work required, and in addition could provide senior civil servants to transfer to the Home Office to take on the new administrative role created by the setting up of an A.R.P. Department in 1937.

In the three departments examined one common factor emerges over the application of Fisher's concept of creating a "corps d'elite" from amongst the 1919 intake of

Assistant Principals who would benefit from inter-departmental mobility as part of their career development. Three of the 1919 intake who entered the Home Civil Service by means of the "Reconstruction" non-examination entry for ex-servicemen rose to become Permanent Secretaries in the 1940's: Newsam at the Home Office served only in that department, the same applied to Ince at the Ministry of Labour, whilst Bridges, who except for the war years when he served as Secretary to the War Cabinet, remained at the Treasury until his appointment as Permanent Secretary and Head of the Civil Service.

The effects of the personality and style of the Permanent Secretaries in their dealings with the T.E.D.

The personality and style of five of the Permanent Secretaries in the two departments had small effect on the success (or otherwise) of their dealing with the Treasury Establishment Division. At the Home Office, comparisons can be made between Troup, Anderson and Scott, and at the Ministry of Labour, between Masterton-Smith and Phillips.

Troup had been Permanent Secretary at the Home Office for eleven years when the 1919 reorganisation placed the Treasury with direct control over establishment matters affecting his department. Allen,(8) described Troup as "a liberal, tolerant man...perhaps over cautious and no believer of bringing the professional expert into policy discussions..." He chose to put his proposals of December 1920 for a reorganisation of the Home Office in the shape of a formal letter to Fisher. These were demolished a month later when he went to the Treasury to be faced by

Fisher, supported by the Controller of Establishments (Ramsey) and the Deputy Controller of Establishments (Scott). The result was that he failed to achieve the separation of Establishment work (which remained part of another Division) or an additional Principal for Dangerous Drugs work (which had been given to the Home Office with the passing of the Control of Dangerous Drugs Act, 1920). In addition he had to agree to a Treasury examination of the work performed by his Assistant Principals - whom he had claimed were over-worked. As a result of this review he lost two of them, who were replaced by Higher Executive Officers. A personality and style that included tolerance and caution did not overcome Treasury Establishment Division opposition in the early 1920's.

In contrast, ten years later Anderson presented a different personality and style as Wheeler-Bennett,(9) described him "...he gave to all below him a feeling of confidence in his strength, administrative experience, sagacity and judgment". It was the second of these personal qualities that gave him some advantage, when in 1931 Chapter 4, he presented his long overdue proposals for a reorganisation of the Home Office involving the Administrative Class civil servants who had faced ten years of a static state of affairs after Troup's failure to obtain some growth in 1920. Anderson had achieved a small increase in the number of Administrative Class civil servants in 1929, Chapter 4, using the procedure of having an informal discussion with an Assistant Secretary at the Treasury Establishment Division and then writing formally to the Controller of Establishments advising him of the

agreement reached with one of his subordinates. The Controller of Establishments (Scott) agreed to the additional posts without comment.

For his major reorganisation Anderson chose the opposite method from Troup's: writing a personal letter to Fisher in almost emotional terms, but disclosing that they had had a previous informal discussion on the proposals. Fisher responded by a same-day reply, agreeing to Anderson's proposals, provided they did not come into operation until 1932/33. Anderson, by using his administrative experience obtained in a number of departments - considerably greater than Troup's - made a "mandarin" to "mandarin" approach which succeeded in the changed economic, financial and political climate of November 1931. A feature of this correspondence between a Permanent Secretary and the Head of the Civil Service was that it completely by-passed the Controller of Establishments (Scott): there is no evidence to indicate that he was consulted on the matter. This was contrary to the usual practice of a Home Office Principal Crapper corresponding with an Assistant Secretary in the Treasury Establishment Division.

Scott in 1932, when he was appointed to succeed Anderson at the Home Office was 55, 15 years older than Anderson when he received the same appointment in 1922, but Scott had enjoyed the rank of Permanent Secretary since his appointment as Controller of Establishments in 1921. There is no biographer to give a view of his personality; but the late survivor of the Treasury Establishment Division's civil servants of his period gave

a view on his ability in 1982.(10) Sir Robert Fraser (who served in the Treasury from 1914 to 1939) attributed the success of the reorganisation in the 1920's to Scott, when in Fraser's opinion Scott was the real power in the Treasury Establishment Division from the time when it was set up in 1919. As he had succeeded Ramsey in 1921, he held the position for eleven years during the apogee of the Treasury Establishment Division's power. He was therefore the ideal 'model' for the "gamekeeper turned poacher" when he left the T.E.D. for the Home Office in 1932.

He was able to implement the Fisher-Anderson reorganisation during 1932/33 which had already been agreed, without him being involved. His subsequent failures in establishment encounters were with a Treasury Establishment Division that had been reduced in status, with his successor Rae having the rank of Under Secretary. This failure is shown by an example in March 1937 during his last year as Permanent Secretary when Rae grudgingly agreed an additional Principal, a Clerical Officer and two shorthand typists to man the War Planning section at the Home Office, but with the proviso that the staffing be "reviewed and if possible reduced at the end of the year [1937]". What finally came to Scott's rescue was the Air Raids Precautions Act passed later that year, and the Home Secretary Hoare's intervention with Fisher on the shortage of Administrative Class civil servants to man the new Department. Chapter 5.

At the Ministry of Labour two Permanent Secretaries, Masterton-Smith and Phillips, provide contrasts of personality in their relationships with the Treasury

Establishment Division. Masterton-Smith, when he went to the Ministry of Labour in 1920 to join Shackleton as Joint Permanent Secretary, was a "stopgap" appointment. He was given responsibility for the administrative side of the work at the Ministry, leaving Shackleton to concentrate on industrial relations questions as the Chief Labour Adviser.

Masterton-Smith achieved the major reorganisation of the Ministry of Labour in 1921, but he did not merit a mention of ever being the Joint Permanent Secretary in the list of Permanent Secretaries given by Ince in his 1960 history of the Ministry. His previous experience in the Civil Service, except for two short periods during the Lloyd George coalition government at the Ministry of Munitions from 1917 to 1919 and the War Office 1919 to 1920, had been at the Admiralty. Here he had twelve years of Private Office experience, including that of being Private Secretary to five First Lords of the Admiralty (McKenna, Churchill, Balfour, Carson and Geddes). The last was later President of the Board of Trade from 1919 to 1920 and responsible for effecting the reduction of expenditure in government departments (the Geddes "axe"). Masterton Smith had also enjoyed the personal friendship of Asquith, and as a Private Office civil servant was on a number of occasions the only civil servant present at private luncheon parties given by Asquith when he was Prime Minister.(11)

With this personal background and experience he achieved the 1920 Ministry of Labour reorganisation by a process of "direct action": first, by formulating the planned reorganisation, then announcing it by a

departmental General Order, followed by sending a copy to Treasury Establishment Division, "for information", but seeking their agreement to the reorganisation on the terms indicated in the General Order. In a subsequent discussion with Ramsey and Scott he retained the new structure although it was "not regarded in any way final".(12) Despite the reservations expressed by Scott the structure remained in operation when Masterton-Smith was succeeded by Wilson in August 1921, and by the subsequent Permanent Secretaries, Floud and Phillips.

A contrast is shown in the personality and style of Phillips who was appointed as Permanent Secretary in 1935 after serving for ten years as Deputy Secretary under Wilson and Floud, during which time the Principal Assistant Secretaries of the major Departments reported to him and he gained experience of the overall administrative operation of the Ministry of Labour. Phillips had made his reputation as being an "Insurance man", heading the Department's Unemployment Insurance Department from 1919 to 1924, administering the payment of benefits during a period of an increasing work load for this part of the Department's responsibilities.

When the additional responsibility was given to the Ministry of Labour for the operation of the Military Training Act, Phillips achieved this requirement without having to make any request to the T.E.D. for a separate National Service Department. The additional work load was met by some reduction in the work of the Unemployment Insurance Department when the number of registered unemployed fell as the rearmament programme produced

employment opportunities in a number of industries after September 1938. Although the number of unemployed still stood at 1,230,000 in August 1939, civil servants in the Employment Exchanges transferred to the work involved in registering all men of 20 who were eligible for the six months military service called for in the Military Training Act.

Amongst the senior positions in the Ministry of Labour there was a vacancy for a Deputy Secretary. Phillips succeeded with the support of his Minister, Ernest Brown, in obtaining promotion for the longest serving Principal Assistant Secretary in the Department - Humbert Wolfe, but only with the grudging support of Fisher when putting the recommendation to the Prime Minister, Chamberlain, for his approval. This episode supports O'Halpin's view that Fisher "was not always a good judge of men, and as time passed he became somewhat erratic in his advice on appointments".(13) Wolfe died in January 1940 and Wilson, who had succeeded Fisher at the Treasury and as Head of the Civil Service, pressed Phillips to accept Tribe a Principal Assistant Secretary for promotion to Deputy Secretary. Wilson described Tribe as "a first rate man, carefully trained and of wide experience".(14) Tribe had been Private Secretary to Wilson when he was Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Labour. At the same time Wilson complimented Phillips in carrying out the new dual role of Labour and National Service (as the department had been restyled from 3 September 1939) and not having a separate Ministry of National Service, in contrast the Home Office had achieved a separation of responsibilities with the

setting up of a Ministry of Home Security in September 1939.

Phillips showed a passive acceptance of Wilson's negative attitude to the early war-time needs of the Ministry of Labour and National Service. This acceptance continued until a crisis occurred early in 1941 in meeting the staffing of the senior posts required in the expanding National Service Department. Ince, the civil servant with the requisite manpower planning experience, was on loan to the Production Executive of the War Cabinet and Phillips sought his return to the Ministry to be Director General of Manpower Planning. He no longer had Ernest Brown, "Chamberlain's butler"(15) as his Minister and the intervention of Ernest Bevin, who had replaced Brown, quickly established a new positive relationship for Phillips with the Treasury Establishment Division. The support of a strong Minister produced a more effective Permanent Secretary in dealing with establishment requirements during the expansion of the Ministry of Labour and National Service to its war-time peak of 42,000 civil servants in April 1942.

Whilst Phillips in January 1940 lacked the support of his Minister, Ernest Brown, and failed to achieve the appointment of his preferred candidate Leggett to fill the Deputy Secretary vacancy, in 1941 with the support of his new Minister, Ernest Bevin, he achieved the return of Ince to the Ministry of Labour to take the new appointment as Director General of Manpower. A year later, again with the support of his Minister, Bevin, he obtained promotion for Leggett to join Ince as Second Deputy Secretary until Ince

succeeded Phillips as Permanent Secretary in 1944.

From these examples the different methods of operation of five Permanent Secretaries show the success or otherwise of their relationship with the Treasury Establishment Division in a period from 1920 to 1944.

The political attitudes of the Permanent Secretaries.

A recent view on the political attitudes of senior civil servants has been given by Chapman's study of Edward Bridges who succeeded Hopkins as Permanent Secretary, Treasury, and Head of the Civil service in 1945. Chapman claims that whilst the senior civil servant was in Bridge's view a student of public opinion, he was not a party politician because civil servants who had served ministers from both the political parties, and had experience of seeing the "inner workings" of the political machine had come to recognise as Bridges indicated in 1954 in a B.B.C. talk, "that if neither party is as near perfection as it claims to be, so neither is it half so bad as its opponents would make it out to be. Their experience leads them to see the good and bad points on both sides..."(16) Chapman supports this view because the British Civil Service works under "the supreme control of a committee accountable to over six hundred elected shareholders of whom about three hundred are likely at any one time to be opposed to current policies".(17) This view might have been sustainable for the House of Commons in the 1950's, but not from 1931 to 1939 when Fisher spent his last eight years at the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, and Wilson served as Chief

Industrial Adviser to the government, or from 1935 when he was seconded to the Treasury for "duties" with Prime Ministers Baldwin and Chamberlain until 1939. The "shareholders" were divided 554 to 61 from 1931 to 1935, and 432 to 183 from 1935 to 1940 when a coalition government was formed. For ten years the "majority" shareholders faced a small opposition.

Wilson was hostile to the Labour Party through to the fall of the Chamberlain government in May 1940. Dalton's first observation on Wilson was in 1930 when the then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Attlee 1930-31) recommended that a Ministry of Industry should be set up, the result of which was "that Horace Wilson of all people has been set up to rationalise, with no powers".(18) Dalton had worked for a short period at the Ministry of Labour in 1919 when Wilson was a Principal Assistant Secretary in the Wages and Arbitration Department. He then noted in his diary: "Start work at the Ministry of Labour to obtain release from the Army", and three months later "I shake the dust of the Ministry of Labour off my feet, and am full of inarticulate joy and relief".(19)

Chapman supports the concept the political impartiality of senior civil servants by using Bridges' reaction to a series of articles in 'Tribune' in 1946 that implied that Bridges and other Permanent Secretaries were not impartial between the Conservative and Labour parties, and that being essentially "Tories" they were "incapable of giving unprejudiced service to a Labour minister other than one strong enough to keep them in their place".(20) J.P.W. Mallalieu (a Labour M. P. from 1945 to 1979) who wrote the

articles saw Bridges who told him "although I thought I knew the Permanent Secretaries throughout the Service very well, I did not know how any of them had voted in the last election; and as regards 25 or 30 or more, I would not like to bet which way they voted".(21) If Bridges' judgement in 1946 on the possible political attitudes of senior civil servants had been applied to the six Permanent Secretaries at the Ministry of Labour, the four at the Home Office and to Fisher and Wilson at the Treasury, between 1919 and 1946, it would have indicated some degree of political naivety. Two of them were declared party politicians, one before entering the Civil Service - Shackleton, and one after leaving the Civil Service - Anderson. Wilson and Floud had at least sympathy with the Conservative and Labour parties respectively in the 1930's. Whilst no firm political attitudes emerged from the others, the general tenor of their approach on a number of policy matters placed Troup and Maxwell at the Home Office, and Phillips and Ince at the Ministry of Labour, "left of centre". At the Treasury Fisher enjoyed a close personal relationship with Chamberlain until rearmament versus appeasement (supported by Wilson) differences came down in favour of rearmament after September 1938.

Dale, a former civil servant when reviewing the political attitudes of senior civil servants in the late 1930's, estimated that "one fourth are Conservative, one half or slightly more are Liberal, and the remainder Labour of one shade or another".(25) If his estimate is compared with the percentage of votes cast in the last General Election (1935) before his estimate was made, the national

voting figures were: Conservative 54%, Liberal 6%, and Labour 40%. Compared with the actual voting percentages, Dale estimated that his "higher civil servants" were more in the political "centre" than the general electorate. But Dale disclosed his own political sympathies in a footnote to his estimate by indicating that "If the Liberal party had the luck to find a man of genius - a Disraeli or a Gladstone - to be its leader, in ten years or less it might be in power again".(23)

The only record of the political attitudes of senior civil servants, in terms of how they voted in a General Election is that obtained in a Fulton Committee survey.(24) Thirty Administrative Class civil servants who had entered as Assistant Principals in 1956 were asked to indicate how they had voted in the 1966 General Election. Of the sample of 30, 28 had voted - 93% against 76% of the total electorate. Their votes were Conservative 6 (20%), Liberal 4 (14%), Labour 17 (56%) and Scottish Nationalist 1 (3%). The national voting percentages in the same General Election were Conservative 42%, Liberal 8%, Labour 48% and others (including Scottish Nationalist) 2%.

This survey indicated that if Bridges' claim in 1946 that his contemporaries never declared their political attitudes to him, 93% of their successors twenty years later had political attitudes at least sufficiently strong enough to vote, and that they had moved considerably further to the "left of centre" than Dale's contemporaries of thirty years earlier.

Despite the firm political attitudes of senior civil servants at the time of General Elections, little evidence

exists to show that the Permanent Secretaries of the three departments examined in this thesis allowed their personal political attitudes to influence the advice they gave their ministers, on establishment matters.

On establishment questions it is recognised that Wilson was a "Treasury man" during a time when the Treasury was exercising a firm control in all areas of public expenditure (Chapman's "shareholders" were divided 9 to 1 and 2^{1/2} to 1 during this period). As Head of the Civil Service from 1939 to 1942 his attitude showed a marked change to claims from both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour and National Service after Chamberlain ceased to be Prime Minister in 1940, and during his last two years at the Treasury he had to face two powerful Labour Ministers in Morrison at the Home Office and Bevin at the Ministry of Labour, both of whom intervened when required to support their Permanent Secretaries, Maxwell and Phillips.

Wilson's contemporary Floud (they had both risen from the 2nd Division), who succeeded him at the Ministry of Labour in 1930, was a Labour Party supporter who moved further to the "left" during the 1920's. But his encounter with his Minister in the minority Labour Government of 1929-31, Margaret Bondfield, showed that he failed to be able to have contact with the leader of a major pressure group of that time - the Unemployed Workers' Movement. Bondfield was like the majority of the ministers in that government, "right of centre", and fearful of encouraging any organisation that had strong links with the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Maxwell at the Home Office, in both his action over the internment of enemy aliens in 1940 and his 'conversion' of the Home Secretary, Morrison, to support the abolition of capital punishment, placed him to the "left" and gave him a place amongst the few reformers to be found amongst the senior Home Office civil servants between 1919 and 1946. Fisher's political attitudes appeared to have varied, particularly in the last five years of his 20 years at the Treasury. O'Halpin considers that he had a "sentimental attitude to Neville Chamberlain", (25) but any close relationship changed when he failed to join with Wilson in support of "appeasement" up to September 1938.

O'Halpin makes extensive use of an unfinished memoir that Fisher was writing at the time of his death, and from this draws some conclusions on Fisher's attitude to political and social issues -

A number of themes stand out: loathing of the Victorian era for its lack of interest in social conditions; worship of Lloyd George as a social reformer; contempt for politicians generally, except Gladstone and George Wyndham for their efforts to treat the Irish fairly, and the 1905 Asquith government for its social policies...(26)

Fisher's "cri de coeur" letter to Wilson at the time of his handover in May 1939 disclosed examples of the social reforms that he hoped would have been achieved during his time at the Treasury - they were close to similar ideas held both by Asquith and Lloyd George. But despite O'Halpin's claim of Fisher's "worship of Lloyd George", he then dismissed Fisher's letter to Wilson as "an overwrought and reproachful cascade of wild ideas", and a "bizzare miscellany of ideas on social reform"(27) thus

producing an inconsistency to his conclusions.

Finally in retirement, and whilst serving as a war-time Civil Defence Commissioner, Fisher chose to engage in a public quarrel with the Home Secretary, Morrison, which showed hostility to a Labour Party minister which he would have been unlikely to have shown to a Conservative Home Secretary, e.g. Hoare or Anderson.

Senior civil servants during the period from 1919 to 1946 had firmer political attitudes than have been generally attributed to them, but there is little evidence to show that these attitudes intruded to the detriment of their non-political role in advising ministers on establishment matters.

The reaction of the Treasury Establishment Division to Ministerial intervention.

The final conclusion is drawn from the evidence available on the effect of ministerial intervention on establishment matters concerning Administrative Class civil servants, with the particular emphasis of this effect during the war years 1939 to 1945.

Winnifrith, as a participant himself in these circumstances, stated in 1958 that the Treasury had "no powers whatever in this field" and went on to state that "a Minister is supreme master in his own Department". This doctrine was resisted on occasions by both Fisher and Wilson during their time as Head of the Civil Service over internal appointments, transfers and promotions in both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour, although in all the cases examined Winnifrith's view on the doctrine of

Ministerial supremacy eventually prevailed.

The first example is of minor importance given the seniority of the civil servant concerned, but it provides evidence of when a weak "gamekeeper turned poacher" Permanent Secretary, Scott, succeeded with the help of his Home Secretary, Gilmour, to frustrate the Treasury Establishment Division. The question concerned the promotion of Houston in 1933 to Assistant Legal Adviser until he reached the age of 65 (five years after normal retirement age during a time of retrenchment of civil servants). Rae finally resolved the dispute when the Treasury Establishment Officer minuted him "as to the right of the Treasury to overrule the choice of the Minister in charge in filling a vacancy by the appointment of someone already serving in the Department. In the last resort I do not think we can".(28) As a result, Houston received his promotion to an Assistant Secretary grade. Chapter 4.

In the early years of the 1939-45 war Wilson attempted to resist the doctrine of "Ministerial supremacy" in the case of a number of internal transfers and promotions at the Ministry of Labour and National Service. In January 1940 a vacancy for a Deputy Secretary arose following the death of Wolfe. Phillip's preferred candidate was Leggett, a Principal Assistant Secretary in charge of the Industrial Relations Department, but he was not supported in this proposal by his Minister, Ernest Brown, and Wilson's protege Tribe was appointed as Deputy Secretary.

The formation of the coalition government in May 1940 with Churchill as Prime Minister removed Wilson from his "personal adviser" role that he had enjoyed under

Chamberlain since 1937. In two examples that occurred in 1941 and 1942 the effect of intervention by Brown's successor, Ernest Bevin, overruled the effects of Wilson and the Treasury Establishment Division to achieve control over the promotion and movement of senior civil servants in the Ministry of Labour and National Service. The first occurred in 1941, in a request for Ince to be released from his War Cabinet duties to return to the Ministry as Director General of Manpower Planning: Bevin ended his correspondence with Wilson with a clear directive: "I should be glad to hear that it has been possible to make these arrangements at an early date, as the matter is urgent".(29) Wilson's machinations as described in Chapter 6 (which involved Morrison as Minister of Home Security) only succeeded in creating a delay of several months before Ince returned to the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

The second example occurred in June 1942. Bevin had agreed that Tribe could leave the Ministry of Labour and National Service to become Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry of Fuel, Light and Power. Wilson had marked out Tribe to succeed Phillips as Permanent Secretary, but Bevin favoured Ince, with Leggett (who had been passed over in favour of Tribe in 1940) to become a second Deputy Secretary with Ince, until Phillips moved to the new Ministry of National Insurance. Bevin's views on these proposed moves eventually went to the deputy Prime Minister, Attlee, as Churchill was abroad. Wilson in his final note before retirement on Ministry of Labour establishment matters indicated his acceptance of the

supremacy of ministerial intervention: "I do not think that any course was open but for him, as Deputy P/M [Attlee] to agree with Mr. Bevin, upon whom, as Minister in charge of the M. of L. the responsibility of course rests"(30) Chapter 6

Wilson's valedictory minute was in line with Winnifrith's view on the limited authority of the Treasury on establishment questions, in the face of Ministerial intervention.

An evaluation of contrasting needs.

There was a contrast in establishment needs between the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour in the years from 1919 to 1946.

The Home Office, an old 'Secretary of State' department, faced additional regulatory responsibilities immediately following the reorganisation of the Civil Service in 1919: control of dangerous drugs, control of aliens, and legislation aimed at the protection of children. Troup's failure in 1921 to obtain the agreement of the Treasury Establishment Division to an extended and reorganised department, produced a static position when growth was required. One result of this decision was that the Division responsible for regulation concerning children (on which a Parliamentary undertaking had been given by the Home Secretary) had to take on the additional responsibility for the department's establishment work. Had Home Office needs been met in 1921, some of the social issues, such as possible reforms of the licensing and

gambling legislation referred to by Fisher at the end of his Civil Service career, might have been accommodated in proposals put forward for the consideration of the nine Home Secretaries that served at the Home Office between 1919 and 1939 Chapter 5.

At the Ministry of Labour additional needs arose after 1919 to meet the administrative requirements of the Unemployment Insurance Acts, over the payment of unemployment benefits to those registered as unemployed which did not fall below one million between 1920 and 1940. The new Ministry, which had taken on responsibilities from the Board of Trade in December 1916 for some aspects of social policy, failed to develop these facets of its work after 1919.

Lowe argued:(31)

there were inherent ambiguities in the concept of a Ministry of Labour which threatened to jeopardise the effectiveness of the new Ministry as a force for social progress; and that the circumstances of its creation and the hostile post-war climate prevented any successful reconciliation of these ambiguities. As a result the Ministry failed to obtain the degree of political importance and administrative resources which would have enabled it to emulate the Board of Trade's pre-war contribution to the formulation of social policy.

Although staffing levels increased they were absorbed in meeting the requirements of Unemployment Insurance and Employment Departments. Only in the 20 years after 1946 - when these needs reduced in a period of "full employment" was the Ministry of Labour able to return to making a contribution to the formulation of social policy in industrial relations, training and the settlement of

disputes between employer and employed.

The Treasury Establishment Division did not differentiate in its treatment of claims received from the two departments when they concerned the control of numbers and grading. Whilst the personality and style of the Permanent Secretary submitting the claim had small effect as to whether a Treasury veto could be made effective, the differing political attitudes of the Permanent Secretaries had little effect in such policy decisions. Over individual Administrative Class civil servants, Ministerial intervention had the effect of ensuring that the wishes of a Permanent Secretary prevailed.

Twenty years after 1946 Bridges attributed the greater delegation of authority to departments on staff numbers to the great expansion of staffs between 1939 and 1945. His view was that this change was "fostered by the more cordial and trustful relationship which came to exist between the Treasury and the Departments".(32)

This more trustful relationship followed the criticism made in two war-time examinations of the Home Civil Service, and of the Treasury Establishment Division's relationship with departments. The Crookshank Committee expressed the need for greater personal contact between the Treasury Establishment Division and departmental Establishment Officers, and to have a more flexible approach in the solution of problems, together with a broader and less negative view of their function. The House of Commons Select Committee on Expenditure was also critical: taking the view that the inter-war years neglect had found the Treasury unequipped to deal with the problems

of administrative organisation which were forced upon it from September 1939.

Whilst the short lived Rae Committee attempted to ensure that Treasury control remained over the number of civil servants in departments, and saw that this authority did not pass to the Ministry of Labour, the expansion of staffs between 1939 and 1945 meant that delegation of authority on numbers did pass to a greater extent to departmental level including both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour. The needs of the war were therefore the catalyst required for ministers and civil servants to recognise that "contrasting establishment needs" existed in two different departments of the Home Civil Service.

NOTES

- (1) Lord Bridges, The Treasury 2 edn. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966) p.113.
- (2) J.M. Lee, Reviewing the Machinery of Government 1942-1952 (London : Birkbeck College unpublished paper - 1977) p.14.
- (3) Public Record Office, Files T162/692/E45240/1 and 2 (Rae Committee) T162/931/E45491/06/1 and 2 (Crookshank Committee).
- (4) Public Record Office, File T162/582/E4080/2 (Rae to Scott 25.03.37).
- (5) H.M.S.O. Staff Employed in Government Departments 01.04.20. and 01.04.38. (London: H.M.S.O. 1920 and 1938).
- (6) H.M.S.O. Imperial Calendar 1917
- (7) Sir H.P. Hamilton, "Warren Fisher and the Public Service" Public Administration Vol.29, 1951. p.72.
- (8) Lord Allen, "Reflections of a Bureaucrat" The Home Office Bicentenary Lectures (London: RIPA 1982). p.26.
- (9) Sir John-Wheeler-Bennett, John Anderson: Viscount Waverley (London: Macmillan, 1962). p.84.
- (10) Eunan O'Halpin, "The Treasury Establishments Policy after the First World War" (Churchill College, unpublished paper 1982).
- (11) Michael and Eleanor Brock, (Eds.) H.H. Asquith letters to Venetia Stanley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
- (12) Public Record Office, File T162/40/E3305 (Scott to Masterton Smith 21.01.21).
- (13) Eunan O'Halpin, Op. cit., p.16.
- (14) Public Record Office, File T273/1022 (Wilson to Phillips 16.01.40).

- (15) Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan Vol.1 1897-1945
(London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1962). p.255.
- (16) Public Record Office, File T273/222 (Script of B.B.C. talk 1954 "The Civil Service Tradition").
- (17) Richard A. Chapman, Op. cit., p.92.
- (18) Ben Pimlott, (Ed.) The Political Diary of Hugh Dalton: 1918-40 and 1945-60
(London: Jonathan Cape, 1986). p.129.
- (19) Ben Pimlott, (Ed) Op.cit., p.p. 9 and 11.
- (20) Richard A. Chapman, Op. cit., p.97.
- (21) Public Record Office, File T273/232.
- (22) H.E. Dale, The Higher Civil Service of Great Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941). p.107.
- (23) H.E. Dale, Op. cit., p. 107.
- (24) "The Fulton Committee" Vol.3 (2) Surveys and Investigations (London: H.M.S.O., 1968, Cmnd. 3638).
- (25) Eunan O'Halpin, Head of the Civil Service: A study of Sir Warren Fisher (London: Routledge, 1989). p.128.
- (26) Eunan O'Halpin, Op.cit., p.282.
- (27) Eunan O'Halpin, Op. cit., p. 273/4.
- (28) Public Record Office, File T162/582/E4080 (Craig to Rae 07.03.33).
- (29) Public Record Office, File 273/102 (Bevin to Wilson 13.05.41).
- (30) Public Record Office, File T273/102
Wilson to Phillips 23.06.42).
- (31) Rodney Lowe, "The Ministry of Labour 1916-1924: A Graveyard of Social Reform?" Public Administration Vol.52, 1974, p.433.
- (32) Lord Bridges, Op. cit., p.113.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.R.P.	Air Raids Precautions
B.B.C.	British Broadcasting Corporation
B.O.T.	Board of Trade
C.B.	Companion: Honourable Order of the Bath
C.B.E.	Commander: Excellent Order of the British Empire
C.I.C.	Chief Industrial Commissioner
C.I.D.	Committee of Imperial Defence
C.O.E.	Controller of Establishments
C.S.C.A.	Civil Service Clerical Association
E.O.	Executive Officer
E.W.O.	Essential Work Order
F.D.A.	First Division Association
H.C.S.	Home Civil Service
H.E.O.	Higher Executive Officer
H.O.	Home Office
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
K.B.E.	Knight Commander: Excellent Order of the British Empire
K.C.B.	Knight Commander: Honourable Order of the Bath
M.O.L.	Ministry of Labour
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.U.W.M.	National Unemployed Workers Movement
N.W.C.	National Whitley Council
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
R.A.M.C.	Royal Army Medical Corps.
S.E.O.	Senior Executive Officer
S.O.	Staff Officer

T.C.	Treasury Circular
T.E.D.	Treasury Establishment Division
T.U.C.	Trade Union Congress
U.A.B.	Unemployment Assistance Board
U.P.W.	Union of Post Office Workers
W.V.S.	Womens Voluntary Service

TABLE A

Permanent Secretaries: Home Office, Ministry of Labour, Treasury and Controllers of Establishments

Home Office

Sir Edward Troup, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.	1. 2.1908-12. 3.1922
Sir John Anderson G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.	13. 3.1922-28. 3.1932
Sir Robert Russell Scott K.C.B., C.S.I.	29. 3.1932-25. 1.1938
Sir Alexander Maxwell G.C.B., K.B.E.	26. 1.1938-30. 9.1948

Ministry of Labour

Sir David James Shackleton K.C.B., J.P.	15.12.1916-29. 8.1921
Sir James Edward Masterton-Smith K.C.B. (Joint with Shackleton)	1. 4.1920-29. 9.1921
Sir Horace John Wilson G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.B.E.	30. 8.1921-16.11.1930
Sir Francis Castle Floud K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.	17.11.1930- 8. 1.1935
Sir Thomas Williams Phillips G.B.E., K.C.B.	9. 1.1935-17.11.1944
Sir Godfrey Herbert Ince G.C.B., K.B.E.	18.11.1944-31. 1.1956

Treasury

Sir Norman Fenwick Warren Fisher, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.	1.10.1919-30. 9.1939
Sir Horace John Wilson G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.B.E.	1.18.1939-23. 8.1942
Sir Richard Valentine Nind Hopkins K.C.B.	24. 8.1942-28. 2.1945
Sir Edward Bridges P.C., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., M.C.	1 3.1945- 1. 8.1956

Controller of Establishments

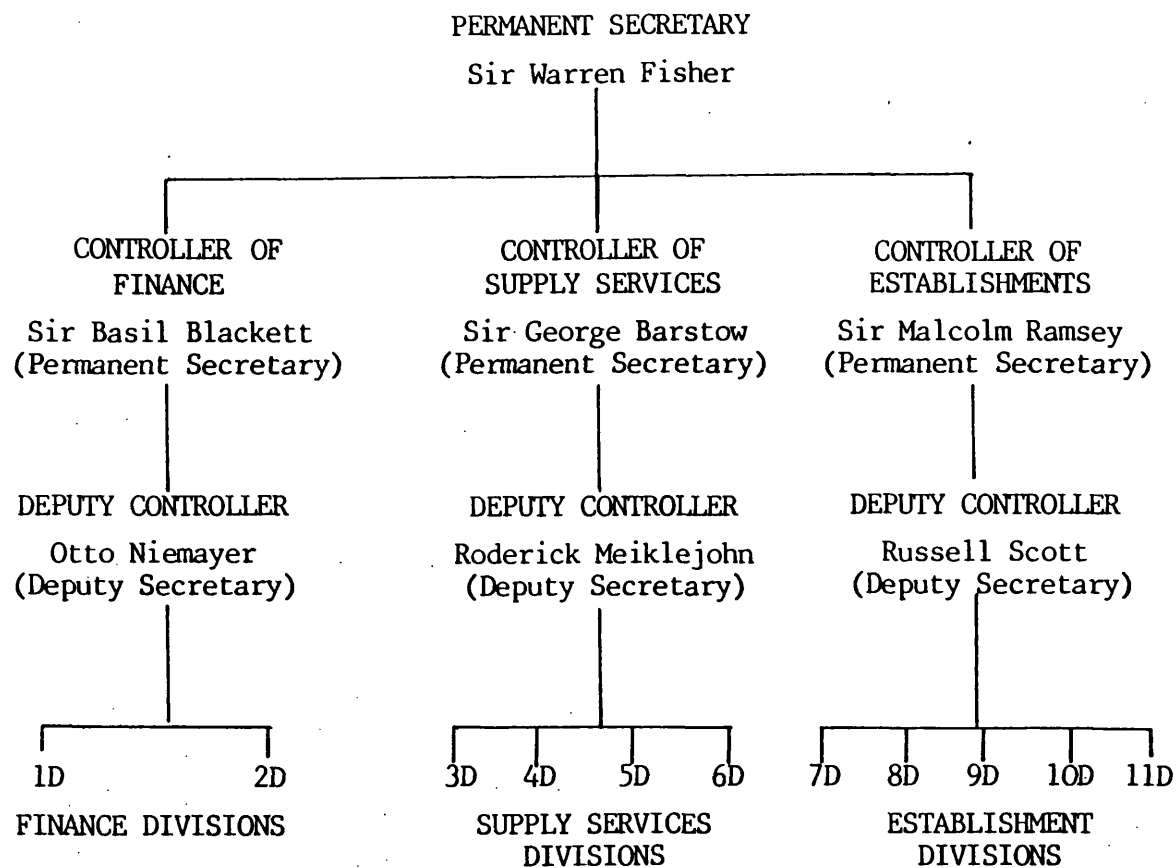
Sir Malcolm Graham Ramsey K.C.B.	1. 3.1919-31. 3.1921
Sir Robert Russell Scott K.C.B., C.S.I.	1. 4.1921-28. 3.1932

Head of Establishment Division

Sir James Rae K.C.B., K.B.E., J.P.	29.3.1932-31.3.1939
E.H. Ritson C.B. (on loan from Board of Inland Revenue)	1.4.1939-30.4.1942.
Sir Henry Wilson Smith K.B.E.	1.5.1942 - 1.3.1946

TABLE B

Organisation Chart: Treasury 1920



Divisions were headed by Assistant Secretaries from October 1919

TABLE C
Organisation Chart: Treasury 1927

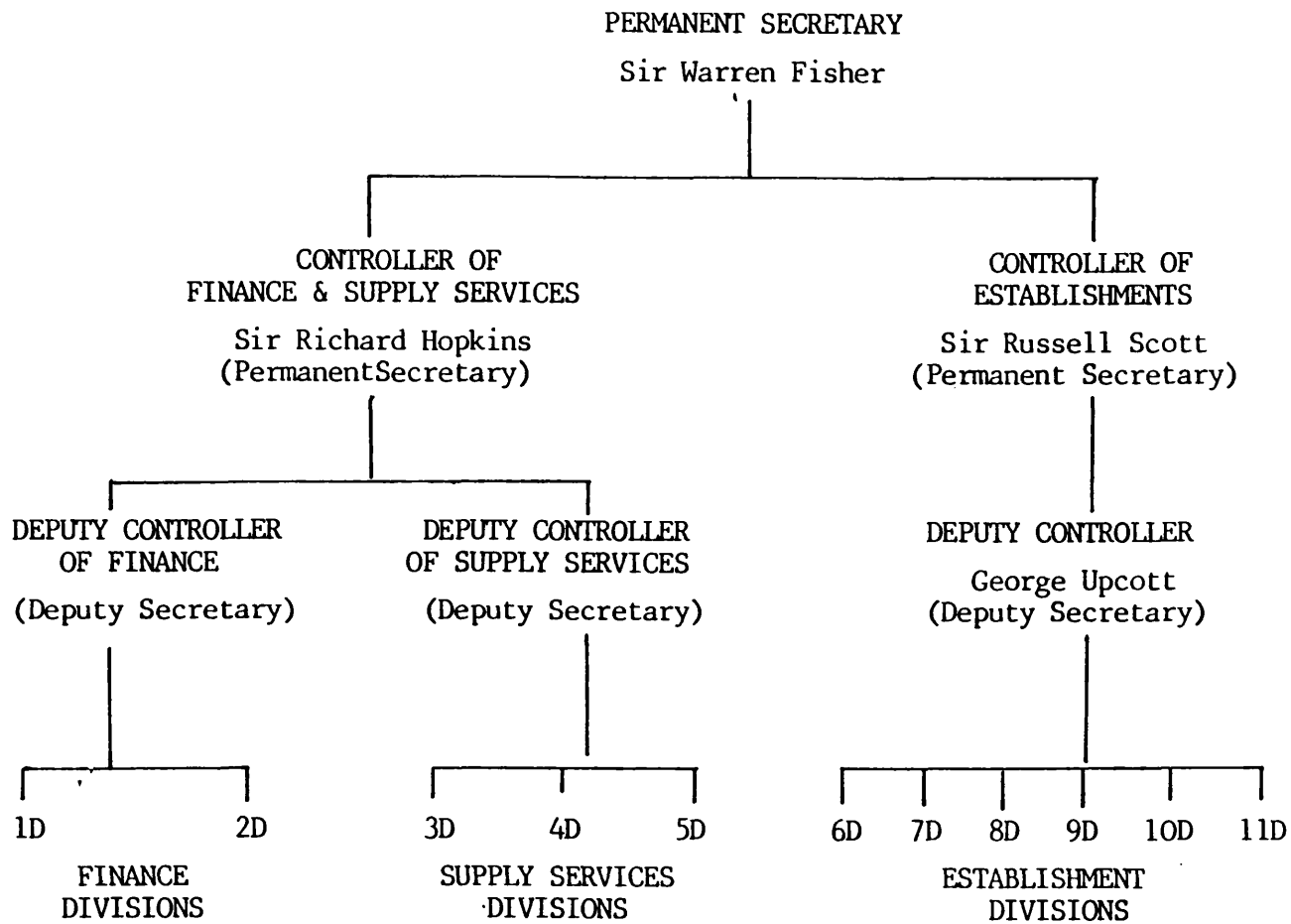
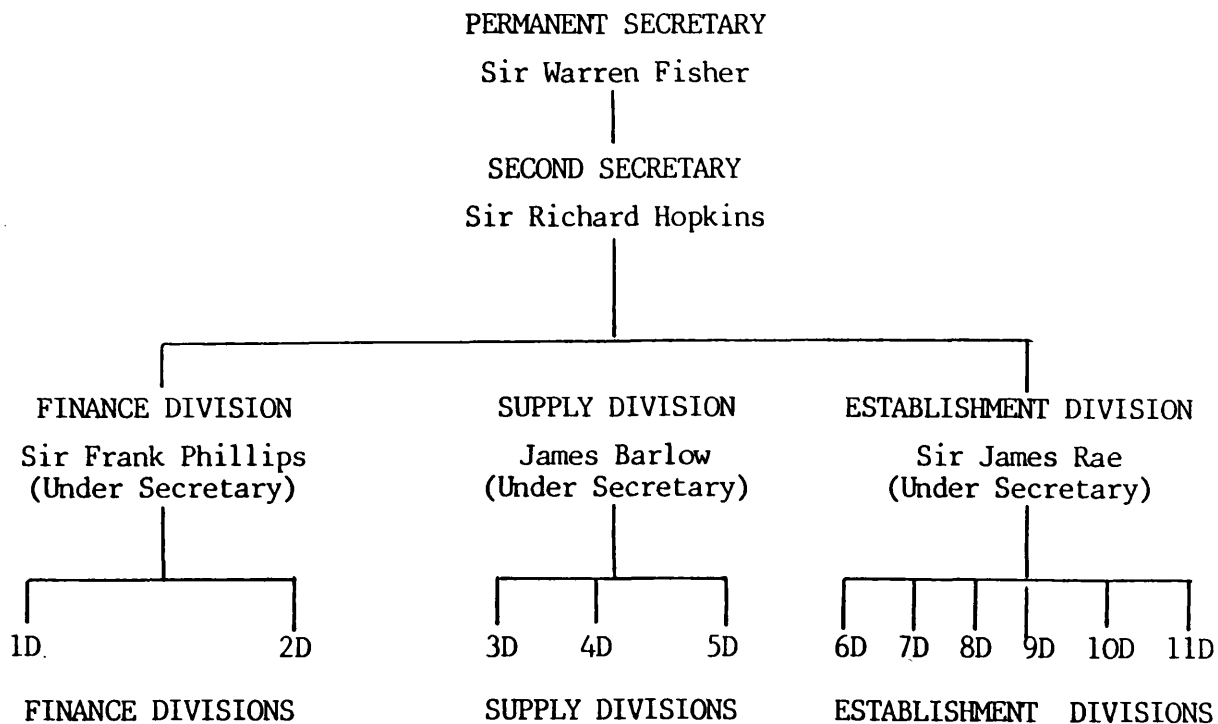
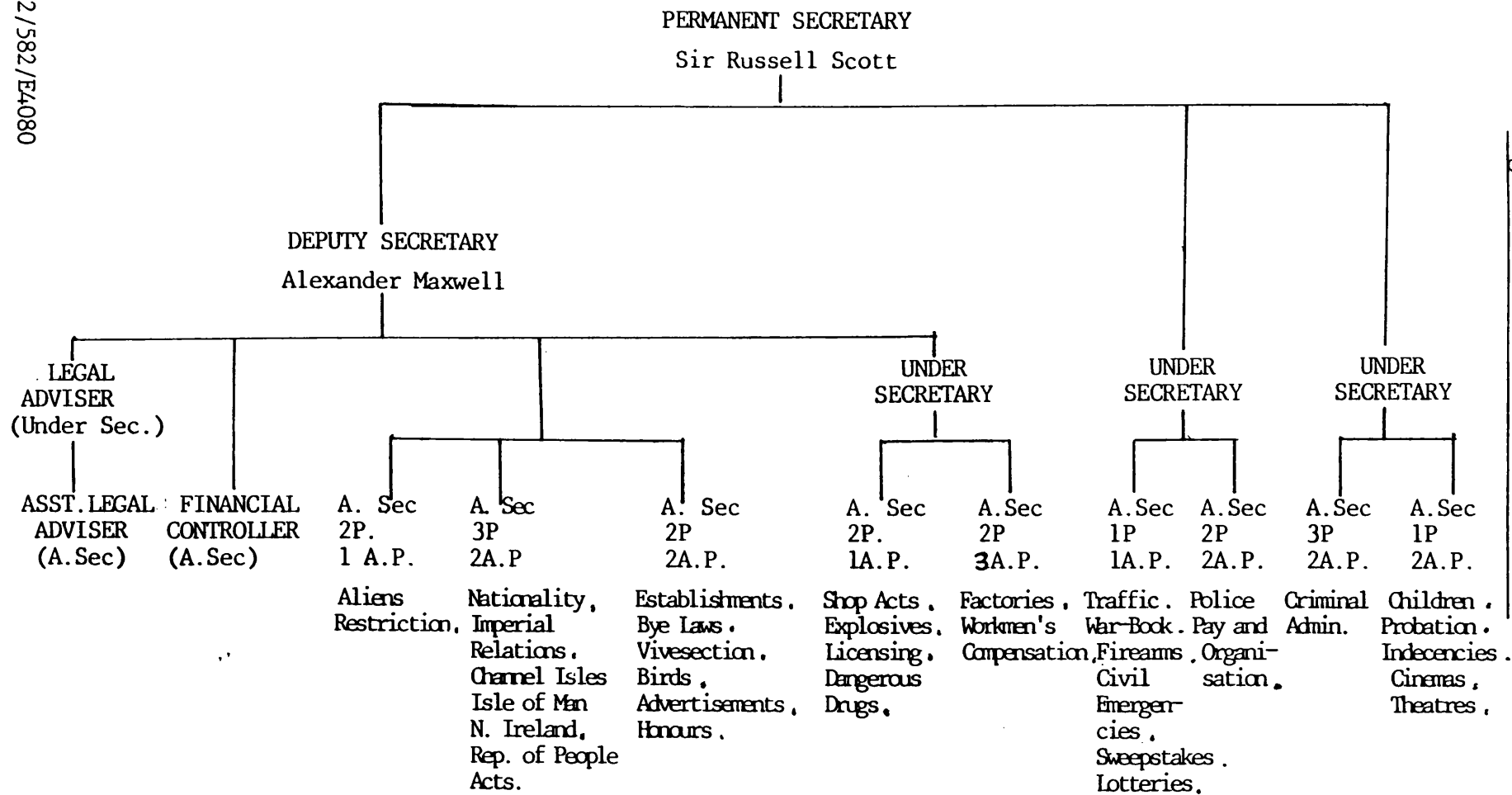


TABLE D
Organisation Chart: Treasury 1932



A.Sec Assistant Secretary
P. Principal
A.P. Assistant Principal



Organisation Chart: Home Office 1933

TABLE E

Assistant Principal where shown to be regarded as interchangeable with Staff Officer (H.E.O.)

Organisation Chart: Ministry of Labour & National Service 1941

TABLE F

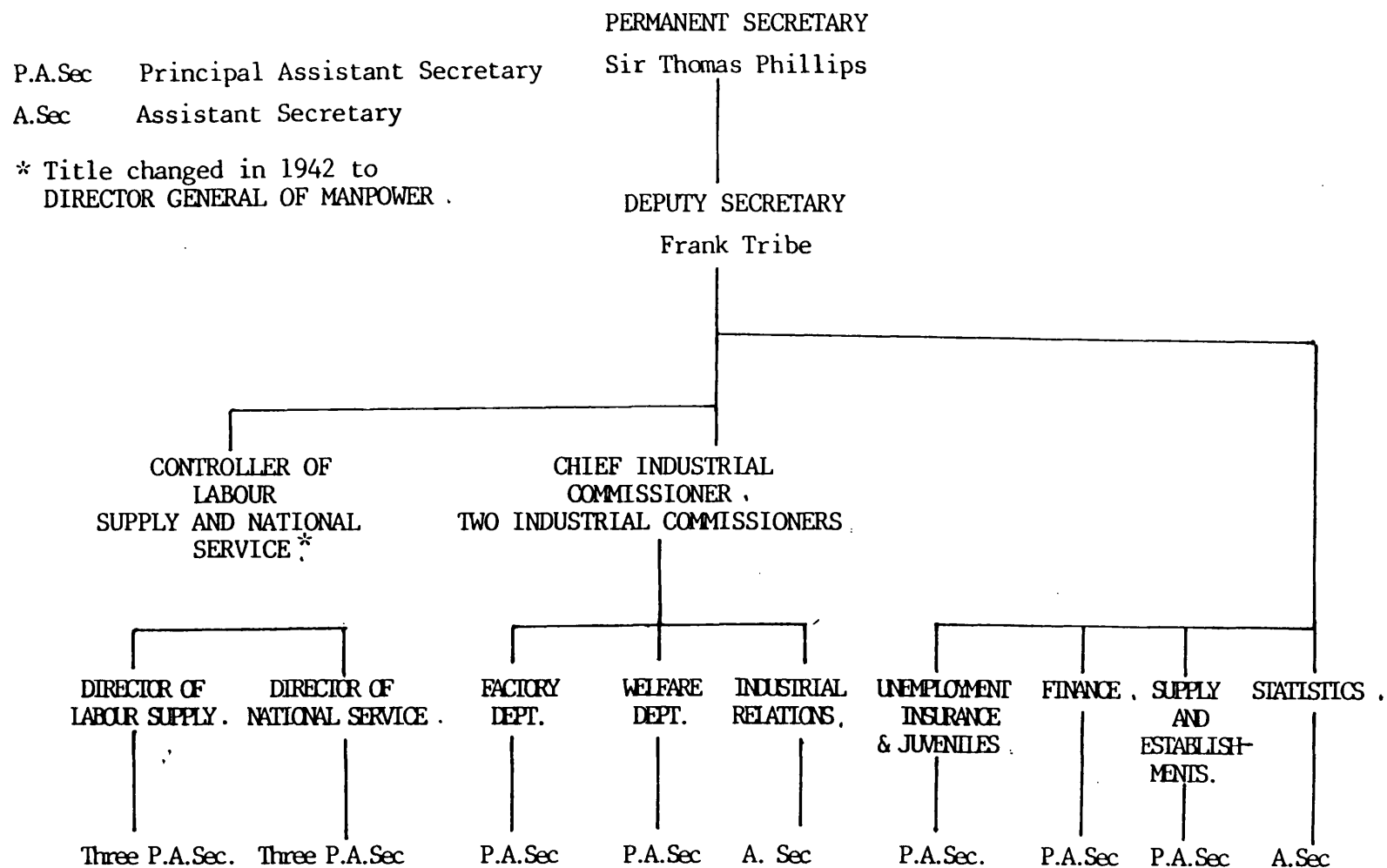


TABLE G

Administrative Class Civil Servants in the Home Office
and Ministry of Labour 1919

Home Office

Permanent Secretary	Sir Edward Troup
Assistant Under Secretary	Ernley Blackwell
	Malcolm Delevigne
Six Assistant Secretaries	
Six Senior Clerks (Principals)	
14 Assistant Clerks (Assistant Principals)	
Chief Inspector - Factory Department	
Chief Inspector of Mines	
Head of Prison Commission	
Chairman Board of Control (Lunacy and Mental deficiency)	

Ministry of Labour

Permanent Secretary	Sir David Shackleton
<u>Unemployment Insurance, Juveniles and Emigration Department</u>	<u>Establishments Department</u>
Principal Assistant Secretary Thomas Phillips	Assistant Secretary
Assistant Secretary Humbert Wolfe	Six Chief of Sections (Principals)
Two Senior Principals	
Seven Principals	<u>Finance Department</u>
<u>Claims and Records Department</u>	Accountant General
Assistant Secretary	Deputy Accountant General
Controller (Principal)	Assistant Accountant General
<u>Wages and Arbitration Department</u>	<u>Solicitors Department</u>
Assistant Secretary Horace Wilson	Senior Legal Assistant
Senior Principal	Two Legal Assistants
Principal	<u>Civil Demobilisation and Re-settlement Department</u>
<u>Industries Department</u>	Controller (Principal)
(Joint Industrial Councils, Trade Boards, Office of Trade Boards)	<u>Demobilisation of Forces Department</u>
Assistant Secretary	Assistant Secretary
Three Principals	Principal
<u>Industrial Commissioner Department</u>	<u>Women's Branch</u>
Two Assistant Industrial Commissioners (Principals)	Assistant Secretary
<u>Intelligence Department</u>	Miss Durham
Director of Labour Statistics (Assistant Secretary)	Principal

Source Imperial Calendar 1919

TABLE H

Administrative Class Civil Servants in the Home Office
and Ministry of Labour 1933

Home Office

Permanent Secretary	Sir Russell Scott
Deputy Secretary	Alexander Maxwell
Three Under Secretaries	
Nine Assistant Secretaries	
18 Principals	
12 Assistant Principals	
Chief Inspector Factory Department	
Chairman Prison Commission	
Legal Adviser (Under Secretary)	
Assistant Legal Adviser (Assistant Secretary)	
Financial Controller (Assistant Secretary)	

Ministry of Labour

Permanent Secretary	Sir Francis Floud
Deputy Secretary	Thomas Phillips

Unemployment Insurance Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
William Eady
Two Assistant Secretaries
Seven Principals
Three Assistant Principals

Transitional Payments Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Assistant Secretary
Two Principals
Assistant Principal
Mary Smeiton

Employment & Training Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Thomas Barlow
(serving as Principal Private
Secretary to Prime Minister)
Two Assistant Secretaries
Seven Principals
Five Assistant Principals

Trade Boards Department

Principal
Assistant Principal

Industrial Relations Department

Two Principals

General Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Two Assistant Secretaries

Services & Establishments Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Humbert Wolfe
Two Assistant Secretaries
Six Principals (including Godfrey Ince
serving as Private Secretary to
Minister of Labour)
Five Assistant Principals

Finance Department

Accountant General
Deputy Accountant General
Two Assistant Accountant Generals

Solicitors Department

Solicitor
Two Assistant Solicitors

Statistics Department

Director (Assistant Secretary)

International Labour Department

Principal

Outstations

Seven Regional Directors
(Assistant Secretary)
Nine Deputy Regional Directors
(Principal)

Source Imperial Calendar 1933

TABLE I

Administrative Class Civil Servants in the Home Office and Ministry of Labour 1939

Home Office

Permanent Secretary Sir Alexander Maxwell
 Deputy Secretary William Eady
 Inspector General A.R.P. Wing Commander Hodsoll
 Eight Under Secretaries (one Principal Finance and
 Establishment Officer)
 18 Assistant Secretaries
 39 Principals (including John Pimlott serving as Assistant
 Private Secretary to Home Secretary)
 25 Assistant Principals
 Chief Inspector Factory Department
 Chairman Prison Commission
 Legal Adviser (Under Secretary)
 Two Assistant Legal Advisers (Assistant Secretary)

Staffing Details of A.R.P. Department

Deputy Secretary
 Inspector General A.R.P.
 Three Under Secretaries (Two seconded from Ministry of Health)
 Five Assistant Secretaries (Two acting appointments)
 Nine Principals (Two acting appointments, Two seconded from
 U.A.B., one seconded from Post Office)
 Seven Assistant Principals (including John McCarthy)

Ministry of Labour

Permanent Secretary Sir Thomas Phillips
 Deputy Secretary Humbert Wolfe

Unemployment Insurance Department including liaison with U.A.B.

Principal Assistant Secretary
 (acting appointment)
 Two Assistant Secretaries (one
 acting appointment, one
 seconded to Imperial
 Airways)
 Five Principals (two acting
 appointments)
 Assistant Principal Conrad Heron
 (Permanent Secretary 1974-75)

Employment Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
 Godfrey Ince
 Two Assistant Secretaries (one
 acting appointment)
 Six Principals
 Five Assistant Principals

Services and Establishments Dept.

Principal Assistant Secretary
 Three Assistant Secretaries
 (one acting appointment,
 one seconded)
 Seven Principals
 (one acting appointment,
 two seconded to Home
 Office)
 Six Assistant Principals

Finance Department

Accountant General
 Deputy Accountant General
 Two Assistant Accountant
 Generals

Training and Juveniles Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Two Assistant Secretaries
Two Principals
Three Assistant Principals

Trade Board's Department

No Administrative Class Civil
Servants

Industrial Relations Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Harold Emmerson
(seconded to Commissioner for
Special Areas)
Assistant Secretary
Three Principals
Three Assistant Principals
including Denis Barnes
(Permanent Secretary 1968-74)

General Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Frederick Leggett
Assistant Secretary
Principal

Solicitors Department

Solicitor
Two Assistant Solicitors

Statistics Department

Director (Assistant Secretary)
Assistant Director (Principal)

International Labour Department

Principal

National Service Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Three Assistant Secretaries
Six Principals
Five Assistant Principals

Outstations

Seven Regional Directors
(Assistant Secretary)
Nine Deputy Regional Directors
(Principal)

TABLE J

Administrative Class Civil Servants in the Home Office,
Ministry of Home Security and Ministry of Labour and
National Service 1940

Home Office

Permanent Secretary	Sir Alexander Maxwell
Deputy Secretary	William Eady (seconded to Ministry of Home Security)
Seven Under Secretaries (one seconded to Ministry of Home Security, one Frank Newsam)	
23 Assistant Secretaries (seven seconded to Ministry of Home Security)	
37 Principals (eight seconded to Ministry of Home Security)	
27 Assistant Principals (ten seconded to Ministry of Home Security)	
Chairman Prison Commission	
Legal Adviser (Under Secretary)	
Two Assistant Legal Advisers (Assistant Secretary)	
Two Temporary Legal Advisers	

Staffing details of new Divisions and Branches

<u>Fire Brigades Division (also Fire Emergency work for Ministry of Home Security)</u>	<u>Finance and Establishments Division</u>
Under Secretary	Under Secretary
Two Assistant Secretaries	<u>Finance Branch</u>
Three Principals	Assistant Secretary
Three Assistant Principals	<u>Establishment Branch</u>
	Assistant Secretary
	Principal
	<u>A.R.P. Grants Branch</u>
	Assistant Accountant General

Ministry of Home Security

Permanent Secretary	Sir George Gater
Deputy Secretary	William Eady (seconded from Home Office)
Chief of Civil Defence	
Operational Staff	General Sir Hugh Ellas
Inspector General A.R.P.	Wing Commander Hodsoll
Five Under Secretaries (all seconded, one seconded from the Home Office)	
Eleven Assistant Secretaries (all seconded, seven from the Home Office)	
18 Principals (all seconded, eight from the Home Office)	
Ten Assistant Principals (all seconded from the Home Office)	
General Secretary W.V.S. for Civil Defence	Mary Smeiton (seconded from Ministry of Labour)

Regional Structure

Eleven Regional Commissioners
Eleven Deputy Regional Commissioners
(retired military and naval officers, retired civil servants, members of House of Lords and Commons)
Eleven Principal Officers (Assistant Secretary, seven temporary appointments)

Ministry of Labour and National Service

Permanent Secretary	Sir Thomas Phillips
Deputy Secretary	Frank Tribe
Chief Adviser on Industrial Relations	Frederick Leggett (Under Secretary)
Under Secretary	Godfrey Ince (seconded to War Cabinet Office)

Unemployment Insurance Department including liaison with U.A.B.

Principal Assistant Secretary
Two Assistant Secretaries
Four Principals

Employment Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Three Assistant Secretaries
Seven Principals
Three Assistant Principals

Training & Juveniles Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Two Assistant Secretaries
Three Principals
Assistant Principal

Trade Boards Office

No Administrative Class Civil Servants

Industrial Relations Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Harold Emmerson
Assistant Secretary
Two Principals
Two Assistant Principals

General Department

Assistant Secretary
Principal

National Service Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Three Assistant Secretaries
Seven Principals
Four Assistant Principals

Services & Establishments Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Three Assistant Secretaries
Six Principals (one seconded to Home Office)
Four Assistant Principals
Two Chief Inspectors
Chief Instructions Officer
(Temporary appointments graded as Principals)
Deputy Chief Inspector
Two Assistant Chief Instructions Officers
(Temporary appointments graded as Assistant Principals)

Finance Department

Accountant General
Three Deputy Accountant Generals
Five Assistant Accountant Generals

Solicitors Department

Solicitor
Two Assistant Solicitors
Six Senior Legal Assistants

Statistics Department

Director (Assistant Secretary)
Assistant Director (Principal)

International Labour Department

Principal (temporary appointment)

Divisional Offices

Eight Divisional Controllers
(Assistant Secretary)
Ten Deputy Divisional Controllers
(Principal)

Military Recruitment Department

Principal Assistant Secretary
Four Assistant Secretaries
Six Principals

Factory Department

Chief Inspector of Factories
Four Deputy Chief Inspectors

Source: Imperial Calendar 1940

TABLE K

Administrative Class Civil Servants in the Home Office and

Ministry of Labour and National Service 1945

Home Office

Permanent Secretary	Sir Alexander Maxwell
Permanent Secretary (attached for special duties)	Sir William Brown (Permanent Secretary Ministry of Home Security 1943-45)
Deputy Secretary	Sir Frank Newsam
Principal Under Secretary (Fire Service)	Sir Arthur Dixon
Principal Under Secretary (Civil Defence)	O.C. Allen
Inspector General Civil Defence	Wing Commander Sir John Hodsoll
Ten Under Secretaries (including Principal Finance Officer and Principal Establishment Officer)	
26 Assistant Secretaries (including two temporary appointments)	
45 Principals	
13 Temporary Principals	
Eight Assistant Principals	
Legal Adviser (Under Secretary)	
Two Assistant Legal Advisers (Assistant Secretary)	
Three Temporary Legal Advisers	
Chairman Prison Commission (Under Secretary)	
Two Assistant Prison Commissioners (Assistant Secretary)	
Eleven Chief Regional Fire Officers (Assistant Secretary)	

Ministry of Labour and National Service

Permanent Secretary	Sir Godfrey Ince
Deputy Secretary	Harold Emmerson (Director General of Manpower)
Chief Industrial Commissioner	Robert Gould

Appointments Department

Two Under Secretaries
Director of Business Training
(Temporary Under Secretary)
Four Assistant Secretaries
Five Principals
Three Temporary Principals
Four Temporary Assistant
Principals

Employment and Manpower
Allocation Department

Under Secretary
Three Assistant Secretaries
Three Principals
Three Temporary Principals
Assistant Principal

Organisation & Establishments
Department

Under Secretary
Three Assistant Secretaries
Four Principals
Two Assistant Principals
Two Temporary Assistant Principals
Chief Inspector
Chief Instructions Officer
Deputy Chief Inspector
Four Assistant Chief Instructions
Officers

Finance Department

Accountant General
Two Deputy Accountant Generals
Four Assistant Accountant Generals

Training Department

Under Secretary
Two Assistant Secretaries
Four Principals
Temporary Principal
Temporary Assistant Principal

Juveniles and Disabled

Persons Department

Under Secretary
Assistant Secretary
Temporary Assistant Secretary
Three Principals
Two Temporary Principals
Temporary Assistant Principal

Office of Wages Councils

No Administrative Class civil servants

Industrial Relations Department

Under Secretary (also overseas Department)
Two Assistant Secretaries
Four Principals

Placing & Labour Controls Dept.

Under Secretary
Mary Smeiton
Three Assistant Secretaries
Five Principals
Temporary Principal
Six Temporary Assistant Principals

Military Recruitment and Demobilisation Department

Under Secretary
Three Assistant Secretaries
Three Principals
Four Temporary Principals
Assistant Principal

Labour Supply Department

Two Under Secretaries
Five Assistant Secretaries
Six Principals
Five Temporary Principals
Two Assistant Principals
Two Temporary Assistant Principals

Solicitors Department

Solicitor
Temporary Legal Adviser
Two Assistant Solicitors
Six Senior Legal Assistants

Statistics Department

Director (Assistant Secretary)
Deputy Director (Principal)

Overseas Department

Under Secretary
Two Assistant Secretaries
Three Principals
Temporary Principal

Factory Department

Under Secretary
Assistant Secretary
Two Principals
Temporary Assistant Principal
Chief Inspector of Factories
Senior Deputy Chief Inspector
Four Deputy Chief Inspectors

Welfare Department

Under Secretary (also Appointments Department)
Two Assistant Secretaries
Two Principals
Temporary Principal

Regional Organisation

Eleven Regional Controllers
(Assistant Secretary)
Eleven Deputy Regional Controllers
(Principal)

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