

The Staffing of Friends' Schools in England during the Nineteenth Century

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THE SUPPLY OF TEACHERS

UNTIL well into the nineteenth century Friends had scarcely any contact in England with the country's provision for higher education. The only chance of English university training as full members of Oxford or Cambridge had fallen to those who, right at the beginning of the Society's history in the seventeenth century, had become Friends after having completed their education at Oxford or Cambridge.¹ From the earlier half of the nineteenth century London University offered an education which some Friends gladly accepted, and Oxford and Cambridge were open to non-Anglicans after 1871. The supply of Friend teachers, after the seventeenth century graduates died, was not from the universities, nor did the course of work in Quaker schools follow the university pattern, on the whole.

During the period 1695-1725 the interest of the Society in its schools was high, and in 1697 the London Second-day Morning Meeting of Ministers advised the training of teachers, but even then there was a shortage of teachers which prevented the meetings of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Berkshire and Derbyshire from founding schools as they had planned.² During the eighteenth century schoolmasters had a large responsibility for the continuity of Quaker education when the interest and support of meetings had so diminished. But the supply of teachers was so insufficient that in 1760 a special committee of the Meeting for Sufferings was set up

¹ Some Friends went to universities outside England. John Fothergill, one of the main movers in the foundation of Ackworth, was a famous doctor in the eighteenth century, and had trained at Edinburgh.

² See Hubbard, D. G., *Early Quaker Education, c. 1650-1780*, 92 (University of London M.A. thesis, 1940. Copy at the Friends' Reference Library).

to consider the whole position. Of those teaching, many were deemed inadequately trained for their work, and that committee suggested among other things, a definite scale of payment for Friend teachers to encourage their recruitment and proper training. But until well into the nineteenth century Friends made no set provision for training teachers. The ideals of the Society and its self-contained nature did lead many into teaching. As Anthony Benezet said: "Our principles . . . naturally point out to us as a people, rather than others, to serve God and our country in the education of youth."¹

In the middle of the eighteenth century the concern of meetings for their schools was weak. That schools continued until Yearly Meeting founded Ackworth in 1779 was due to the independent efforts of individual Friends and groups.

The challenge of the nineteenth century was far more insistent. Urban and industrial communities forced upon Friends an obligation to meet the competition by stability and continuity in the "Meeting" schools. That meant some system for guaranteeing the supply of teachers.²

The conditions of life for staff in most of the "Meeting" schools must have been rigorous in the first half of the century. For living quarters, one common room with the other men (or women) teachers, and a bedroom which was, at best, a cubicle in the bedrooms for the scholars. In the early years at Ackworth there was no official holiday, but a week or two snatched from the daily life of the school, and at least one open complaint of insufficient food. In 1830 the headmistress of the Mount, a school for the children of better-to-do Friends, was paid £50 a year with free board and lodging if she wished it; the salary of assistant teachers, both men and women, in other "Meeting" schools was correspondingly smaller. At Wigton and Rawdon, for example, early on, no regular salary was paid, but "gifts" were occasionally given. It is worth noting that, before the Mount became a "Meeting" school, successive superintendents, "concerned" Friends, gave financial help.

¹ Letter to Samuel Fothergill, 27.xi.1758.

² The foundation of training colleges about the middle of the century by other bodies was a challenge. Such names as Borough Road, Stockwell, Battersea, St. Mark's, Whitelands and Westminster were becoming established.

The pattern of service, of poverty, of intellectual limitation, of strict Quaker plainness, lay on Friend apprentices and on most Friend teachers in the first forty years of the century. The first apprentice was engaged at Ackworth in 1782. He was given an extra year's schooling and then articulated for six or seven years, during which time he was responsible for a good deal of teaching and supervision. He had, at the beginning, no further advanced studies, but learned the classroom situation by being in it and dealing with it. We have shown how meagre was the payment, and when we remember that these lads of fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, often had to take charge of classes of sixty or seventy boys out of lesson time,¹ that they sometimes had to supervise working off by the boys of arrears of punishment like "standing to the line," it can be seen how natural it was that many of the apprentices did not serve their full term.²

The Lancasterian system was given a cautious probationary period at Ackworth between 1822 and 1834. George Dixon, the first head of Great Ayton, had received his earlier training at the British School in Darlington, and for the first four years of Great Ayton he chose the best four readers from the top class to teach the second and third classes. After that time he chose the best of these monitors as an apprentice teacher. From about 1820 to 1845 some of the Lancasterian methods had a vogue in Friends' schools.

TRAINING WOMEN TEACHERS

In 1836 the committee of the Mount School³ decided to try to meet their difficulties in staffing along much the same lines as Ackworth had followed with its apprentice teachers. Four or five girls at a time were to be admitted at lower fees in order to prepare as teachers. They had an extra year of schooling and then were engaged as junior teachers for a varying period of years. This was the beginning of the

¹ The staffing ratio was nothing like as heavy as this. At Ackworth in 1846 it was (including apprentices) one teacher to 19 boys, and one to 14 girls.

² An example of this occurs at Sidcot, where, in the first half of the nineteenth century only a few apprentices stayed through their full term. The situation was similar at Wigton and at Islington.

³ The school was then at Castlegate. It was moved to the Mount in 1857.

“ Training Department ” at the Mount. It proved, for the time, successful, and for some years the children so trained were in demand for the Mount staff and for the staffs of other schools and as governesses to wealthier families. This training was limited and was changed in the 'sixties, but it must have had some satisfying results, because Sir Joshua Fitch said after his inspection on behalf of the Royal Commission in 1864 :¹

I noticed on the part of all the teachers, a professional aptitude, and a skill in oral explanation and in collective teaching, which are very unusual in higher schools. I attribute this to the fact that the Friends are the only religious body in which there is a distinct recognition of the need for training, and a definite provision to meet that need.

After the move from Castlegate to the Mount in 1857 the number of trainees was increased from five to ten. With the opening of what is now Bedford College in 1849, of Girton and Newnham round about 1870, followed in the late 'seventies and 'eighties by the women's colleges at Oxford, a new impetus was offered to women, and particularly to the Mount Training Department. In 1866, of the thirty-nine pupils, fourteen were trainees. A reduced fee was balanced by some extra chores which tended to mark them off from their companions in that inevitable stratification of Victorian society. It is worth noting that in the 'sixties some of the older apprentice teachers came from the other Friends' schools, such as Ackworth, Penketh and Wigton, for training at the Mount.

Until the advent of Lydia Rous in 1866, the trainees had the benefit of a year's further education at the Mount, and a period of service as part return. The training was not on method, except for what could be observed from the regular teachers. Lydia Rous changed that somewhat. Until her retirement in 1879 she was never satisfied with the intellectual quality of the teachers she was able to have. It was in 1879 that the training of women teachers was discussed in the Education Conference of the Society :

The present system, then, amounts to this :—Five or six of the brightest and best pupils are chosen annually (usually at the age of 15) from the four hundred girls who fill our schools ; they are

¹ *Report on Friends' Schools at York* by an Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Schools appointed in 1864 (published 1869), 6.

boarded and partially clothed (£7 10s. per annum can hardly pay the full cost of clothing) : one year's education at the Mount School is given to them, which is not sufficient to enable them to matriculate or gain any certificate of recognised value ; they take during their term of apprenticeship a considerable part of the drudgery and some portion of the class work, and thus lessen the number of adult teachers that would otherwise be required in the schools ; at twenty-one years of age they are free. What is their status professionally ? . . . We will now take the case of a girl of equal ability who has not been apprenticed : at sixteen years of age she enters the Mount School ; she receives uninterrupted, systematic instruction for two or three years : matriculates at the London University, and at the age of nineteen is probably in a situation where she is gaining £40 or £50 per annum. The Ackworth or Croydon apprentice has no chance of matriculating till she has completed her twenty-first year, and then only if she is willing and able to forego earning a year's salary.¹

After 1879 two years of education at the Mount was offered to each trainee. With training colleges in the twentieth century becoming a national necessity, the Mount Training Department was scarcely well enough equipped to give sufficient and skilled instruction to its trainees, who, as educational advantage offered, were seen to be better served if the money set aside for their training were devoted to university scholarships or bursaries for further study and preparation. This also happened with boy trainees, as we shall see. The Training Department faded away in the twentieth century in its teaching capacity.

TRAINING MEN TEACHERS

The first apprentice went to Ackworth in 1782. The apprenticeship system was adopted at Sidcot in 1808, at Islington in 1811, and at Wigton in 1815, but the supply of teachers was never adequate or reliable at the schools in the first half of the century. Yearly Meeting at the beginning of the century states " that the want of proper persons as Schoolmasters hath been the occasion of great damage to the Society."² This complaint had been voiced in 1690, in 1760, and on other occasions, yet the insufficiency of " suitable Friends " was being intensified by the growing number of Friends' " Meeting " or " Committee " schools. By 1842 there were ten schools needing appropriate staffs.

¹ *Report*, 102. From Lydia Rous's paper on the subject.

² Quoted in *History of Wigton School*, 10.

The monitorial conception was the only training plan worked out in England to any general effect in the first forty years of the century. But it was inadequate, Friends soon saw, as a prevailing system for schools which placed such emphasis on religious experience and community life as theirs did. So apprenticeship, while being a guarantee of future teachers, was not a proper answer to the problem of supply, and the stirrings of concern for the training of teachers in the country at large were felt in the educational circles of the Society. In 1848 Friends founded their Training Centre for men. This was the Flounders Institute and was situated near Ackworth School. It was founded on the bequest of Benjamin Flounders, and is another example of Quakerly responsibility undertaken by richer Friends. Benjamin Flounders left £40,000 to be used :

for the education of the sons of poorer members of the Society of Friends with a special view to render them competent to undertake the education and instruction of youth.¹

The plan was to house a maximum of twelve students, and there were three classes of pupils to be admitted :

The first, consisting of youths not less than fifteen years of age, who, if their talents and conduct render it suitable, may remain several years in the Establishment, and go through such a course of study in it, or out of it under its direction, as may qualify them for the highest position as teachers; the second, of young persons rather more advanced in age, who have not been brought up to the profession, but who have good talents and are conscientiously disposed to become teachers; the third, of those who have been trained to the office of teacher, and are desirous of improving themselves by the instruction afforded in the Flounders Institute.²

These deliberately vague terms of reference left scope for variation in training courses. It is interesting to note that in the 1869 Report of the Royal Commission's examination of Friends' educational institutions in 1864, the Commission states that the course of instruction lasted for three years. R. W. Rich³ states that the regular course was for two years, and we read of many students completing a one-year course,⁴

¹ Quoted in Wallis, I. H., *Frederick Andrews* (1924), 30.

² The Trust Deed of the Flounders Institute (printed in 1874), 31-2.

³ Rich, R. W., *Training of Teachers* (Cambridge, 1933), 285.

⁴ William Scarnell Lean, principal of Flounders Institute, 1870-99, told the Education Conference, 1879: "The proportion of students who have the advantage of a second year's study is small." See *Report of the Conference*, 126.

or, like Frederick Andrews, a great Ackworth headmaster, who went to the Flounders Institute for one year in 1867 in the middle of his apprenticeship, and returned again for a further year in 1871 after his apprenticeship was over. The accommodation for twelve was not always fully used at first—in 1864 the Commission found only nine in residence. But the influence of the Institute in the Society's schools was great in the second half of the century. The Commissioner reported :¹

It appears that in England and Ireland about 70 masters in all, are now employed in schools belonging to the Society and that of these more than half have been educated in the Flounders Institution, while others are engaged in domestic tuition in the Society. Out of 73 who had passed through the institution since its establishment it appeared that only 19 were now engaged in other employments, and that of them a considerable number had been for a time engaged in teaching.

Perhaps approximately a quarter seems a rather more surprising proportion of secessions to us than to the Commissioner. It indicates that the general proportion of secessions in the country was higher, which points to general dissatisfaction with the position of the teacher. Between 1870 and 1879, when 75 teachers were trained at the Flounders Institute, a comparable number of secessions was recorded.

However, though the proportion of losses was as large as this, in the period 1848 to 1891, 260 men were trained for teaching, an average of about six a year. These men had a considerable influence on the Quaker schools in that time. The standard of work demanded of them rose as the general standard of Quaker education became academically higher and its range wider.

In 1858, ten years after its opening, the course of studies, which we shall examine more closely later, was adapted to the examination requirements of London University, and in 1860 an elementary entrance examination was instituted. Students were encouraged to prepare themselves for matriculation, but up to 1879 the results had not satisfied the Principal. However, Friends, with that prophetic realism which so often makes the best and usually the most advantageous solution, as later history confirms, chose to ally their preparation for higher learning with the universities.

¹ *Report* (1869), 26.

The general tendencies of the Society were to become a middle-class group. Its "Meeting" schools moved up the social scale with the Society as a whole. The Flounders Institute reflected the recognition that what was lacking in Friends' schools was teachers of wide culture, and so it was aligned to the universities rather than to the training colleges, which were severely cramped by the introduction of "payment by results."

From 1875 a fee of ten guineas a year was charged for each student at the Flounders, and this later became £20. This is parallel to the rise in costs seen in the schools throughout the century. In the late 'nineties students who went to Flounders had to have matriculated before entering, and then three years' study was expected of them for a degree. It is important to note the different standards maintained for men and women in training. The Mount Training Department had a rare graduate from its members, and until late in the century there was no opportunity for the apprentice to matriculate. The training of women teachers was more nearly parallel to training college preparation, with the emphasis on practical work in school and a certain amount of advanced study.

In 1879 it was felt that the general standard of education then to be found in England urged upon Friends the need for a higher percentage of men educated in widely humane studies. Scholarships were offered to some to study at university centres. When the parallel needs of women were advanced, there was a certain amount of uneasy debate in which the justice of the claim was recognized :

If it is intended to apply to young men only, then it would be a perpetuation of the injustice under which the whole country is suffering at the present time.¹

The whole question hinged on the money available, and the men were awarded it, with the undertaking that women would be similarly supported when money allowed. Such money was late and rare in coming.

In 1894 the Flounders Institute moved from its buildings at Ackworth to a house near the Yorkshire College, Leeds, which was then a constituent college of the Victoria University. Students were expected to pursue their studies for

¹ *Report*, 130.

three years at the College, which had a Department of Education, and in 1904 when Leeds became a university in its own right the arrangement was felt to be even more happy. In 1909 the original Flounders scheme was altered still further. Then, in accordance with a scheme of the Board of Education, the residential condition was discontinued, since that localized the influence and range. Instead, after due examination, grants were made which enabled the students receiving them to study at other universities and training institutions.

However, H.M. Inspectors concluded after their inspection of Friends' schools in 1904 :

It would have been expected that there would have been a large number of applications for admission (to the Flounders Institute). This is not the case, and though the accommodation is limited to ten the house is not always full and some are admitted whose connection with the Society is not at all close. One would have expected that there would be active competition from members of the Society to receive the benefit of this endowment.¹

One other point worth noting is that in 1904 the apprenticeship system had nearly ceased, but apparently not quite. H.M. Inspectors say: "This (the system of apprenticeship) has now almost ceased to exist in nearly every School."²

So, within the Society at the beginning of the twentieth century the provision was to train those who would teach after graduation. Those men who wished a shorter course could not count on the provision of the Society until 1909. After all, the Flounders Institute was to help them to train in order to return to teach in Society schools, and the standard demanded of these was usually, in the twentieth century, of graduate quality.

We have given prominence to the work of the Flounders Institute as the foundation for training men teachers by providing a wider cultural background than was possible in the schools or in the training colleges. But when all is said only a variable proportion of men teachers, never more than about a half in Friends' schools, came from Flounders. For the rest, the apprentice system sufficed, with encouragement for apprentices to qualify through the College of

¹ Board of Education *Report*, 1905, 44.

² *Ibid.*, 43.

Preceptors or such bodies, or to widen their knowledge through less systematic cultural contacts, like University Extension Lectures.

With the attempts to rationalize qualifications in the teaching profession, apprenticeship ended.

There were two other Quaker educational concerns which should be mentioned here. Neither was originally intended to be specifically for training teachers, but there were developments from the original scheme. Dalton Hall was founded in 1876 as a Quaker hall of residence in connection with what is now Manchester University. Undergraduates (not all of them Friends) attended university courses and lived in the Hall with some staff members, and some went ultimately to teach.

The other institution was Woodbrooke, a Quaker centre for adult education and religious, social and international study, founded in Birmingham in 1903. An education department was started there, and students took the Cambridge qualifications for teachers from Woodbrooke as one of the group of colleges that grew up at Selly Oak. Most of the students who qualify from Woodbrooke as teachers are Friends or interested "attenders."

We have discussed the sources of supply, and shown how Friends were alert to the changing needs in training their teachers. Now let us turn to the modes of training.

THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

The earliest group of teachers at Ackworth was to have a nucleus of adults who had taught elsewhere, or who, with justification, felt that they had the knowledge as well as the desire to teach. To this nucleus was added a number of apprentices. These children were given an extra year's schooling. For some time, this year of further instruction did not entail study of new courses; it was simply training for a greater proficiency in the basic subjects, and to accustom young shoulders to responsibility before the heavier mantle fell upon them. The further year of schooling was to enable apprentices to keep the proverbial pages ahead of their pupils later. It was also an apprenticeship to apprenticeship, for the senior pupils were expected to be leaders of manners, morals and good behaviour. When we consider

the elementary standard of the first Ackworth curriculum, we can see that the extra year was above all a badge of separation, a status device.

There are other aspects of the preparation for teaching than that of further learning. There is the need for professional study, for attention to educational and psychological theory, and there is the need of practical experience creatively directed. We shall consider these aspects.

FURTHER LEARNING

At first English and arithmetic were the apprentice's study. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century some geography and some history were encouraged. We must remember the central paradox of Friends' belief at this period which so restricted hard educational thought. The world's snares awaited for those who grew puffed up in their own intellectual pride. Ackworth was also a school for the poor, and apprentices there must not nurture knowledge or ideas beyond their station. Hence there was much emphasis on thoroughness in a narrow orbit and the value of the work of simple teaching.

In 1808 at Sidcot, the master was to teach pupils and apprentices Latin if he was so qualified. In 1816 a local clergyman taught the Ackworth apprentices Latin. In 1831 Thomas Richardson paid for Edward Leighton to teach Latin to the apprentices and certain senior boys and girls at Wigton, and he likewise paid in 1834 for a teacher of French. In 1840 at Rawdon Samuel Hobson, a Friend, started to teach one of the apprenticed youngsters some Latin, and with this lad, Seth Gill, Hobson also taught five of the senior boys. At Ayton, founded in 1841, the monitors were exempt from manual labour so that they could pursue their studies, and when the best of them were taken on as apprentices, after the first four years of the school's life, they continued their studies, when they could, in the top class, and later under the separate direction of George Dixon. Latin, again, was the extra subject of study for advanced pupils and for apprentices.

The Flounders Institute had been opened in 1848, and the older boys at Ayton, when they were proficient at English, took up Latin, and were prepared for Flounders. This was true of the apprentices, too.

The trust deed for the Flounders Institute states the purpose for which it was founded :

The nature and extent of the education contemplated by the trusts hereinbefore contained, is a sound and liberal education, including as well the dead as the living languages, and comprehending both classics and mathematics, with natural philosophy in all its branches, so as to produce accomplished scholars, and with an especial view to render the objects to be benefited by the trusts of these presents competent to undertake the education and instruction of youth.¹

Although we have had reason to note that the Institute was never used to its capacity, we have also had reason to comment on the wide influence of its students. In 1858 the course was adapted to the needs of London University, for the matriculation examination of which all students were encouraged to prepare. This examination was largely the servant of prevailing classical values, though that changed somewhat as the century progressed. However, for more than thirty years Flounders was more of a school for advanced study with a bias to languages and mathematics than to science, though attention was drawn to scientific topics, usually by means of visiting lecturers.² It is interesting to note that the head of Bootham said to the Royal Commissioners in the 'sixties that he had no difficulty in finding teachers of natural science, though Flounders, at that time, was not following a very thorough study of science. In the higher learning of Friend teachers in training the emphasis on scientific studies was strengthened at the turn of the century.

There were instances of a newer recognition of the value of the arts, but there was always the strong orientation to moral ends. This moral emphasis was the form that the relaxation of taboos on music, on art, on expression in words, on the range of literature, was bound at first to take. The pressure of the Victorian school, whether Quaker or any other, seldom encouraged genuine æsthetic development. But in Quaker schools there was much encouragement of hobbies of predominantly practical rather than æsthetic appeal, such as nature study, or craft-work,

¹ The Trust Deed, 21.

² Edward H. Magill observed of Flounders in the 'eighties that ancient and modern languages received especial attention, but that little or no provision had been made for the study of the sciences. See his Report: *Educational Institutions of the Religious Society of Friends* (1893), 31.

or photography. These interests would be well known to Quaker students in training.

The standard suggested by the new Board of Education in 1902, and the prospect of the great extension of secondary education made Quakers see that the educational requirements for their teachers called for a general minimum qualification. Not only Bootham, the Mount, Sidcot, Leighton Park, Saffron Walden, should have teachers qualified by some external standard like a degree or certificate. Higher learning was now imperative for all teachers in Quaker schools. So higher learning went on at school until seventeen or eighteen, and then a university course or a training college course was followed, even if the training course was taken at the Mount or at Sidcot, which were recognized as Schools for the Training of Teachers. Thus the internal influences in Quakerism, and the external pressure of the educational system finally broke the hesitancy of Friends in relation to higher learning.

PROFESSIONAL STUDY

If we take professional study to be a study of teaching method, of psychology, and of educational theory and history, the record is easy to trace in Quaker schools and training institutions in the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. There was none. Work was usually of the direct drill type. Children had to be taught to read and write, and to be supervised at practice of these. Such duties apprentices could discharge. The polite way of putting it would be to say that apprentices learned by doing. The Quaker plainness came into the drill of the classroom quite clearly, though there were some teachers later in the century who tried to consider how best to present their material, but even as late as 1866 we find an influential example of the limited conception of teaching usual in the earlier years of the century. Ralph Dixon was head of Ayton from 1866 to 1895 :

Devoid of pretence, he made no effort to give interest to his lessons ; it was the boy's job to learn and his to point out what to learn ; duty guided him even through the weary monotony of his reading of the lives of worthy Friends ; the boredom of his hearers never occurred to him and would not have influenced him if it had.¹

¹ See G. A. Watson's *History of the school*, 81.

Where apprentices are being used as an important part of the teaching body there can be little scope left for individual initiative. For the safety of the adult teacher, for avoiding misleading the pupils, for the comfort and confidence of the apprentice, the lesson material must be clear cut and unmistakable. The Ackworth historian says with mingled pride and regret of the school about 1820 :

There was probably no such reading, no spelling so accurate, no grammar so sound, no arithmetical readiness and accuracy so general as those of Ackworth, in the country.¹

Besides the restrictions placed on study of method by the reliance on apprentices, such plainness and drill techniques were in keeping with the conservative, puritan pole of Friends' belief. This " guarded " and restricted emphasis laid the ground pattern of sobriety on Quaker schools in the first half of the nineteenth century. The one sure anchor for plainness of heart and mind was facts. God could lighten facts in the mind. Quakerism was not a Platonic belief, for it accepted the dimension of the actual, the sensory, the material, as real. The philosophic relationship of the " ideal-in-the-real " and " the real " itself did not concern Friends. The Light within each man was a special expression of the light that was in external objective creation, and the Inner Light of each man was necessary to interpret that creation. Physical existence was for so many things a necessary condition, in this world, of expression of the Light, that physical, objective facts empirically speaking could be trusted. Thinking, on the other hand (and it was a dichotomy like this for many Friends), was necessary for physical existence, but could betray a man into false confidence in his own powers so that he did not lie under guidance. Feeling, too, could wed to this world, and needed stern control.

In such a view the dullest routine of facts and methods could be transmuted by the alchemy of the inner experience to religious awareness. This is the main reason for the absence of cultural subjects from the curriculum except as they served moral ends. For the rest, facts which would create a disciplined habit of learning and could be enriched to a child in unseen and unforeseeable ways, facts were to be

¹ Thompson, H., *History of Ackworth School*, 151.

learned. The demands of society would influence which facts were to be learned.

Method of presentation as well as content, was preserved by the books which were used. Suffice it to say here that the books were often a substitute for the teacher, containing material divided for use, giving exercises, acting as a source book of information, and replacing independent planning of a course if the teacher so wished. With a strong system of apprenticeship that was inevitable.

From the 'sixties Friends' schools began seriously to review all their methods and the content of their curricula. When the Flounders Institute was founded in 1848 it provided facilities for academic study only. In 1869 the report of an Assistant Commissioner of the Taunton Commission stated that he had seen and appreciated the quality of work done at Flounders with its emphasis on university examinations. The Commissioner considered that lectures should be begun at the Institute on the theory and practice of education.¹

The girls were trained at the Mount from 1836, and we are reminded in the school's *History*: "The word 'training' at this stage denoted the obtaining of the necessary knowledge, and not the art of imparting it."² Lydia Rous was appointed headmistress of the Mount in 1866, and simply providing higher academic education was not sufficient for her. She wanted some introduction to the theory and practice of teaching, and the only way in which she found this could be effected was by an extra "criticism" class on a Saturday evening, when each "trainee" taught a lesson to her fellow-trainees, who had to pretend to be a class. Lydia Rous watched these lessons, and there was discussion afterwards, and she took the opportunity to put forward some useful advice on pedagogy. This may seem a meagre professional study, and indeed, girls going to the Mount from high schools in the 'eighties found that much of the teaching was below the standard they had grown to expect. But it was a beginning, and was part of the firm general oversight kept on the trainees, and indeed on the staff as a whole by Lydia Rous. Her lead of criticism lessons was followed and developed by successors. When a more adequate training

¹ Report on *Friends' Schools* (1869), 27.

² Sturge, H. W., and Clark, T., *History of the Mount School, York*, 58.

was given after 1902 it was parallel to similar courses in other training centres for women.

CONCLUSION

The exclusiveness of the Society in principle and practice weakened under the impact of the later nineteenth century. State planning was entering more and more firmly into national life, and wide enfranchisement was weakening older stratifications. A predominantly urban society was providing new means of transport, of production, of mechanized influencing of people's lives. Specialization was a condition and a consequence of mass-production, and specialization meant a narrowing of competence and an interdependence of the society more strongly developed than ever before. A highly complex society demands a population capable of comprehending how to interpret and preserve it, and the preparation of children to take a part in that life becomes of pressing importance.

Fundamental democratization in England cut across many separatisms. Friends could no longer remain a peculiar people without cutting themselves off from commerce and from urban life. With so many strong commercial and industrial traditions, Friends did not seriously consider this. The active pole of their belief showed in their civic and humanitarian concern and in their commercial enterprise. Once having accepted the conditions of mass society, Friends tried to preserve their differential witness in it.

The repercussions in education are clear. The Quaker schools had to be at least as good as the new schools for which the state was to be responsible. So the teachers in Quaker schools had to be at least as well trained. In the twentieth century Quakers have come to rely on the established training courses at universities or training colleges, for Friends could not afford independently to train students to that standard even if they so wished.