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TEACHER TRAINING AT ST. HILD'S COLLEGE,
DURHAM, 1858-1910

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Education
in the University of Durham

by

MICHAEL V. BOYD

1977

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ABSTRACT

Teacher Training at St. Hild's College, Durham, 1858-1910

The period covered by this thesis sees the assumption by the State of control over the training of teachers, through its control of finance and the curriculum, the examination system and the appointment of Staff. A uniformity of practice is thus, to some degree, inevitable in the colleges.

The study of St. Hild's as an individual college in this period shows, however, that initiatives are not stifled, but that in providing the basic means, i.e. finance, the State actually provides a positive framework for the exercise of initiative in the creation of the College.

Within the wider context of teacher training in this country, the study draws out two significant features of St. Hild's: the all-pervading influence of the founders of the College throughout this period, Rowland Burdon, d.1875, H.B.Tristram, d.1906, and G.H. Hamilton, d. 1905, and secondly, the importance of the link with the University of Durham.

The study of St. Hild's as a Church College illustrates the nature of the relationship between Church and State in Education in this period, and suggests that State concern provides a stimulus to continued voluntary effort and the expression of its distinctive concerns. Nevertheless it is a relationship of tension in which the College is caught up at national level, even though at the end of the period the tension is not so keenly felt at the local level as the College prepares the ground for its evolution from an exclusively denominational institution to one expressing wider Christian concerns.

PREFACE

The general histories of teacher training, drawing very largely on official publications, give a reliable picture of teacher training in the period of its early development, but the picture that emerges is in some senses a stereotype and does not reveal the vitality of the institutions or of the individuals who influenced them. The determination of the founders of St. Hild's, in persisting in their endeavour to found a women's college in Durham in 1858, continued to find expression in the way in which the small Committee of Management concerned itself with every aspect of the life of the College, in a much more intimate sense than that of a modern Governing Body.

The College survived the crisis of the Revised Code of 1862 and settled into a pattern of existence whose intellectual outlook was limited by the field of recruitment of both staff and students, and by the social assumptions of the elementary school system. The College was nevertheless successful within its limitations, though without a clearly worked out philosophy other than recognition of the importance of the residential life, with strictly ordered religious observance and instruction.

The response of the College to the 1870 Act was two-fold: to attempt to ensure by every means at its disposal that the religious framework of education lost nothing of its significance in the eyes of the students, and to seek at local and national level to bring about expansion of Church Training College provision. The emphasis was on the distinctiveness of a Church College training.

The gradual opening up of the College to external influence in the period after the Report of the Cross Commission had as its highlights the entry of Nonconformists, and the admission of women students into the University. The letters gratefully received by the author, from students of the College of the period 1901-1912, show, however, how little the interior life of the College changed in essence before the arrival of the first woman Principal in 1910.

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CHAPTER I

1853-1858: THE FOUNDERS AND THE FOUNDATION

1. The Founders

The Durham Diocesan Female Training School¹ welcomed its first students in August, 1858. The public reception was a quiet one, as indicated by a press notice of the time:

'On Saturday last this institution was opened for the reception of pupils, when six were entered; and are, we understand, undergoing the necessary preliminary examination Mr. Cook, the head Government Inspector of female schools was present, accompanied by Mr. Moncrieff, the Inspector of national schools, both of whom expressed themselves highly satisfied with the arrangements made by the Committee.'²

The opening of the College came at the end of the boom period of building which began in 1839 under the stimulus of the government grants in aid of building, the provision of which indeed represented intervention by the State but was also recognition that, if an adequate number of Training College places was to be provided, the only way open to the government at the time was to assist those religious interests already at work in the field. Thus, by the time of the opening of St. Hild's, twenty-eight Colleges had been

¹ The College began life as the Durham Diocesan Female Training School. In 1870, it became the Durham Diocesan Training School for Schoolmistresses, although that title does not appear on the cover of the Annual Report until 1881. Following the division of the Diocese in 1882, the Reports from 1887 are issued in the name of the Durham Diocesan Training College for Schoolmistresses, in connection with the Dioceses of Durham and Newcastle. The College became St. Hild's College in 1896.

The Durham Diocesan Training School for Masters was renamed Bede College in 1886, and the College of the Venerable Bede in 1936. The two Colleges were amalgamated in 1975, to become the College of St. Hild and St. Bede.

Throughout this work they will be referred to respectively as St. Hild's and Bede.

² Durham County Advertiser, 13.8.1858. The report is not entirely accurate, for the sixth candidate was not admitted until September.

established under the auspices of the Church of England. The Roman Catholics had established Colleges at Hammersmith, for men, and in Liverpool and St. Leonards-on-Sea, for women. Westminster Training College, for men and women, had been opened by the Methodists, and the Congregationalists had established Homerton, also taking men and women. The Congregationalists, however, did not agree to accept Inspection until 1867. In addition, the British and Foreign School Society had provided a non-denominational College at Borough Road for men and women, and assisted in the provision of a College for men in Bangor.¹

The institution of the pupil teacher system by the Minutes of the Committee of Council of 1846 was intended to ensure an adequate supply of capable candidates and to provide for their financial maintenance during training. Under this system, suitable pupils in the elementary schools were apprenticed at the age of thirteen, for a period of five years, to teachers recommended by the Inspectors. Pupil teachers were to help in the running of the school and to receive at least one and a half hours' instruction every day, before or after school hours, in the subjects taught in the school, and prepared for the annual examination set by the Education Department. The apprenticeship in the elementary school bridged the gap between the candidate's own schooling and entry into College, and prepared him or her to sit the entry examination. Those not going on to Training College could take posts as assistant teachers.²

¹ See P. Sandiford: (1910) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, New York; p. 52, and R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Bath; pp. 147-8. (1933 C.U.P.)

² Board of Education: (1907) General Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7, London; pp.3-5.

The pupil teachers received payment during apprenticeship, additional payments were made to the teacher to whom they were apprenticed, and success in what came to be known as the Queen's Scholarship enabled the students to meet the fees of the college to which they were admitted. The passing of the annual Certificate examination brought with it a grant to the College and augmentation from Government funds of the student's salary on taking up his or her first appointment.¹ Thus all three parties involved, the teacher in school, the pupil teacher and the College, stood to gain financially by the successful operation of the system.

According to Lawrence² the idea of a female college was first mentioned by Rowland Burdon, of Castle Eden in County Durham, in a conversation with the Reverend Henry Baker Tristram, Rector of Castle Eden, in 1851, and Tristram himself speaks of a Committee being formed in that year.³ 1853 is given by their great friend, the Reverend George Hans Hamilton, then Chaplain to Durham Prison, as the year in which the importance of such a project was first discussed among a small group of people including himself.⁴ Certainty on this point is impossible, but what is certain is that all three men were to play a dominant rôle in the life of the College: Burdon until his death in 1875, Hamilton until 1905 and Tristram until 1906.

Rowland Burdon was born in 1802 into a landed family, rich in public service both in Durham County and beyond. After his own education at Durham School, Rugby and Oriel College, Oxford, he

¹ Committee of Council; Minutes, 1846, London; pp. 8-12.

² A. Lawrence: (1958) St. Hild's College, 1858-1958, Durham; p.7.

³ College Annual Report, 1893; p.26.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1896; p.x.

kept terms at the Temple but did not remain to be called to the Bar. He married, in 1831, 'a lady of indomitable will'¹ and returned to the family estate at Castle Eden where he succeeded his father in 1838. From that time he devoted himself to public service within the County and to watching over the interests of his estate. The Durham County Advertiser could describe him in 1875 as 'rather the owner of a territory or a tract of country than of an estate in the ordinary idea conveyed by that word.'² He was clearly a man of some means, yet rigid and scrupulous in the details of business, as the Minutes of the College Management Committee show throughout the period during which he was Chairman, 1858-1875. The writer of his obituary remarks that it was much easier to get £100 out of Rowland Burdon than five shillings. He had to be satisfied of the need and the usefulness of the purpose.³ To the same writer he was the 'ideal of the educated and intelligent English gentleman.' He left the same sort of impression upon his niece. From her description, we learn that he was not fond of talking, but that when he had to speak out he did so, and that 'not many lawyers knew the law better than he or had it more completely at their finger ends.'⁴ She saw him as a widely read man of culture, versed in the Classics, law, poetry and theology, and to that description H.B.Tristram adds the note that he was a man of 'quiet humour.'⁵ It is, however, to our knowledge of Burdon's religious views that H.B.Tristram can contribute most, for

¹ E.A.Burdon:(1922) Before My Time and Since, Hereford.

² Durham County Advertiser, 23.4.1875.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ E.A.Burdon: *op.cit.*

⁵ H.B.Tristram:(1902) Records of the Family of Burdon of Castle Eden, privately printed.

he was Rector of Castle Eden for eleven years, from 1849-1860, and the two men would walk round the estate together several times a week. Burdon's religion was no mere formal adhesion to the Church of his fathers. He maintained throughout his life a deep interest in theology as a study, and took a keen interest in the theological discussions of the day. Tristram describes him as 'a sturdy unflinching Protestant,'¹ a supporter of the Church of Ireland who gave large sums for its support, presumably after its disestablishment in 1869. Tristram has no hesitation in regarding him as the leading Church layman of the County, and the contributor of his obituary to the Durham County Advertiser² who, one suspects, was Tristram himself, concludes his notice to the effect that 'our own Bishop had no sturdier or more devoted layman to defend him than he who headed the list of the sympathisers with their Diocesan in his determination to preserve and defend the Protestant character of the Church of England.'³

It is a little difficult to accept wholeheartedly the claim of Rowland Burdon's niece that he was the sole founder of the Training College for Schoolmistresses. Tristram himself acknowledged that the College owed its existence to Mr. Rowland Burdon, to Mrs. Burdon and the Burdon family,⁴ but we are forced to place Tristram and Hans Hamilton alongside Rowland Burdon as co-founders when we see the vigour with which they pursued the idea from the very earliest days. Tristram was to be responsible for the negotiations with Carlisle and foremost in the drive for

¹ H.B. Tristram: (1902) Records of the Family of Burdon of Castle Eden, privately printed.

² Durham County Advertiser, 23.4.1875.

³ It is much to be regretted that no Burdon family papers have come to light during the period of this research.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1893, p.26

subscriptions. The omission of his name from the advertisement of the College's opening in 1858 was due to his absence abroad at the time, in North Africa and Palestine,¹ but he became Secretary in that year and retained the post until his death in 1906, at the age of eighty-four. The Durham County Advertiser on the occasion of his death described him as 'the last of three prominent leaders of the evangelical party in the North thirty years ago,'² and the editorial referred to him as 'a man strong with convictions, strongly and fearlessly maintained.' This picture of him is borne out by his grand-daughter, from whom we learn that he was brought up in Eglington, Northumberland, where his father was Vicar, by a Scots stepmother who was 'a Calvinist of the Calvinists.'³ She handed on to her stepson her theories, but not her practices, in religion. He was educated at Durham School and Lincoln College, Oxford, and ordained in 1845. His grand-daughter remembers that his sermons were sometimes horrific, with hell-fire for those elected to damnation, but she remembers also his humour, and that he was 'too large and too human, to be misunderstood, except by the few.'⁴ It is from this account that we learn also that as a young married man he contracted tuberculosis and had to winter abroad, leaving his family to endure a Spartan-like upbringing not very different from the conditions in which students of the College lived in the early days.

It was during his travels that he developed his interest in flora and fauna, to become a figure with a national reputation.

¹ F.S.Bodenheimer: (1957) Canon H.B.Tristram, 1822-1906; Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society, vol.XXII, ser.A (Science) no.3, 1957, p.12.

² Durham County Advertiser, 16.3.1906. The other two were Archdeacon Prest, Chairman of St. Hild's Committee 1875-1883, and the Reverend G. Fox, Vicar of St. Nicholas', Durham.

³ E. Fleming: (1968) Recollections of My Grandparents, Canon and Mrs. Tristram; typescript, Cathedral Library.

⁴ ibid.

Bodenheimer speaks of him as 'one of the great traveller naturalists of the nineteenth century,' and lists one hundred and sixty-nine papers and books on natural history published between 1853 and 1907 which he considers to be of scientific value.¹ Tristram became a Fellow of the Linnaean Society in 1857, and of the Royal Society in 1868. Of his intellectual qualities there can be no doubt and yet, despite his friendship with Darwin, he hated Biblical Criticism as being disloyal. 'He held, as a matter of principle, the teaching given him as a child by his Calvinistic stepmother, without question,'² and the implication is that the real development of his intellect lay outside his clerical profession.

His interest in education was wide-ranging and maintained throughout his life. He became a member of the Diocesan Board of Inspection in 1871, and represented Durham on the Diocesan Board of Education when that body was set up in 1886.³ In 1892, he submitted a scheme for an artisan Cookery Class in connexion with the City Science School, but the College Committee did not think it feasible.⁴ As late as 1894 we find him joining the Durham Local Committee for Technical and Manual Instruction, which developed from the Science School which had been established in 1874 under the auspices of the Science and Art Department.⁵ Bodenheimer neatly sums him up as one whose 'simple faith and strong personality had a powerful influence everywhere.'⁶

1 F.S.Bodenheimer: (1957) Canon H.B.Tristram, 1822-1906; Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society, vol.XXII, ser.A (Science) no.3, 1957, p.12.

2 E.Fleming: (1968) Recollections of My Grandparents, Canon and Mrs. Tristram, typescript.

3 Durham Diocesan Board of Education: Minutes, 26.10.1886.

4 College Minutes, 9.9.1892.

5 Walker's Durham Directory and Almanack, 1894, p.4

6 F.S.Bodenheimer: (June, 1957) 'Canon H.B.Tristram of Durham' Durham University Journal, vol.XLIX, no.3, p.96.

He brought to the College a breadth and depth of learning in the days before specialisation, especially after his appointment as a Residentiary Canon of Durham in 1873, but at the same time a passionate Evangelical zeal.

This zeal was shared by the third co-founder, Hans Hamilton, described by Eleanor Fleming as 'one of the Evangelical trio in the Chapter,'¹ after he joined the Chapter of Durham as Archdeacon of Lindisfarne in 1865, holding also the living of Eglington. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, but spent the whole of his ministry in Durham and Northumberland. It was as Vicar of Berwick in 1854 that he became actively involved with the foundation of the College, undertaking the thankless task of interesting the Northern parts of the Diocese in the establishment of an institution in Durham, and this at a time when he was showing a very practical involvement in education in his own parish. He received a grant of £25 from the Diocesan Schools Society in 1855 towards the building of a girls' school for two hundred,² and by 1857 he had not only completed the school at a cost of £1700 but spent a further £5000 on other buildings in his parish. The Durham County Advertiser speaks of 'his strenuous labours for education; his interest in and work for St. Hild's College were immeasurable.'³ The same obituary notice reveals his wider social sympathies, stemming from his work in Durham and Berwick gaols, in attributing to him the founding of the forerunner of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society. His influence was to last almost as long as that of

¹ E.Fleming:(1968) Recollections of My Grandparents, Canon and Mrs. Tristram, typescript.

² Proceedings of the Durham Diocesan Schools Society, Minutes, 1836-1857.

³ Durham County Advertiser, 29.9.1905.

Canon Tristram. He came into residence in Durham in 1882 as Archdeacon of Northumberland, became a member of the Committee of Management and was Treasurer from 1889 until his death in 1905.

What lay behind the energy with which these three men pursued the idea of a Training College for women? It would be too much to claim that they were pioneers in the education of women, for their aim was not to provide a higher education which could not be obtained elsewhere. Neither was their interest exclusively in the education of women or in teacher-training, for all were involved with other bodies concerned with education in the Diocese. Their interest lay with the schools and with the necessary education of the teachers themselves to play a part in the improvement of elementary education. They had a genuine concern for the social conditions of the poor, stemming from practical involvement. The Burdons had themselves provided a girls' school at Castle Eden, first included in the list of schools aided by Parliamentary grants in 1856.¹ The Log Book of the school shows the visits of Mrs. Burdon and Mrs. Tristram to have been far more frequent than duty demanded, and Mrs. Burdon is recorded as regularly taking Arithmetic, Dictation and Reading.² The annual reports of the Inspector are written up by Mrs. Burdon and signed by her husband.

Behind their concern may have been the Victorian view of the woman in the home providing the moral influence, but the immediate aim in providing a College for women was to fill a gap. The Diocesan Schools Society in 1847 had carried out an enquiry into the number of children 'under Church education' in week-day schools in Durham and Northumberland, and found that there were a total of

¹Committee of Council: Minutes, 1856-7, p.91.

²Log Book of Castle Eden Girls' School, 1863-1900. Durham County Record Office.

34,421.¹ There was already a college for men in Durham but there was no training college for women in the Diocese. H.M.I. F.C.Cook's Report on the women's colleges in 1851 revealed that there were at least fifty applications for every mistress completing her training, and, in commenting on the demand, emphasised that 'one or two large institutions are much needed for the North East of England.'² The need for provision, 'especially in the Northern districts', was again stressed in the following year³ and may indeed have been the source of Burdon's inspiration. The opening of five new colleges for women between 1850 and 1853 gave cause for satisfaction,⁴ but there was still no college nearer than York, and reports on that institution gave little cause for confidence in it as a place of training. H.M.I. F.C.Cook complained in 1848 that 'to some extent at least.... the mistresses trained at the institution are not qualified to carry on their schools at the standard fixed upon by their Lordships.'⁵ There is no change in the tenor of his reports until 1853, and even then his satisfaction is qualified by his call for more vigorous action on the part of the Managers.⁶ To Rowland Burdon in 1851, the prospect for the 77 female pupil teachers⁷ then under apprenticeship in Durham and Northumberland must have seemed bleak, if York were to be the nearest College in which they could receive the training to equip them to serve the poor.

¹ Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Minutes, 9.7.1857. A similar enquiry in 1857 revealed a total of 47,739 in 468 schools.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1851-2; vol.1, pp.331-2.

³ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1852-3; p.438.

⁴ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1853-4; pp.319-20.

⁵ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1848-9; vol.II, p.300.

⁶ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1853-4; p.522.

⁷ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1851-2; p.139.

Beyond the concern of the founders for the betterment of the social conditions of the poor lay a concern for their ultimate well-being. If the poor were to receive an education, then it must be conveyed by those who were firm in the Christian faith. Religious and secular education were inseparable in the Victorian churchman's eyes, and for the founders the faith was the faith of the Church of England as by law established. This we see clearly expressed for as long as they have anything to do with the College. Tristram himself tells us that 'it was more for religion, as against secular education, that Mr. Burdon first took action,'¹ and recalls his determination to have a Protestant, Church of England College. But it was not a Protestantism of the pronounced sort such as lay behind the foundation of the Colleges in Cheltenham, which carefully enunciated 'their Scriptural and Evangelical principles.'² Nor was it the Evangelicalism which lay behind the College of the Home and Colonial Society, which came into being in 1836 as a result of cooperation between Evangelical churchmen and Nonconformists.³ The Evangelicalism of the founders of St. Hild's was rooted exclusively in the Church of England.

That the denominational influence was to remain strong, and the Protestant character of that influence, at least as far as the founders were concerned, we see from Hans Hamilton's speech at the Prizegiving in 1903, after the purchase of a hostel for Nonconformist students. The report of his speech given in the St. Hild's College Magazine for 1903-4, is worth quoting fully:

¹ College Annual Report, 1893, p.26.

² W.E.Beck:(1947) History of the Cheltenham Training Colleges: St. Paul and St. Mary, Bath, p.8

³ H.J.Burgess: (1958) Enterprise in Education, p.112

'Although this was an institution provided by Church people upon Church property given to them by the Dean and Chapter, founded and built by Church monies collected from Church people in the two counties of Durham and Northumberland, yet they had now passed a resolution that any Pupil teacher who had not been brought up in the community of the Church of England might come there and receive all the advantages of their institution and not be called upon to attend their services or take part in the other religious duties in which Church people were continually engaged. That was going with the times as much as they could, and it ought to be valued by those who knew this was a Church institution which yet they opened to their sisters who had not been brought up in the religion of the Church of England.'

In an age which does not take organised religion seriously, it is perhaps difficult for us to understand the passion which the Victorians invested in their religious concern. But if we can accept the thesis of Hurt¹ that the advance of State supervision of education before 1870 was largely due to the determination of individual civil servants, it should occasion no surprise that other individuals should respond, and see in the situations which resulted, not a threat to the monopoly previously enjoyed by the religious bodies but the means by which their interests might be continued and extended. It would not have escaped Rowland Burdon just how much State help would be available for a college able to attract that first group of pupil teachers to complete their apprenticeship after 1846.

¹ J.Hurt:(1971) Education in Evolution, 1800-1870; London.

2. The Foundation

There were many difficulties to overcome before the project, first mooted in 1851, came to fruition in the quiet opening of the College seven years later. That it did come to fruition was largely due to the determination of Rowland Burdon.

He chose as the base from which to launch his idea the General Committee of Bede College in Durham, of which he had been a member since 1839.¹ In 1853, he secured nomination from that Committee to serve on the much smaller Sub-Committee of Management which was responsible for the day-to-day direction of the institution.² He was in the chair at the April meeting of the Sub-Committee³ and in the following month was included, together with the Dean and Archdeacon of Durham, in a group of six appointed to take preliminary soundings about the possibility of establishing a Training College for women.⁴ In the light of their report, the Sub-Committee of Management came to the conclusion that such an establishment would be 'most desirable'⁵ but that they could not undertake responsibility for the project until £1,000 had been raised towards building costs, and assurances received of £200 per year for maintenance.

¹ Bede College Minutes, 5.6.1839.

² Bede College Minutes, 5.1.1853, and 13.1.1853. This consisted of seven nominees, together with the Treasurer and Secretary. These references remove the obscurity of the meaning of the term, Sub-Committee of Management, to which Lawrence draws attention. See A. Lawrence: (1958) St. Hild's College, 1858-1958, p.8

³ Bede College Minutes, 6.4.1853.

⁴ Bede College Minutes, 20.5.1853.

⁵ Bede College Minutes, 6.7.1853.

This decision was communicated to the next meeting of the General Committee on July 14th., which was, however, already due to debate a motion of which Tristram had given notice in April, that a Committee should be appointed to consider the 'desirableness'¹ of forming a Training School for Mistresses. In the light of what the Sub-Committee had already decided about the desirability, Burdon proposed what the Durham Chronicle called a 'friendly amendment'² and went on to suggest not only the formation of a Committee to raise funds but also the names of those people who should form that Committee.³

The motion as amended was carried unanimously. Burdon had a Committee, nominated by himself, to raise money. He had safeguarded himself against the faint-hearted on the Sub-Committee of Management, including the Dean of Durham, who doubted whether the matter was a practical proposition. This turned out to have been a wise move, for at its next meeting⁴ the Sub-Committee of Management decided that it could no longer be bound by its resolution of July 6th., because the Committee of Council had indicated that the raising of £1,000 would be insufficient to attract the expected aid from the State. Thus the Sub-Committee of Management bows out of the picture, leaving only a Committee which had been formed for the purpose of raising funds.

¹ Durham Chronicle, 22.7.1853.

² *ibid.*

³ The nomination of the Dean and Chancellor of Carlisle indicates that a College to serve the two Dioceses, of Durham and Carlisle, was envisaged at this time, and this is confirmed by Bede College Minutes of 14.7.1853.

⁴ Bede College Minutes, 5.10.1853.

The Archdeacon of Durham made no secret of his opposition, as the Durham Chronicle report of the July meeting indicates,¹ preferring that Durham should take advantage of the offer by the School at York to take candidates from the Diocese. Archdeacon Thorp had been a prime mover in the founding of Bede College and of the University. At the time he was Warden of the University and as such had become one of the most powerful men in Durham.²

Such opposition would have daunted a lesser man than Burdon. But in what the Durham Chronicle called 'an able and powerful speech' he expressed his doubt about the wisdom of accepting the Archdeacon's recommendation. His objection was not simply that the cost would be £6 more per student than the training in Durham would cost. Neither was it primarily that he doubted whether subscriptions would flow to York, or that having read the Inspector's reports on York he was unable to accept the Archdeacon's assurances of the efficiency of the Training School. His main objection stemmed from his awareness that there was a strong feeling in the Dioceses of York and Ripon that the religious side of the training at York was not satisfactory, and that many members of the Church had felt this so strongly that they had withdrawn their support.

What in fact had happened was that the Principals of both the men's and women's sections had come under Tractarian influence. The matter was referred to the Archbishop of York in 1852, and in 1853 an enquiry was instituted into the charges of giving erroneous

¹ Durham Chronicle, 22.7.1853.

² 'The University and he had become convertible terms.'
C.E. Whiting: (1932) The University of Durham, 1832-1932; p.101.
The absence of support from that quarter may not, however, have been entirely damaging, for this was the time of the building up of criticism against his autocratic rule in the University, which was to lead to the setting up of the Royal Commission to look into its affairs in 1852.

teaching which had been brought against them. Both Principals were exonerated in the full enquiry which followed.¹ But on the assumption that there was no smoke without fire the merest suspicion was enough to alarm Rowland Burdon, and the Durham Chronicle, in its Editorial of July 22nd., 1853, leaves us in no doubt that it was this hint of unorthodoxy which had swayed the meeting against the Archdeacon's recommendation.

Correspondence with the Diocese of Carlisle during the closing months of 1853 shows that the optimism engendered by the promise of support from that Diocese had been premature. The significant facts which emerge from this correspondence are that Carlisle saw as its first priority the provision of its own College for masters,² but that the Committee of Council considered the provision of a Training School for Mistresses the more urgent, and would welcome the linking of such a School in Carlisle with the existing male establishment in Durham, with the possibility of both becoming mixed at a later date. The example of the linking of the Oxford Diocesan College for men, at Abingdon, with the Gloucester and Bristol Diocesan College for women, near Bristol, was given, and stress laid on the need to husband resources in view of 'the great cost and consequent difficulty of maintaining Normal Institutions.'³ In forwarding the letters to Tristram, the Dean of Carlisle sought an assurance that the new College would be built in Carlisle, and that that Diocese would be represented on the Committee

¹ A.M.Wilkinson:(1963) Ripon Training College, 1862-1962: The First Hundred Years. Ripon. pp.15-16.

² College Archives. Copy of letter from H.Gipps, Canon Residentiary at Carlisle, to the Secretary of the Committee of Council for Education, 18.11.1853.

³ College Archives. Copy of letter from R.R.W.Lingen, Secretary of the Committee of Council for Education. to the Reverend H. Gipps, 12.12.1853.

of Management of Bede College.¹ Tristram replied that no decision had been made about the site of the proposed new institution; such a decision would rest with the subscribers. He urged upon them 'the importance of an early support' because if there were not a substantial contribution from Carlisle then the likelihood of the College being built there would be remote. He added a note of reassurance to the effect that the travelling expenses of all pupils would be paid to and from any part of the two Dioceses.²

It was, however, becoming clear by the beginning of 1854 that the initial interest shown by the Diocese of Carlisle had evaporated. The Dean of Carlisle had indicated in a letter³ that local opinion still regarded as first priority the provision of a Training School for Masters, and the Diocese was appealing again to London.⁴ There had been, nevertheless, an encouraging development at a meeting in Newcastle, at which Tristram had reported the progress of the Durham Committee in raising money. The Vicar of Newcastle had spoken of the need to meet the increasing demand for education and the meeting had approved the scheme 'as now laid before it by the Committee appointed in Durham' and had set up a sub-Committee 'to bring the claims of the institution before the inhabitants of Northumberland and Newcastle.'⁵

¹ College Archives. Letter from the Dean of Carlisle to the Reverend H.B.Tristram, 21.12.1853.

² College Archives. Copy of letter from the Reverend H.B.Tristram to the Dean of Carlisle, 28.12.1853.

³ College Archives. Letter from the Dean of Carlisle to the Reverend H.B.Tristram, 7.1.1854.

⁴ That they received little encouragement from the Committee of Council is apparent from a later request to be admitted to a share in the management of Bede. See Bede College Minutes, 27.2.1854.

⁵ Reported in the Durham Advertiser, 9.12.1853.

The difficulty of raising money soon became apparent, however. A printed list of subscribers shows that £1135 had been donated by the end of December.¹ The money was coming in, but very slowly. An appeal for a College was generally slower in getting off the ground than an appeal for a school, which was to be a local concern, but when the appeal was for an institution about which little had then been decided the apparent lack of enthusiasm was understandable. Some of the difficulties were outlined by Tristram in reporting a total of £1253 to a meeting of subscribers in April 1854.² The fundamental difficulty was the lack of an organisational structure to back up the appeal. Most of the money had come in from Durham and its neighbourhood. Northumberland had contributed less than one-tenth, while 'the Committee had been unable to bring the claims of the Institution under the notice of the wealthier inhabitants of Gateshead, Stockton and Darlington.'³ The Chairman made clear that the money had been raised largely owing to Tristram's own exertions and there was a general exhortation to others to follow his example, and 'take upon themselves the office of collecting subscriptions.'⁴ A Committee was appointed, however,

¹ The list is undated, but does not include subscriptions recorded in the Durham Advertiser of 13.1.1854. The list is important also in showing that the original Committee of ten had been increased to sixteen. Tristram had become Secretary. The proposed Training School was advertised as being 'for the Northern Counties' and the Dean of Carlisle was still a member of the Committee.

² Durham Advertiser, 7.4.1854.

³ *ibid.* Individual initiative appears to have been the basis of the College's approach to the collection of subscriptions, and the names of Collectors are published in the Annual Reports from 1860 to 1872.

⁴ *ibid.*

to look for a suitable site, for Tristram had pointed out that no financial help would be forthcoming from the Committee of Council or the National Society until progress had been made in that direction also, and by the time of this meeting there was little doubt that the site would be in Durham.

But that search was also beset with difficulties. The next meeting of subscribers, on 13th. June,¹ was for the purpose of considering a site and plans, with a view to the College being in operation by January, 1855, although the Treasurer warned that this was an unlikely prospect. It was reported that £200 had been promised by a lady for the purchase of a site, and in the light of that it was agreed to negotiate for land in 'the neighbourhood of Elvet School.'²

An application to the Dean and Chapter for the site was received from Tristram on June 17th.³ but the manner in which this was discussed by them in subsequent meetings does not suggest that the approach had been made to purchase, but to ask for the grant of the piece of land. An offer of an acre was made on 20th. July, 'if the Committee should continue to think the site eligible'⁴ and confirmed on September 24th. on condition that 'certain specified alterations be introduced into the Rules for the Government of the school.'⁵

¹ Durham Advertiser, 16.6.1854.

² The inclusion in the newspaper report of the 'generous proposal' of a Miss Bowlby leads one to connect that lady with the promise of £200 mentioned above. Miss F.E.Bowlby, 1819-1912, Mrs. Tristram's sister, is known to have been living in Durham at the time. Burke's Landed Gentry; (1965) London; Burke's Peerage Ltd., 18th. Edition.

³ Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 17.6.1854.

⁴ Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 20.7.1854.

⁵ Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 24.9.1854.

This offer, however, was clearly not taken up, and there is no record of any further progress throughout 1855. The complaint of the Treasurer that 'the proceedings with different boards was so tedious'¹ would have been echoed by all in that year.

The silence is broken with the Dean and Chapter Minute of 9th. February, 1856, recording the offer of the site on which the College now stands. This did not, however, meet with all-round approval and an objection was made by the Vicar of St. Giles, the parish in which the College is situated, on the grounds of 'the damage which would be occasioned to his residence', standing above what is now the main range of St. Hild's Buildings, and an alternative site was suggested by him.² This was forwarded to the Committee but evidently did not meet with their approval; in the Autumn of 1856 a request was made to the Dean and Chapter for additional land to meet the insistence of the Committee of Council that the institution should have its own Practising School, and this request was granted, making the offer one of two acres in all.³ The promoters must have felt that the year was ending on a happy note when, with a site assured, the formal application was made in November for a Government grant. This extensive document⁴ shows that the College was intending to admit 30 students, that the course envisaged was 'one year and longer if possible' and that the fees would be £16 per year. The full-time staff was to consist of a Matron, a Governess, an Assistant Governess and a Superintendent

¹ Durham Advertiser, 16.6.1854.

² Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 24.5.1856.

³ Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 20.9.1856.

⁴ ED/103/140 Building Grant Applications, Public Record Office: dated 11.11.1856.

of the Practising School, at a total salary bill of £180. Part-time Masters of Music and Drawing were to be employed at a rate of £10 per annum. The site was valued at £600 and the estimated cost was given as £3,640 for the College itself, £450 for the Practising School and £280 for furnishing and other expenses. £1,415 had so far been raised by subscription. The grant awarded was £1,845, on the basis of £50 per head for 30 students and £3 per square foot of space in the proposed Practising School.¹

The College building now planned was obviously something more ambitious than that originally estimated to cost £1,850.² An examination of the plans, dated 23rd. October, 1856,³ which must have accompanied the application, shows the full nature of the Committee's ambition, for they allow for two additional dormitories to be built at a later stage, over the Practising School,⁴ to bring the number of students up to 46. At the beginning of 1857 the task must have seemed formidable, for the Committee still needed to raise more than £1,100 if they were to meet the total estimated cost of building and furnishing for 30 students.

¹ ED/103/140 Building Grant Applications, Public Record Office: 9.12.1856.

² Durham Advertiser, 7.4.1854.

³ E/SBP 34 Department of Education and Science Building Grant Plans, Durham County Record Office. The plans are signed by Thomas Winter and George Gradon, and were lodged with the Durham County Record Office by the Department of Education and Science.

No copy of the plans was available to Lawrence in 1958 (See St. Hild's College, 1858-1958, p.12) and it seems that the copy now lodged with the Durham County Record Office is the one she assumed to have been lodged with the Committee of Council in 1856. Her speculative reconstruction of the original accommodation (See St. Hild's College, 1858-1958, p.119) is remarkably accurate.

⁴ *ibid.*, see sheet 20.

At a meeting of the Building Committee on January 20th., 1857,¹ it was resolved to begin the work as soon as possible, but that £675 had to be raised before this could be undertaken. There must have been an all-out drive after this meeting, for by the time that the Dean and Chapter were approached for a contribution on 14th. February,² the sum required was £200, of which the Chapter agreed to give half if the remainder were raised by the end of the month.

Even at this stage, however, opposition remained and sought support in high places. Archdeacon Bland wrote to Lady Londonderry, patron of the living of St. Giles, in support of the objection made by the incumbent, the Reverend F. Thompson, to the siting of the proposed building.³ The letter reveals that the incumbent had taken the matter to the Committee of Council but received no satisfaction from them. Archdeacon Bland himself thought that the complaint was reasonable but that there was nothing he could do about it, as St. Giles' was not in his Archdeaconry.⁴ He was clearly hoping that Lady Londonderry would intervene. That she did do so is shown by a letter from the Reverend G. Fox, Vicar of St. Nicholas, Durham and a supporter of

¹ Durham County Advertiser, 13.2.1857. Dean Waddington was Chairman of the Building Committee, the Principal of Bede, the Reverend J. G. Cromwell, was Secretary, and William Henderson Treasurer. The editorial comment on this meeting shows that the aim was to have the College open by the end of the year.

² Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 14.2.1857.

³ D/LO/C 211 (24.1.1857) The Londonderry Papers: Various Correspondents: Durham County Record Office.

⁴ Archdeacon Bland said that it was the duty of the incumbent to register his dissatisfaction, in the interests of his successors. By an irony of fate, the present College, at the time of writing, is in the process of buying what has now become the old St. Giles' Vicarage.

the Training School, which is evidently in response to an enquiry made by his patron.¹ He sympathised with the complaint but thought the loss of amenity claim somewhat exaggerated. He also made the point that the future might bring a much worse fate if the College were not built on the site, for whereas the College was to be one building in two acres, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners might at some future date 'sell the ground for building lots and cause an entire street to come into existence.' He thought it pointless for the incumbent to attempt to seek legal redress. Presumably Lady Londonderry saw the wisdom of this view and took no further action, for she would have been a very powerful opponent.

In June of 1857 the Dean and Chapter sealed a conveyance on the site of the College,² and the National Society made a grant of £460.³ At this late stage, the decision must have been made to increase the dormitory accommodation, provision for which had been included in the original submission of plans. A supplementary grant was applied for and approved, bringing the total Government grant to £2,645: Cromwell was informed that 'the award now made is the one by which their Lordships must abide.'⁴ The possibility of the need to employ a larger number of staff than had originally been proposed was also pointed out. The final balance sheet⁵ was presented in May, 1858, on completion of the building. The total

¹ D/LO/C 194 (21.2.1857) The Londonderry Papers: Various Correspondents: Durham County Record Office.

² Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 20.6.1857.

³ National Society: Report, 1857, p.xi.

⁴ ED/103/140 Building Grant Applications, Public Record Office: 8.8.1857.

⁵ ED/103/140 Certificate of Completion, Public Record Office: 25.5.1858.

cost was £6,505, including the site, then valued at £750¹, of which £2,625 had come from voluntary subscription.

The 'building which did honour to the city'² was well endowed with store rooms and cleaning rooms, together with a large kitchen, laundry and washhouse in the basement.³ Its teaching facilities on the ground floor, from West to East on the South side, consisted of a large lecture room with thirty desks, connecting with a smaller room with desks for eighteen students. A third classroom also contained eighteen desks. The dining room which, as we shall see, was pressed into use for other purposes, was the fourth principal room on this floor. On the North side, accommodation included three staff sitting rooms, a cloakroom and the water closets. There was no separate library, no common room or other recreational facilities. There was no chapel or 'quiet room'.

A corridor led eastwards through to the Practising School, which consisted of two rooms, the smaller 18 feet by 14 feet, and the larger 45 feet by 20 feet, with a tiered gallery of parallel desk-seats at one end. Above the Practising School was a dormitory with three spaces, and a larger dormitory for thirteen. Two other dormitories, each for fifteen students, and with cubicles formed by 6 feet high divisions, bedrooms for the two senior members of staff, a Sick Room, Nurse's Room, bathroom and store comprised the main second floor. The 'Inter-Sole'⁴ or mezzanine floor contained two bedrooms for servants and a third bedroom for the third and

¹ An additional grant of land, one rood and two perches, was made by the Dean and Chapter on 2.1.1858. See Dean and Chapter Minutes for this date.

² Durham County Advertiser, 29.10.1858.

³ E/SBP Department of Education and Science Building Grant Plans: County Record Office.

⁴ *ibid.*, sheet 5.

fourth Mistresses. Such were the standards of the time that one bathroom, the infrequent use of which by many students was later to be commented on by an Inspector, was considered sufficient.

The final accounts having been paid after receipt of the Committee of Council grant, and with a balance in hand of seven shillings and eightpence, an advertisement was placed in the Durham Chronicle of July 16th. to the effect that the institution would be ready for the reception of students on Saturday, 7th. August; the editor expressed the hope that the College would 'prove as useful an auxiliary to the education of the masses of this county as the kindred institution for the training of schoolmasters has now been for some time.'

It had been a long period of gestation and the record highlights the difficulties. But these in themselves acted as a spur. The contrast between Rowland Burdon's response to the initial lack of enthusiasm and that of the authorities in Carlisle is to be noted, for even by the time they made their unsuccessful bid for a share in the management of Bede College in 1854¹ no positive steps had been taken towards the setting up of any machinery to attempt to bring into being the college they wished to establish for themselves.

The biggest difficulty revealed is that experienced in raising money by voluntary subscription, and here is seen the narrowness of the base of financial support for the founding of the College. In the record of subscriptions and in the final statement of account presented to the Committee of Council, a nil return is made under the heading, Collections in Church or Chapel.²

¹ Bede College: Minutes, 27.2.1854.

² ED/103/140 Certificate of Completion, Public Record Office: 25.5.1858.

Tristram's later description of Hamilton and himself tramping through Durham and Northumberland in response to Burdon's bidding to 'go here and there, for he had a very good idea of where money was to be had'¹ loses something of its apocryphal character when it is seen that the money raised came largely from individual clergy, landowners and merchants, in and around Durham and Newcastle.

The founders were able to persist in their efforts, in the knowledge that State help was available, and it is fair to claim that that knowledge acted as a stimulus to even greater effort. The total required in subscriptions must have been raised by the end of February, 1857, as this was a condition of payment by the Dean and Chapter of a final contribution of £100.² It may seem remarkable that at this point, after a struggle to raise the £2,225 to enable building to begin at all, the Committee should have decided to increase the College intake by more than 50%, thus committing the College to a further total expenditure of £1,535. But here the keen business acumen and practicality of the founders was brought into play. Against this sum could be set £1,110, representing the increased grants from the Committee of Council and the National Society and the increase in site value, leaving £425 to be raised by voluntary effort. That this was achieved, meaning in effect that between December, 1856, and May, 1858, £1,209 was raised by voluntary subscription, was a tribute to the determination of the founders.³

¹ College Annual Report for 1896, p. x.

² Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 14.2.1857.

³ ED/103/140 Certificate of Completion, Public Record Office: 25.5.1858.

The full measure of the achievement of the founders may be judged when it is realised that the College had behind it no strong promoting body. It was entirely the creation of Rowland Burdon and the Committee he had nominated, together with those later co-opted. The College was not promoted by the Dean and Chapter as such, the most influential body in Durham. We have seen that there was not unanimous support from them for the project, and it was only at a late stage that they were turned to and asked to give a site and make a financial contribution. The Trust Deed of the College¹ safeguards the interest of the Dean and Chapter as donors of the site by having the Dean and Archdeacon of Durham as ex-officio members of the Committee of Management,² whereas in the case of Bede College the entire Chapter were members of the General Committee.³ One of the objectives expressed in the Trust Deed of St. Hild's is to secure a balance between lay and clerical representatives on the Committee of Management. As compared with Culham, where the Committee of Management was entirely clerical,⁴ the College sits loosely to its Diocesan designation.

Neither was the College promoted by the Diocesan Schools Society, known also as the Society for the Encouragement of Parochial Schools in the Diocese of Durham and Hexhamshire, founded in 1811, and united with the National Society in 1813, 'to train up Youth in the Principles of Regard and Habits of Reverence to the Civil and Religious Establishment of the United

¹ College Archives: Trust Deed, 27.2.1858.

² This was perhaps the condition insisted on in 1854; see above, p.19.

³ Bede College: Minutes, 1839, p.1; Extract from the Deed of Conveyance.

⁴ L.Naylor: (1953) Culham Church of England Training College for Schoolmasters, 1853-1953, Abingdon on Thames. p.12.

Kingdom.'¹ It is clear, however, that Bede was a concern of the Society from 1839 onwards. The Annual Report for 1839 records a series of meetings, beginning on April 26th., of a Committee to consider establishing a Training School, and the Deanery Boards set up in the Diocese in 1839 to promote the objects of the Schools Society included the support of a Training School as one of those objects.² From the Deanery Boards came representatives to serve on the General Committee of Bede, which was therefore in origin a Committee of the Schools Society. The 1852 Annual Report describes Bede as 'a most valuable offspring of the Society.'³ At its final meeting,⁴ the Durham Diocesan Schools Society ordered a summary of its work to be inserted in the Minutes. It is apparent from this summary and from the Minutes for 1853-7 that the Society was not involved in the foundation of St. Hild's in the way that it was in that of Bede. The Male Training School was thus a Diocesan College in a much more strong sense than was the female institution at the outset. The latter was certainly Diocesan, in the sense of being of the Diocese, but the links with the institutions of the Diocese were not as firm as those of the male establishment.

That the College was not sprung from the male institution is abundantly clear. This emerges not only from the Minutes of the latter, but also from the correspondence with Carlisle. That

¹ Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Annual Report, 1816; in the National Society: Reports for the Diocese of Durham, 1816-33, vol. I

² Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Annual Report, 1839; in the National Society: Reports for the Diocese of Durham, 1834-56, vol. 2

³ Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Annual Report, 1852; in the National Society: Reports for the Diocese of Durham, 1834-56, vol. 2

⁴ Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Minutes, 28.10.1886.

Diocese would have been happy to go along with the suggestion to participate in the establishment of the proposed institution, had they been guaranteed admission to the management of the male training institution in order to ensure a supply of masters for the Diocese. But Tristram had had to point out that he was unable to make any promise because the male establishment, 'largely supported by the Dean and Chapter, rests upon a distinct basis with which the promoters of the proposed school have no concern.'¹

The Trust Deed of the College, conveying the land in February 1858, specifically excludes those who are managers of the male institution from participating in the government of its female counterpart. The simplest explanation for this is that there could be an obvious clash of interests, as both Committees would be appealing for financial support to the same people. It is interesting, however, that though Burdon resigned from the Sub-Committee of Management of the male institution² he remained a member of the General Committee until as late as 1870. The Reverend A. Bethune, of Seaham, a very early supporter of the female institution, was a member of the Committee of Management of St. Hild's in 1873,³ as well as being on the General Committee of the male institution.⁴ The inference is that the exclusion in the Trust Deed refers only to those on the Bede Sub-Committee of Management, which was the policy-making body. All matters relating to finance had to originate from them,⁵ and they met the visiting Inspectors;⁶

¹ College Archives. Copy of a letter from H.B. Tristram to the Dean of Carlisle, 28.12.1853.

² Bede College: Minutes, 8.4.1858.

³ College Annual Report, 1872, p.2

⁴ Bede College Minutes, 27.3.1873.

⁵ Bede College Minutes, 2.3.1853.

⁶ Bede College Minutes, 13.10.1871.

on a number of occasions when the General Committee met, the only Minute read, 'no particular business.'¹ As Rowland Burdon interpreted the rôle, he would have thought it difficult for a member of the Committee of Management to exercise oversight of the two institutions with the same degree of effectiveness.

A perhaps more remarkable fact is that, though the National Society made a grant towards the building of the College, and in 1862 it appeared in the list of Colleges belonging to or connected with the National Society, the Principal in reply to an enquiry from the Society in 1882 had to admit that there was no mention of the National Society in the Trust Deed of the College.³ The formal Notice of Union⁴ is incorporated in the wording of the Trust Deed of the male institution, but its omission from that of St. Hild's may have been due to an oversight, the Society assuming that, like Bede, the new College was an offspring of the Diocesan Schools Society, or the omission may have been another manifestation of the spirit of independence which lay behind the foundation of the College. This spirit was further demonstrated at a later date, and under another Burdon,⁵ when in 1887 the Bishop's suggestion of a change of constitution in consequence of the division of the Diocese was not acted upon by

¹ Bede College: Minutes, eg. 27.10.1870.

² National Society: Annual Report, 1862; Appendix IX, p.xxxii.

³ Letter from the Reverend W.H.Walter, 4.1.1882; St. Hild's Correspondence, National Society.

⁴ The terms of Union with the National Society state that an institution 'shall always be conducted upon the principles and furtherance of the ends and designs of the Incorporated National Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the established Church.' Letter to Bede College, 29.8.1907. Bede Correspondence, National Society.

⁵ The Reverend J.Burdon, brother of Rowland Burdon, and Chairman of the Committee of Management, 1883-1893.

the Committee.¹

Where such a spirit is to be found, and is exercised in the oversight of every detail of the College life, then whatever central control may be exercised in the form of Government regulations, it is the spirit in which those regulations are interpreted and applied which matters, and which makes it difficult to talk in terms of a typical College in other than external observable features.

¹ College Minutes, 12.5.1887.

CHAPTER II

1858-1870: THE DURHAM DIOCESAN FEMALE
TRAINING SCHOOL

1. The Early Years

In 1858, St. Hild's was poised to take advantage of all that had been achieved since 1846 and the establishment of the Pupil Teacher system. During what Burgess has called the Golden Age of the Church Training Colleges¹ and Rich calls the Period of Stabilisation,² Colleges were helped to keep adequate staff by the measure taken in 1851, making them eligible for certification augmentation, and by that in 1853, enabling Lecturers to receive augmentation of £100 after passing an examination in certain subjects, and provided that Colleges paid £150, or £100 with board and lodgings. The Colleges were helped, too, to keep an adequate number of students by the abolition, in 1853, of the 25% limitation on the number of Queen's Scholars, by the making available, in 1856, of up to 10% of places to be filled by non-Pupil Teachers over the age of eighteen, and by the decision, in 1858, to permit candidates over sixteen to enter into the fourth year of Pupil Teacher training if they were able to pass the third year Pupil Teacher examination.

So encouraged was Rowland Burdon that, as early as April 1858, he proposed an enlargement of the College. There was, however, a strong minority, including the Dean and the Archdeacon, against this at the time, but it did not prevent him from hand-picking a Sub-Committee to look into the matter.³ Its report was read, but the matter was deferred,⁴ and was probably overtaken by the

¹ H.J.Burgess: (1958) Enterprise in Education, p.124

² R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Bath, p. 115.

³ College Minutes, 25.4.1859.

⁴ College Minutes, 30.6.1859.

ending of Government grants for the building of Training Colleges,¹ and the later restriction of the number of students in training to the number for whom accommodation was provided in 1862.²

The birth pangs of St. Hild's had been protracted enough. The growing pains were to make equally demanding calls on the patience of the Founders and of those who shared with them the opening years of life in the College.

The Annual Report for 1860 expressed the view that the College had 'passed from the phase of experiment to that of experience.'³ Perhaps the claim was a little premature, for all the ingredients had not by that time been added to the mixture. In fact, one might question whether any experiment had taken place at all, for the Committee of Management, with Rowland Burdon as its Chairman, must have relied heavily on the Inspectorate for guidance, inasmuch as there was considerable uniformity about training establishments, largely due to the work of the Inspectors, both as originators and as disseminators.

The Staff

Mr. F.C.Cook, an H.M.I. from 1844-64, was Inspector of the Female Training Colleges,⁴ and had very decided views on Staffing. 'It ought to be established as an invariable rule that the minds and characters of young women should be constantly under the influence of a female superintendent.'⁵ The Lady Superintendent, with responsibility for the household management and moral

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1859-60; p.xxvi.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1862-3; p.xliv.

³ College Annual Report, 1860, p.1

⁴ F.C.Cook was a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1828. He held a prebendal stall in St. Paul's from 1856-65, and on leaving the Inspectorate became a Canon Residentiary of Exeter. Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1883.

⁵ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1850-51; p.101.

discipline, was the best person to be in charge in all matters of internal administration, and, even where there was a resident Principal, the Lady Superintendent ought to be 'the mother and ruler of the institution, with sufficient weight to counterbalance all other influences which may operate upon the character of the students.'¹ He encouraged the appointment of women, rather than men, to staffs. While admitting that men were more easy to find, he felt that women were more capable of meeting the needs and capacities of the students. 'Every lesson she receives from a good governess gives a more feminine tendency to her mind. It is an encouragement to her to see how thoroughly the subjects she has to learn may be mastered by a woman's mind.'² The training of women for such an arduous task as teaching was obviously one which many thought impossible. The only men regularly employed in the College during the period from 1858 to 1910, however, were either clergy or part-time teachers of Music, Drawing or French.³

The first full year began with a Lady Superintendent, two Governesses and forty students. They were shortly to be joined by a non-resident, part-time Chaplain, but Mr. Cook, in his report to the Committee of Management in 1859, indicated that an increase in the number of staff was necessary. The increase envisaged would be adequate for increased numbers, and he

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1862-3; p.233.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1856-7; p.722.

³ The College Annual Report for 1859, p.1, names the first part-time members of staff. The first Music teacher, Mr. M.Brown, was soon succeeded by Mr. C. Ashton: both were lay clerks of the Cathedral. See G. Walker: Walker's Durham Directory and Almanack, 1859, p.4'. The two masters were later described as 'Professors of Music'; see Walker's Durham Directory and Almanack, 1859, p.87. Mr. G. Newton was the first Drawing master. He was connected with the Government School of Design, for which Walker's Durham Directory and Almanack for 1856 carried the first advertisement. In the 1861 edition, he is described as 'Drawing Master at Durham School' and 'Student of the Royal Academy.'

suggested that a Chaplain, three Governesses and a Superintendent would be sufficient for sixty-six students, as at Bristol.¹

The staff were not specialists, but general teachers who had to cope as best they could with the range of subjects which made up the curriculum. Of the background of the first members of staff we know very little, but there must have been considerable difficulty at this time in finding those with relevant experience. A short note in the Durham County Advertiser of August 13th., 1858, mentions that the first Lady Superintendent, Miss Kingston, was from London. The offer by the Principal of Bede to assist her in selecting text-books and maps² would suggest that her background was not one in which she had become aware of the nature of the academic work involved, but the permission granted to her by the Dean and Chapter to borrow books from the Cathedral Library³ would indicate that she was a person of some learning. In the College itself, she was given authority to reject candidates, but that sole responsibility was to last only until H.B.Tristram returned from abroad at the beginning of 1859, when it became a joint responsibility.⁴ She was in charge of Needlework⁵ and Domestic Economy, and in addition had responsibility for the teaching of Divinity, History and Reading.⁶ This aspect of her work, necessary because the College had started life understaffed, eventually led

¹ College Minutes, 8.6.1859.

² College Minutes, 14.8.1858.

³ Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 20.10.1860.

⁴ College Minutes, 4.1.1859.

⁵ College Annual Report, 1859; p.1

⁶ College Minutes, 14.8.1858.

the Inspector to insist on a definition of the rôle of the Governess in relation to that of the Superintendent,¹ and shortly after that Miss Kingston gave up her teaching responsibilities.² Of Miss Thurlow, the first Governess to be appointed, the only thing known is that she was from Bishop's Stortford,³ which might suggest that she was a former student of the Hockerill College, opened in 1852. She remained in College only until April, 1859.

The significant development, however, in terms of staffing in this early period, was the appointment of the Chaplain, the Reverend C.W.King,⁴ and his subsequent appointment as Principal. For in the manner in which he made the transition he established a pattern of Principalship which was to be followed by his successors, a pattern which was not typical. Mr. Fitch, H.M.I., in his report on the women's Colleges in 1886, criticised those Diocesan Colleges which had a very one-sided view of what a training establishment ought to be, a view which was reflected in the appointment of a clergyman Principal, at a salary equalling that of the rest of the staff, who was concerned only with Religious Instruction and took no part in the teaching of any other subject.⁵ The influence of successive Principals of St. Hild's was to be seen in their very close involvement with the professional side of the College's work.

¹ College Minutes, 8.6.1859.

² College Minutes, 19.4.1860.

³ Durham County Advertiser, 13.8.1858.

⁴ C.W.King: Trinity College, Oxford. Open Scholarship, 1850. Second Class Lit. Hum. B.A., 1853. M.A., 1855. Ordained 1854. Curate of Woodhorn, Northumberland, 1855-59. Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1868.

⁵ Committee of Council: Report, 1886-87; p.441.

The Reverend C.W.King was Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow when he was appointed as part-time Chaplain of the College in April, 1859, at a salary of £60 for not less than six hours per week. Compared with the £40 per annum paid to the Governess for a rather longer week, the salary was a handsome one. In the initial allocation of responsibilities, he undertook the teaching of History and English Grammar for an additional salary of £40. He queried this temporary arrangement after the appointment of an additional Governess, but no change was effected.¹ His salary was raised to £150 in 1860, when he took over the superintendence of students in the Practising School, the Method lecturing and the Criticism periods. With growing confidence in him, matters which would formerly have been dealt with by the Lady Superintendent were left by the Management Committee to his discretion, and he was deputed to deal with differences arising between the Lady Superintendent and the Governesses.² He began to attend meetings of the Committee of Management in 1861, and in February, 1862, he became Principal. His reign, however, was to be short-lived, for he had clearly been marked out as a man of some distinction, and he was appointed to the Inspectorate in 1864, with responsibility for schools in Durham and Northumberland. His connection with the College did not, therefore, end at that time, and he remained Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow until 1867. Educated himself in the Oxford academic tradition, he had adapted well to work of another kind, but perhaps he had insight gained from his experience as local National Society Treasurer for Durham in the years 1860-63.³

¹ College Minutes, 19.10.1859.

² College Minutes, 18.10.1850.

³ National Society: Annual Reports, 1860-63.

That experience would have brought him into contact with a number of schools, and no doubt he would have absorbed much by observation. The association of the Principal with the practical business of teaching was one of the forces making for cohesion in the College.

The Students

The aim of the Founders had been to supply the need of the Northern districts,¹ and the geographical distribution of the students in 1859 in terms of origin shows that the institution was fulfilling that need.

TABLE 1

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF FIRST COLLEGE INTAKE, 1859

Co. Durham	9	Yorkshire	4
Cumberland	7	Cheshire	3
Scotland	8	Staffs.	1
Lancashire	6	London	1
Northumberland	1		

Source: College Registers

Of these, thirty had been Pupil Teachers, three, domestic servants, two, schoolmistresses, one had 'lived at home' and the occupations of the remaining four were not recorded. All three who had been domestic servants were considered incompetent, and withdrew during the course. One of the schoolmistresses left for a post after one year, and three students withdrew on grounds of health, one of them being described in the College Register as having been

¹ College Archives: Copy of letter from H.B.Tristram to the Dean of Carlisle, 21.12.1853.

'admitted on trial for talents and great merit.' One reported ill, sent no medical certificate and never returned; one feigned illness, remained absent without leave and lost her scholarship.

The appointments secured by three of the students were not recorded, but the others were placed as follows, at the end of 1860: fourteen in County Durham, two in Northumberland, three in Cumberland, five in Scotland, two in Lincolnshire and one in each of Lancashire, Hertfordshire and Westmorland. A comparison with the distribution given above in terms of origin will show that the Diocese of Durham had gained considerably from the first year's intake of students. Elizabeth Walker, one of the original probationers, became Second Governess at the College, thus becoming the first of a long line of old students who passed on to their immediate successors what they themselves had just mastered.

An examination of the social origins of these students¹ confirms what had been found at Whitelands at an earlier date, when it had been pointed out that 'the majority of the young women in training is drawn from the families of those who are raised a little above the poorest class.'² In Durham, we see that their fathers were for the most part small tradesmen or artisans, and that there was only one labourer and one collier.

Clearly these students were not of the kind about which A.F.Foster, one of the Assistant Commissioners of the Newcastle Commission, was thinking when he expressed the view that teaching attracted those who had met with reverses and those whose

¹ See Table 2, on p.40

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1847-8; vol.II, p.500.

TABLE II

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS OF FIRST COLLEGE INTAKE, 1859

1 watchmaker	1 overseer of a pottery
1 cabinet maker	1 station master
1 basket maker	3 clerks
1 baker	1 bookkeeper
3 joiners	1 timekeeper
1 builder	1 commission agent
2 engineers	1 coalmerchant
1 blacksmith	1 decorator
1 whitesmith	1 sexton
1 tinner	1 pattern designer
1 tailor	1 sailor
1 shoemaker	1 mariner
1 singing man	2 farmers
1 schoolmaster	1 yeoman
1 labourer	2 gamekeepers
1 collier	1 china merchant
1 occupation not given	

Source: College Register

experience of life had taught them not to be over-particular.¹ Significantly, however, the two students in the first year of entry who were over the age of twenty were considered to be incompetent, and withdrew.

Mr. Foster was concerned as to whether the young teacher was the right kind of person to deal with the sort of situations he was encountering in his investigation into the schools of the mining districts of Durham and Cumberland. In appealing for mature students to come forward, he had in mind the need for older

¹ Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England (Newcastle) 1861. vol.II The Commissioners' Reports. A.F.Foster: Report on Durham and Cumberland, p.365.

and more experienced people, especially in mixed schools, to improve the behaviour, manners and morals of the girls. 'A very young female teacher is not so fit to reform these manners as one of maturer years.'¹ It was, however, to such schools that the Founders envisaged that the students should go. The first entry in the Minute Book of the Committee of Management in March, 1857, makes clear that the training is designed 'so as to fit the pupils to become Mistresses of Industrial Schools, and to enable them to bring up girls for servants.'²

An industrial school was defined in a circular letter to Inspectors, of 20th. August, 1850. The letter admitted that this class of school had up to then been provided for the education of pauper children in asylums or workhouses, where the emphasis would be on the practical, not by providing apprenticeships but by preparing the children to make a good material contribution to improvement in living conditions. The definition now to be given to the term, embraced not only the kind of school described above, but also 'appendages to, and parts of, such schools as have hitherto been placed under inspection.'³

What was in mind for girls was that a school could equip itself with a kitchen, washhouse and bakehouse, in which 'Domestic Economy' could be taught. It was consciousness of the type of school to which many of the students would go on completion of their training which led Mr. Cook to express his disquiet about the conduct of the Practising School, in 1861. The type of child

¹ Newcastle Commission, vol.II, p.364.

² College Minutes, 17.3.1857.

³ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1850-51; p.xxii.

being sent there was not representative of those whom students would later encounter. Few parents could afford to pay the sixpence per week charged. Others were sending their children to a cheaper school in their earlier years and then on to the College Practising School, where there was difficulty in making up the deficiencies of previous education, with the consequence that 'the first class was inferior to that of any school in the district.'¹

The Curriculum

By the time that the College opened, the State had come to exercise considerable control over what was taught, through the promulgation of a common syllabus. This had been drawn up by the Reverend H. Moselcy, the Inspector for the Male Training Colleges, and put into operation in December, 1853, in those institutions. In defining the subjects of the examinations to be taken at the end of the first and second years, he had been guided by three principles. The first had been to retain all the subjects which were then examined in the Colleges. The second was to give the greatest weight to those subjects which would be taught in the elementary schools, and the third, 'to inculcate the principle of not attempting more than can be done well.'² The subjects 'in which depth and soundness of knowledge is to be sought' were: Religious Knowledge, Reading, Penmanship, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, English History, Physical Science and Vocal Music. He recognised, however, that the examinations could not be confined to the elementary subjects, because of the extent of the work being done in some of the Colleges. Therefore, in accordance

¹ College Minutes, 29.5.1861.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1854-5; p.15.

with his first principle, he had to include Geometry, Algebra, Higher Mathematics and Classics as subjects to be examined. Moseley observed that 'the examination at the end of the first year offers a parallel to the first examination of undergraduates in the Universities.'¹

Mr. Cook did not advise following the same pattern as that proposed for the male training institutions, and he made it known that it was his intention to retain the form of examination then in use, in the sense that it would be a general examination taken by both first and second year female students, with the papers divided into elementary and supplementary sections. Nevertheless, to give scope for the better candidates, there would be an increase in the number of supplementary questions, and first year students would be permitted to answer questions in the supplementary section only when they had answered the required number of questions in the elementary section. Second year students were allowed free choice from either section.² The only exception to this pattern was to be in the case of School Management, where it was intended to have different papers for each of the two years of students: while the first year paper was on Methods of Teaching, the second year students had to answer questions on School Organisation and the Principles of Teaching, and to write an essay.³ Cook's view of where the emphasis should lie was summed up in his view that 'the examination requires so much knowledge of Holy Scripture, Arithmetic, English Language, Geography, English History and School Management as ought to be

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1854-5, p.17.

² *ibid.*, p.62.

³ *ibid.*, p.64.

possessed by any schoolmistress, and it requires no more.'¹ Thus the examination in 1854 consisted of nine three-hour papers in the subjects mentioned above, together with Catechism, Music and Domestic Economy. In the different approach to the content of the curriculum perhaps lay the recognition that, for a man, the training as a teacher might well be the prelude to some other career, whereas for a woman, it was for a clearly defined rôle as an elementary school teacher. This gearing to the work of the elementary school should warn us against seeing too sharp a contrast between the periods before and after the Revised Code.

The course of instruction given in St. Hild's in its first years followed the prescribed pattern, with, not surprisingly, the addition of Natural History, for which display cases were provided.² The efforts of the Staff were rewarded by Mr. Cook's early comment that 'no institution has done better work, considering the time the school has been organised,'³ but perhaps the most significant step the College took in its early days was to resolve that, in the normal course of events, students would be expected to remain for a full two-year period, in order to gain the maximum benefit from the course of instruction.⁴ According to Rich, such a resolve did not become general until more than a decade later.⁵

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1854-5; p.63. A commonly-held view of the capabilities of women is reflected in Mr. Cook's comment on the inclusion of Arithmetic in the curriculum as 'the only substitute for the severe mental discipline of Mathematics and Physical Science.' See Committee of Council: Minutes, 1851-2; p.335.

² College Minutes, 29.5.1861.

³ College Minutes, 26.9.1860.

⁴ College Minutes, 19.10.1859.

⁵ R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Chivers, Bath; p.191.

2. Professional Training.

The main object of the training was, of course, to produce those skilled in teaching, and yet one gains the impression from the early reports of the Inspectors that this was perhaps the least satisfactory part of the work of the Colleges in general. No doubt many of the Pupil Teachers, having come from a five-year apprenticeship, thought that there was little they had to learn, but the more serious reasons are to be found elsewhere.

An early enquiry from H.M.I. the Reverend H. Moseley on behalf of the Principal of Chester brought forth from Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, a reply, setting out what he considered should constitute the professional element in the training.¹ In it, he made four points. Firstly, that the method of teaching the students should in itself be a preparation for their future work: he therefore recommended the oral instruction of candidates. This is understandable, for few would arrive in College with a facility in handling books. Secondly, there should be lectures on the organisation, discipline and method adapted to the elementary school, to give the students an insight into the general principles of schoolkeeping. Thirdly, he urged that the Practising School should be a Model for the imitation of the students and, lastly, that essays should be set on questions connected with school management. 'Until the art of teaching has assumed a position among the studies of the Normal School which exalts it in the mind of every student to an acquirement without which all the rest of his studies must become nearly useless, the training school must be regarded as being in

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1847-8; vol.II, pp.486-7.

a state of inefficiency.'¹

Mr. Cook, however, went deeper than this, and saw that the real problem of the professional side of College work lay in the very fact that 'the principles and methods of teaching have not been studied, or at least not systematically analysed and explained, until of late years by any English writers.'² In other words, there was nothing written which could be put into the hands of the students,³ the theory of education was in its infancy, and the difficulty remained of presenting principles in a simple enough way as to be understood by the students. Thus we find Mr. Cook urging Managers to keep in touch with other institutions for the purpose of bringing about a certain uniformity of approach, and advising Inspectors to form a judgement upon the system adopted in each College. He had to admit, however, that 'it is scarcely in accordance with the habits and views of our countrymen to commence by theory, or even rapidly to bring practical observations and results into a systematic form.'⁴

He welcomed differences of principle and method between institutions, but not within institutions. This, he thought, wasted the time of the students, and could only perplex them if they were having to choose between conflicting opinions. It was in the making of such assessments as this upon the students that

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1847-8; vol.II, pp.486-7.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1853-4; vol.I, p.503.

³ Ogren's view that educational theory was not lacking by this time does not essentially contradict Mr. Cook's opinion, for he confirms that there was little evidence of its influence in the Training Colleges, owing to the overall concern for the management of large classes, and the academic shortcomings of the staff. See G.Ogren: (1953) Trends in English Teacher Training from 1800; Stockholm, p.132.

⁴ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1851-2; p.337.

the very meagre quality of many of the candidates was realised. 'Each Training School ought to be conducted on a well considered principle and each subject of instruction ought to be taught upon a uniform and intelligible system.'¹ He commended the work done at Whitelands, the Home and Colonial,² and Cheltenham³ in this direction but, in the light of his view that the whole subject of elementary instruction on scientific principles was entirely new, confessed that 'it is a matter of surprise that the lectures prepared by the teacher of Method in all the Training Colleges should be so complete and systematic.'⁴

His sympathy for the young, inexperienced and half-educated student comes out strongly as he attempts to express what the irreducible minimum ought to be in terms of theory. This he sees to be in the giving of good reasons for the methods used, the communication of practical observations on the development of young children, and the encouragement of the students to observe closely what happened in school. His view was that if those responsible for teaching could get as far as that 'they would effect nearly all that appears to be required in a young schoolmistress.'⁵

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1851-2; p.455.

² Founded in 1836 by the Home and Colonial Infant School Society, with a course based on the theories of Pestalozzi.

³ J.Gill, the author of one of the first manuals, An Introductory Text Book to School Education, Method and School Management, was on the staff of the College at this time. See W.E.Beck:(1947) History of the Cheltenham Training Colleges: St. Paul and St. Mary, Bath; p.11.

⁴ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1856-7; p.728.

⁵ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1853-4; p.506. Sandiford's comment on the Inspectors' 'lack of knowledge of pedagogy: both in its theoretical and practical aspects' could not, with justice, be applied in this case. See P.Sandiford:(1910) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, New York; p.13.

At St. Hild's, provision was made for a girls' school for one hundred, in line with the Committee of Council's insistence that a Practising School should be attached to the building originally proposed.¹ Only towards the end of the century was the artificiality of teaching practice under such enclosed conditions as a College provided generally recognised. The original intention had been to charge twopence per week.² By the time a Mistress was appointed for the Practising School, the fees had been raised to sixpence per week, which, as has been seen,³ called for comment by the Inspector. Miss Maxwell, the Mistress of the Practising School appointed in 1858, also took on the responsibility for lecturing in Method, until this was taken over by Mr. King.

In 1860, Mr. Cook regretted the lack of opportunity for practice in teaching infants, although by this time infants had been admitted to the School, and a Mistress appointed for them.⁴ His suggestion was immediately taken up by the Management Committee and approaches were made to the Dean and Chapter and to the Marchioness of Londonderry, the owners of land in closest proximity to the College. At the same time, a request was made to Durham Infants' School to be allowed to use it as a practice school, and a contribution of £15 was made towards the salary of its Mistress.⁵

¹ Dean and Chapter: Minutes, 20.9.1856.

² College Minutes, 17.3.1857.

³ See above, p.42

⁴ College Minutes, 18.10.1860.

⁵ College Minutes, 7.2.1861.

The negotiations with the Marchioness of Londonderry appear to have been the more fruitful, and an offer of land for the Infants' School was made, on a ninety-nine year lease. This offer created a problem, for there was doubt, to which Rowland Burdon gave voice in his letter of thanks, whether any grant would be forthcoming from the Government unless the land were freehold. Thus he expressed the hope that the College might be permitted to purchase the freehold from the Londonderry Trustees, if the doubt should prove to be of substance.¹ Following Mr. Cook's assurances that Government support would be forthcoming if the School were really required for the poor of the neighbourhood, an appeal was opened in April, 1861, for the estimated cost of £600.²

By September, 1862, there had still been no definite indication of the willingness of the Committee of Council to give a grant for building on a leasehold of ninety-nine years. That difficulty was removed, however, by the offer of the freehold at about this time, as we learn from the letter of thanks sent to Lady Londonderry by the Reverend G.F.Fox, who had conducted the negotiations on the College's behalf.³ Perhaps the Trustees, knowing the mind of the Marchioness in the matter, had found themselves able to offer the freehold.

What is made clear in the correspondence is Rowland Burdon's concern for the permanence of what was about to be undertaken, and his realisation that without the support of the Committee of Council such a project was out of the question. What is equally clear is that the new Infants' School did not stand in

¹ D/LO/C 211 (29.3.1861) The Londonderry Papers: Various Correspondents: Durham County Record Office.

² College Minutes, 10.4.1861.

³ D/LO/C 211 (29.10.1862) The Londonderry Papers: Various Correspondents: Durham County Record Office.

the same relationship to the College as did the Girls' School. Correspondence between the Principal and the National Society shows that it was to be a School for the Parish of St. Giles', to accommodate one hundred and twenty, 'a number which we have reason to know we shall at once muster, as in a temporary hired house attendance has often been to nearly that extent.'¹ The formal application for a grant from the National Society was signed by Francis Thompson, incumbent of St. Giles', and by C.W.King, as Principal and Honorary Secretary to the Society in Durham.² The special circumstances which the National Society were asked to take into consideration included the crowded population of 3,000 of the poorer classes and the extreme value of the proposed School to the College. The Trust Deed of the School, unlike that of the College, does make specific reference to being in union with the National Society.³ Specific reference is also made to the fact that the School was to serve as a Practising School by the College, for the instruction of children under seven years of age.

It was hoped that this provision of an Infant School would go far to remedy the defects in the arrangements for teaching practice which Mr. Cook had noted in 1861, when he had found the attainment poor, the discipline imperfect, and 'the system confused.'⁴ At that time he had found the students teaching for only one week at a time, an arrangement which was clearly unsatisfactory for both students and children. He had then recommended that a fortnight should be regarded as the minimum period, and a month three times a year, but this was counsel of perfection. For as long as the

¹ St. Hild's Correspondence, 28.1.1862; National Society.

² St. Hild's Correspondence, 3.3.1862; National Society.

³ College Archives: Deed of Conveyance, 20.2.1863.

⁴ College Minutes, 29.5.1861.

Practising Schools were the only ones used by the students, the opportunity for teaching would depend on the number of students in the College in any one year. The College was feeling its way all the time in these early days, and evidently took the Inspector's advice to contact the Training School at Norwich in connection with the organisation of teaching practice: a definite improvement was noted by Mr. Cook in the following year.¹

We may, however, take the practice as described in 1866 as the basis of the arrangement for work in School. In the Girls' Practising School, four students at a time were employed, for two weeks at a time, giving them a total of eight weeks in two years. Each student had charge of one class for all the ordinary school lessons. They were under the direct supervision of the Mistress, who pointed out their faults at the end of the fortnight. A similar arrangement was followed in the Infants' School, with three students at a time for a fortnight, having a total of not less than six weeks.² It was also part of the pattern to prepare two or more sets of notes for lessons to be given for special criticism by the Mistress, and at least once in her College career, the student would give a lesson for criticism before the whole College, with the Principal presiding. On her final practice, a student would be given charge of school organisation for one day, although this does not seem to have meant much more than that she took prayers and rang the bell for change of lessons.

The student's examination in teaching took place during the Inspector's visit in the second year, for which she would prepare three sets of notes. One of these would be for a 'collective' lesson to be given in the Gallery, and the other

¹ College Minutes, 23.9.1862.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1866-67; p.457.

two for class lessons. The Inspector would hear each student give one lesson, on a secular subject,¹ and in 1866 we find him having to insist that the notes for the lesson to be given should not be overlooked or corrected, or even perused by a member of staff before the lesson was given.² It was the ability of the student, and not the work of the Mistress, that he had to assess.

An examination of the Log Books of the Practising Schools leaves one with the impression that this was the least satisfactory side of the life of the College in its early period. Teaching practices were often disrupted by College requirements. For example, in September, 1863, the students were absent from the Schools on the 10th. for a festival of all the choirs in the Diocese. On the 22nd. there were frequent changes of teacher, as the students were required for a reading examination, and on the 25th. the students were allowed to leave a little earlier than usual for the beginning of the College Michaelmas holidays. The practice of sending substitutes if the students were called away may have eased the lot of the Schoolmistress, but must have made for restlessness on the part of the children.

The impression that professional training was of secondary importance in the College, despite the association of the Principal with it, is confirmed by the comparative table drawn up by the Inspector in 1866, showing the time allotted to the different subjects of instruction in the Colleges. St.Hild's is shown as giving the least time to School Management and Criticism, two hours fifteen minutes per week in each year, whereas the Home and Colonial, giving eight and a half hours per week, and Whitelands, devoting four and a quarter hours in the first year

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1869-70; p.440.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1866-67; pp.441-450.

and ten and a half in the second, gave twice the average time to that aspect of the work.¹

The opening of the new Infants' School in 1864 represented a determination to exploit to the full the fact of dependence on State finance, while at the same time it was a refusal to let that fact be the final arbiter in the making of a decision as to whether one should proceed. We have to remember that the plan was being pursued in the midst of the controversy over the Revised Code, with a Department of Education which had become extremely cost-conscious. The publication of the Code did cause a halt to the plans to build a School, but it was only momentary. By March, 1862, the Committee was confident enough of securing voluntary subscriptions, and it was agreed that they should go ahead with contracts. In September of that year, the Secretary was directed to secure a definite answer from the Committee of Council about a grant. The Committee nevertheless were prepared to build immediately, without Government aid. Correspondence at this time was conducted by the Principal, who had to report in June of 1863 that the determination of the Committee of Council to reduce the cost, and so reduce the grant, had led to 'frivolous and vexatious objections' being made.² The grant claimed was eventually given, but the Infant School opened with £200 of its £1,100 cost still owing.³

It consisted of a schoolroom with a gallery for seventy, a classroom with a gallery for twenty-four, and a Mistress' House.⁴

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1866-7; p.446.

² College Minutes, 18.6.1863.

³ College Annual Report, 1864, p.6.

⁴ E/SBP Department of Education and Science Building Grant Plans. 30: Durham Gilesgate Infant National. The ground plan is signed by William Crozier and dated 26.8.1863. Durham County Record Office.

The opening took place on Monday, 30th, May, being observed as Royal Oak Day, with the children processing across to the new School carrying banners decorated with oak leaves. The occasion was appropriately followed up in the new School on June 1st. by a lesson taught by a student, on the Oak tree. The average attendance that week was ninety-six out of a total enrolment of one hundred and twenty.¹

¹ Log Book of the Infant Practising School, 2.6.186 ..

3. The Revised Code

The opening of St. Hild's coincided with the work of the Royal Commission set up in 1858 under the Duke of Newcastle to inquire into the state of popular education in England, and to make recommendations for the extension of elementary education. The training of teachers came within the purview of the Commissioners on three counts: the investigation of dissatisfaction with what many critics thought to be the over-elaborate content of the instruction given and its relevance to the classroom situation, the dissatisfaction of the teachers themselves that their level of social expectation was not being fulfilled, and the general concern about the ever-increasing cost of the provision of elementary education, bearing in mind that the terms of reference of the Commission had made it clear that any extensions proposed should be sound, but cheap.¹

On the whole, the Commission expressed a favourable opinion of the academic training of the students, though this does not mean that they were without criticism. They felt that 'too little attention is paid to the improvement of their judgement and reasoning powers,'² and were critical of examination papers which appealed to 'mere verbal recollection' and not to 'the real importance of the subject matters inquired into.'³ The comment on

¹ The number of Pupil Teachers in employment reached its maximum of 13,871 in 1861, with the Government contributing an average of £15 to the salary of each Pupil Teacher. See Board of Education: (1907) General Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, 1903-7; p.5

² Newcastle Commission, vol.I, p.168.

³ *ibid.*, p.167.

the professional aspect of training was unequivocal: 'The attendance of the students in the Practising Schools tends to confirm any bad habits which they may have acquired as Pupil Teachers.'¹ They did not accept the complaint that teachers were conceited, but agreed that many were dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction may have had something to do with the 'want of motive' to which the Commissioners attributed the neglect of the essential work with the younger children. They gave notice, therefore, that it was their intention to ensure that all children 'really learn to read, write and cipher.'² The Class of Certificate gained was felt to be no indication of teaching ability, and so it was suggested that in future it should bear 'no pecuniary but only an honorary value.'³ To all intents and purposes, however, the Training College system was to be left almost intact.

The response of the Government, in the person of Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Committee of Council, was to introduce the Revised Code, which in its proposals in 1861 went much further than the Newcastle Commission had intended. The injury these proposals would inflict on the College is indicated in the Memorial sent to swell the protests made against the Code. After pointing out that the abolition of all direct payments to Pupil Teachers had within a fortnight caused the withdrawal of two-fifths of the applicants for admission to the College at Christmas, the Memorial goes on to specify the changes which were

¹ Newcastle Commission, vol.I, p.168.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

'contrary to the recommendations of the Education Commission.'¹ These included the refusal of a grant in aid to a Lecturer and the withdrawal of the augmentation from the Mistresses and Governesses in Training and Practising Schools. 'There is no strain which local resources are less capable of paying than that of the permanent payment of large salaries.' The protest is then made that the limitation of the number of Queen's Scholarships 'will practically mulct the institution of one-fifth of its already reduced income,'² while the College would suffer further loss if there were no encouragement of students to aim for a good Certificate when all were made honorary.

The reply was to the effect that the Minute of 29th. July, 1861 would not be put into operation until after 31st. March, 1862, and the Report of 1861-62 indicated that the training of teachers and the maintenance of Colleges were matters still under review.³

What emerged is apparent in the Report for the following year, where we find a new and reduced syllabus, and the stipulation that failure in Religious Knowledge, Arithmetic, Composition, School Management, Reading, Spelling, Penmanship or Class Teaching would constitute failure in the Certificate.⁴ The major proposals, however, were the limitation of the total grant payable to Colleges to 75% of approved expenditure, and the making of payments to Colleges retrospective 'for those only of its students who are fairly launched in their profession as teachers. Thus the demand

¹ Memorial to the Lord President of the Committee of Council on Education. A copy is filed with the College Minutes for 19.9.1861.

² *ibid.*

³ See Committee of Council: Report, 1862-63, p.xiii.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1862-63, pp.xxxviii-xliii.

for trained teachers will in time regulate the sum which the State pays for Training Schools.¹ Clearly the 1846 provisions were thought to have been so attractive that an artificial rather than a realistic approach to teacher provision had been created.

The views of the Colleges about these proposals had been sounded out before their publication, and a Memorial commenting on them had been drawn up and presented through the Inspectors.² The justice of asking the Colleges to find 25% of their total expenditure was acknowledged. Mr. Cook had in fact earlier pointed out that in five Colleges the grants had exceeded total expenditure.³ What the Colleges were afraid of, however, was that the proposals were hedged about with so many uncertainties; uncertainty about recruitment, and about students staying two years in College and in their first appointments in order to qualify the College for payment. Conflict of interest was envisaged, between Colleges wanting their students to remain in posts and School Managers who might wish them to leave. Within the Colleges themselves there could also be conflict of interest, in a debate whether or not to get rid of an undesirable presence. The thought of the possible effect on discipline if students sensed that the authorities were to some extent in their power could not be tolerated. The plea was for assurance that the Colleges would not have to find more than 25%, for 'those who undertake the financial responsibility of Training Colleges do this as a labour of love,

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1862-3, p.xiii.

² Memorial to the Committee of Council on Education, addressed through her Majesty's Inspectors of Training Colleges. Copy signed by R. Burdon and C.W. King; St. Hild's Correspondence, National Society.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1861-2, p.326.

and not in the spirit of a commercial adventure.¹ In giving that assurance, the Department in its wisdom recognised that it remained dependent on the voluntary subscribers whose goodwill and generosity it could not afford to lose.

The Colleges thus found themselves with the two recurrent problems of recruitment and finance. The total number of Pupil Teachers admitted to apprenticeship fell from 2,315 in 1863 to 1,895 in 1864, while the average annual salary of Certificated teachers fell from £94 in 1860 to £87 in 1865 for men, and for women there was a fall from £62 to £55 in the same period.² Whether or not the decline was the direct result of the Revised Code is arguable.³

The men's Colleges suffered more than those for women, but H.M.I. the Reverend E.D. Tinling,⁴ reporting on the Church of England Colleges for women in 1868, noted the steady decline in the latter. With accommodation for 914, the number in the Colleges fell from 911 in 1865 to 860 in 1868. At the Christmas examination in 1867 there had been 428 successful candidates for 493 places. Six Colleges, including St. Hild's, were not full, and St. Hild's had the highest proportional decrease over the years, from 45 in 1866 to 29 in 1868.⁵ There were 81 candidates for admission in

¹ Memorial to the Committee of Council on Education: St. Hild's Correspondence, National Society.

² A. Tropp: (1957) The School Teachers; pp. 94 and 273.

³ See J. Hurt: (1971) Education in Evolution, pp. 218-9, for the view that the decline in Pupil Teacher admission began in 1859, when the schools were limited to four Pupil Teachers, that the decline coincided with a rising wastage rate and that there is evidence to suggest that the supply of teachers outstripped demand during the late 1850s and early 1860s.

⁴ Mr. Cook's successor as Inspector of the Female Training Colleges.

⁵ Committee of Council: Report, 1867-8, pp. 511-516.

1863¹ and 'a large number' in 1865.² It was not until January, 1867 that the College was not full, but in 1866 only 24 Pupil Teachers presented themselves for admission, of whom 13 were accepted to join 3 private students.³ The decline was real and apparent. An important factor in this decline was the opening of an Episcopalian College in Edinburgh in 1867,⁴ for with its opening St. Hild's lost a valuable recruiting ground. Just how important the Scottish connection had become may be judged from the following:

TABLE 3

SCOTTISH CANDIDATES ADMITTED TO ST.HILD'S, 1859-1870

	Number of Students Admitted*	Scottish Candidates
1859	40	8
1860	12	6
1861	28	8
1862	21	2
1863	27	9
1864	18	3
1865	30	6
1866	18	6
1867	18	4
1868	17	1
1869	17	0
1870	25	2

Source: College Registers

*The apparent discrepancy between the numbers of students shown in Table 3 and the numbers given on the previous page for 1866 and 1868 may be explained by reference to Comments in the Registers:

Two students admitted in 1865 and one admitted in 1866 left during the year of entry, making a total of 45 students in College in 1866.

Of those admitted in 1867, the names of two students were duplicated in the following year's entry, three students failed examinations and withdrew, and one was asked to leave, making a total of 29 students in College in 1868.

¹ College Annual Report, 1862, p.5.

² College Annual Report, 1864, p.7.

³ College Annual Report, 1867, p.5.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.6.

In the matter of salaries, judging from the values attached to student appointments in this period the averages are below the figures given by Tropp,¹ but there is a steady move upwards, from £37.10.0 to those leaving in 1860, to £48 in 1864, £49 in 1865 and £55.10.0 in 1870. These figures, derived from the College Registers, must be treated with caution, as there was a wide variation in accommodation and other services offered, which makes it difficult to arrive at a reliable figure.

To mitigate financial hardship to Colleges, caused by the change in provision, there was to be a transition period so that the full impact would not be felt until 1868,² but clearly the institutions had to look elsewhere for additional finance. They turned to the National Society, and Memorials were sent by nine Colleges, including St. Hild's, asking for a proportion of the annual sum sent by the Dioceses to be returned for the use of the Training Colleges.³ A Sub-Committee was appointed, and the decision made to grant £750, for each of the years 1864, 1865 and 1866, to be divided amongst the ten male Colleges at the rate of £1.10.0 for each of five hundred students. There was no mention of the female Colleges.⁴ This decision prompted a letter from Mr. King, protesting that the application for aid had been made on behalf of the female and male institutions and that the need in the former was just as pressing.⁵ He stressed that the loss of income would

¹ See above, p.59.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1862-63, p.xliv.

³ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 1.7.1863; No.6, p.239.

⁴ *ibid.*, 20.4.1864; p.246.

⁵ St. Hild's Correspondence, 26.4.1864; National Society.

be almost impossible to make up for by local subscription, and reinforced his protest in a further letter enquiring how to apply for a grant and declaring that 'we certainly are not disposed to think that we have less need of a proportionate grant than the male colleges, but fully understood that the move last year included all.'¹ The National Society evaded the issue in its reply, saying that each College must state its own case and its ground of application in its own way, but at the same time pointing out that the Colleges for females were in a distinctly healthier position than those for men.²

The question of the possibility of increasing the grant was raised in April, 1865, but some consultation must have taken place with the Colleges before that date. Not all the male Colleges were in need, at least as far as finance was concerned. Drawing attention to a balance of £200 at the end of 1864, and £300 invested in Consols, the Principal of Bede admitted that they were not in need of an additional grant, but 'still if you are giving to other schools it is only equitable that this should have its share.'³ Such a reply, had it been made known to the Management Committee of St. Hild's, would have appeared more than a little galling in view of the National Society's decision not to extend the capitation grant to the Colleges for females. Payment of the grant was still being made at the end of the decade, but only to 'such colleges as may prove that they are suffering under exceptional difficulties at the present time.'⁴ That there was a continuing need but that there had been some recovery on

¹ St. Hild's Correspondence, 29.4.1864, National Society.

² *ibid.*, 30.4.1864.

³ Bede Correspondence, 26.1.1865, National Society.

⁴ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 7.4.1869; No.6, p.382.

the recruitment front is indicated, however, in that the National Society earmarked £800 for meeting applications for aid.

The situation which prompted the appeal from St.Hild's and which motivated a continuing interest in the matter may be judged from the following table:

TABLE 4
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1859-1868

	<u>1. Government Grants</u>	<u>2. Subscriptions</u>	<u>3. General Expenditure</u>	
1859	£ 297. 10. 0	£333. 19. 6	£1450. 17. 11	
1860	£1162. 6. 8	£248. 5. 6	£1787. 10. 6	
1861				
1862	£1221. 3. 4	£212. 13. 0	£1249. 0. 7	
1863				
1864	£1241. 15. 11	£218. 3. 6	£1453. 15. 1	
1865	£1031. 3. 10	£187. 9. 6	£1537. 4. 8	
1866	£1189. 14. 3	£244. 9. 11	£1519. 19. 2	
1867	£1125. 5. 0	£315. 14. 6	£1303. 0. 2	
1868	£ 863. 10. 7	£254. 11. 0	£1270. 3. 1	
	<u>4. Total Income</u>	<u>5. Total Expenditure</u>	<u>6. Balance</u>	
1859	£ 983. 11. 0	£1450. 17. 11	£ 467. 6. 11	Dr.
1860	£1545. 8. 9	£1787. 10. 6	£ 242. 1. 9	Dr.
1861			£ 147. 9. 10	Dr.
1862	£1582. 10. 3	£1517. 6. 7	£ 65. 3. 8	CR.
1863				
1864	£1655. 5. 5	£1794. 4. 5	£ 138. 19. 0	Dr.
1865	£1483. 15. 1	£1797. 13. 2	£ 313. 18. 1	Dr.
1866	£1555. 8. 11	£1919. 10. 6	£ 364. 1. 7	Dr.
1867	£1658. 2. 0	£1829. 15. 8	£ 171. 13. 8	Dr.
1868	£1242. 6. 6	£1480. 2. 11	£ 237. 16. 5	Dr.

Source: College Annual Reports.

The words of the Newcastle Commission quoted in the Memorial of the Colleges to the Committee of Council in 1862 provide a fitting comment. 'An institution which produces good teachers may

be the most efficient of all aids to education; but it appeals to no sympathy, it relieves no immediate distress and it accordingly obtains subscriptions with difficulty.'¹ It was to be the experience of the College throughout the period to be able to secure an immediate response to meet an immediate need, though the response could never be thought of as spectacular. The greater difficulty lay in ensuring a continuing, steady income for maintenance. The continuing narrow base of the financial support for the College in the decade under review may be seen in the fact that there is mention of money donated by Churches in only three Annual Reports,² and that the total sum involved amounted to £3.8.10.

Most Colleges were forced to charge an entrance fee, and such fees came to form a significant element in College finances. At St. Hild's the sum involved initially was £5.³ The hope that Colleges could make up the deficiencies by admitting a number of Private students was dashed by the notification, in 1867, that £35 would be deducted from the sum on which the Government allowed a 75% grant, for every such student. This move was described by the Principal as 'another blow and discouragement to the Training Colleges' in a letter to the Sub-editor of the National Society Monthly Paper, informing him that the College would no longer admit Private students or offer a course for those preparing for the entrance examination.⁴

In the midst of all the anxiety about the Revised Code, the entire staff resigned, 'not however in consequence of any apprehension as to the effects of the change of system in

¹ See above, p.58.

² those for 1864, 1865 and 1868.

³ College Minutes, 18.6.1863.

⁴ St. Hild's Correspondence, 26.6.1868, National Society.

elementary schools, but from accidental and local circumstances.¹ Miss Kingston, the Lady Superintendent, was replaced from a field of eighty applicants. The Mistress of the Infant School became First Governess, and three students completing their course in 1863 filled the remaining posts in the College and the two Schools. That such appointments could be made serves as a comment on the training of teachers at this time. The stability and continuity which such appointments secured were outweighed by the fact that they served to reinforce the narrowness of vision which the Revised Code sought to impose upon elementary education. Mr. Cook, however, expressed himself entirely satisfied with the arrangement, which was common to many Colleges.² Of the nineteen appointments as Governesses or Mistresses between 1860 and 1880, twelve were of students who passed directly from College training. Three appointments were of former students who had taught in schools in the Diocese. Two appointments were made from the Home and Colonial College, possibly because of their expertise in the teaching of infants, and one from Whitelands. Nothing is known of the background and training of the one remaining Governess.³

The appointment of the Principal to the Inspectorate in 1864 is not surprising in view of the glowing tributes paid to him by Mr. Cook in his Annual Reports. His comment that Mr. King had relieved the Governesses of much which they had to do in other training colleges was commendation of the rôle he had come to play in the training of the students.⁴ The significance of his contribution lies in his identification with the practical side

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1863-4, p.340.

² College Minutes, 23.9.1863.

³ College Register and Annual Reports.

⁴ College Minutes, 29.5.1861.

of the training, thus helping to ensure that the primary function of the institution as part of the provision of elementary education was not lost sight of, however much time was devoted to the academic side of the training.

He was succeeded by the Reverend W.H.Walter, Curate of Sedgfield, who at the time of his appointment became Mr. King's curate at St. Mary-le-Bow in Durham, an office he retained along with the Principalship until he succeeded Mr. King as Rector in 1867, with a salary of £310 in addition to his Principal's salary of £150.¹ He had no educational background, but his interest is evident from his connection with the National Society as Organising Secretary for the Dioceses of York and Durham,² a connection which he continued in taking over from Mr. King as local Treasurer for Durham. The mantle of Mr. King did indeed fall on Mr. Walter, but the attempt to secure his appointment without meeting the challenge of competition was frustrated by the insistence of some members of the Committee of Management that the post of Principal should be advertised.³

1864 also saw the retirement of the Reverend F.C.Cook to become Canon of Exeter after twenty years as an H.M.I. It is impossible to leave him out of account in considering the development of teacher training in the College, because, as Inspector of the Church of England Colleges for women, he contributed much to that 'movement towards general agreement upon important matters and the gradual establishment of a uniform system'⁴ which he

¹ Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1868.

² National Society: Annual Report, 1864; Appendix XIII, p.liii.

³ College Minutes, 4.6.1864 and 29.6.1864.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1864-65; pp.356-375.

claimed to have seen in his years as Inspector. His counselling of the St. Hild's Committee of Management was part of that movement in the early critical years of the life of the College. It was no doubt the breadth of his experience which led him to take a consistently optimistic line about the future of women's Colleges in general and St. Hild's in particular. He acknowledged that the period was one of 'special trial'¹ but the tone of his final report in 1865 suggests that he welcomed the changes inasmuch as they brought home to the students that it was the ability to teach and manage a school which was of primary importance, and to the Colleges that that was where the emphasis must be in training. Indeed, in what must have been a departing flight of fancy, he recommended dispensing with the second-year examination and concentration instead on teaching, virtually a plea for end-on training.² His optimism for the future stemmed from his conviction that even if the worst came to the worst, and Pupil Teachers did not come forward, the possibility of going back to the monitorial system would lead to public demand for a change in the existing arrangements, but he did not see things going so far, because even under the new system 'the prospects of female teachers will be better than those of the same class of life in any other profession.'³ His confidence that the College was quite certain to keep up its numbers⁴ proved to be misplaced, but his overall judgement of the situation was sound. When the dust of the controversy had settled,

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1863-4, p.324.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1864-5, p.370.

³ College Minutes, 23.9.1863.

⁴ William Henderson, who had been Treasurer to the College Building Fund, in evidence to the Newcastle Commission revealed that in his factory in Durham the weekly earnings of a woman 'in a superior position where a knowledge of writing and the first three rules of Arithmetic were required' would be about 6s.6d per week. See Newcastle Commission, vol.II, Appendix M, p.434, note C.

⁴ *ibid.*

it was seen that only two Colleges, Highbury and Chichester, both for men, had had to close their doors.¹

Mr. Cook's final report on St. Mild's was in generous terms. 'The institution supplies all that is requisite for the training of forty-six students. The Managers superintend it carefully and in a liberal spirit. The students appear to be above average standard at entrance, vigorous and capable of sustained exertion and not without indications of Northern breeding, which will probably enable them to deal successfully with the somewhat rough and hardy daughters of labourers and miners in the district. They teach well and have considerable power over the children.'² The College had survived its baptism of fire.

The life of the College in the second half of the decade was of course marked by the experience. In line with the Newcastle Commission thinking that training colleges should concern themselves only with those subjects which a teacher was likely to require in an elementary school, the teacher training syllabus had been pruned to the bare essentials. H.M.I. the Reverend B.M. Cowie, Inspector of the Church of England Colleges for men, saw this reduction in terms of getting rid of the more ambitious parts in favour of those elements which relied on the cultivation of memory,³ while Mr. Cook, saw the need to give the examination, to which the syllabus was geared, as practical a bearing as possible on the professional training of the students.⁴

¹ The transfer of the Highbury students to Cheltenham helped to save the latter, and the eventual sale of the London property enabled the building of St. Mary's Hall at Cheltenham, for women students. Both Highbury and Cheltenham had received support from the Church Education Society, founded by an Evangelical breakaway group from the National Society in 1853. See H.J. Burgess: (1958) Enterprise in Education, pp.128, 142-3.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1864-5, p.379.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1862-3, p.203.

⁴ ibid., p.242.

The syllabus for First Year students in the Colleges for women is given below.¹

Religious Knowledge

1. The outline of Old Testament history to the death of David.
2. A Gospel.
3. Acts, 1-12.

Mr. Cook's comment on this as 'almost the only subject which saves our elementary system from being dry, cold, mechanical, leaving the imagination uncultivated and doing little to develop the instincts and affections of our better natures' reflected the fundamental assumption that Religious Instruction was the vehicle of moral education and training, and probably represented his view of the subject both before and after the Revised Code. It was certainly the view to which the founders of the College were wedded.

Catechism and Liturgy

1. The Catechism, with Scriptural illustrations.
2. The order and Contents of the Daily Service.

The answers were to be prepared in the form of lessons to girls between ten and thirteen years old.

Penmanship

To write a specimen of the penmanship used in setting copies.

1. A line of large text hand.
2. A passage in small hand.

English Language, Grammar and Literature

1. Parsing and analysis of simple sentences.

While admitting that this would not be directly useful in an elementary school, Mr. Cook defended its retention as an aid to language. He pointed out, however, that the opponents of its retention would have their way unless the writers of text-books then in use became less technical in their approach.

¹ Committee of Council: Réport, 1862-3, pp.xxxviii-xliii, and pp.236-242.

2. An explanation in clear and simple language of a passage from Cowper or Goldsmith.

For 1863, the works were, the first book of Cowper's The Task, or Goldsmith's The Traveller and The Deserted Village.

Reading

1. To repeat from memory a passage selected from the work selected for the exercise in Grammar.

2. Read a portion of some prose writer.

School Management

1. The methods and principles of teaching all elementary subjects.

2. Notes of lessons.

This paper received marks as an exercise in Composition, because the Inspector had found that students were not very good at writing from personal experience.

Mr. Cook expressed difficulty in adjusting questions to fit in with courses of lectures at the different Colleges.

History

The elementary facts and general outline to the accession of the Tudors.

Geography

1. Elementary knowledge of the size, shape and motions of Earth and of distribution of land and water on the surface.

2. Physical and Political geography of Great Britain and Ireland.

3. Map Drawing confined to this subject.

In both History and Geography, no questions were to be asked other than those to which answers could be found from the text books in common use.

Domestic Economy

Clothing, Food, Cooking and Laundry.

Questions would be framed with reference to the text book.

As with School Management, a certificate of practical proficiency was required from the College authorities.

Sewing and Cutting Out

Exercises in Needlework were the same for both years, and included cutting out.

Arithmetic

The first four rules, Practice and bills of parcels, Simple proportion, Vulgar fractions and Decimal fractions.

Music

1. Notation in treble and bass clefs, time, accent and major and minor scales.
2. Write in correct time short and simple passages played in the presence of the candidate.

This examination was only for those with enough skill to teach children to sing from notes.

Drawing

Any two from: Drawing free-hand from a flat example
Linear Geometry by aid of instruments
Linear perspective
Shaded drawing from objects
Drawing of objects from memory.

The marking of the papers was in six categories: Excellent, Good, Fair, Moderate, Imperfect and Failure. The marks which follow are those which would take a student into the category Good.

Bible	80	Penmanship	60
Liturgy	40	History	40
Arithmetic	90	Geography	40
Grammar	40	Sewing	80
Composition	60	Domestic Economy	60
School Management	60	Music	50
Reading	80	Drawing	20

To come into the category of Excellent would require a mark of 25% above 'Good'. The yearly examination results were expressed in Divisions, and the following figures indicate the minimum number of marks required in the first year to be placed in the

appropriate Division:

4th	300
3rd	350
2nd	525
1st	675

The narrowness of vision, the paucity and the poverty of expectation reflected the structure of society, or rather the articulate sector of it, and its attitude to elementary education. 'For each class of society there is an appropriate education,'¹ and what was needed for both the children of the independent poor and their teachers was what Eaglesham has called 'education for followership.'² Mr. Cook himself pressed this home, perhaps in reponse to the anxieties and suspicions of those who would think otherwise, but press it home he did in declaring that, 'the one, the only, the exclusive object of the conductors of our Training Colleges is to turn out the right sort of persons to take charge of elementary schools. The students know, the parents know, all concerned with the institution know that the girls come here to be schoolmistresses and nothing else. The managers are really determined to have it so.'³ To fulfil this rôle, and to understand the nature of this rôle, no more knowledge or understanding was necessary than ought to be the property of an intelligent student either at entry or by the end of her first year in the College.

Those concerned with the founding of Colleges for the training of schoolmistresses had no fears about educating women beyond their rôle. They were to fulfil a function in the education of the children of those who earned their living by

¹ J.Kay-Shuttleworth: (1973) Four Periods of Public Education, as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862, Brighton; p.322.

² E.J.R.Eaglesham: (1967) The Foundations of Twentieth Century Education in England, p.51.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1862-3, p.232.

manual labour. Nevertheless, fears were expressed when elementary trained teachers gave the impression of rising above their station. The middle of the nineteenth century was a time when many occupations were coming to be recognised as having a professional status, but teaching at the elementary level could not be regarded as a profession, and an occupation which included so many women would not be thought of in professional terms in any case.

The new syllabus made considerable difference to the work envisaged for the male training colleges, for the 1855 syllabus had permitted the retention of whatever subjects had been studied before the move towards uniformity, and thus Geometry, Algebra, Higher Mathematics and Classics had continued to be taught. These subjects, however, had not formed part of the syllabus for women, and therefore the changes of 1862-3 affected the work of the women's Colleges less drastically. The view of the Inspector was that the old syllabus had not included 'any branch of knowledge which is open to reasonable objection as superfluous or unfitting the station and duties to which these young women will be called,'¹ and the new syllabus was very much in line with the suggestions Mr. Cook had made for reducing the content and scope of the subjects offered, in his report in 1858.²

The Inspectorate, drawn from the ranks of those whose background, education and upbringing was far removed from the world of the elementary school, would share the assumptions of their peers. Hence the need to reassure those who thought that the teachers were over-educated, that they were not raised out of the class from which they were drawn and that their sympathies lay with their social equals, for whom they need not feel contempt or

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1858-9, p.308.

² ibid., p.310 ff.

pity or the need to condescend, in teaching their children. Hence the need also for frequent enquiries as to the number of those trained teachers still in elementary schools and the reasons for the withdrawal of those who were no longer so engaged.¹ The criticism of the Colleges of the nineteenth century which it is now fashionable to make is in some respects more properly a criticism that it was on the Pupil-Teacher system that the country had to depend for the provision of its teachers. Here we have monochrome institutions, with all their strengths, yet bearing within themselves the seeds which will flower eventually and invite the criticism that the lack of expectation induces a complacency and even a torpor, an inability and unwillingness to change.

The lament to be found in all the reports on the work of the College between 1864 and 1870 is of 'the diminished and diminishing state of preparedness in the candidates for admission.'² This was not simply due to the removal of financial inducements to those teachers who had Pupil Teachers in their charge, or to the effect on the Pupil Teachers themselves of the fall in salaries now negotiated directly with School Managers,³ but also to the general air of insecurity which teachers must have felt where prospects were so unsettled and dependent on payment by results. The Management Committee's dislike of the effects of the Revised Code did not, however, prevent them from suggesting an extension of its principle in order to deal with the problem faced by the College. They saw the need for encouragement to be given to

¹ Details of the Returns are set out on the last pages of the College Registers.

² College Annual Report, 1864, p.8

³ The average salary of male Pupil Teachers in 1868 was £13.9.9 and that of female Pupil Teachers £12.5.2. See A.Tropp:(1957) The School Teachers, p.94.

Schoolmistresses to devote sufficient time to the training of their Pupil Teachers, and voiced the opinion that 'this might be effected if a portion of the salary of each schoolmistress were contingent on the success of her pupil teachers in the yearly examination.'¹ What it meant in practice, of course, was that the College teaching staff were compelled to devote very much more time to elementary teaching.

The national picture was the same. At the examination for entry, held at Christmas 1867, 513 female candidates were examined. Of these, 85 were failed, of whom 52 had been Pupil Teachers.² 'The earnest struggle for success amongst the governesses and students' which Mr. Tinling noted as the strongest mark of the women's Colleges³ was the application needed to overcome the deficiencies of the candidates on entry. That this application achieved its object may be seen in the progress made by those who entered upon the Certificate course in St. Hild's in the second half of the decade.

TABLE 5

EXAMINATION RESULTS OF ST. HILD'S STUDENTS, 1865-1870

Year of Entry	No.	Class on Entry		First Year Results				Second Year Results		
		1st	2nd	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	1st	2nd	3rd
1865	30	12	16	2	4	18	4	5	14	9
1866	18	11	7	5	7	5		7	9	1
1867	15	5	8	0	5	10		1	10	1
1868	17	3	14	0	6	11		0	15	2
1869	17	6	11	0	4	12		0	8	7
1870	25	13	12	7	12	6		10	13	2

Source: College Annual Reports and Registers.

¹ College Annual Report, 1868, p.6
² Committee of Council: Report, 1867-8, pp.511-16.
³ Committee of Council: Report, 1865-6, p.422.

The demands on both students and staff, in terms of time, were heavy. But it was not only the academic work of the students which was affected by changes during this period. The practical work in the Schools attached to the College had to take into account two factors. The first of these was that there would be students who had passed the entrance examination but who had not been Pupil Teachers. The College admitted two in 1865 and 1868, and five in 1869 and 1870. So much which had been taken for granted before the Revised Code could no longer be so taken. The second factor to be taken into account was that Practising Schools were treated in exactly the same way as other elementary schools in the application of the provisions of the Code. Hence the need for concentration on the basic subjects. When the College Inspector passed the comment that very little industrial work was done by the students in the College in 1865, the Committee's reply was that such work was not popular with the students 'owing to the pressure of work in forcing on the children in elementary schools under the New Code,'¹ thus leaving no scope in the Schools for giving instruction in Domestic Economy. Entries in the Log Books of the Practising Schools show the influence of the changed situation, for the Mistress had to concern herself much more personally with the School activities. The entry in the Log Book of the Infants' School for 26th. August, 1865 may be taken as illustrative of a changed outlook: 'Began to work especially for the examination.' This meant examining all above the age of six, and in the light of the coming examination a Geography lesson was abandoned in favour of Reading, and an Object lesson in favour of Arithmetic. On 4th. June, 1864, the Log Book entry was as follows:

¹ College Minutes, 26.10.1865.

'One of the Juniors never having been in a National school before, knows nothing at all about teaching. Continued superintendence and frequent assistance in the management of the class required.' The entry for November 2nd., 1865, recording that oral lessons were to be abandoned until after the examinations, would act as a reminder to the students that this was what lay ahead of them in teaching. The fears expressed about the effects of the Revised Code in its early days of operation may not have been realised in all their severity, but there was no aspect of the professional life of the student or the teacher which was not touched by them for some considerable time to come.

4. The Residential Life

Alongside the academic and professional aspects of teacher training and equal in importance to the two combined, stood the training of character. The Inspector for the Colleges made this clear in his general report for the year in which the College opened. The course of training was to be given under two heads: 'the practical and theoretical instruction in all matters connected with school management' and 'the formation of character.'¹ It was the raison d'être of the residential College to effect this training. One of its primary concerns was with morality, a concern which began before entry to College, with Inspectors urged to ensure that the Pupil Teachers were fit and proper persons to embark on a course of training,² and continued beyond training in the enquiries into the conduct of mistresses in their first posts.³ Mr. Cook's view in 1851 was that 'it would not be possible to devise any system by which moral qualifications could enter into estimate of a student's Certificate, but I am certainly of the opinion that an Inspector ought to devise some system of reporting on it in each Training School.'⁴ The difficulty was resolved by the insistence on the production of a formal certificate attesting to the candidate's religious and moral character, as a pre-requisite to sitting the annual examination for the Certificate.⁵

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1858-9; p.306.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1848-9; p.110.

³ College Annual Report, 1868, p.7.

⁴ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1850-1; p.79.

⁵ ibid., p.95.

Mr. Cook's description of a Training College course as, a 'well-digested course of study, involving habits of self-denial, self-examination and patient industry' together with that self-possession which is important in a teacher, but not if it is achieved at the cost of the 'modesty and humility which must always be the most estimable characteristics of young women'¹ takes us a little further in understanding what was thought to contribute to the formation of character.

It was the course in its totality which aided that formation, and there was nothing which could not be made to serve that end. The involvement of the students in the domestic work of the institution no doubt contributed to the somewhat cheaper cost of running the women's Colleges, but at the same time it was an essential part of the training. This sharing in the total life of the College was part and parcel of that formation of character which all aspects of the College life were to serve.

The reason for urging students to undertake a two year course as opposed to remaining for a shorter period was not only for the sake of an academic preparation but also, and perhaps primarily, because it was in the second year that the full influence of the College was brought to bear, bringing about that remoulding of character which was the object of the course. The cynic might observe that the willingness to conform would come more readily in the second year, when so much was seen to be at stake and dependent on that conformity. In Mr. Cook's general comment and commendation of the Colleges' refusal to admit for less than two years, we have the juxtaposition of views on the purpose of the course as seen by the Government authorities on the one hand and the promoters and managers of the Colleges on the other. To remain for only one year

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1850-1; p.93.

led to the neglect of the professional side, 'that for which these colleges were especially established and which constitutes their special claim to support from the Government.' It was not enough, however, simply to master sufficient knowledge to teach in an elementary school, but time was needed to reflect and to form good habits and to undo, in most cases, the deficiencies of so much previous training. 'The formation of character, the thorough amendment of personal habits, the inculcation of just views as to a student's future position and duties cannot be matured and completed in a shorter period.'¹

A Circular sent to Managers of Schools in February, 1858, reminded them that the training of young women required many special provisions 'which may not be equally demanded in the case of men.'² What those special provisions were may be seen in Mr. Cook's general comment in 1854: 'the temptations to which they are likely to be exposed form a special subject of daily admonition and advice; their personal habits are carefully scrutinised and any dangerous tendencies are soon detected and repressed thus preparing them for the manifold trials and responsible duties of their vocation.'³

The longer term view was never lost sight of. The provision of an Infants' School was valuable in itself, but its value was greatly enhanced by the opportunity afforded by the Schoolmistress' house, for here the students could be given an insight into the management of a small house such as they might occupy on taking up their teaching posts.⁴ The replies to Mr. Cook's questionnaire

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1857-58; p.739ff.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1857-58; p.43.

³ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1854-55; p.340.

⁴ College Minutes, 26.9.1860.

on Domestic Economy in 1858 showed that the Colleges' awareness of its importance in the curriculum lay not so much in what it could contribute to the work in school but in its contribution to the formation of character. It was a means of reminding students of their place, of that from which they had come and to which they would be going. It was a means also of counteracting the inclination to adopt a style of dress and manners 'which is at once unbecoming and detrimental to a teacher's character.'¹

But the training of character had a two-fold aspect. It was not simply to enable the students to face the 'manifold trials' and drudgery their work would entail, but was also to enable them to recognise the nobility of their calling. The view of Mr. Cook, expressed in 1856,² that the paramount object of training was to mould the character in accordance with those principles which regulated the lives of good mothers of families, looked towards the influence teachers were expected to have in the future, an influence which the Committee of Management hoped would be as 'valuable instruments in elevating the tone and quality of female education in the North of England and of implanting higher moral and, above all, deeper religious principles in the minds and hearts of our population.'³

It was a calling for which the students had to be equipped. Before entry, 'the memory and, to a certain extent, the perceptive faculties, have received some cultivation....few have learnt as yet to think correctly and to reflect, they are girls in mind as in age.'⁴ It was with evident satisfaction that towards the end of

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1858-9; p.323.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1856-7; p.720.

³ College Annual Report, 1860; p.2.

⁴ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1857-8; p.742.

the first decade of the College's life the Committee was able to record that the early expectations were being fulfilled. By that time, sixty-three of the students trained since the College's opening were at work in the Durham Diocese, forty-four of them in the larger centres of population or in colliery villages.¹ They were the successful products of a rigorous system of training.

The first essential of that training was the residential life and the exclusion of as many outside influences as possible. This exclusion extended even to the little time allowed for recreation. The provision of a walk round the grounds to give the students better opportunity of exercise for short periods of time² brought only a concerned comment from the Inspector on the public nature of such a walk and the suggestion that it should be made more private.³ No doubt the proximity of the Male Training College contributed much to his anxiety. Even external influences of a religious nature had to be of an approved kind. In this early period the College had no chapel, and students attended St. Nicholas' on Sunday mornings and the Cathedral in the afternoon.⁴ The discovery in December 1866 that some students had attended St. Oswald's Church was sufficiently disturbing to Mr. Tristram to cause him to communicate with the Principal to ensure conformity with the regulations, which by that time permitted attendance also at St. Mary-le-Bow, the Church with which the Principal was connected.⁵

¹ College Annual Report, 1868, p.6.

² College Minutes, 6.10.1867.

³ College Minutes, 25.9.1868.

⁴ College Minutes, 5.2.1859.

⁵ College Minutes, 4.12.1866.

Within the institution itself there was almost no privacy. Partitioning of the dormitories by means of curtains to form cubicles was the limit to which such provision went, but access to these was restricted once the students had left the dormitory for the first lesson at 7a.m. This lack of privacy was totally consonant with the view held by the Inspectors that all must come within the purview of the Lady Superintendent, upon whose reports on the students so much was to depend. The day was one of continuous supervised activity, with time for leisure almost grudgingly allowed, and any increase granted only after the intervention of the Inspector. Within a lecture timetable beginning before breakfast and ending at 8.15p.m., there was little scope for that reflection of which the Inspectors felt the students to be so much in need, and no obvious provision for recreation, indicating that such provision was held to be part and parcel of a well-balanced day.

In 1865, finding that eight and a quarter hours per day were spent in study, the Inspector opined that there should be a clear four hours set aside for recreation.¹ His views were discussed at the next meeting of the Management Committee, when the general feeling was that there would be considerable difficulty in reducing study time. The improvement in both health and academic performance in the second year was held to show that the students were not being overworked. Some concession was made to the Inspector's view, however, in the decision to put together two half-hours of recreation time to enable a better use to be made of the period available.²

¹ College Minutes, 1.9.1865.

² College Minutes, 26.10.1865.

The timetabled academic commitment in 1866 was shown to be thirty-nine and three-quarter hours per week,¹ but this reduction of demand on the students' time was more apparent than real, for academic commitment was not the only commitment. The purchase of garden tools to enable the students to keep the garden in order as far as they could² and the practice of enabling the students to do needlework for the public 'at a moderate price, for the benefit of the Institution'³ were undertakings which may not have survived beyond the first year, especially since Mr. Cook was known to be unhappy about the employment of students in leisure time,⁴ but the involvement of the students in the domestic arrangements became a permanent commitment, to a greater or lesser extent. An enquiry by the Inspectors in 1867 revealed that the students acted as Monitors or Orderlies for a week at a time, in one of five areas. The heaviest commitment, taking three hours per day and Saturday mornings, was in the Dining Room, where they prepared the tables for meals, tidied after meals and cleaned the tables on Saturdays. Working in the Dormitories involved sweeping the passages and looking after the Governesses' rooms. The Classroom Monitors saw to the fires and hearths and prepared the rooms for lessons at 7a.m. and 10a.m., 2.30p.m. and 6.30p.m. They rang the lesson bells, opened the windows, cleaned the inkstands and did general cleaning on Saturdays. In the kitchen, Monitors assisted with the making of bread, and in the laundry, assisted with the sorting, on Mondays and Saturdays, and with the ironing, on Thursdays and Saturdays.⁵ The reduction in study time between

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1866-7; p.446.

² College Minutes, 30.6.1859.

³ College Minutes, 25.4.1859.

⁴ College Minutes, 8.6.1859.

⁵ Committee of Council: Report, 1867-8; p.530ff.

1865 and 1866 does not indicate a change of heart on the part of the Committee, but suggests a lack of consistency in describing the domestic work done by the students. The dividing line between work considered to come under the curriculum heading of Domestic Economy and that considered as housework must have become somewhat blurred.

Croquet, quiet walks about the grounds, walks to and from Church and, after breakfast, a daily promenade were the only forms of physical exercise in the early period. The daily promenade seems to have etched itself in the minds of those who took part. A student of 1858 writes of 'walking out each morning from nine to ten o'clock in charge of a Governess, in a procession' and always in the same order.¹ A vivid picture is painted by a student of 1869, of the crocodile wending its way down the incline from the College to the river, along the towpath and up to the Cathedral close, and then the return journey through the town, dressed in 'tight bodices, full skirts touching the ground, bonnets with strings, and dark kid gloves.'² No doubt they had come under the eye of the Lady Superintendent before setting off, to ensure that the Inspector's comment, in 1861, that the students were paying too much attention to dress,³ did not have to be repeated. That the morning excursion long remained a feature of the timetable is shown by a student of 1885, who remembered it as a procession 'always two by two, like the animals going into the Ark.'⁴

The question of recreation was always the concern of the Inspectorate because it was directly linked to the question of the health of the students, a particular item upon which it was necessary

¹ St.Hild's College Magazine, 1918-19, p.10

² St.Hild's College Magazine, 1923-4, p.3

³ College Minutes, 29.5.1861.

⁴ St.Hild's College Magazine, 1917-18, p.11

for the Inspectors to report. The régime described above led Canon Tinling to report in 1868 that 'the Principal and the medical man think that health suffers from overwork' but that the Lady Superintendent did not agree.¹ The Inspector was careful not to take sides, but suggested that the medical officer should keep a careful record of all cases attended.²

Accounts contributed to the magazine of St. Hild's College Association by old students of the College are lacking in critical content but nevertheless enable us to form a clear picture of the cloistered, protected life upon which the students looked back with evident and grateful satisfaction. They confirm the generally austere view of life in College depicted in the official records, but at the same time soften some of its harshness by showing that the students, both within and without the restrictions, made the most of the opportunities they had, so that looking back, so many came to echo the verdict of a student of 1869, 'I have nothing but pleasant memories of my College.'³

The earliest memories form part of a letter written to the Principal in 1918 by an old student who, as Elizabeth Walker, was one of the group of six who had entered the College in August, 1858. She came with a First Class Queen's Scholarship, first in the list in the four Northern counties and twelfth in all England. She was in the First Class in her first and second years and then became Second Governess on the College staff, where she remained until her marriage in 1863. She recalls how they were very strictly

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1867-8, p.529. The view of the Lady Superintendent, as reported in the College Minutes for 26.10.1865, that the one and a half hours of Needlework on Mondays and Fridays was the hardest work the students had to do, was not likely to have been shared by the students or the Governesses.

² College Minutes, 6.10.1867

³ St. Hild's College Magazine, 1923-4, p.4

guarded, never allowed out alone, and always under the watchful eye of the Lady Superintendent. She remembers that her first Sunday in College was the tenth after Trinity 'and of course we had to learn the Collect, but that was a trifle to me as I had as a pupil teacher to learn the Gospel each Sunday.' Her summing-up of her training is in down-to-earth terms. 'We were in good health and the plain and plentiful food, early hours, also plenty of lessons kept us in good form.'¹

The 'plain food' is described in the Inspector's report for 1867, which includes details of meals served in the College in one week. Breakfast, tea and supper consisted of bread and butter and tea, with coffee as an alternative at breakfast, and milk in the evening. The main meal was taken in the middle of the day and consisted almost invariably of meat and vegetables, followed by a course, the largely carbohydrate content of which would suggest that the daily walk would have been better placed in the afternoon than in the morning.²

We have a contemporary record of College life in extracts from the diary of a student in 1862-3, during the time that Miss Walker was a Governess.³ An examination of this record helps to fill out our picture of College life. The academic year ran from

¹ St. Hild's College Magazine, 1918-19, p.10

² Committee of Council: Report, 1867-8, p.530. An item crossed out of the College Minutes in September, 1863, shows that the students did, at least on one occasion, have something of which to complain. It gives an insight also into Tristram's sense of humour, of which the Chairman on this occasion evidently did not approve. 'The greater number of students having been ill with symptoms of poisoning yesterday....upon enquiry it was ascertained that they had partaken of a veal pie without a hole in the top to emit the gases....that the cook of the Female Training School be instructed to make a hole in future in all her pie crusts.' College Minutes, 23.9.1863.

³ The diary is quoted by Lawrence, in St. Hild's College, 1858-1958, p. 21, from St. Hild's College Magazine, 1955-6, p.17. The identity of the student is not disclosed, but the marking of her birthday enables her to be identified from the College Register as Sarah Ann Banks, of Keswick.

January to December. The entrance examination was taken in Durham over a period of three days in the middle of December and the results made known only one day before term began. The Summer holiday was of six weeks' duration. The length of the Christmas holiday is not indicated but the Log Books of the Practising Schools show that five weeks were taken.¹ The Easter holiday, from Maundy Thursday to Easter Tuesday, had been fixed in 1860² and the diary shows that it was possible to have an exeat to cover that period. In addition, holidays were given for Whitsuntide, and half-holidays on the birthdays of the Governesses, and for the Durham Regatta in June, on the second day of which the rule that the doors of the College were to be locked at 10p.m.³ was relaxed, to enable the students to attend the closing fireworks display. Other pleasurable activities mentioned are a dance held one evening, a College visit to Finchale Abbey, and a party with charades when the first year Certificate results were known, into all of which the student appears to have entered with gusto.

The frequent mention of disciplinary measures would seem to suggest that the writer's contemporaries were anything but passive. The suppression of noise seems to have been the main preoccupation of the Lady Superintendent, and punishment for arousing the displeasure of the staff ranged from very early rising, to detention in the dining room after supper, and the writing out of verses, probably from the Psalms. Miss Banks was given an imposition for 'not bringing books down', presumably from the dormitory, and her punishment for laughing in Church was to be sent

¹ Log Book of the Infant School, 11.1.1864 and 25.1.1864.

² College Minutes, 19.4.1860.

³ College Minutes, 19.7.1860.

upstairs for the remainder of the day. The supervision of these impositions by the members of staff must have placed a heavy strain upon them, and could only have heightened the tension of living in such a close community.

Not all students were prepared to conform. The temerity of one student who went away and was married during the short Easter holiday in 1869 led to the rule that students going to places other than home during short holidays could do so only with the permission of their parents.¹ A considerable risk was taken by Sarah Banks herself when she accepted a parcel from home on September 9th., 1863, delivered by a Bede student at the door of the Infant School, and was 'very frightened lest should be found out.' Many of the constraints placed upon the students were no doubt in keeping with the conventions of the times, but, even accepting these conventions, not all Colleges interpreted their training function in exactly the same way as St. Hild's. Mr. Tinling was clearly taken aback to find during his inspection of the Home and Colonial College in 1867 that students were allowed out unescorted, and was not happy with the College's reply that supervision to the extent envisaged by the Inspector was impossible with one hundred and forty students and that, in any case, 'to show confidence in the students was to give beneficial aid in the formation of their characters.'² Neither was the Inspector happy about the practice at Stockwell of allowing students to be absent from the College while acting as supply teachers. The College, however, 'considered the advantage to the public to be greater than the disadvantages to the training school.'³ This kind of approach may explain in part

¹ College Minutes, 27.10.1869.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1867-68, p.532.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.205.

the attraction of the Metropolitan Colleges during the period of our study.

The article contributed to the Magazine for 1923-4 by a student of 1869-70, Margaret Carr,¹ draws our attention to the lack of amenities and resources at the end of the first decade of the College's life. She looks back to the time when, in the absence of a Common room, 'we took our spells of rest on the seats of the classrooms, sitting back to back for ease and comfort, or propping ourselves against a cushion supported by the partition dividing a long room into two.' The general lack of comfort may perhaps be indicated by the failure of the Inspectors to bring about a positive response to their pleas about the dormitories. Their comment on the lack of heating, made on the opening day,² did not bear fruit until 1871,³ though measures were taken in 1863 to lessen the draughts both in the dormitories and in the classrooms.⁴ The urging of provision of chests of drawers for the proper keeping of clothes has about it an element of the farcical. Mr. Tinling's request for these, first made in 1865, was repeated in 1866 and again in 1867, but this time with a reference to their provision at Ripon, upon which one of the Management Committee was despatched to Ripon 'to report upon the character and cost of the drawers.'⁵ He was evidently not impressed, and there was no advance beyond the provision of pegs in the dormitories.⁶

The lack of concern for creature comforts may perhaps have

¹ St. Hild's College Magazine, 1923-4, p.2

² College Minutes, 7.8.1858.

³ College Minutes, 30.3.1871.

⁴ College Minutes, 7.1.1863.

⁵ College Minutes, 6.10.1867.

⁶ College Minutes, 26.10.1865.

owed something to the Spartan upbringing of the Tristram family, for we are told of Mrs. Tristram that she looked upon illness as a disgrace, and that it was rather to the detriment of her daughters if they were ill. The whole family took cold baths every morning.¹ Living conditions in College were probably no worse than those in the homes from which the students came and, in the case of Margaret Carr, may have been a considerable improvement on conditions in the Newcastle Orphan Institution from which she came to St. Hild's.²

The College was perhaps more open to criticism for its lack of learning resources. The response to the Inspector's criticism in 1859 that the library was deficient in reference books was immediate, and the sum of £20 was voted.³ £10 was allocated in the following year and £5 in 1861,⁴ but the student of 1869 recalls that the library was 'a collection of books we might easily have carried from one room to another in five minutes - books, all good of their kind, but O, how few!'⁵ The evidence suggests a reliance on lectures and text-books as containing all that was necessary. The latter were provided by the College, and sold to the students at the end of their course, but the students provided their own exercise books at an estimated cost of 30/- per annum.⁶ A College subscription to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and to the National Society was taken out to secure materials at reduced prices.⁷

¹ E.Fleming: (1968) Recollections of my Grandparents, Canon and Mrs. Tristram (typescript) p.39.

² College Register, 1869.

³ College Minutes, 8.6.1859.

⁴ College Minutes, 19.4.1860 and 10.4.1861.

⁵ St. Hild's College Magazine, 1923-4, p.3

⁶ College Annual Report, 1867, p.7

⁷ College Minutes, 16.10.1858.

The student makes a further comment on reading matter which perhaps we ought not to take too seriously. 'There were others, no doubt contraband, privately owned, and handed round the classes by their lucky possessors in a very generous way. Jane Eyre, Our Mutual Friend and Salem Chapel I remember reading for the first time in that way.'¹ If such books were considered to be contraband, then that gives some indication of the content and nature of the seventy books collected by the Senior Governess in 1870 to form a library suitable for Sunday reading.²

Apart from the expenditure of £6 for models for the Drawing class in 1860,³ and the provision of two blackboards,⁴ there is no other recorded expenditure on resources.

By 1868, two hundred students had been trained in the College,⁵ and sent out to serve a probationary period of two years before receiving their Parchment Certificates. In the eyes of the College authorities, they had been sent out as part of the missionary endeavour of the Church, and had been left in no doubt that it was one of their duties as mistresses in Church of England Schools to assist in the management and teaching of Sunday School and to play a full and active rôle in the life of the parish.⁶

What the students of this period actually thought about their training at the time is difficult to know. The bald statement at the end of the extracts from the diary of Sarah Banks tells us

¹ St. Hild's College Magazine, 1923-4, p.3

² College Annual Report, 1870, p.8

³ College Minutes, 28.1.1860.

⁴ College Minutes, 27.12.1859 and 26.9.1860.

⁵ College Annual Report, 1868, p.6

⁶ College Minutes, 1.9.1865.

little: 'May 16th. 1864. Commenced school duties. First impressions not very favourable.'¹ The student of 1869, while having 'nothing but pleasant memories of my college' and being grateful for the ideals which the College had set before her, is perhaps also showing the other side of the coin when she contrasts the lot of the students of 1923 with that of her own day, and remarks especially that the former would have very much more time to find their feet before taking up responsibilities which were thrust upon her generation at the end of a training in the protected and protective atmosphere of College. 'I see myself, a child of twenty, leaving College to take charge of a turbulent Girls' School of about one hundred, with two pupil teachers, both older and bigger than myself, a Visiting Ladies' Committee, who set more store on obsequious behaviour than on scholarship. A new Education Act, too, was just born. I had a trying time but weathered the storm.'²

Her final comment may be said to sum up the experience of the College in its first ten years.

¹ The Certificate results were not made known until two months after the examination. Students would therefore be unlikely to take up an appointment before Easter. In the case of Sarah Banks the first impressions, of the Girls' School, Maryport, were perhaps mutual, for she was not awarded her parchment until 1869. (College Register)

² St. Hild's College Magazine, 1923-4, p.3
Her appointment was to the Girls' School, Berwick, and she received her Certificate in 1872. (College Register)

CHAPTER III

1870-1888: THE DURHAM DIOCESAN TRAINING COLLEGE

FOR SCHOOLMISTRESSES

1. The Response to the Education Act of 1870

The College's change of name is nowhere explained. It may be that it was felt that the harshness of the words, Female Training School, ought to be toned down, or that the new designation would conjure up a more refined image. Or it may be that there was a recognition that a new and important stage had been reached in its development, in consequence of the Education Act of 1870.

It had become apparent in the 1860s that the voluntary bodies could no longer meet the educational needs of the country, and the campaigns for State education gained momentum. The 1870 Act was a compromise, in that it supplemented rather than supplanted, providing for School Boards to be set up in areas where there were inadequate facilities, with power to establish and maintain public elementary schools, with rate support. The Boards were left to decide whether Religious Instruction should be given in their schools, but if it were provided, no catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination was to be taught. The right of withdrawal from Religious Instruction on grounds of conscience in all schools receiving State aid was guaranteed, and in both Board and Voluntary schools Religious Instruction was no longer to be inspected. The dual system was born.

The view endorsed by Rich¹ that the 1870 Education Act left the Training Colleges untouched to continue to make their contribution is rather simplistic. The very existence of the College had seemingly been threatened by the Revised Code. That threat had passed, but that which had given meaning and purpose to the work of the founders, the staff and their advisers appeared to

¹ R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Bath; p.216, quoting from the report of an Inspector in Committee of Council: Report, 1894-95, p.131.

be called in question by the provision in the Act for the ending of the inspection of Religious Instruction in all grant-aided schools, the consequent decision of the Committee of Council that 'they will not in future take any cognisance of the Religious Instruction given in Training Colleges'¹ and the awarding of the Certificate only for proficiency in secular subjects and in teaching. Just as the Revised Code, by emphasising the secular element in the education of children at the expense of the religious, contributed towards the formal breach of Church monopoly in 1870,² so also the 1870 Act, though not directly concerned with the Colleges, led to the possibility of subordinating the religious element to the secular in the training of teachers, further strengthened the control of the State where it was already strong, and helped bring nearer the day when the denominational Colleges would lose their monopoly in teacher training.

Much of the time and energies of those responsible for the training of students was taken up with ensuring that the withdrawal of Government Inspection from Religious Instruction in both schools and Colleges did not endanger the pre-eminent place which this aspect of the work held in terms of time, or diminish the significance of the subject in the eyes of the students.

Some twenty years earlier, Mr. Cook had spoken for all the Colleges in declaring that a thorough knowledge of the Bible and the ability to produce that knowledge in intelligible English was justly regarded as the most important qualification in a teacher. The founders would also have been on common ground with him in his further judgement that 'it is among the most difficult of attainment

¹ College Annual Report, 1870, p.7

² See J.Hurt: (1972) Education in Evolution, 1800-1870, p.202 and p.69, for the view that the Revised Code itself constituted the breach of the religious monopoly.

and both deserves and secures the highest encouragement and rewards.'¹ The same appreciation had been made when the syllabus had become fixed in 1855, when such knowledge was pronounced to be 'the first requisite for a schoolmistress.'²

For a subject to merit so weighty an assessment is an indication that much was expected to result from its study. Religious Instruction in the sense of factual acquisition was but the first aim. The reality that it was this aspect of the subject which could easily be examined was readily acknowledged, and may have led to some institutions laying too much emphasis on this in what would have been an entirely uncritical approach to the contents of the Bible. The nature of the examination no doubt led to the complaint in 1860 that the more intelligent students did not have sufficient opportunity to show how thoroughly 'they know the text and comprehend the bearings of the portions of Scripture in which they are especially prepared.'³

But Religious Instruction was also seen as the vehicle of moral education, and the feelings uppermost in the minds of the subscribers would have been that if enough Religious Knowledge were imbibed this would lead to a wholesale amelioration of society. This was a looked-for effect of the employment of a trained teacher. 'Elementary schools are founded and conducted by persons who wish to improve the character of the daughters and, through them, the condition of the families of the poor.'⁴ The nature of that employment is made even more clear from the content of the enquiry which Colleges were urged by the Inspectors to make of the Managers of the schools to which students were appointed. The teacher was

¹ Committee of Council: Minutes, 1850-1, p.86.

² Committee of Council: Minutes, 1854-5, p.325.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1859-60, p.362.

⁴ ibid., p. 359.

doing her job well in those cases where the Managers could write, 'to express their opinion that the moral tone of the neighbourhood has been sensibly raised by the influence of the schoolmistress, by her religious teaching and example.'¹

The dissatisfaction expressed from time to time would seem to have stemmed less from the teaching ability of the young teacher than from her failure to fulfil other expectations of her employers. Mary Stafford, appointed to the Girls' School at Escomb in 1865, was not living up to expectation for the Managers' report on her conduct to read, 'She attends to the Day School tolerably but has entirely absented herself from the Sunday School, though when engaged it was part of the bargain.'² Here was a failure to set an adequate example or exert an influence for good.

Yet more, however, was claimed for the place of Religious Instruction in the curriculum. It was the Inspector's view that, independently of the spiritual and moral influences, the effect on the mental development of the students was incomparably more valuable than that of all the other departments of training. 'The minds of the students are expanded and elevated by contact with the thoughts of Moses, Isaiah, of the Evangelists and Apostles, by daily meditation upon the works and words of Christ.'³ With the statement about the mental development of the student is linked the commendation of Arithmetic, proficiency in which, together with that in the scriptural papers, 'is a sure index of the general ability and proficiency of the candidates.'⁴

'Religious Instruction as given in these institutions is

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1859-60, p.360.

² College Register.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1860-61, p.323.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.324.

no mere matter of memory, dry routine, or outward acquaintance with mere facts of detail; it compasses an intelligent, well-digested survey of God's dispensations and of the subject-matter of the book which alone connects the actual state of man with his origin and destination.¹ What appears to be claimed here is that such study contains all that is necessary for an adequate knowledge of man. In his general comments in the following year, in the heat of the controversy over the Revised Code, Mr. Cook saw that in the aridity of the approach to teaching which payment by results would be likely to engender or further encourage, Religious Instruction had the possibility of being an oasis, providing at most some mental stimulus for the more able children and at least an awareness of the language of poetry, imagery and symbolism.² And there can be little doubt that, however badly taught, the Bible did inform the language of our nineteenth century forbears and give it a richness lacking in that of our contemporaries.

Little wonder, therefore, that with the revision of the syllabus in 1862 Religious Knowledge was included with those subjects, failure in any one of which constituted failure in the Certificate. A clear indication of the predominance of the subject in the curriculum of the Church Colleges in the pre-1870 period emerges from an examination of the amount of time devoted to it, in comparison with other permitted subjects of instruction. The frequent occurrence of Arithmetic as a subject given as much time as Religious Knowledge would seem to indicate that the Colleges had taken to heart Mr. Cook's observations in 1860.³

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1860-1, p.323.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1862-3, p.236.

³ See above, p.97.

TABLE 6

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF TIME ALLOCATED PER WEEK TO RELIGIOUS
INSTRUCTION AND OTHER SUBJECTS IN THE CHURCH COLLEGES FOR
WOMEN, 1866

<u>College</u>	<u>Bible/Prayer Book</u>		<u>Subjects given as much time or more</u>	
	<u>Year 1</u>	<u>Year 2</u>	<u>Year 1</u>	<u>Year 2</u>
Bishops Stortford	4h.50	5h.50	Arithmetic 5h.25 Needlework 5h.15	-
Brighton	5h.45	6h.40	-	-
Bristol	5h.45	5h.45	-	-
Cheltenham	6h.00	6h.00	-	-
Derby	5h.30	5h.30	School Management 5h.45	School Management 5h.45
Durham	5h.00	5h.00	Geography 5h.15 Arithmetic 5h.15	Geography 5h.15 Arithmetic 5h.15
Home and Colonial	7h.00	6h.10	School Management 8h.30	School Management 8h.30
Lincoln	4h.00	4h.00	Arithmetic 5h.00 Music 4h.30 Grammar 4h.00 School Management 4h.00	Arithmetic 5h.00 Music 4h.30 School Management 4h.00
Norwich	9h.40	10h.10	-	-
Ripon	8h.00	8h.00	-	-
Salisbury	5h.00	6h.00	Geography 5h.45 History 5h.00 Arithmetic 5h.30	-
Truro	9h.15	9h.15	-	-
Warrington	5h.00	5h.00	Arithmetic 5h.00 Needlework 5h.00	Arithmetic 5h.00 Needlework 5h.00
Whitelands	6h.15	6h.00	-	School 10h.30 Management

Source: Committee of Council: Report, 1866-67, p.446.

The table on the previous page gives some indication of the estimation of the subject in the eyes of those responsible for the Colleges. Thus for the State to withdraw from examination was to say that it no longer had a concern for the scaffolding, the framework and a considerable proportion of the content of the training given by staffs 'lending themselves heartily to this great cause, viz the religious education of those who are to become the teachers of the elementary schools for the instruction of the poor.'¹

A clue to what some students might have thought is perhaps to be found in the Inspector's general report for 1869-70, in which, showing his awareness of things to come in the Forster Act, he permits himself an observation which contains an apparent contradiction. He stresses that there is no subject in which the students appear to take a deeper interest than Religious Knowledge, and that there is no subject more faithfully taught in school, but he then goes on to say that 'he would not expect that the same vigorous teaching would be permanently maintained if the subject were withdrawn from the annual examination of Her Majesty's Inspector.'²

To men such as the founders of St. Hild's the controversies surrounding the 1870 Act would have seemed to be nothing less than the undermining of the rock of denominational expression upon which the educational system had hitherto been based. The activities of the Birmingham-based National Education League would have been anathema to them. This was formed as a pressure group in 1869 to bring about unsectarian, free and compulsory education in schools where religious instruction, in the form of 'simple Bible reading without note or comment, should be left to the decision of the ratepayers.'³ The Durham County Advertiser recalls with apparent

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1869-70, p.443.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1869-70, p.440.

³ F.Smith: (1931) History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902; p.284.

relish the reception given to the leaders of the League¹ on their first visit to Newcastle in 1869 to seek support. Mr. Hamilton had apparently rallied all the denominations, 'and for three days in open controversy with Mr. Dixon and his Committee met the arguments of the League. He was able to call to his aid Roman Catholic priests, Wesleyan Ministers and working men, such was the power of an interested and conciliatory manner, combined with a warm and earnest zeal at heart, until Mr. Dixon was obliged to return with his resolutions still unproduced from his pockets.'²

The withdrawal of Inspection affected not only the pupil in school, but also the examination of the Pupil Teacher, the entrance examination into College and the examination of students in training. Clearly then, the future of Religious Instruction was a prime concern in the years after 1870, at both local and national level. The Principal hastened to assure subscribers that the same amount of religious teaching would still be given in the College.³

The National Society lost no time in calling a meeting of Principals 'to consider the desirableness of framing a scheme for the instruction and examination of Pupil Teachers and students in Religious Knowledge'⁴ in January, 1871. No doubt in order to ensure

¹ George Dixon, Liberal M.P. 1867-76, was Chairman of Council, and Joseph Chamberlain, Chairman of the Executive Committee. See the National Education League Handbill in J.M.Goldstrom: (1972) Elementary Education, 1780-1900; Newton Abbot; p.141

² Durham County Advertiser, 19.9.1905. It is perhaps only fair to point out that both Hamilton and Tristram were directors of the Durham County Advertiser.

³ College Annual Report, 1870, p.7

⁴ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 21.12.1870;no.6,p.432

that there should be no hiatus in the matter of inspection of Colleges, it was agreed to ask the Archbishops to make whatever arrangements they thought necessary for that year, and the National Society agreed to provide £300 to meet the cost of such inspection.¹ The outcome of this was the appointment by the Archbishops of Canon J.P. Norris to be the Church Inspector of the Church of England Training Colleges. He had been an H.M.I. of Schools from 1849-1864, and had then become a Canon of Bristol.²

There then followed a period of confusion as the exact function of the Inspector was worked out. The syllabus for the first examination, to take place in October 1871, was drawn up by him, but neither the timing of the examination nor the content of the syllabus met with the approval of the College. After registering their protest with the Archbishop of York and Canon Norris, the College Committee agreed not to withdraw from the 1871 examination but to 'reserve freedom of action in case modifications are not made next year.'³ The National Society, while fully recognising the importance of personal inspection of the Colleges, regarded itself as providing for the written examination of the students in training. Canon Norris stressed the importance of personal inspection, 'that students may not draw false inferences from the silence on religious studies of the State Inspector.'⁴ Both, therefore, would have welcomed the decision of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to set up a Sub-Committee to consider its future contribution to the religious training of teachers, the

¹ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 13.1.1871, no.6 p.434.

² Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1868.

³ College Minutes, 8.3.1871.

⁴ National Society: Annual Report, 1873, p.12

first outcome of which was the provision of a sum to cover the cost of the Religious Knowledge entrance examination and of personal inspection.¹ Canon Norris initially regarded himself as having responsibility for all these activities.

The intention of the National Society was made clear when it proposed that the examination of students in training should be conducted under a Committee of three, nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the National Society and the Principals of the women's Colleges.² At the request of the Archbishop, the arrangements for 1872 were left in the hands of Canon Norris, but the impatience of the National Society could not be disguised and by the end of that year it had secured the nomination of the Committee of three and the presentation of a syllabus agreed for the following year. Thus it was that, when it was indicated that Canon Norris had undertaken to examine the students again in 1873, the Secretary of the National Society was instructed to reply to the effect that 'the Committee conclude that the Archbishop refers to the inspection of the Colleges conducted under the grant of the S.P.C.K., the examination on paper now being conducted under the direction of the Committee of three.'³ By 1874, eight examiners had been appointed to work under the Committee of three, which constituted the Examining Board, and the National Society Report for 1874 was able to indicate that 'arrangements for the examination appear to have given general satisfaction.'⁴

¹ S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 5.3.1872.

² College Annual Report, 1872, p.11.

³ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 2.4 1873; no.7, p.63.

⁴ National Society: Annual Report, 1874, p.8

In that year, however, the S.P.C.K., in accordance with its policy of initiating work but not assuming permanent responsibility,¹ asked the National Society if it would be prepared to undertake responsibility for all the examining. This gave the National Society the opportunity to do some rethinking of the whole matter, and a Sub-Committee was set up to consider the best method of providing for inspection and examination. It reported in March, 1875, and it was decided that the annual written examination and classification of students in residence should be retained and that the examination and classification of candidates for admission should also be continued. They would both come under the Board of Examiners, and the National Society would bear the entire cost.² It was thus made clear that the removal of Religious Knowledge from the Government Examination was to make no difference as far as the students' examination load was concerned.

The National Society also decided that it would bear the expense of providing Parchment Certificates for those successful in the Religious Knowledge examination. The demand for such provision had come early in the campaign to ensure the continued primacy of Religious Knowledge. The Principal of the College had been requested to attend a meeting of Principals with Canon Norris in 1872, armed with a resolution from the College Committee 'that the Certificate should be issued from a central authority for all the Training Colleges and that they have the lithographed signature of the Archbishop attached.'³ The Archbishops' Certificates were first issued to those passing the examination set by

¹ W.K.Lowther Clarke: (1969) A History of the S.P.C.K., p.160.

² National Society General Committee: Minutes, 3.3.1875, no.7, p.135.

³ College Minutes, 19.12.1871.

Canon Norris in 1872.¹

The Minutes of the General Committee of the National Society indicate that the general arrangements which had been agreed upon by 1875 continued in being throughout the period under review in this chapter. The examination of candidates for admission to Colleges took place in July, requiring six examiners, and that for students in residence, in October, for which eight examiners were required.² They were appointed on the nomination of the Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, and conferred with the Examining Board at one of its three meetings a year.³ The Report of the Examining Board in 1883 refers to the value of the annual conference of Principals under the presidency of the Archbishop of York, and in its yearly reports the Board is always careful to say that the syllabus was settled 'after careful consideration of the wishes and recommendations of the Principals.'⁴

This did not, however, stifle the expression of dissatisfaction with the examination on a number of grounds, to the extent that the Examining Board resigned in 1886. It was reconstituted with a membership increased to six, the examinations were continued, class lists issued, and by 1888 the total cost to the National Society of managing the enterprise was in the region of £1,000 per annum. The note to the effect that 'the clerical work of the Board is carried on entirely at the National Society's office under the supervision of the Honorary Secretary'⁵ was intended to convey

¹ College Annual Report, 1872, p.11

² National Society General Committee: Minutes, 2.4.1879, no.7, p.348.

³ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 9.3.1881, no.7, p.444.

⁴ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, 9.2.1883, no.8, p.56.

⁵ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, 5.12.1888, no.8, p.393.

that the organisation which lay behind the examining in religious subjects was no less efficient or authoritative than that which led to the drawing up of the results of the examination in secular subjects.

Alongside the firm continuation of the examination of Religious Knowledge went the continuation of personal inspection which had begun with the appointment of Canon Norris. His reports during the five years in which he held office do not seek to hide the fact that, in spite of the cordial welcome he received, his inspection was not generally a popular measure.¹ An obvious reason for this was that it added a further burden of examination to the work of the Colleges, but it also represented a further incursion into the autonomy which Colleges were still trying to maintain in those areas where it was possible to do so. To the Inspectors, the importance of the personal visit was to assess the impact of the Colleges as places of religious training, something which could not be learned from the results of written examinations but only from visiting and talking with staff and students. The National Society shared this view, but realised the delicacy of the situation. It was therefore necessary that the Inspector should have an unquestioned authority and clearly defined instructions, both of which could come only from the Archbishops.

The National Society did, however, suggest that there should be consultation with the Colleges about procedure, and made it clear that 'any viva voce examination that may accompany the visiting should be of a general character and not designed to test the intellectual proficiency of individual students.'² Perhaps

¹ National Society: Annual Report, 1873, p.12.

² National Society General Committee: Minutes, 7.4.1875; no.7, p.141.

it was because the personal visit formed no part of the formal examination that Canon Norris' successor in 1876, Canon Darby of Chester, felt free to comment on the narrow field in which students were examined,¹ to voice criticism of examiners who showed little knowledge of the abilities of candidates to understand some of the questions,² and to bring out into the open that there were problems of discipline in some of the men's Colleges.³ Whether precise instructions were given to the Archbishops' Inspectors is not clear, but their reports, printed in full in the Annual Reports of the National Society from 1879, show that they interested themselves in almost every aspect of the life of the Colleges. The Church Inspectors were satisfied that religious instruction was not a matter of mere mechanical learning, but how far any questioning attitude was expected, encouraged or permitted may perhaps be judged from the comment as late as 1884 that 'here and there instances have occurred in which an individual has had, or thought he had religious doubts, or thought it a mark of superior intelligence to express doubt as distinguished from difficulty.'⁴

The establishment of Examination and Inspection of the religious side of the Colleges' work ensured the link with what had gone before. That link was strengthened by the decision that henceforth, the capitation grant, which the National Society had made to the men's Colleges before 1870, would be paid only to those who were classed in Religious Knowledge examinations.⁵ This was

¹ National Society: Annual Report, 1879, p.48

² National Society: Annual Report, 1885, p.49

³ National Society: Annual Report, 1880, p.51

⁴ National Society: Annual Report, 1884, p.58

⁵ National Society: Annual Report, 1871, p.14

followed by the decision of the S.P.C.K. to offer prizes for those gaining a First Class in religious subjects in the examination for admission.¹ The National Society capitation grant was extended to the women's Colleges in 1875, at the rate of £2 to students placed in the First Class and 25/- to those placed in the Second.² After complaints from various Colleges, largely about provincial disadvantage in having to take so many who were placed in the Third Class at entry, £1 per head was granted to such candidates in the male Colleges,³ and eventually, in 1881, in what was described as an 'experimental arrangement' it was decided to make a capitation grant of £2 for every man on the Class List in religious subjects and £1 for every woman.⁴ Thus with prizes and capitation grants there was considerable inducement to both students and Colleges to remember, if such reminder were necessary, that 'all true education must be based upon religionand further, that religious teaching to be effectual must be definite in character.'⁵ The fact that the Government was now interested only in the secular education offered must not be allowed to obscure the principles upon which the Colleges had been founded.

The founders of St. Hild's needed no such reminder. Hand in hand with their concern for the students in residence went the concern for the future recruitment for the College and especially for the preparation of the Pupil Teachers. The Bishop was asked to appoint a Diocesan Inspector of religious teaching in the elementary schools,⁶ a request probably made through the Diocesan Schools

¹ S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 5.3.1872.

² National Society General Committee: Minutes, 5.5.1875; no.7, p.156.

³ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 13.3.1878; no.7, p.289.

⁴ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 2.2.1881; no.7, p.435.

⁵ National Society: Annual Report, 1880, p.8

⁶ College Minutes, 8.3.1871.

Society.¹ The outcome was the formation of a Diocesan Board of Inspection, which included the Principal, Canon Tristram and Mr. Hamilton. Hamilton became its Secretary in 1879, and clerical Vice-President in 1885, after the Diocese of Newcastle had been created out of the Durham Diocese. The Principal then became Secretary and remained so until the Diocesan Board of Inspection ceased to exist under that name in 1886.² The number of schools accepting Diocesan Inspection rose from 371 in 1872, to 461 in 1877 and to 503 in 1884, and the number of Pupil Teachers in them from 150 in 1872, to 500 in 1877 and 658 in 1884.³ With the division of the Diocese had come the opportunity to rethink organisation. The proposal came from the Diocesan Schools Society that 'a Diocesan Board of Education is an urgent need of the Diocese'⁴ and that the Society should be incorporated in such a Board.⁵

The first meeting of the Board took place in October, 1886. Its object was the promotion of the education of children in the principles of the Church of England. The means by which this was to be achieved were threefold: firstly, by assisting Church schools; secondly, by 'assisting in the maintenance of the two training colleges for teachers in a state of efficiency'; thirdly, by carrying on the arrangements for Diocesan Inspection. The Principals of the two Colleges in Durham were ex-officio members of the Board, and Canon Tristram was the elected clerical representative for the Durham deanery.⁶ Canon Tristram and Canon Walter were appointed to the syllabus Committee for the Examination of Pupil Teachers.⁷ Thus we see that the College was very closely involved at both national and Diocesan level in ensuring that it remained a place where

¹ Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Minutes, 28.10.1886.

² Walker's Durham Directory, 1872-1888.

³ ibid.

⁴ Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Minutes, 30.10.1884.

⁵ Durham Diocesan Schools Society: Minutes, 25.6.1885.

⁶ Durham Diocesan Board of Education: Minutes, 26.10.1886.

⁷ Durham Diocesan Board of Education: Minutes, 26.4.1887.

distinctive religious teaching and discipline were provided.

The immediate concern, however, was to face the challenges which the emergence of the Board Schools might make, both as providing candidates for entrance who might be ill-equipped to take the Religious Knowledge entrance examination, especially those questions set on the Prayer Book, and as providing places of employment for students at the end of their training. It was early decided that candidates who declined to take the Religious Knowledge examination at entry should be rejected, and that, while preference should be given to those who passed the examination, the Principal should exercise his discretion. At the same time it was decided that the Principal should 'prepare a form of engagement' binding students not to take appointments in other than Church Schools within a period of two years, without the permission of the Committee.¹ It is doubtful whether this was put into operation, for the College Register shows that six candidates who left in 1876 were appointed to Board Schools, and four who left in 1877. A letter sent out by the Bishop in 1872 would appear to remove any doubt. In it he writes that 'if we can but supply a sufficient number of religiously trained teachers to occupy the new educational field we shall succeed in leavening even the secular schools with Christian teaching.'² The Bishop here does not envisage confining the Church's activity in the future to the Church schools, and the Report for 1877 expresses satisfaction that many of the School Boards in the Diocese had engaged mistresses from the College, 'which it is hoped is a guarantee that the maximum of Religious teaching allowed by the Education Act of 1870 will be given in

¹ College Minutes, 19.12.1871.

² College Annual Report, 1872, p.8

these schools.¹

The first clear indication that a Pupil Teacher from a Board School was admitted to the College as a student occurs in the College Register for 1880, and therefore Canon Norris' deprecating remarks about the decline in the performance of candidates for admission after 1870² indicate that many Church Schools were giving a less than adequate preparation to their Pupil Teachers since the withdrawal of Government Inspection from religious teaching.

In 1871, the Diocesan Board of Inspection added £1 to the £3 S.P.C.K. prizes for those securing a First Class pass in the Divinity entrance examination,³ and a further inducement to do well came with the raising of the entrance fee from £6 to £7 for those candidates from the Diocese who did not gain a First Class on entry in either Secular or Religious subjects.⁴

It was, however, extremely difficult to obtain a First Class in the examination, so anxious were the examiners to secure parity of esteem with the Government results. Of the one hundred and seventy-seven candidates who entered College between 1874 and 1878, only twelve gained a First Class in the Divinity entrance examination, whereas thirty-two were awarded First Classes in the secular subjects. The reports for those years also show that the Principal was very soon called upon to exercise his discretion in the matter of admitting candidates who failed the entrance examination in Divinity. Seventeen such candidates were admitted in that period. In 1877 it was also noted that two of the

¹ College Annual Report, 1877, p.8

² College Annual Report, 1873 (MS only)

³ College Annual Report, 1872, p.11

⁴ College Annual Report, 1876, p.12

candidates admitted had not sat the Divinity entrance examination. They were both from the Diocese but had not chosen to sit for entrance at St. Hild's, and having failed to gain entry to the College of their choice,¹ were admitted on the strength of their results in the Government examination.²

The difficulty experienced in the entrance examination was also found in the examination leading to the award of the Archbishops' Certificate. This may be illustrated again by reference to the students entering the College in the years 1874-8. Of the one hundred and seventy eventually presented for examination in religious subjects at the end of their second year, twenty-four were successful in gaining a First Class Archbishops' Certificate. One hundred and sixty-nine were presented for the Government examination and thirty-eight were placed in the First Division. It is, of course, unreal to make such a comparison because it is not a comparison between like and like. That such a comparison was made was, however, inevitable because of the time and emphasis devoted to religious subjects.

Complaints were made by many of the Colleges on the grounds that continued insistence on such a high standard served only to dishearten the students, particularly when securing employment no longer depended on passing the examination. The complaint was voiced by the College in 1876, in pointing out that, excluding Whitelands, Home and Colonial and Cheltenham as 'having the choice of the best candidates,' only ten First Classes were gained by second year students in the remaining thirteen Church Colleges for women.³

¹ The College Register suggests that this was probably Darlington, founded in 1872 under the auspices of the non-denominational British and Foreign School Society.

² College Register, 1877.

³ College Annual Report, 1876, p.7

The students also had legitimate cause for complaint in the first three years of Darby's term of office because the timing of the written examination for the Archbishops' Certificate, in October of each year, coincided with the visit of the Government Inspectors. The Committee was in no doubt, however, that it was the Inspectors who ought to make alternative arrangements.¹ It is an indication of the awareness of the potentially explosive nature of Church and State relations that the comment in the Annual Report on the coincidence of examinations is followed by an article made up of extracts from a Circular to the Inspectors, issued from the Education Department in January, 1878, the first of which extracts urges Inspectors not to lead Managers or teachers to suppose that the limitation of Government examination to secular subjects implies 'that the State is indifferent to the moral character of the schools, or in any way unfriendly to religious teaching.'²

There was also another ground for concern, for Colleges had a financial interest in the examination results. The College Annual Report for 1878³ notes with satisfaction that, excluding the largest Colleges, Whitelands, Warrington and Home and Colonial, the grant earned by St. Hild's from the National Society was higher than that of any other College for women, some of which were larger than St. Hild's. Sixty-nine students earned £86.15.0, and the Archbishops' Inspector, in his report for 1881, observed that many of the Colleges were really kept alive by the grant made by the National Society.⁴

The sensitivity which was felt about the religious studies

¹ College Annual Report, 1878, p.8

² *ibid.*, quoting Committee of Council: Report, 1877-78, p.331.

³ *ibid.*, p.6

⁴ National Society: Annual Report, 1881, p.54.

aspect of the curriculum is seen in the reaction of the Committee to the failure of a student to pass the First Year examination in 1880. It was felt necessary to draw attention to this, to explain that it was the first time that such a thing had occurred since the opening of the College. There had, in fact, been failures in the Second Year in 1872 and 1875. The failure of the particular student in 1880 was put down to poor health and 'her want of religious teaching before entering College.' The College Register, however, shows that she had come from a Board School, had gained a Third Class in the Divinity entrance examination, and went on to gain a Second Division Certificate at the end of her second year in College. The Committee went on to labour the point that in almost all the Colleges for women the First Year results were unsatisfactory.¹

The College also shows itself aware, in this period, of the delicacy needed in commenting upon the performance of candidates in the entrance examination for Divinity. It does not wish to give credence to the view that candidates from Board Schools are debarred from applying to the College because of a supposed inability to pass the entrance examination, and yet has to admit that few Board School candidates present themselves for admission. Comment therefore has to be made within the context of expression of concern that candidates in general are less well prepared for entry than they were in the years before 1870, and that the deficiency needs to be remedied. The suggestion was made in 1880 that centres might be set up, where instruction in religious subjects could be given to Board School Pupil Teachers.² Such centres were set up in at least three places, open to both Board School and Church School

¹ College Annual Report, 1880, p.4

² *ibid.*, p.8

Pupil Teachers, and lectures written by the Inspectors of the Diocesan Board of Inspection were given by them and volunteer helpers.¹ This kind of provision was continued and extended after the Durham Diocesan Board of Education came into being, with the opening up of central classes in Sunderland, the sending of monthly printed Scripture lessons to the Heads of Diocesan Inspected Schools and the provision of free copies of lectures, intended to prepare candidates for the Divinity entrance examination, to each candidate from a Diocesan Inspected School.²

By supporting and encouraging these activities, the College was concerned to do two things. Firstly, to place Board School candidates and Church School candidates on as equal a footing as possible in applying for entrance, and thus to answer the complaint that Board School Pupil Teachers were debarred from entry to a Church College. After the first acceptance of candidates from Board Schools in 1880, each year was not without its complement.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF CANDIDATES FROM BOARD SCHOOLS ACCEPTED, 1880-1888

<u>Year</u>	<u>Intake</u>	<u>From Board Schools</u>
1880	33	5
1881	40	2
1882	30	3
1883	35	7
1884	30	7
1885	35	1
1886	30	9
1887	35	4
1888	30	8

Source: College Registers

¹ College Annual Report, 1883, p.10

² Durham Diocesan Board of Education: Minutes, 31.1.1889, p.109.
The Minutes of 25.7.1893 mention a centre at Durham (p.273) and those of 23.10.1894 refer to a centre at Rainton and a second centre at Durham (p.314)

But the second thing which the College was seeking to do was to articulate something of its underlying philosophy. Religious Instruction was to be regarded, not as imparting opinion, but as conveying truth. The Bible was the expression of the Divine will for man. The Prayer Book was the book of worship of the Established Church of the land, and as such contained her authorised formularies. To withhold Truth would be to violate conscience. It may be that in this period the College was too successful in hammering home where its priorities lay, for it was found necessary to include in the information for candidates applying for admission, for the first time, in 1883, a note to the effect that entrance into the College, if the candidate passed the Examination in Religious subjects, 'depends in a great measure on her position in the list of Queen's Scholars.'¹

The Report of the Committee of Council for 1884-85² includes information on terms of admission to Colleges. We find considerable variation as regards entrance fees in the twenty-five Colleges for women listed. Some Colleges made a uniform charge, e.g. at Homerton, it was twenty guineas, and at Lincoln, three pounds. Most Colleges discriminated in favour of those gaining a First Class in the Government entrance examination, and against those who had sat for entry at other Colleges. For Durham alone is there mention made of the significance attached to the Religious Knowledge entrance examination, as carrying as much weight as the Government entrance examination in determining the entrance fee to be paid. The sum of eight pounds was paid by those gaining a First Class in either the secular or the religious examination, and ten

¹ College Annual Report, 1883, p.15

² p.477 ff.

pounds by all others. But that other Colleges did not take so clear-cut a stand, or perhaps we should say, make so positive a valuation of the Divinity entrance examination, is apparent from a resolution emerging from a National Society meeting in December, 1886, urging Principals to show by their choice of candidates that they attach value to the results of the entrance examination, and expressing concern about the admission of students who had not passed.¹ It must have been with a warm glow of satisfaction that the Committee was able to reply that 'such a resolution was not required in the case of their college as it had always been a rule that candidates for entry should pass the Religious as well as the Secular examination.'² It had certainly been a rule since 1878, and remained so, for Church of England candidates, to the end of our period. The College resisted the attempts made through the Diocesan Board of Education to claim exemption from it for those candidates who did well in the annual Diocesan examination of Pupil Teachers, first in 1889 and again in 1895. On both occasions it had to be pointed out that entry to the training colleges was a matter for their own Committees to decide.³

The decision of former students that the memorial to Miss Henderson should take the form of a prize for the encouragement of the study of religious subjects, awarded to the student in the Second Year who came first in the College Midsummer examinations,⁴ was entirely in keeping with the spirit of the times. It was the religious aspect of the work which should continue to be emphasised, the integrating factor of which Miss Henderson, in her eleven years as Senior Governess, from 1866 to her death in office in 1877, had been an exemplar.

¹ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, 1.12.1886, no.8, p.297.

² College Annual Report, 1886, p.9

³ Durham Diocesan Board of Education: Minutes, 31.10.1889, p.131 and 16.11.1895, p.573.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1881, p.8

2. Expansion

The vigour with which the voluntary bodies responded to the challenge of the 1870 Act in the provision of additional school places is well described by M. Cruickshank.¹ Their efforts, during the six-months period of grace permitted them to make good deficiencies, led to the eventual provision of two-thirds of the million and a half new school places provided in the six years from 1870 to 1876.²

Alongside that provision went the recognition of the need for more teachers. The recruitment situation had begun to improve after 1867, when extra grants were paid to schools whose Pupil Teachers went on to Training Colleges, but the critical position after 1870 led to crisis measures. Under the New Code of February 1871, permission was given to the authorities of Training Colleges to allow students trained in 1870, 1871 and 1872 to leave, after only one year's training, to take charge of schools.³ But this permitted suspension of two-year training did not solve the problem and as far as the women's Colleges were concerned was, according to the Inspector, 'practically a dead letter.'⁴ The insistence on certification as a condition of a Government grant to a school, and the situation in which demand continued to exceed supply, led to the provision in 1874 for any acting schoolmaster over thirty-five and any schoolmistress over thirty to become certificated without

¹ M. Cruickshank: (1963) Church and State in English Education: 1870 to the Present Day, p.40

² H.C.Barnard: (1961) A History of English Education from 1870, p.119.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1870-71, p.cxv.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.194.

examination.¹ Both of these actions were, at the best valuation of them, palliative, and at the worst, retrograde. It was in this context, in the years after 1870, that St. Hild's had no insignificant part to play in events which resulted in a permanent increase in the provision of teacher-training places.

The initiative came from a Sub-Committee set up by the Standing Committee of the S.P.C.K. in February, 1872, 'to consider in what way under existing circumstances the Society can best promote the Religious training of teachers for elementary schools.'² One of the suggestions made by that Sub-Committee was that an enquiry should be made of the Church Training Colleges to ask whether 'grants of money made to meet much larger sums raised elsewhere for the purpose of building would be likely to lead to an increase of accommodation.'³ The Secretary, acting on the advice of the Treasurer, wrote to the Principals of only five Colleges: Bede, St. Hild's, Norwich, Lincoln and Caernarvon. The reply from Hild's was prompt, pointing out that raising money for building was not so great a problem as providing for running costs, and asking if the Society would make a contribution to these in the event of the College increasing its total intake from forty-six to seventy-two. A fairly non-committal reply was sent, to the effect that the Committee might possibly recommend a grant, for either Building or Endowment.⁴

There is no mention in the College Minutes for 1871 of any discussion of enlargement, and no meeting of the Committee was

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1873-74, pp.cliii-cliv.

² S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 26.2.1872.

³ S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 5.3.1872.

⁴ S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 8.4.1872.

held between December, 1871 and June, 1872. In that period, however, there was a flurry of activity which could not have taken place without the authority of the Chairman, Rowland Burdon. He had sought an enlargement of the College shortly after its opening, but that had been denied him. It is a fair assumption to make that the wish and the resolution remained with him, fortified by the knowledge that in 1871 fifty-four applications, and in the following year seventy-two applications had had to be 'declined for want of room.'¹

The enquiry from S.P.C.K. opened up the possibility of outside help, in spite of the priority necessarily being given to the provision of additional school places. On the strength of it the Principal wrote to the National Society, making clear that the College wanted to increase its intake and appealing for help in building.² Expansion was necessary, not only to supply as far as possible the needs of the secular Board Schools which had come into being in the large towns surrounding Durham, but also to ensure, the letter hints, that those needs were not met by the recently opened 'Dissenting College' in Darlington. The expectation of help from S.P.C.K. is referred to, together with the Chairman's offer of £200.

By the end of April, 1872, positive replies to S.P.C.K.'s initial enquiry had been received from Bede, Norwich and Caernarvon, and all five Colleges had received a second enquiry, couched in terms, however, which indicated that the Standing Committee of S.P.C.K. had taken a somewhat different view of the kind of help which should be offered, from that of its Sub-Committee. An immediate increase to meet a temporary, but pressing need, was

¹ College Registers

² St. Hild's Correspondence; National Society, 15.4.1872.

what S.P.C.K. was hoping to bring about. 'Our idea is to help either in the rent of temporary premises or in any other charges consequent upon increased numbers, rather than in building.'¹ The reply from St. Hild's was again immediate, in a letter dated May 1st. 1872: 'If we do anything to enlarge our college it will be by means of new building,'² and pointed out that any increase of students was impossible before the beginning of the next academic year in January, 1873. Only Lincoln took the view that a short-term provision would be adequate, but it was along that line that the Secretary of S.P.C.K. then wrote to all the Church Colleges offering help to those which could provide increased accommodation by the end of the year. Replies indicated that an increased intake would be possible in eleven Colleges, providing two hundred and twenty-six additional places.³ With that information, the Sub-Committee recommended the setting aside of £5,000 to support the provision of between two hundred and fifty and three hundred places over the following two years, on a per capita basis of ten pounds for men and eight pounds for women.⁴

Meanwhile the initial letter from St. Hild's to the National Society, together with a letter from Bede, had come before the Society's General Committee,⁵ and had led to the setting up of a Sub-Committee to look into ways of helping Colleges. A plan to approach all Principals was not proceeded with when the scope of the S.P.C.K.'s interest became known, and instead it was decided to invite the Committee of S.P.C.K. to an interview 'at which an

¹ S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 6.5.1872.

² *ibid.*, 6.5.1872.

³ *ibid.*, 27.5.1872.

⁴ *ibid.*, 1.6.1872.

⁵ National Society General Committee: Minutes, 1.5.1872, no.7, p.279.

harmonious course of common action may be determined.'¹

These events have been described in some detail in order to show how far matters had gone before the matter of enlarging the College was brought, officially that is, to the attention of the Committee of Management at their meeting on June 13th., 1872. A Circular had been privately issued by the Chairman, Principal and Treasurer, together with a letter of recommendation from the Bishop, dated May 8th., commending the appeal to the Diocese, 'if she would save the children of her poorer classes from the curse of having as their instructors those who would devote their whole time and energy to secular education.'² The appeal went out in the name of the Committee, but the vital decisions had not been taken in Committee. When the Committee did meet, it was to be informed that £736 had already been promised, and to be asked to approach possible subscribers and report back to the Principal.³ By the following month, plans had been drawn for a new wing, providing a new Dining Room, Lady Superintendent's room and dormitory accommodation for an additional twenty-four students, at an estimated cost, including furnishing, of £3,000.

The progress of the appeal well illustrates the difficulties of its promoters, but at the same time shows the measure of the men in their devotion to a cause. With no Government building grant to count on, the only 'institutions' outside the Diocese to which appeal could be made were the National Society and the S.P.C.K. The latter offered £360, but that was dependent on twenty-four students coming into residence in January, 1873. St. Hild's accepted an additional fifteen students

¹ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, 5.6.1872, no.10, p.36.

² College Annual Report, 1872, p.8

³ College Minutes, 13.6.1872.

into temporary accommodation at a house in North Bailey, near the Cathedral, but was unable to persuade the S.P.C.K. to make a grant for the nine other students who would come into residence on completion of the new wing.¹ Thus the grant for 1872 was £225. The College's appeal to the National Society led to a donation of £240,² the largest donation received in 1872.

Beyond that lay the appeal to important individuals in the Diocese who were probably also subscribers to many other good causes. The difficulty arose after the initial encouraging response had been made. Promises made by July 1872 totalled £2,242,³ but by the time the Annual Report for 1872 was presented, the total had crept only to £2,423.2.0. Rowland Burdon must have felt this keenly, and offered to resign. This was of course unthinkable: the Committee expressed confidence in its ability to raise the remainder and appointed a Sub-Committee to decide where savings could be made on the cost of building.⁴ S.P.C.K. made its contribution of £135 at the end of 1873, for the nine students who would come into residence at the beginning of 1874.⁵ This donation is included in the copy of the Subscription List, totalling £2,669, contained in the National Society Correspondence, and the College Annual Report for 1873 was able to record that building costs had been met.

¹ S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 25.11.1872.

² National Society General Committee: Minutes, 31.7.72, no.7, p.36. In making such a grant, the National Society would appear to have gone beyond the agreement made with S.P.C.K. at their meeting on July 5th., that the Society would help if the S.P.C.K. were unable to grant all the applications received from Colleges. See S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 5.7.1872.

³ College Minutes, 10.7.1872.

⁴ College Minutes, 18.3.1873.

⁵ College Minutes, 17.10.1873.

But between £300 and £400 was still needed for furnishing and, perhaps more important, an increase in the number of subscribers. In the Subscription List for 1872 there was only one Church offertory recorded. In 1873, an appeal was made to all parishes which had profited by having received a teacher from the College, to set aside a yearly offertory in support of the College. This was the nearest approach to a general, popularly based appeal.¹ There is no indication that this suggestion was immediately taken up, although subscriptions did rise from £210.18.6 in 1872, to £261.4.6 in 1874, only to fall to £221.13.6 in 1876.

The Committee was forced to turn elsewhere, and a Sub-Committee of St. Hild's and Bede was set up to canvass the Diocese of Carlisle for donations to their building funds, and for annual subscriptions.² Presumably the College felt justified in such an appeal, in the light of the fact that the Registers show sixty-one students as having been received into College from that Diocese between 1860 and 1875. The Carlisle Diocesan Education Society expressed its good intentions, after a visit from Canon Tristram,³ but apparently did not act upon them, and receipt of an 'indefinite letter' from the Secretary in October, 1876, put an end to the hope of receiving help from that quarter.⁴

An appeal to S.P.C.K. to continue to support the additional twenty-four students for which it had made provision met with a happier result, in the granting of £120 per year for 1875 and 1876.⁵ The debt remaining on the Building Fund was not cleared until 1879, and only then by means of an interest-bearing loan of £100 by a member of the Committee.⁶

¹ College Annual Report, 1873 (MS only)

² College Minutes, 12.3.1875.

³ College Minutes, 22.3.1876

⁴ College Minutes, 13.10.1876.

⁵ S.P.C.K. Standing Committee: Minutes, 29.6.1874.

⁶ College Minutes, 9.7.1879.

The Archbishops' Inspector in 1873 reported an increase of numbers in nineteen Colleges;¹ S.P.C.K. noted the provision of a hundred and eighteen additional places for men, and a hundred and seventy-six for women,² and congratulated itself for having 'assisted in procuring a very considerable permanent annual addition to the number of satisfactorily trained school teachers,'³ although this had not been the Society's original intention in offering to help the Colleges. The College received applications for one hundred and eight teachers in 1873-74,⁴ thus justifying the bringing into use of the new wing in 1874.

In the following year, Rowland Burdon died and, at their first meeting after his death, tribute was paid to him by the Committee as the one to whose 'persevering energy the first origin and subsequent extension.... is chiefly to be ascribed.'⁵ The persevering energy had been as much in demand in the latter as in the former. Without the prospect of a Government building grant, in the face of the known difficulties of raising money to meet increased annual running costs,⁶ and against the cautionary advice of H.M.I. Canon Tinling, who was in favour of temporary, inexpensive action to meet an immediate need,⁷ the decision had been

¹ College Annual Report, 1873. (MS only)

² S.P.C.K. Annual Report, 1874, p.2

³ S.P.C.K. Annual Report, 1875, p.4

⁴ College Annual Report, 1874, p.7

⁵ College Minutes, 10.9.1875.

⁶ The College Annual Report for 1872 is the last in which the Collectors, ie. individuals responsible for gathering in subscriptions, are named. In 1860 there were seventeen, in seven areas of the Diocese (the Chester, Darlington, Easington and Stockton Deaneries, the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne, South Northumberland and Newcastle-upon-Tyne) In 1861, there were sixteen, in six areas, South Northumberland and Newcastle being considered as one area. The decline continued until, in 1870, there were seven Collectors in five areas, with no one named for South Northumberland and Newcastle, and by 1872, there was only one Collector named for each of the five areas.

⁷ Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.193.

taken to build. The challenge of the 1870 Education Act and what it implied for the present and future rôle of the State in education had to be met with a response which recognised those implications. Hence the need for a permanent provision. For the driving certainty which guided all the endeavours of the Committee was that it was impossible to teach children morality without a religious basis, and that it was impossible to teach religion from an undenominational standpoint. Or, to put it more succinctly, as Canon Tristram did in talking to the students in 1901,¹ 'All the talk about non-denominational religion was rubbish.'

While acknowledging the positive side of such devotion, we must at the same time recognise that it had a negative counterpart. In 1879, a request was made to the Committee by the Treasurer, John Shields, on behalf of the Durham School Board, of which he had been elected Chairman in 1874.² The request was for the refusal of entry into the Infants' School of children under five, to make way for 'those legally compelled to attend school, in order that the Education Department may not have occasion to compel building an Infant school for the district.'³

The accession of the Committee of Management to that request could not have been seen by some as other than proof of obstructionist tactics and the preventing of an adequate provision of school places as required by the 1870 Education Act.

¹ College Annual Report, 1901, p.28

² Walker's Durham Directory, 1876, p.83

³ College Minutes, 12.9.1879.

3. College Life and Work

In describing the academic work of the Colleges at this time as 'the training college grind'¹ Rich is making a judgement with which the staff of St. Hild's would have been in agreement. The complaint voiced in the College Annual Report for 1872,² that the training had become more and more limited to the imparting of information which should have been more thoroughly mastered during the years of apprenticeship, would have received an answering echo from most of the smaller Colleges.

The situation in St. Hild's had, however, been exacerbated by its own policy. It had not set out deliberately to attract the best candidates. Neither had it set out to be exclusively Diocesan but, recognising its obligations to the Diocese, had, wherever possible, accepted all who had successfully passed the entrance examination at St. Hild's, irrespective of their position on the Entrance List, 'as it was thought rejection would be a somewhat severe measure, and one that would be distasteful to Managers of Schools in the Diocese.'³

This led to the kind of situation revealed in the Register for 1875. Of the forty-six candidates for entrance, only eighteen were successful, and none of these was placed in the First Class. The four First Class students who entered in 1875 were amongst the eighteen admitted who had sat for entrance at other Colleges. The Register for 1877 makes the result of the College

¹ R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century; Bath; p.192.

² p.6

³ College Annual Report, 1876, p.5

policy even clearer. Sixty-two candidates sat for entrance. Twenty-eight passed the examination, of whom six were placed in the First Class, six in the Second Class above number 1,000, and sixteen below 1,000. Twenty-six passed the Divinity examination also. Three accepted appointments in schools as assistants, leaving twenty-three to enter College, together with fifteen candidates selected from more than eighty applications from those who had sat for entrance at other Colleges. St. Hild's accepted eleven from Lincoln, two from Darlington and one each from Derby and Oxford. Six of these had been placed in the First Class, and nine in the Second. Thus the total number of entrants was thirty-eight, eleven of whom were in the First Class, ten in the Second above 1,000, and seventeen below 1,000. And this at a time when it was admitted that 'In almost all the Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses in England, a Queen's Scholar occupying so low a place on the entrance list as 1,000 would have little or no chance of being admitted as a student.'¹

Perhaps the clue to the adoption of such a policy, and discrimination after 1876 against candidates from Dioceses other than Durham, in the form of increased entrance fees, lies in the comment given in the Report for 1876, that 'scarcely any Subscriptions are received from outside the Diocese.'²

In 1880, there was accommodation for a total of 1,794 women in twenty-four Colleges in England and Wales,³ and in that same year, 2,524 women became eligible for admission in 1881.⁴ By 1890, accommodation had been increased to 1,929 places, with the

¹ College Annual Report, 1876, p.5

² College Annual Report, 1876, p.10

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1880-81, p.461.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.471.

opening of Edgehill in 1885 and Saffron Walden in 1884,¹ but the number of candidates qualifying for admission had also increased, to 2,641.² Thus the competition throughout the period was for upwards of 900 places each year. The information available for this period is sufficient to give us a general picture of the standard of the St. Hild's student at entry. The lowest number on the Scholarship List of the candidates accepted into College in 1883 was 1,168, in 1884, 1,640, and in 1885, 1,649.³ The table below sets out the highest, lowest and average position in the Scholarship List of students accepted, together with the number of students entering College holding a position below 1,000, to the end of the decade.⁴

TABLE 8
POSITIONS OF ST. HILD'S STUDENTS IN
ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIP LIST, 1886-1890

<u>Year</u>	<u>Highest</u>	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Below 1,000</u>
1886	60			33 of 65 students in residence
1887	88		958	16 of 35 who entered
1888	79		1079	18 of 30 who entered
1889	267	1749	1188	26 of 36 who entered
1890	170	1724	852	10 of 28 who entered

- Sources: 1. Cross Commission: Training College Returns, Appendix C5, p.121.
2. College Register: List of Winners of the King Memorial Prize, established in 1878 in memory of the first Principal, and awarded to the Pupil Teacher from the Diocese gaining the highest place in the Scholarship List and entering College as a student.
3. College Annual Reports.

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1890-91, p.513.

² ibid., p.522.

³ Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts (Cross) 1888; Training College Returns, p.121.

⁴ In contrast, the average place on the admission list of candidates who entered Stockwell, Tottenham, Darlington and Whitelands in 1889 was about 400. Committee of Council: Report, 1889-90, p.474.

On only one other occasion before the end of the century did the average position rise above 1,000, and it was this general situation which led to a Circular being sent to all the Managers of Schools in the two Dioceses, showing how low the Pupil Teachers of the area stood in the general list,¹ and pointing out that 'the work required in raising these students to even a respectable position in the Class List requires all the time and energy of the College Staff.'²

It was awareness of the shortcomings of the average entrant, and the heavy demands thus made on the Staff, together with the strong views held by the Committee of Management on what was considered to be necessary in the preparation of a student for work in an elementary school, which caused the College to adopt a cautious approach to changes or additions to the syllabus which became possible after 1870. But there was also the recognition of the dominating importance of the passing of the examinations and the accumulation of as many marks as possible in the process.³ These conflicting pressures may be seen at work at a number of points. One such was the inclusion of languages in the syllabus for 1875, when it became possible to take Latin or French or German, or any

¹ College Minutes, 3.11.1891.

² College Annual Report, 1885, p.5

³ Under the New Code of 1871, a Class 2 Certificate was awarded to those placed in the first three divisions in the examination. This was eligible for revision, based on reports, after ten years. Those placed in the fourth division were awarded a Third Class Certificate, which could be revised only after re-examination. (See Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.lxxxvi) The marking scheme is described in H.M.I.Mr.Cowie's general report on the men's Colleges in 1871. To come into the category Excellent or Good, a candidate would have to secure two-thirds or more of the marks awarded for any paper. A student gaining between one-third and two-thirds of the marks would come into the category Fair. (See Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.156)

two, and to gain fifty marks by proficiency in the subject. The Committee accepted that the intention was to promote a higher standard in the general culture of the students, and thus decided that French would be studied in the College. They were clearly not happy about it, however, but 'while gravely questioning the necessity for its introduction felt that they cannot ignore altogether this subject.'¹ Their misgivings were shared by the H.M.I. who, giving an unsatisfactory report on the students' reading, questioned the advisability of taking additional subjects when performance in the elementary subjects left much to be desired, but the discussion he had with the Committee in 1875 about replacing French by Reading for the First Year students does not appear to have led to any change.²

An additional pressure is seen to be at work in the decisions which had to be made about the offering in the College of one or two of the nine subjects listed in the Science Directory of the Art and Science Department, for success in their examinations, taken in May, could be of financial benefit to the College, in the shape of grants from the Department in addition to those earned from that source for Drawing.

H.M.I. Tinling voiced his misgivings about the introduction of languages as an optional subject, in his general report for 1875, on the grounds that little benefit was likely to be derived from such a study in the time available for it in what was, in most Colleges, a very crowded timetable, and that he was fearful for the

¹ College Annual Report, 1874, p.4

² College Minutes, 10.9.1875. The task of teaching French in this period appears to have fallen to the lot of the Lady Superintendent. Miss Bury was paid £20 for undertaking this additional work (See College Minutes, 12.5.1875) The Annual Report for 1880 names Miss Daniel as Lady Superintendent and Teacher of French, and her successor, Miss Burchett, is similarly designated in 1886, but described only as Lady Superintendent in the Report for 1887.

effects on the health of the students.¹ His suggestion, that women should be permitted to take either the language paper or the two optional science subjects allowed in the syllabus, was followed up in the arrangements made for 1876, though not without objection from some Colleges who wanted marks in both language and science to be taken into account in the Certificate classification of the students.² H.M.I. Tinling's further suggestions, that the options should carry parity of marks, and that the Science examination should be held at about the same time as the Certificate examination, were not put into effect until 1878, when the choice for women was narrowed to one language or one science subject, with marks counting only if the candidate were successful in the Certificate examination without counting the optional subject.³

In the H.M.I.'s return on 'Teaching Power' in the Colleges in 1875, Miss Henderson, the Senior Governess of the College, is shown to be teaching Animal Physiology for two hours per week, and it is also included in the teaching load of a Junior Governess, Miss Harbottle.⁴ The accounts for 1876 are the first to include a grant for this subject from the Science and Art Department,⁵ and the accounts for the following year entitle it the Science Grant.⁶ The

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1875-76, p.467. Similar misgivings were expressed by the Archbishops' Inspector, though perhaps with some exaggeration, in 1893: 'Is it possible to hear of a Book of Virgil taught for six weeks to a man who had previously no knowledge of Latin, and of an examination at the end of that time being satisfactorily passed, without amazement and a doubt about the system.' National Society: Annual Report, 1893, p.79.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1875-76, p.206.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1877-78, p.596.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1875-76, p.479.

⁵ College Annual Report, 1876, p.14.

⁶ College Annual Report, 1877, p.9

appointment of Miss Harbottle in 1878 as Senior Governess, at a salary of £70 plus half the Science Grant, and of Miss Ball, from Whitelands, as Junior Governess, at a salary of £45 plus one quarter of the Science Grant, illustrate the strength of the financial inducement for the College to enter students for the optional subject.¹ The College Annual Report for 1878 is the first to include Science in the list of subjects studied, and both Animal Physiology and Botany are mentioned.

Meeting the Committee in September, 1877, H.M.I. Tinling had expressed the view that forty-six hours per week of public lessons and lectures was too much,² and he was even more outspoken at his next meeting with them. He urged that no student should work more than eight hours per day under any circumstances, and that no additional subjects should be taught unless the time given to other subjects was reduced. The Committee accepted the criticism and agreed that the decision to limit the field of options, in the case of women, to one science or one language, was an appropriate policy.³ It did, however, become possible later to take a language and a science for examination in the second year, by dropping either History or Geography after a good first year result.⁴

The weakness of the teaching in science and the dispiriting effect upon the Examiners of the early efforts of most of the Colleges may perhaps be summed up by the description of the papers as showing 'a mischievous cramming with verbal formulae'.⁵ Those

¹ College Minutes, 20.7.1878.

² College Minutes, 20.9.1877.

³ College Minutes, 15.10.1878.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1881-82, p.10

⁵ Committee of Council: Report, 1880-81, p.515.

same Examiners pointed out that in the first year of examining, 1878, the standard had been lowered to prevent a complete failure, and that the lowered standard had had to remain.¹ The decision of the College not to continue with Animal Physiology may have been influenced by the view of the Archbishops' Inspector: 'I do not think physiology, in all its branches, is a fit or reasonable study for our Female students,'² but the work in Botany was eventually to earn high commendation for its standards, especially after the appointment of Miss Thomas in 1884. Canon Tristram's influence and guidance in this we may take for granted, but there is no evidence of his direct involvement as a lecturer in this sphere of the College's work at this time. It is difficult to accept that his comment on Miss Thomas' work conveyed all that he thought of the value of the subject in the preparation of an elementary school teacher: 'The lectures.... are much appreciated by the students, who take a lively interest in the study of plants and flowers, which study may afterwards prove a healthy method of recreation when they enter on their duties as schoolmistresses.'³ It is clear, however, that the introduction of special subjects pointed to the need for staff with better qualifications than those teaching the subjects in the Colleges for women.

In spite of the Inspectors' concern about the excessive work-load of the students, this did not prevent them from suggesting additions to the courses. In 1874, H.M.I. Tinling urged the provision of some practice in Cookery,⁴ with the emphasis on what the student would require to know to look after herself when

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1880-81, p.515.

² National Society: Annual Report, 1881, p.57.

³ College Annual Report, 1887, p.8

⁴ College Minutes, 8.10.1874

she had taken up an appointment.¹ The College's less than enthusiastic response to the suggestion is easily understood. There was nothing to be gained in marks, for the Certificate of practical efficiency in some branch of Domestic Economy, which was a necessary adjunct to the examination in that subject,² could be provided for work other than that related to Cookery. There was also a financial disincentive because such a course could not be provided without additional cost, even allowing for the expenditure which could be claimed in sending a member of staff for a course at the National Training School for Cookery at South Kensington, or in employing a trained teacher from the School to give short courses in the College.³ Economic stringency was such that Dr. Armes, the Cathedral Organist, had withdrawn his services as teacher of Music in order to save the College some expense.⁴

H.M.I. the Reverend W.P. Warburton, on his first visit in 1881, renewed the suggestion but went further, in urging the provision of a model kitchen,⁵ and included in his general report for the year the syllabus of a course of ten sessions taken at Lincoln.⁶ The College went so far as to provide a short course of lessons for the Second Year students in 1882, given by the Lady Superintendent, Miss Daniel, and the Cook. Mr. Warburton was unimpressed,⁷ but by 1886 his successor as Inspector of the Female Training Colleges, Mr. J. Fitch, was able to give his approval of a course given by a visiting Certificated teacher.⁸

¹ College Minutes, 20.9.1877

² Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.197.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1877-78, p.331.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1878, p.10.

⁵ College Minutes, 29.9.1881.

⁶ Committee of Council: Report, 1881-82, p.602.

⁷ College Minutes, 25.9.1882.

⁸ Committee of Council: Report, 1886-87, p.460.

The College Committee paid scant attention to H.M.I. Tinling's suggestion in 1876 that Drill might be introduced.¹ When he returned to the subject two years later, it was minuted that 'it was understood that arrangements should be made for drill exercise.'² Miss Ball, who by this time had added the teaching of Drawing to that of Music, thus enabling the College to dispense with the services of the Reverend A.Watts,³ was entrusted with this further task, and, as with the early provision of Cookery, the Inspector was unimpressed.⁴ The responsibility was transferred to Miss Thomas shortly after she joined the staff in 1884, and this situation, in which Drill was being taken by a woman without the help of a Drill Sergeant, called for particular discussion with the Committee in 1885.⁵ No immediate change took place, and Mr. Fitch noted on his visit in 1887 that Drill was not a strong point in the College.⁶

Having acceded to the Inspectors' requests to shorten the working day, and avoided wherever possible the inclusion of commitments other than those required by the syllabus, the demands made on the students' time, as set out in the return made by the College to the Cross Commission, were still formidable.⁷ The Juniors spent twenty-eight hours per week in lectures, and sixteen and a quarter hours in timetabled study. The corresponding time

¹ College Minutes, 13.10.1876.

² College Minutes, 15.10.1878.

³ Vice-Principal of Bede from 1875. See Bede College Minutes, 14.5.1875.

⁴ College Minutes, 25.9.1882.

⁵ College Minutes, 25.9.1885.

⁶ College Minutes, 3.11.1887. Drill took place in the Dining Room, which was also used for Dancing and Needlework. See H.Barnes: (1891) Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses, p.90.

⁷ The Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts: Training College Returns (1888) pp. 122-125.

allocation for Seniors was twenty-six and one-twelfth, and seventeen and three-quarters. For the Juniors, French was set with Botany, but for the Seniors, allowance was made for both. For both years, only one hour each week was described as Private Study.

But this was not the full extent of the demand. The above totals include time for Domestic Economy, but do not include the considerable amount of time spent in domestic work within the College which, in the eyes of the Inspectorate at least, continued to be part and parcel of the training for the rigours ahead. 'In a training college for young women there are, and ever ought to be, manifold requirements and manifold duties, without the ready fulfilment of which a trained student would make a very imperfect teacher or trainer of little children.'¹ It was these 'manifold duties', in Dining Room, Dormitories, Classroom and Laundry, which continued to form a hidden but very real component of the timetable.²

Morning lectures, or supervised subject-allocated study, began at seven a.m. and continued until one p.m., with a break between a quarter to eight and ten o'clock, except on Thursdays, when Drill³ took place from nine to nine-thirty. After the midday meal, classes were resumed at half past two and continued, with a break between five o'clock and a quarter past six, until a quarter past eight. On Saturdays, lectures ended at noon, but the morning break was three-quarters of an hour shorter, and, in those years in which the Cookery course for the Second Year was not given on

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1878-79, p.825.

² According to H.Barnes, domestic work occupied the sixteen monitors appointed weekly for an average of one to three hours daily, a load 'much lighter than in former years' See Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses (1891) p.90.

³ The Drill was accompanied by music; see H.Barnes, op.cit., p.91

Saturday mornings, it ate its way into the students' recreation time and was given on Saturday evenings, 'generally in the Autumn.'¹ For students on School Practice, time not spent in teaching was given over to preparing lessons, copying up notes of lectures which had been missed,² and in the period between 12.15 and 1.00p.m. each day, rejoining their Year in College for the last lecture of the morning. No time was to be lost, no time unsupervised.

The appearance on the timetable of a period devoted to 'Dates' is a reminder of the end to which all this endeavour was directed, the passing of examinations, in which the greatest store was set by the display of knowledge, rather than the understanding and intelligent use of it. This is in no way to belittle the lecturers. They were as much victims of the system as the students were themselves, and yet were capable in many cases of rising above it. At the meeting of the Inspectors with the College Committee in 1885, at which both H.M.I.s Warburton and J.G.Fitch were present, it was minuted that 'the staff is very strong,' and that three of the four Governesses 'won golden opinions from the Inspectors,'³ and the comment of H.M.I. Sharpe on work in the men's Colleges in 1878, 'the lectures form a very pleasant variety to the general monotony of inspection,'⁴ is confirmation of the competency of the majority of lecturers.

¹ The Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts (1888) Training College Returns, pp. 122-125.

² This would seem to be the meaning of 'Reproduction', which appears on the timetable of those in school. H.M.I. Cook's view was that 'when taking notes of a lecture, it is the student's duty to reproduce as nearly as possible the lecturer's own words.' (See Committee of Council: Report, 1862-63, p.236.) cf. 'Then our long horrid lecture must be reproduced,' which occurs in a poem entitled The Student's Own Time, in the album presented to Laura Lotinga, a student of the College, 1878-79; quoted in A. Lawrence: St. Mild's College, 1858-1958, p.38.

³ College Minutes, 25.9.1885.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1878-79, p.809.

The passing of examinations may have been 'the humdrum business' which R.W.Rich claims,¹ but they were none the less pivotal in the lives of both staff and students, simply from the point of view of the frequency with which they occurred.² The extent to which this was so may be seen if we look at the examinations and inspections the St. Hild's student had to undergo in 1887, as typical of the experience of the Church of England Colleges for women at this time.

The visit of Dr. Barrett, the Examiner of Training Colleges in Music,³ took place in September, 1887, for the practical examination. This consisted of Class Singing by both Juniors and Seniors, and then the individual examination of the Second Year students in singing, and in time and ear tests. Success in this practical part of the examination was a pre-condition of entry for the written papers in Music in the December examinations.⁴ There were no failures in the College in 1887. Six of the thirty Second Year students were awarded full marks and fourteen others obtained

¹ R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Bath; p.191.

² R.W.Rich (op.cit.,p.194) uses student reminiscences, contained in the Board of Education Report, 1912-13, p.58, to show how the centrality of the examinations led to aridity and sterility in the work of lecturers whose sole concern was to ensure examination success for their students.

³ The dissatisfaction with the teaching of Music in the Colleges which led to the appointment of an Inspector in 1872 (Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.cxvii) was reflected in the communication to the College Music teacher by the Committee of Management of their 'inability to pay so high a salary with such poor results' after the general failure of the students in 1870. It was not until the appointment of Dr.Armes in 1874 that matters began to improve. The printed programmes of 'Entertainments' given at the College by the students, in 1870 and 1871, indicate, however, that at least in singing the standard was sufficiently high to be thought worthy of public performance. See College Minutes, 30.3.1870; College Annual Report, 1874, p.2; and College Archives.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.cxii.

eighty per cent or over.

The written examination for the Archbishops' Certificate in Religious Knowledge, consisting of papers on Biblical and Prayer Book teaching, was taken on October 3rd. There were no failures, and attention was drawn to the fact that eight of the thirty Seniors had come from Board Schools where they had received no Religious Instruction, and that the improvement of the First Year students on their standard at entry was greater than had been the case 'for many past years.'¹

There is no record in this year of the annual visit by the Archbishops' Inspector, but the expected procedure on those occasions was for him to hear two, or possibly four, special lessons given by the students in the Practising Schools, and then to talk informally with the students. That was the intention, but the formal wording of the Annual Report for 1888 which describes him as having 'catechised both the Junior and the Senior Students'² probably more accurately describes the process.

Also in October, and November, the students took the examinations in Drawing under the auspices of the Department of Science and Art. Success in all five aspects, i.e. Freehand, Linear Geometry, Linear Perspective, Model Drawing and Blackboard Drawing, led to an award of the Certificate in Drawing, and thus a qualification to teach it.³ In 1887, sixty-four of the sixty-five students in residence made a total of eighty-five entries. There were no failures. Prizes were gained by six Second Year

¹ College Annual Report, 1887-88, p.6

² College Annual Report, 1888, p.8

³ College Annual Report, 1871; MS only.

and ten First Year students, and one student was awarded a full Certificate.

In November, the practical examination in Needlework for the Second Year was held, under the direction of the Honourable Mrs. Colborne, Directress of Needlework under the Department. The Annual Report describes the examination as 'now very searching.' The examination took two days, because it included the giving of a demonstration lesson by each student before the members of her Class.

The annual visit of the Government Inspector of Female Training Colleges, Mr. Fitch, also took place in November, and was a protracted affair lasting three days. In 1887, the visit took place at a later date than usual, at the request of the Principal, on the grounds that an earlier visit would come too soon after the examinations for the Archbishops' Certificate in October. The ready compliance of the Government Inspector in this instance is noted as being in contrast with the failure of his predecessors to heed the Principal's oft-repeated requests.¹

The Inspector's concern on this visit was to hear all the students read, and recite from memory some part of the three hundred lines of poetry specified in the syllabus for the year. He also heard a Criticism lesson, presided over by the Principal, who would have reviewed the criticism given by two students.² On this occasion, no mention is made of another main purpose of the Inspection, to hear the Second Year teach. In this, the Inspector was usually assisted by local Inspectors. Twenty minutes was considered a suitable period for this exercise; long enough for the nervous student to settle down, and for the not-so-nervous to

¹ See above, p.113.

² College Minutes, 23.6.1888.

show she could hold the attention of the class.¹ The visit of the Inspector was also for an inspection of the Staff, and he heard lectures given by them. The visit ended with a meeting with the Committee, where he spoke frankly about both Staff and students. In 1887, he was not satisfied with the Reading and Recitation, but expressed his approval of the Staff, and, with reference to the Criticism work, commented favourably on the Principal 'taking this particular part of the College work, which is not done in many Colleges.'² The printed Annual Report omits his comment, recorded in the Minutes of the meeting with the Committee, that the First Year marks were generally below average.³

The climax of the examination year came in the period between the tenth and the seventeenth of December. The week opened with the examination in Botany, under the auspices of the Science and Art Department. Eleven of the fifteen Second Year students presented were successful in the exercise, and the College received in 1887 a total of £82 under the heading of Science Grant, for Botany and Drawing. The examinations which followed, from the twelfth to the seventeenth of December, were the written Certificate papers based on the syllabus of the Education Department.

All the examinations referred to so far were external examinations. We know that there was a mid-summer examination in Religious Studies,⁴ on the results of which the Henderson Prize was awarded, and can assume that internal examinations in other subjects took place at the same time and that, in addition, there would be frequent testing.

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1871-72, p.195.

² College Annual Report, 1887, p.9

³ College Minutes, 3.11.1887.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1877, p.5

What emerges is a picture of relentless pressure to which a considerable number of students early succumbed. The health of the student, and her ability to survive the endurance test training had become, is a prominent concern in this period, so much so that the Principal chose to answer the question posed by the Cross Commission about 'the improvement or falling off' of the students admitted to the College in the previous ten years¹ primarily in terms of health, and then in terms of academic preparedness.

The College Registers show that, between 1870 and 1888, eighteen students left during their course because of ill-health. For some of the trouble the College itself was responsible: the two severe outbreaks of typhoid in 1876² and the outbreak of diarrhoea in 1881³ led to improvement of the drainage and sanitary arrangements. The Archbishops' Inspector in 1880 blamed 'too many subjects' and 'too many examinations', and thought the demands so extreme as to warrant the setting up of a Medical Board to enquire into Training College requirements.⁴ The College, however, was inclined to lay the blame for student breakdown on the excessive demands made on them by the schools which had employed them as Pupil Teachers,⁵ and by the end of this period, 1888, it had been decided that no reliance could be placed on the medical certificate completed by the entrant's own doctor, and that the students were to come to the College for a medical before sitting the entrance examination,⁶ although there is no evidence that this decision was ever put into effect.

¹ The Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts (1888) Training College Returns, p.121, question 15.

² College Annual Report, 1876, p.10

³ College Minutes, 14.3.1881.

⁴ National Society: Annual Report, 1880, p.48.

⁵ College Annual Report, 1883, p.4

⁶ College Minutes, 27.11.1888.

The Inspectors did what they could to ease the lot of the student, in commenting, as we have seen, on the work-load where they thought too much was required.¹ Heating had eventually been installed in the dormitories² and the plea made that the students should have something to eat before breakfast if they rose at six a.m.³ perhaps led to the 'early morning biscuit' referred to by an old student in 1926,⁴ but a later plea for backs to be provided for the forms in the Dining Room, where students sat for their Needlework, met with no response.⁵ For the sake of the students' health, H.M.I. Warburton suggested 'a more frequent use of the warm bath'⁶ and put that suggestion more strongly in the following year, when he found that it had not been taken up: 'Bathing ought to be more firmly enforced, and weekly, or at least fortnightly.'⁷ By 1884, lawn tennis had joined croquet as a summer-time recreation.⁸

The question of health is an important one in this period, because it affected the staff as much as the students. Miss Baird, Lady Superintendent for nine years, died in 1872 after an illness, and her work was for four months in that year taken on by the Senior Governess, Miss Henderson, in addition to her teaching duties.⁹ Miss Henderson's own death in 1877 again left the College understaffed for four months. Miss Bury, Lady Superintendent since 1874,

¹ That it was worry as much as hard work which led to a proneness to ill-health is suggested by the extreme case of a student in 1896, Annie Tough, who, failing to live up to her name, 'dropped down dead during examination by H.M. Inspector.' See College Minutes, 26.3.1896.

² See above, p.90.

³ College Minutes, 13.10.1876.

⁴ St. Hild's College Magazine, 1926-27, p.33

⁵ College Minutes, 18.10.1883.

⁶ College Minutes, 29.9.1881.

⁷ College Minutes, 25.9.1882.

⁸ Committee of Council: Report, 1884-85, p.485.

⁹ Committee of Council: Report, 1872-73, p.328.

resigned on health grounds in July, 1879, and left the College in October.¹

When H.M.I. Tinling, in 1881, suggested the appointment of a fourth Governess to ease the strain of instruction and supervision, the Committee were able to assure him that they already had this matter in hand, and that it was the intention that the person appointed should relieve the Principal of part of the formal correspondence with which he was now having to deal.² Miss Raine, the third Governess, had to leave in October, 1878, having lost her voice.³ Miss Bradfield joined the staff from Whitelands in 1883, but had to withdraw in October of that same year, because of ill-health.⁴ The poor examination results in 1884 were felt to be partly explained by the absence of the Principal, because of illness, in the early part of the year,⁵ and it was undoubtedly anxiety on this count that led to the decision to appoint a Vice-Principal to relieve and assist the Principal.⁶

The Annual Report for 1885 was happy to note that for the first time for some years no student had been compelled to leave the College on health grounds, but at the same time had to record the resignation of Miss Daniel, the Lady Superintendent, and the appointment of her successor, Miss Burchett.⁷ The Principal was given three months' leave of absence in 1888,⁸ which was subsequently extended to six months, and then to the end of the year. For the latter half of 1888 and the first three months of the following year,

¹ College Minutes, 12.9.1879.

² College Minutes, 12.7.1881.

³ College Annual Report, 1878, p.7

⁴ College Annual Report, 1883, p.3

⁵ College Annual Report, 1884, p.6

⁶ College Minutes, 11.10.1884.

⁷ College Annual Report, 1885, p.7

⁸ College Minutes, 15.5.1888.

the College was without the services of the Lady Superintendent, who was also on sick-leave.¹ Fortunately for the College, Miss Daniel was able to take up the reins again until the return of Miss Burchett, but the Principal did not return, and resigned in 1889.²

The incidence of health problems meant that there had to be frequent resort to the making of temporary arrangements, which entailed, in effect, additional work for the staff available. Much of this fell on Miss Harbottle, whose association with the College began as a student in 1870 and progressed through appointment as Assistant Mistress in the Girls' Practising School in 1872, to the post of Junior Governess in 1873, and then to that of Senior Governess in 1877. She resigned in 1887, in the middle of the academic year. No reason is given, but the decision of the Committee that she should be assisted in gaining another post³ might suggest that the appointment of a Vice-Principal had led to a situation in which her own position and authority as Senior Governess had become unclear. Her resignation certainly made for difficulty in completing the academic programme in 1887, and it is perhaps significant that the next appointment of a Vice-Principal did not come until the 1960's.

The frequent need to make new appointments to the staff shows up the continuing difficulty experienced in the staffing of the women's Colleges. This is seen on two occasions in the period reviewed in this chapter. When Miss Flavell ceased to be the Mistress of the Girls' Practising School in 1874, it was found

¹ College Minutes, 27.11.1888.

² College Minutes, 21.5.1889.

³ College Minutes, 3.8.1887.

impossible to secure the services of an experienced teacher to replace her, and the vacancy had to be filled by two Second Year students, Miss Maghie and Miss Raine, whose duties would, of course, include the oversight of the students using the Schools for practice.¹ The second occasion was in 1879, when H.M.I. Tinling, in his meeting with the Committee, spoke very frankly in describing the teaching power of the College as 'weak....because of the youth and inexperience of the governesses.'² This was a reference to Miss Ball, who had joined the staff in 1878 from Whitelands, where she had been Senior Student, and to Miss Strudwick, who was appointed in 1879 direct from the College. The point was stressed that Mr. Tinling was not complaining about their inefficiency, 'but that they were Junior to any of our Governesses in previous years.'³

H.M.I. Tinling saw the problem of attracting experienced certificated teachers back to posts in the Colleges in terms of Colleges being unable, or unwilling, to offer adequate salaries. In his report for 1875-6, he shows that, of the eighty-two Governesses then employed in Training Colleges, twenty-four were paid under £50, thirty-seven between £50 and £75, seventeen between £75 and £100, three between £100 and £150 and one at a salary higher than £150. All Governesses received Board and Lodging in addition. The average salary of 5,794 teachers in girls' and mixed schools in 1874 was £64.6s.4d, with 2,296 receiving houses rent free.⁴ The average salary of those who left the College in 1874 was £63.10s.0d., exclusive of other benefits, while Miss

¹ College Annual Report, 1874, p.6

² College Minutes, 12.9.1879.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1875-76, p.470.

Maghie and Miss Raine were appointed to the Practising School at a salary of £45, in addition to Board and Lodging, which the College at that time reckoned to be worth £25.¹ The Senior Governess on the staff in 1874, Miss Henderson, received only £80 per annum, after more than ten years' service.² The possibility of being able to teach a curriculum somewhat wider than that found in the average elementary school may have been considered an incentive to take up an appointment in a College Practising School, but this may have been outweighed by the pressure for such a School to produce excellent results, and by the additional responsibilities towards the College students, both inside and outside School hours.³

Towards the end of the decade the situation was similar. By 1878, the average annual salary of female certificated teachers was £71.2s.2d, with 5,018 of the 14,651 teachers on which the average was based provided with house, or rent, free.⁴ The average salary of those who took up posts from the College in 1879 was £74,⁵ while Miss Strudwick was appointed to her post on the Staff of the College at a salary of £45, with Board and Lodging in addition, which, by that time, the College reckoned to be worth £35.⁶ The appointment of a student from St. Hild's to the Girls' Practising School of the Chester Diocesan Training College at Warrington, in 1875, at a salary of £97, with furnished rooms and coal valued at an additional £15, did not effect any change of policy.⁷

¹ College Registers.

² College Minutes, 8.10.1874.

³ H. Barnes noted in 1890 that the Mistresses of the Practising School assisted with the supervision of study-time in the evening. See Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses (1891) p.92

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1878-79, p.433.

⁵ College Annual Report, 1880, p.8

⁶ College Register.

⁷ *ibid.*

The conclusion which H.M.I. Tinling reached in 1874, that the rôle of Governess in a Training College was in financial terms unattractive to both experienced and inexperienced teachers, may have meant that the Colleges were deprived of the services of some very good teachers, but at the same time we may infer that those who did choose to begin or make their career in this work did so because they were looking for a different kind of satisfaction or reward. The Senior Governess in 1879, Miss Harbottle, did have her salary increased from £70 to £75, but there is no longer any mention of her receiving a portion of the Science Grant.¹ By contrast, the salary of the Principal in 1877 was £300, together with the rent of his house.²

In reviewing the period in the life of the College described in this chapter, we are drawn back to Rich's description of the period as one in which the Colleges 'settled down to the humdrum business of gaining passes at the annual examinations.'³ That indeed was so, but the College did not settle back. Loyalty to the aims of the founders involved it in all the activities after 1870 connected with ensuring the continuation of education within a religious framework. It involved the College in the concern to make the best possible provision for the future as well as the immediate present. Thus, in the expansion after 1870, neither a temporary provision of additional places, nor taking advantage of the provision in the New Code of 1871 allowing Colleges to receive half-grants for students leaving after only one year, in order to meet the increased demand for teachers, had been seriously

¹ College Minutes, 19.3.1879.

² College Minutes, 12.3.1877 and 30.3.1870.

³ R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Bath; p.191.

entertained.¹ In the expansion of the College the exposure of the very narrow basis of financial support is of significance.

Voluntary effort meant in this case the effort of the few, and says much for the determination of those few.²

The primary loyalty was, of course, to the training of teachers. On the academic side, the College was realistic about the poor quality of many of its entrants. It therefore measured success in terms of improvement of the students' work upon their standard at entry, and this accounts for the frequent appearance of comparative figures in the Annual Reports.³ There are no spectacular results to be paraded, nor a general consistency in achievement. Good reports from the Inspectorate can be matched by bad, as performance fluctuates. The most that can be claimed is that by dint of immense effort and loyal and costly devotion of the staff, which, as a hallmark of this period we may claim to be a contributory factor to that intangibility we call the ethos of an institution, the students acquit themselves with competence in the display of knowledge which the examinations require. In the period 1880-1884, the positioning of the College in the list of twenty-four women's Colleges, in 12th, 11th, 12th, 16th and 14th places respectively, is the measure of that competence.⁴

The need to make up for the deficiencies in the student's own preparation for training no doubt made it difficult at times to maintain a balance between the academic and practical elements in training. The women's Colleges perhaps found it easier to do so

¹ College Annual Report, 1870, p.7. The College Register shows that in the period 1871-73 only one student left St. Hild's, at the end of 1871, under the relevant article of the Code, and the Register makes it clear that it was thought that her real intention was to get married.

² At no time in the period 1860-1900 did the number of individual annual Subscribers exceed 114. (College Annual Reports)

³ See especially from 1885 onwards.

⁴ H.M.I. Warburton's reports in Committee of Council: Reports, 1881-84.

than those for men, for it was out of H.M.I. the Reverend T.W. Sharpe's strictures of the neglect of professional training in some of the latter, in 1877, that a minimum requirement was laid down, which in its first instance applied only to the men's Colleges.¹ Thus from 1878 the certificate of practical skill in teaching required of all Second Year students before being examined in School Management had also, in the case of the men, to certify that a minimum of six weeks, or one hundred and fifty hours, had been spent in school, at least half of which time during the second year.²

In St. Hild's, the decision that the duties of the Vice-Principal, the Reverend J. Haworth, appointed in 1885, should include those of Master of Method³ clearly shows that it was recognised that the time had come to make such an appointment and that this aspect of the work would require firm and capable direction. This would have been borne in on the Committee particularly by the introduction into the Second Year syllabus for 1882, under the heading of School Management, of questions on 'the training of the senses and of the memory; the processes of reasoning; the order in which the faculties of children are developed; the formation of habits and character - all considered in their application to the methods of teaching and moral discipline.'⁴ The Archbishops' Inspector was probably somewhere near the truth in his general comment in 1886 that 'psychology just now is the rage: it is doubtful whether the lectures given are half understood by half

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1877-78, p.621.

² *ibid.*, p.587.

³ College Minutes, 26.3.1885.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1881-2, p.10.

the students,¹ but that made it all the more imperative that the staff appointed to teach that element should themselves be somewhat more competent than the average Governess of the time.

St. Hild's was fortunate in that, in the persons of the Principal, the Vice-Principal and the Mistress of the Infants' School in 1885, it had a trio whose approach to the professional training was such as to exhibit that competence. The last named, Mary Bolam, a student in the College from 1881-82, was appointed to the Infants' School in 1885, where her talent was immediately recognised by the Inspector.² In the warm commendation of her by H.M.I. Mr. Fitch in the following year is seen the appreciation of her influence on the work of the students in infant education.³

This influence, taken together with the approval of the Principal's approach to the Criticism lesson, which was presumably in line with Mr. Fitch's view of it as an aid to evaluation rather than as an exercise in dissection,⁴ and the approval of the Vice-Principal's teaching of theory,⁵ gives one some ground for thinking that the Second Year students examined in 1888 on the educational work of Pestalozzi might have been able to give more than mere biographical detail.⁶

The introduction of Languages and Science into the curriculum had opened up new areas and demonstrated the need for more highly qualified lecturers in the Colleges.⁷ In highlighting the same imperative, School Management pointed the way forward.

¹ National Society: Annual Report, 1886, p.48.

² College Minutes, 25.9.1885.

³ College Minutes, 17.9.1886.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1887-88, p.487.

⁵ College Minutes, 27.9.1886.

⁶ Committee of Council: Report, 1887-88, p.145.

⁷ See Committee of Council: Report, 1878-79, p.823, for the view of the early examiners in Science that where the results were poor it was largely because of the ignorance of the teachers, cf. the comment of the Archbishops' Inspector in 1887: 'Much of what is called Science as taught in our Training Colleges under the auspices of South Kensington is certainly not worthy of the name.' See National Society: Annual Report, 1887, p.52.

Student contributions are helpful to an understanding of this period in adding to our knowledge of the atmosphere which prevailed in College at the time, but add little to our knowledge of what students thought of the training they received. In an album presented to a student by her year group in 1875,¹ there is mention of work in only one of the nineteen contributions, and this in a humorous piece describing the various reactions to the approaching Certificate examinations.

The nature of such an album, as providing a memento of College life, would dictate a seriousness of approach, and the anxiety to say something profound may have reinforced this. Nevertheless the influences of religion are seen to be no superficial thing. We may take the poem beginning the collection as an illustration. It is from the recipient's 'desk friend' and begins:

We live in happy union here,
Each one a joyous season spends,
We've e'en in grief a solace here
For each one has her 'College Friends.'

The poem ends with:

But there is yet a brighter land,
A land where life ne'er ends;
Then let us hope at God's right hand
To meet again our College Friends.

Another note creeps in in a piece entitled, Woman, in which the student quotes from a commentary on the Genesis story of Creation:

The man was dust refined; but the woman was dust double-refined - one remove further from the Earth.

¹.The Album of Aydon Ferguson, student of St. Hild's, 1875-76. College Archives. The birthday present given to Miss Davies, one of the Governesses, in 1862, took the form of an album. See A. Lawrence: (1958) St. Hild's College, 1858-1958; p.22. H. Barnes noted that writing and drawing in the albums of fellow students was a Sunday occupation at Bishop Hockerill College. See Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses, (1891)p.29.

Woman was made of a rib out of the side of Adam, not made out of his head to tip him, nor out of his feet to be trampled on by him, but out of his side to be equal with him, under his arm to be protected by him.

The most informative contribution, however, is the account entitled, Sunday in College.¹ Students got up at seven a.m., and breakfast and 'prayers by nine are at an end.' There was no chapel in College at this time, and a lecture room was used. Morning service was usually at St. Mary-le-Bow.

If to St. Nicholas we're forced to go,
Mr. Fox the minister worries us so
With sermons sarcastic which never differ
'Gainst women and Romanists ever bitter.²

After Church, there was the crocodile walk back to College for lunch, and then the students were free until the time came for the Cathedral service at three.

Then's the time we long to be free;
Sermons we have in Advent and Lent
By the end of which our patience is spent.

Students had to be back in College by five for tea, followed by Singing. This was the occasion for strong expressions of

¹ The appearance of this account also in the album presented to Laura Lotinga, a student of 1877-78, suggests that some items were handed down from year to year and became common property. See A. Lawrence: (1958) St. Hild's College, 1858-1958, p.37.

² G.T. Fox was a member of the Committee of Management from 1860 to 1886. His views on women may well have been soured by the fact that no little embarrassment was caused him when one of his married curates ran away with one of the inmates of the women's House of Correction in Durham, and some blame was placed at his door for being so engaged outside the parish that he had failed to exercise sufficient oversight. See the Londonderry Papers: Various Correspondents; D/LO/C 194 and 211, Durham County Record Office. His views on Romanists may be seen from the assurance he gives to Lady Londonderry of his intention 'to avoid lending any countenance to the Sacramentarian superstitions of the day, or the frivolities indulged in by the Tractarians in their childish practices.' See the Londonderry Papers: Various Correspondents: D/LO/C 194.

homesickness. At eight p.m. there was a sermon from the Principal,

Then to his sermons we listen with pleasure,

They in themselves are a perfect treasure.

We are left with the image of the Victorian father, his family gathered round him, quietly bringing to an end a Sabbath duly observed.

This picture of an enclosed community is confirmed by a student of the next decade, Florence Gillibrand,¹ who, after a Pupil-Teachership in an Infants' School, supplemented by attendance at a Private School on Saturdays for Music, French, Drawing and Painting, entered with a First Class Queen's Scholarship in 1883. Of work, she has only to say, 'It gave me great satisfaction to be spending the whole of my life in study.'² She declares her love of all the Governesses and her affection for the Lady Superintendent, Miss Daniel, who allowed her to practise on her piano. The severity of the discipline is seen in the forfeiture of six Saturday afternoons' freedom by any student seen, unchaperoned, talking to a young man. The passions so quickly aroused in an inward-turned community are seen in the vividness of the former student's recollection of events following her appointment as Head Girl, instead of the expected appointment of the student first on the list in the First Year examinations, Mary Jane Johnson.³ 'The excitement over the event was so great, the girls frightened me.'⁴ Her unsuccessful attempts to rid herself of the honour elicited the reply that academic success was not the only criterion for appointment, but must have cooled the atmosphere, for 'Minnie Johnson came and

¹ The Memoirs of F.G.Bennett (F.Gillibrand) Student of St. Hild's College, 1883-84. Typescript, dated 2.4.1962. College Archives.

² *ibid.*, p.33

³ She had entered the College as the King Memorial Scholar, number 27 on the National List, and was known as 'Minnie' to distinguish her from a student of the same year with the same names. College Register

⁴ *op.cit.*, p.35.

kissed me. So now peace reigned, and the girls were kind to me.¹
The picture of a girls' boarding school, with all its canons of judgement, springs instantly to mind.

Future appointments were considered early in the Second Year, and Miss Gillibrand was offered the Headship of an Infants' School at Balby in Nottinghamshire. She met the Vicar on Darlington station and was offered the post over a cup of tea in the Refreshment Room. In such a manner was the Managers' responsibility exercised. The salary was to be £60, and she was boarded at a farmhouse five minutes from the School at a weekly cost of thirteen shillings, including laundry. Whatever offence had caused Minnie Johnson not to be appointed Head Girl must have been atoned for, as she was appointed Second Mistress of the Girls' Practising School. On Sundays, Miss Gillibrand fulfilled all expectations of her. She sang in the choir at both morning and afternoon services, taught in the Sunday Schools in morning and afternoon, attended an evening service in Doncaster Parish Church and went on from there to the Y.M.C.A. to sing in the choir at an eight p.m. service.

The lengths to which the College in this period was prepared to go to minimise all influence but its own went further than merely forbidding students to go beyond the College grounds, or to receive visitors without leave from the Lady Superintendent. The students whose homes were actually in Durham were permitted to visit them only once a fortnight on the Saturday half-holiday. This information is given in a contemporary publication describing the women's Colleges, in the preface to which the author stresses that all the details have been made available by the authorities of the Colleges.² In the case of St. Hild's, it is thought

¹ The Memoirs of F.G. Bennett (F. Gillibrand) Student of St. Hild's College, 1883-83. p.36.

² H. Barnes: (1891) Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses, p. 93

important to say that the building has an extremely home-like appearance, and again, a picture of a substitute family is suggested by the description of Saturday being rounded off by the students assembling at half past seven for an hour of private needlework or knitting, 'while the Lady Superintendent reads aloud the news and events of the week, or an interesting book.' Then, after supper, to bed in their cubicles in the Bailey, the Menagerie, the Cloisters, the Brotherhood or Caledonia dormitory, where the 'silence monitors' took control.¹

What appears to us to be a denial of self-expression, of independence, was in fact intended to be an affirmation, that the way of the teacher with the taught in school would only be effective if that way had been exemplified in the training of the teacher herself. The lesson learned, 'the way' could then be applied in the classroom. It was because 'the way' had not been followed that teaching was ineffective. 'The interchange of mind between the teacher and the taught is not acquired, and the power of forming the moral character is weak, because the influence from attachment and the mutual interest from affection are deficient.' Such had been the diagnosis made by Hamilton, in his evidence to the Newcastle Commission, of the educational ills of his day.²

In theory, teacher training was meant to be exhibitory of 'the influence from attachment' and 'mutual interest from affection.' It was genuinely felt that a régime which maintained a strong influence over the student encouraged the strengthening of the individual's character and did not in any way affect adversely the individual sanction of conscience. In practice, however, in

¹ H. Barnes: (1891) Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses, p. 93

² Newcastle Commission: Answers to Circular of Questions (1860) vol.V, pp.253-4.

many cases, it meant not seeing the highest and the best and following it, but compliance with the ersatz.

Not all the students were as compliant as the general picture might suggest. An Inspector in 1882 had described St. Hild's students as exhibiting 'a happy medium between shyness and boldness.'¹ In the case of the student dismissed from College for misconduct in 1887, and of another dismissed 'on account of immoral conduct' in 1877,² the boldness overcame the shyness. Even the St. Hild's family had its black sheep.

¹ College Minutes, 25.9.1882.

² College Registers.

CHAPTER IV

1888-1910: ST HILD'S COLLEGE

1. The Cross Commission

The picture of life and work presented in the fore-going chapter formed part of the background against which the Cross Commission of 1886 undertook its enquiry into the working of the 1870 Education Act, during which the training of teachers came under scrutiny. The criticisms voiced by the Inspectors in evidence before the Commission were those with which we have become familiar: that the hours of study in the Colleges were too long, that the students were of poor quality, that they received too much help and did not work things out sufficiently for themselves, and that the limitations of the opportunities afforded by the practising schools made teaching practice itself a very artificial exercise. Yet there was general satisfaction with the work the Colleges were doing in terms of the religious, moral and intellectual influence they exerted, and the prevailing mood of the Inspectors was not so much one of criticism as of disappointment, that 'so much forethought, self-denial, watchfulness and ungrudging labour on the part of all concerned' did not produce better results.¹

The blame was laid on the poor preparation of candidates for admission to College, and the Majority report of the Commission accepted this view and looked for an improvement in the training of Pupil Teachers during their apprenticeship. The conclusion of the Majority of the Commission was that the existing system for the supply and training of teachers for the elementary schools should not be interfered with. Behind this conclusion lay concern to ensure the continuation of three important elements in that system.

¹ Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts (Cross) 1888: Final Report, part III, ch.6, p.94; quoting from Committee of Council: Report, 1885-86, p.442.

Firstly, the preservation of the residential College as providing that degree of contact between teacher and taught in which the most influence for good might be brought to bear; secondly, the maintenance of the State's financial support of the denominational College - both H.M.I. Sharpe and H.M.I. Warburton had pointed out that the State was getting value for money¹ - and thirdly, the recognition of the right of a College to remain fully denominational in character. Both the Inspectors and the signatories of the Majority report were agreed that the introduction of a conscience clause in a residential College would 'destroy all unity of Christian family life' and would 'preclude in the maintenance of College discipline, all appeal to Divine Revelation or to the law of God.'² Such a statement shows clearly the basic assumptions of the writers of the Report, and the framework of thinking within which elementary education was for the most part conducted. It might therefore be more accurate to describe these concerns as the starting point, in the minds of the majority of the Commissioners, rather than as the conclusion reached, in their thinking on increasing the provision of facilities for training.

Of the need for increased provision there could be little doubt. In 1888, there was Training College accommodation for about 1,600 students each year. Even allowing for those among the 2,800 eligible for admission that year who did not wish to enter College, there would be competition for the available places, and particularly for places in the undenominational Colleges. The six Colleges of the British and Foreign School Society, together with Edgehill and Homerton, accounted for only 667, or just under 20% of available

¹ Cross Commission: Final Report, (1888) Part III, ch.6, p.94.

² *ibid.*, p.96.

places. The remainder were in denominational Colleges, with the Church of England having accommodation for 2,232, or just over 66% of total places, the Roman Catholic Church in its three Colleges with 238, or just over 7%, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church with 240 places in its two Colleges. The Church of England had seventeen Colleges for women and thirteen for men.¹

In supplying additional facilities for training, the concern uppermost in the minds of the Commissioners was the concern for cost and therefore the need to adapt some already existing educational machinery. The major disagreement in the Commission was about the machinery to be adapted and the financing of the adaptation.

Thus the Majority report advocated the extension of existing provision, with the State making grants to new denominational or undenominational Colleges. But for those who could not avail themselves of residence, two possibilities were put forward. The admission of day students to the residential Colleges without a denominational test was suggested, with the idea that 'those students of higher cultivation whom it is hoped to attract into the profession might be led to take advantage of the facilities for training by this.'² The Majority report also gave a grudging acceptance to the idea of the establishment of Day Training Colleges, attached to the existing local University Colleges, but looked on this suggestion as being very much in the realm of experiment.

The Minority report of the Commission was much more positive in its acceptance of the idea of the association of the

¹ See S. Birchenough: (1929) A History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, p.448.

² Cross Commission: Final Report (1888) Part III, ch.6, p.102.

training of teachers with Higher Education, and saw no reason why the training of teachers should not be supported out of local rates. It regarded the Majority report as special pleading for the maintenance of denominational privilege and thought that the dangers of introducing a conscience clause had been over-emphasised and the advantages of residence over-rated. It was not slow in pointing out the apparent contradiction inherent in stressing the superiority of residential training while expressing a wish to attract women of superior social position and culture into training, without the necessity of coming into residence. Neither could there be any argument with the statement in the Minority report that 'the majority of all teachers and a large majority of women who now get certificates are not brought up in residential colleges,'¹ but were acting teachers presenting themselves for certification.² The Majority and the Minority reports were agreed that the real need was

¹ Cross Commission: Final Report, (1888) Part III, ch.6, p.243.

² At the Christmas examination in 1887, 692 male and 916 female students in the Colleges became certificated, together with 457 male and 1,228 female acting teachers, i.e. Pupil Teachers who, at the end of their apprenticeship, had become Assistants in schools, or provisionally certificated to take charge of small schools. (Committee of Council: Report, 1887-88; p.xxiv.) It was the growing case with which untrained teachers were admitted to the Certificate examinations which caused anxiety in the Colleges in the late 1870s and the early 1880s, when some difficulty was experienced in securing posts immediately for students about to complete their training. In reply to an enquiry from the National Society in 1879, the Principal replied, 'It is hard upon those who have spent two years of their life and a considerable (for them) amount (of money) only to see others occupy the positions which they are so much better qualified to fill.' (National Society: St. Hild's Correspondence, 5.11.1879: Letter from Canon W.H.Walter) In reply to a similar enquiry in 1880, he sounded a cautionary note: 'If we complain that we are producing an article for which there is no demand, the Department may think it right to withdraw their 75% of our expenditure.' (ibid., 22.11.1880.) At the same time, he was generous in his comments on the work done in small country schools, where there would continue to be the demand for, but not the resources to pay, a trained teacher.

to dispense with the employment of untrained teachers; the signatories of the Minority report believed that the quickest and cheapest way of achieving this object would be by the enabling of the setting up of Day Training Colleges, which might be attached to local Universities or supported by local rates.

The New Code of 1890 gave expression to the Majority report of the Commission, though with rather more enthusiasm than they had shown, in the provision for the establishment of Day Training Colleges in connection with the Universities.¹ Among the first to be opened, in 1890, was that in connection with the Durham College of Science, in Newcastle, to which ten men and ten women were admitted.² Initially, the total number of day students was limited to two hundred, but this restriction was lifted in the following year and, by 1903, nineteen Day Training Colleges were recognised, and attended by one thousand, six hundred and seven students.³

The significance of the Day Training Colleges may be seen in their providing a challenge to the much-vaunted residential colleges, and in the implanting of the idea that 'just as the Board schools stood for secular education, so the day training colleges came to stand for the secular training of teachers.'⁴ But the provision under the New Code of a third year's training for some students, in the expectation that they would take a degree, had wider implications. It was setting the sights of the Training College

¹ Committee of Council: Report, 1889-90; p.138.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1890-91; p.420. There were 107 applications for the twenty places, and those admitted ranged from number 62 to number 1,984 on the Scholarship List.

³ Board of Education: Report, 1902-3; p.48.

⁴ R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century; Bath; p.215.

above preparing students to teach the elementary subjects. The Cross Commission had recommended a third year of training for some, but had not thought the implementation of such a recommendation feasible at the time. The suggestion, however, that that third year might be spent at Oxford or Cambridge had been dismissed as a proposal 'inapplicable to those who are to become teachers in elementary schools.'¹ The degree of closeness of association with Higher Education made possible by the division of the training college syllabus into two parts in 1891 was very much in tune with the strong recommendation of such an association by the Minority report. The new syllabus, applicable to residential and Day Training Colleges, placed the technical subjects, i.e. Reading and Recitation, Penmanship, School Management, Domestic Economy, Sewing and Cutting Out, and Vocal Music, in Part I, which all had to take, and the remaining subjects, English, Geography, English History, Arithmetic and Languages, in Part II. Those students who passed in any British University an examination approved by the Department of Education were not required to present themselves for examination in those subjects of Part II which had been covered by the University examination.² Do we not have, in the association of the Universities with elementary training, the seed of the all-graduate profession?

The significance of the Day Training Colleges must also be seen in another context. The recognition by the Department, in the setting up of the Day Training Colleges, that it could not expect the course content of the syllabus to be identical in all the University Colleges, and therefore its decision to accept the

¹ Cross Commission: Final Report, (1888) Part III, ch.6, p.97.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1890-91; pp.421 and 546 ff.

results of the Colleges' examinations in academic subjects, with the Department acting as moderator in the interests of arriving at a standard, was a move away from central control in an important area of the Colleges' life, and a step in a new direction.¹

This move was, in part, allowed to residential Colleges when, in 1901, the authorities of each Training College were invited to submit for approval a syllabus for a two-year course which would, in their opinion, meet the needs of their students. The course submitted had to be designed within certain broad limits defined by the Board in a skeleton curriculum. There was to be a division between compulsory and special optional courses and, within the former, the division of subjects corresponding to Parts I and II was to be retained, with the College authorities, in the case of Day Training College students not following a University course, examining the Part II subjects.²

St Hild's complied with the request, and it was upon a syllabus drawn up by the College and approved by the Board that the students were examined in 1903, not, however, with immediate conspicuous success until after protest the Board had revised the Class List.³ The results also caused some anxiety to the Board, which expressed its disquiet at the inadequacy of the arrangements made in many of the Day Training Colleges for examining students, and its surprise at the small number of students attending them who could claim to have taken any bona fide University examination

¹ The early revelation, however, that some of the Day Training Colleges had not set up boards of examiners, or arranged for external examiners, led the Department to announce its intention to set a General Paper in English, Geography, History and Arithmetic to be taken, in addition to the College examinations, by those in the Day Training Colleges who did not pass one of the University examinations accepted by the Department as equivalent to Part II. Committee of Council: Report, 1890-91, p.224.

² Board of Education: Report, 1900-1901; vol.III, pp.536-542.

³ College Annual Report, 1903; p.6

at the end of their training.¹

It was, in part, to meet that disquiet that the Board issued a completely new set of Regulations for the Training of Teachers in 1904. The element of choice, however, was retained and even extended, so that any College which provided an efficient examination on the conditions laid down in the new Regulations could propose to withdraw its students from the whole of the Board's examination, but exemptions from the whole or part of it would be granted only after the most stringent enquiry. The warning note was sounded to the Day Training Colleges that examinations which had previously been accepted in lieu of the Board's examination would not necessarily be so recognised in the future.²

In the remodelling of the curriculum to provide a wider and more liberal course, Principles of Teaching, English, History and Geography, Elementary Mathematics and Elementary Science were compulsory but, for those taking the Board's examination, alternative schemes were possible, e.g. four alternative courses were offered in English, and five in History and Geography, providing a link course with English. Under the heading of Principles of Teaching, examined in the second year, five alternative courses were available, with elementary psychology, child study and school hygiene well to the fore. Elementary Mathematics included Algebra and Geometry, in both of which women had to pass to gain a merit mark, but the intricacies of Algebra Part II or Geometry Part II were denied them. In the case of Elementary Science, it was left to Colleges to make their own plans in the light of available resources, but there was to be an emphasis on the practical. The

¹ Board of Education: Report, 1903-4, pp.52-3.

² Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.xiv.

intention was to get away from the mere acquisition of fact and to test understanding and encourage depth of interest. Thus for the more able student there were optional courses for advanced study available, initially in languages, and in Science subjects already taken, but by 1905 also in Arts subjects already taken.¹ The restriction to no more than two Optional Subjects allowed for some degree of specialisation.²

Alongside the 1904 regulations, considered as facilitating different types of training courses to suit varying levels of attainment and ability, were other administrative measures taken to try to ensure the best preparation of those who were to embark on such courses.

From the beginning of 1904 the age of entry to Pupil Teachership, raised to fourteen in 1877 and to fifteen in 1900, was raised to sixteen, except in rural areas, where it was raised to fifteen. The Pupil Teachers were to spend no more than half their time in school, and during the remainder they were to receive instruction, preferably in organised centres.³ These had been growing in number and importance since 1880, but significant impetus was given to their development after the Cross Commission's recommendations led to the School Inspectors being urged to point out the advantages of such classes, and of allowing more time in school hours for Pupil Teachers 'to pursue their own studies more systematically'⁴ as many Managers were already permitting. The 1903 provisions in part, therefore, gave effect to what was already happening in the better-managed schools.

¹ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, pp.27-38, and 1905, p.ix.

² *ibid.*, 1904, p.10.

³ Board of Education: Report, 1902-3, p.13

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1889-90, p.183.

The aim of the changes was two-fold: to ensure that 'a more thorough general education up to the age of eighteen will be received by pupil teachers so as to secure a larger supply of students thoroughly qualified to profit' by teacher training, and to make the Pupil Teacher's service in the elementary school 'a time of probation and training under proper supervision rather than one of premature practice in teaching at the expense ofgeneral education.'¹

The aims were very much in line with the spirit of both the Majority and Minority reports of the Cross Commission, which may therefore fairly be described as setting the tone for future developments in teacher training and at the same time giving sanction to those efforts already being made to kindle intellectual enthusiasm and stimulate power of thought, rather than to aim merely at the passing of examinations. H.M.I. Fitch, making his Report in 1890 and looking back, was happy to say that year by year he had seen a growing appreciation of the view that the training college must be a place for 'broadening and liberalising the mind, and for encouraging generous aspirations.'² H.M.I. Sharpe had already, in 1885, discussed with Bede College the desirability of the affiliation of the students with the University,³ and the Cross Commission itself, in its questionnaire to training colleges, had sought to discover how many students in the preceding three years had matriculated or graduated in any University. St. Hild's in 1886 made a nil return.⁴

¹ Board of Education: Report, 1902-3, p.13 and p.12

² Committee of Council: Report, 1890-91, p.455.

³ Bede College: Minutes, 23.10.1885.

⁴ Cross Commission: Training College Returns (1888) p.121.

In 1889 St. Hild's found itself with a new Principal, who had himself been encouraged to have 'generous aspirations.' James Haworth had been a Certificate student at St. Mark's College, Chelsea, from 1872-73. He had no doubt benefited from its emphasis on the academic, and entered into the heritage of its first Principal, Derwent Coleridge, and his encouragement of its students to seek social advancement.¹ After teaching in London for two years, he entered Hatfield Hall in Durham as a Foundation Scholar. He took his degree in Mathematics in 1878, and his M.A. in 1881. After ordination as a deacon in 1879, he was appointed Vice-Principal of Winchester Training College, where he remained for five years, serving also for part of that time as Curate of the parish of Wyke.² He came to the very different atmosphere of St. Hild's in 1885, not long after his marriage.³ His appointment was as Vice-Principal, but he assumed more and more responsibility as the Principal's health declined, and succeeded him when ill-health forced him to resign in 1889.

He was fortunate in the Staff he inherited. The Head Governess, Miss Skinner, and one of the Junior Governesses, Miss Thomas, had come from Whitelands, where the former had been a Governess from 1881-3,⁴ and which the latter had entered at the head

¹ R.W.Rich: (1972) The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Bath; p.87. Derwent Coleridge's neat side-stepping of the Newcastle Commission question on the contentment of teachers is to be admired. 'Who is quite content?' he asked. 'There may be indeed too much repose of this kind, too little change or advancement, and as a consequence a want of life and activity.' Newcastle Commission: Answers to Circular of Questions, 1860; vol.V, p.139.

² Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1887.

³ E.B.Shipley (Ed.): (1967) The History of King Alfred's, Winchester, 1840-1940, typescript; King Alfred's, Winchester, p.9

⁴ J.P.Faunthorpe (Ed.): (1891) Whitelands Jubilee Report, p.29.

of the national list of Queen's Scholars. Both Miss Thomas and Miss Skinner are counted among the distinguished former students of their college.¹ The third Governess, Miss Fish, had been a student at St. Hild's from 1876-77, but had had six years' teaching experience in a girls' school before returning to Durham.² The Mistress of the Infants' School was still Miss Bolam, whose gifts Haworth had been able to perceive during his years as Vice-Principal and was quick to make use of when he took office. The first Annual Report of his reign listed Miss Bolam as Teacher of Kindergarten,³ and in this additional capacity she gave courses of lectures to all the students after school hours.⁴

Academic strength, teaching experience and acknowledged expertise were thus embodied in the Staff at the beginning of this period, rather than the narrowness of vision which was inevitable in a Staff made up entirely of former students with little or no teaching experience. To this academic strength, experience and expertise was added stability, for the three Governesses were to remain on the Staff for the whole of the period of Haworth's Principalship. What was looked for throughout this period was consolidation of those strengths, under a Principal who was not only a chaplain but also a teacher, and one who was familiar with all aspects of the life of the College. This consolidation began immediately.

In 1889, Miss Thomas became qualified to award the Elementary and Tonic Sol-fa Certificates of the Tonic Sol-fa

¹ J.P.Faunthorpe (Ed.): (1891) Whitelands Jubilee Report, p.5

² College Register, 1876, and College Annual Report, 1883-84, p.1

³ College Annual Report, 1899, p.2

⁴ H.Barnes: (1891) Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses, p.92

College in London, and in that year four second year students gained the Intermediate Certificate and ten students were successful at the Elementary level.¹ She went on to pass the Matriculation examination of London University in June, 1890, being placed number eleven in the Honours List.² The College Staff list in the Annual Reports from 1895 shows her to be of graduate status, and Whiting³ confirms that she was a London graduate. As will be seen later, she was enabled still further to equip herself for advanced work within the College.

In 1891, two of the Governesses were encouraged to attend the Oxford University Extension lectures in the vacation, with College paying half their expenses.⁴ Miss Bolam, who was described by H.M.I. Mr. Fitch in 1891 as 'exceptionally superior,'⁵ left in the following year to enter Somerville Hall, Oxford. Her work for the College as Teacher of Kindergarten had been such that an offer was made to her to return to the Staff in 1893.⁶ This was not, however, taken up until 1896 when, after passing in the Honours School in History at Oxford, she was appointed Mistress of Method with the specific responsibility of helping students to relate theory and practice. She was to lecture on the theory of School Management and to supervise the work of the students in school.⁷ An appointment of such calibre to be so closely involved with the practical side of the work could not but have helped to redress the balance in a system of training which had become so

¹ College Annual Report, 1889, p.4

² College Annual Report, 1890, p.4

³ C.E.Whiting: (1932) The University of Durham, 1832-1932, p.234.

⁴ College Minutes, 3.9.1891.

⁵ College Minutes, 21.10.1891.

⁶ College Minutes, 23.2.1893.

⁷ College Annual Report, 1896, p.4

dominated by the necessity to prepare for the passing of examinations. The process of consolidation was actively supported by the H.M.I. Mr. Scott Coward, advising the Mistress of Method in 1898 to see the work of other Colleges,¹ and pointing out that the time, the need and the opportunity had come to appoint Staff with degree qualifications.²

The opportunities open to the Staff to broaden their mental horizons were also available to the students, in both areas of the College's work, but the turning outward was a gradual process. H.M.I. Fitch noted in his Report for 1890 that new arrangements had been made for students to observe in two good national schools in the city, one of which was the Blue Coat School,³ and commended the practice introduced by the Principal of requiring each student to keep a log book with a regular record of her own lessons and experience in the schools visited.⁴ Again, in response to H.M.I. Scott Coward's suggestions that the students should see large schools at work,⁵ visits were paid to what were described as 'some of the best schools in the neighbourhood',⁶ including the Hylton Road Board Schools in Sunderland, the Barrington Boys' School and St. Anne's Girls' and Infants' School in Bishop Auckland.

The artificiality of experience only in the College's own Practising Schools was removed when the students moved on from observing in other schools to periods of actual practice. The first

¹ College Minutes, 6.4.1898.

² College Minutes, 26.3.1896.

³ College Minutes, 17.11.1893.

⁴ Committee of Council: Report, 1890-91, p.482.

⁵ College Minutes, 6.4.1898.

⁶ College Annual Report, 1898, p.5

mention of this occurs in 1903, when H.M.I. Rankine commented on its advantages,¹ and there is general mention of the use of the city schools, together with that at Hetton-le-Hole in 1903, and that at Easington Lane in the following year.² After 1904, when it became a condition for the recognition of a public elementary school that it should be open to students from training colleges,³ it becomes clear that the College took full advantage of this, and the Annual Report for 1906 acknowledged the kindness of the Local Education Authorities of both the County and the City of Durham in allowing the students to practise in their schools.⁴

Although after 1904 it was no longer necessary for the Inspectors to examine students individually in reading, recitation or practical teaching at the end of their training,⁵ at least one student recalls giving a lesson as part of her examination in 1910. 'For our final College Exams each student gave a lesson before the visiting Inspectors. We did not know the subject until the previous evening, but were given plenty of material for the lesson.'⁶ This suggests that the earlier mode of examination was not immediately or entirely abandoned. The Criticism Lesson certainly retained its position at the heart of the weekly work, although the 1904 Regulations gave expression to the hope that it would take on something of an experimental character instead of being a technical exercise in carrying out the formal directions of the Teacher of Method.⁷ How deep an impression this made may be judged from a

¹ College Minutes, 29.5.1903.

² College Annual Report, 1903, p.6, and 1904, p.6.

³ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.40.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1906, p.5

⁵ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.13

⁶ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 17.2.1974.

⁷ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.xiv.

letter from an old student who was educated at the Practising School up to 1901, when she entered the Durham Johnston School.

'The Criticism lessons in those days were in College, with all the students criticising. This was an ordeal for the student giving the lesson, but we children enjoyed it. We were proud to be picked for such an occasion.'¹ The writer returned to the College in 1907 and thus experienced the Criticism lesson from another angle.

H.M.I. Mr. Fitch, in his special reports on the women's Colleges in 1890, made a point of mentioning in each case those outward looking ventures intended to provide intellectual stimulus beyond the bounds of the syllabus, and noted in the case of St. Hild's that 'several lectures on literary and scientific subjects have been given to the students by gentlemen, some of whom are connected with the University.'² The ten lectures meriting special mention in the following year were mostly of an ecclesiastical or a moral nature, but they included a paper on 'the Monuments of Ancient Egypt', given by a University lecturer and 'illustrated by limelight views.'³ A further step was taken in 1892, when students were permitted to attend two courses of external lectures arranged under the auspices of the Durham Ladies' Educational Association. The first of these was a course of six lectures on Domestic Sanitation, given by Professors Garnett and Bedson, of Newcastle, which would have been of help with that aspect of the School Management course concerned with the laws of health as applied to school premises, scholars and teachers,⁴ a matter which was to be of increasing concern until, in 1908, Hygiene became a compulsory subject in its

¹ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 25.2.1974.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1890-91, p.482.

³ College Annual Report, 1891, p.12.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1892, p.12.

own right for all Two Year students.¹ The second course was entitled, The Mind and Art of Shakespeare.²

The growing interest in Science and the College's awareness of its comparative weakness in that field was reflected in the student attendance at a course of six lectures on Elementary Chemistry in the New Lecture Rooms of the University,³ and participation in a course of University Extension lectures, 'with experiments,'⁴ running from November 1896 to February 1897, given by Professors from the Newcastle College of Science. The topics for study included, Fire and Flame and The Chemistry of Food. If their participation in this course went beyond attendance at the lectures, and included preparatory reading and the answering of written questions usually associated with such courses, then the demands on them would have been considerable.⁵

Slowly, but very slowly, the College was exposing its students to influences other than its own.

¹ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Elementary Schools, 1908, p.vii.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1892-93, p.190.

³ College Annual Report, 1893, p.7

⁴ College Annual Report, 1897, p.7

⁵ Cambridge organised the first University Extension lecture centres in 1873, at Derby, Leicester and Nottingham, and sent out its 'missionaries of higher education.' See R.S.Watson: (1897) The History of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p. 286. London formed its Extension Society in 1876, and Oxford in 1878. The Cambridge 'missionaries' reached Newcastle in 1879, promoted by the Literary and Philosophical Society. Dean Lake, Warden of the University from 1869 to 1894, took an active interest in the movement and through him the lectures came to be known as the Cambridge and Durham University Extension Lectures. But after 1882, Durham ceased to assist them, and they came under the auspices of the Literary and Philosophical Society in Newcastle, until 1887, when the College of Science became involved and Newcastle was affiliated to Cambridge as an Extension Centre.

2. The University Link

The greatest opportunity for both Staff and students came in 1895, when it became possible by the provision of a supplementary Charter for the University to admit women to degrees, except in Divinity, subject to the proviso that 'no Female Graduate shall be a member of Convocation until Convocation so determines.'¹ In 1896, Miss Thomas entered for the Degree in Arts, and three students, Mary Gibson, Dora Heslop and Winifred Hindmarch, for the Degree in Letters. The entry of St. Hild's students into the University opened up an entirely new prospect for the College, to make its contribution to the higher education of women. It was perhaps the recognition of the importance of this extension of the College's rôle which had some influence on the decision to change the name of the College in 1896.²

But the decision of the Senate of Durham University to apply for a supplementary Charter had been no sudden one. It had come at the end of a long debate in Durham, which was itself part of the national debate about the admission of women to the universities, thereby, theoretically, putting them in a position to compete with men in professional terms. In that debate, St. Hild's appears to have played little or no part, at least in its earliest stages. The most likely explanation for this is that the Committee of Management had not thought that it was a matter which should concern them. The College existed for a specific purpose and there was nothing in the requirement of the course or the nature and

¹ University of Durham: Summary of Statutes, 1905, p.16.

² College Annual Report, 1896, p.x
The major influence was probably the provision of a Chapel within the College in 1896, and the need for a name by which it could be easily identified.

structure of the degree courses in Durham which would have given grounds for thinking that the entry of St. Hild's students was either necessary or possible, or even contemplated, at the time. The debate began in Durham, in 1878, the year in which London University opened its degrees to women.

This view is confirmed by the fact that when the matter was debated in Convocation, on May 24th., 1881, the objectors to the admission of women did raise the alarm that the students of St. Hild's might demand affiliation and degrees, but this, says Whiting,¹ was 'an idea which was treated by supporters of the motion as a manifest absurdity.' This very positive statement must have gone some way to reassure those undergraduates who were opposed to the admission of women, for the Durham University Journal of the time recorded that much of that opposition was because of a fear that the Female Training College would become affiliated.²

The debate was conducted on two levels: at the level of the decision-making bodies, Senate and Convocation, and at the undergraduate level. They met in the columns of the Durham University Journal, which throughout this period took a sympathetic stance but faithfully reflected the differing views current at the time. In a leading article in 1878, it described the background against which the debate about the higher education of women was taking place and rehearsed the arguments against it: the question of intellectual capacity and physical stamina, the possible loss of femininity and the effect on society as a whole.³

¹ C.E. Whiting: (1932) The University of Durham, 1832-1932, p.148.

² Durham University Journal, no.18, vol.IV, 19.2.1881.

³ Durham University Journal, no.7, vol.III, 12.7.1878.

The College was aware of such arguments; the different syllabuses for male and female candidates reflected a widely-held view about intellectual capacity. This is illustrated especially in Mathematics, where, as we have seen, Arithmetic was for long the only branch of the subject thought to be within women's capabilities. The College's continuing and constantly expressed concern about the health of the students is a reflection of another of the arguments. When the winner of the King Memorial Prize, as the highest placed Pupil Teacher from the Diocese to enter College in 1880, was compelled to return home in the course of her first year, the sad comment was made that 'as in so many other cases, the physical strength was not commensurate with the mental power.'¹ The gradual breakdown in health of Miss Bradfield, a Governess appointed in 1883, over the period between January and October of that year was described in some detail in the Annual Report for 1883 because, the writer of the Report explains, 'the Committee think it right to advert thus fully to this case, as it appears to be closely connected with one of the burning educational questions of the day.'² That such questions went deep is confirmed by the explanation given by an old student of the College for not having had a family. 'I had no maternal instinct. It is possible that my love of learning had dwarfed my feminine attributes.'³

The writer of the Editorial in 1878, referred to above, came down on the side of accepting a view of the inherent intellectual inferiority of women, but thought that for the sake of the few exceptions higher education should be made available to them. There would be no rush of applications, and no cataclysmic change in society. 'We must not suppose that archery will be

¹ College Annual Report, 1880, p.3

² College Annual Report, 1883, p.4

³ The Memoirs of F.G.Bennett, Student of St. Hild's College, 1883-84 Typescript; 1962.

given up, that croquet grounds and tennis lawns will be deserted, that all the pleasurable intercourse of the lighter hours will be for ever ended.'¹ Subsequent editions show that when the formal debate ended, in May, 1881, it was in something like that frame of mind that the admission of women to the first degree in Arts had been approved, by a majority of fourteen to four. The Professor of Greek had thought that identity of studies must lead to identification of the sexes. The support of the Professor of Mathematics was forthcoming on the grounds that if the women were 'left to themselves, they were liable to fall a prey to the agnostic and infidel tendencies of the day.' The Senior Proctor had experienced a conflict of sentiment and reason. His head had gone one way, and his heart another, but he had concluded that many women would be able to make use of a degree as proof of capacity, should they decide to become teachers.² And so the matter was decided.

But there it also rested, with the University on the one hand and the promoters of the women's cause on the other, each waiting for the other to provide the accommodation necessary to enable women to come into residence. A leading article in the Durham University Journal, on 2nd. July, 1881,³ cited Girton and Newnham as examples of private enterprise, and urged the promoters to take similar action, as a mark of their sincerity, but no such action followed, nor did anything come of the suggestion, in 1884, that the proposed High School might serve as a recognised institution.⁴ Perhaps lack of decisiveness in leadership after

¹ Durham University Journal, no.7, vol.III, 12.7.1878.

² Durham University Journal, no.20, vol.IV, 31.5.1881.

³ Durham University Journal, no.21, vol.IV, 2.7.1881.

⁴ Durham University Journal, no.1, vol.VI, 25.2.1884.

1884 led to quiescence in the matter. The leading spokeswoman for those urging the admission of women to the University had been Mrs. Aldis, wife of Professor Aldis, the first Principal of the College of Science in Newcastle. He left to take up a post in New Zealand in 1884,¹ and presumably she accompanied him.

When the matter was taken up again in a serious vein in the Journal, in 1892, the ground of difficulty appears to have shifted from the provision of residence, back to the principle of admission, and to the fact that, in the opinion of Counsel, the Charter did not empower the University to confer degrees upon women. The application for a supplementary Charter was urged upon the authorities. 'There is nothing to lose, and everything to gain by being the first of the Universities which demand residence in granting our degrees to women.'² The Charter was granted in 1895.

At no time in the period between 1881 and 1895 had St. Hild's been publicly mentioned in terms suggesting a possible future for the College in connection with the University. In 1895, however, the times were propitious.

Since 1890 it had been possible for approved students to remain in training college for a third year,³ and encouragement was given to the combining of University courses with professional training by granting exemption from those elements of Part II of the Syllabus which had been covered in a University course.⁴ This was further encouraged by the administrative change made in 1895 in bringing the Residential Training College academic year into

¹ C.E. Whiting: (1932) The University of Durham, 1832-1932, p.192.

² Durham University Journal, no.5, vol.X, 4.6.1892.

³ Committee of Council: Report, 1889-90, p.139.

⁴ See above, p. 164.

line with that of the Universities and Day Training Colleges.¹

In Durham, a new Warden of the University had been appointed in 1894, Dean Kitchin, who was especially active in bringing about the admission of women students,² and the establishment of the new degree in Letters in 1895 could not have come at a more opportune moment. The B.Litt. had been established for the benefit of students at the Newcastle College of Science who wanted to take Arts, and who had for the most part come from schools which had not taught Greek. The insistence of Durham on the retention of Greek in the Arts degree was because the majority of students taking Arts were ordinands. It was for this new degree that the first three women undergraduates were enrolled in 1896. It was a three year course, but the first examination could be taken before coming into residence for six terms. St. Hild's became an approved residence, and the concession granted to Bede students in 1892 was extended to women students, and thus two years spent at St. Hild's was permitted to count as three terms' residence in the University. The University was to provide tuition and to conduct the necessary examinations, i.e. the First Public Examination before the end of the second year, and the Second Public Examination before the end of the third year.³

The academic programme the students faced looks formidable:

First Examination: English Language, History, Geography,
Composition;

Two languages, one of which must be Latin
or Greek;

The rudiments of Mathematics;

A portion of the Bible in English, or
Ancient History.

¹ College Annual Report, 1895, p.3

² C.E.Whiting: (1932) The University of Durham, 1832-1932, p.163.

³ College Annual Report, 1896, p.4

Second Examination: English Language, English Literature and History, 1660-1740, Composition;
A detailed knowledge of specified books and periods of History;
Two other languages, with detailed knowledge of specified books and periods of History;
A language not previously offered, or the elements of some branch of Mental or Natural Science, including Botany.

Final Examination: English Language, and English Literature of a period not previously offered;
Two languages; and specified periods of History and Literature not previously offered;
Either a third language, or some branch of Mental or Political Science: Psychology with Metaphysics, Psychology with Ethics.¹

And yet in this period there was no sudden upsurge of quality in the standard of student accepted by the College, and the oft-repeated comment of the Inspectors that the College did its best, considering the standards of the student at entry, was repeated no less often.² But between 1895 and 1907 fifty-six students were successful in all or part of the degree course, taken together with their work in the College course. Of that number, forty-five were eventually to graduate. Four students did so in their fourth year in College, thirty-one students remained for a third year in order to graduate, eight students completed the course in two years, two of whom went on to spend a third year in Paris. Two students were successful in the Second B.Litt. examination, and left the College, but returned later to complete the degree course.

¹ Durham University Calendar, 1896, pp.38-40.

² College Minutes, 2.11.1894, and 27.5.1897. The Principal's Report, quoted in Committee of Council: Report, 1897-98, p.334, stated that 'Candidates from the two Northern dioceses do not secure very good places on the scholarship list.'

Of the remaining eleven students, six passed the Second B.Litt. at the end of their second year and then left the College, and five were successful in the First B.Litt. but did not proceed. In this period, three St. Hild's students gained the scholarship of £20 which had been established for women in 1897, awarded on the results of the First B.Litt. examination.¹ Twelve of the students who began degree work had not been Pupil Teachers. One student had entered with the Cambridge Senior Local Examination, one with London Matriculation, one with London Matriculation and the Cambridge Senior Local Examination, and a fourth student with Durham and Cambridge Senior Local qualifications.²

The students who were successful in the degree examinations were not always those near the top of the list at entry, as is indicated by the Table on page 184.

Canon Tristram might boast of the uniqueness of the College's situation as being 'hard by a University, and where the time of the students counted for the purposes of the University,'³ but it does not make the achievement of those students any less remarkable. Such an achievement does indicate that there was a pool of ability awaiting the right kind of stimulus, and that indeed is how the Principal interpreted the University link: as giving considerable scope for the best of the students, and as an inducement to some of the better candidates for entrance to continue to prepare themselves thoroughly before entry, in order to be able to take advantage of the University connection.⁴

¹ Miss M. Greenhow (1903-6) Miss S. Ridley (1904-7) and Miss D. Nickal (1906-9)

² These were included in the list of examinations qualifying for admission in accordance with the Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.25.

³ College Annual Report, 1899, p.19.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1896, p.v.

TABLE 9

POSITIONS OF B.LITT. STUDENTS IN THE COLLEGE AND
SCHOLARSHIP LISTS, 1895-1901

- (a) number of students entering St.Hild's in the year specified.
- (b) the highest position on the Scholarship List of a student entering St. Hild's in that year.
- (c) the lowest position on the Scholarship List of a student entering St. Hild's in that year
- (d) the position of B.Litt. students on the College List at entry
- (e) the position of B.Litt. students on the Scholarship List at entry

Year	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1895	32	459	1993	1	459
(Jan)				6	762
				26	1748
1895	32	196	1793	1	196
(Aug)				3	484
				4	530
1896	41	579	2714	2	645
				4	837
				28	1983
1897	35	313	2540	1	313
				3	1029
				17	1652
1898	39	76	2936	1	76
				5	983
				6	1015
				8	1273
				19	1852
				1 Private Student	
1899	42	404	2812	14	1265
				21	1591
				22	1627
				26	1885
				27	2003
1900	50	683	3236	1	683
				19	1600
				50	3236
1901	50	429	2862	2	835
				8	1232
				14	1479
				29	1923
				1 Cambridge Local	

Sources: College Registers;
College Annual Reports.

The withdrawal of the concession as to residence in 1904, which meant that students at the College had to attend lectures in the University for six terms instead of three before they could take a degree, was much regretted.¹ But the Committee of Management decided that the able student should not be deterred by this, and offered to pay half the fees of those who wished to keep terms at the University.²

A letter from one of the four students who took the University course concurrently with the training course in 1903-6 recalls with some understatement that 'it was heavy going.'³ The first year was given over entirely to work in College, and teaching practice arranged in vacations, enabling the Three Year students to fulfil the requirement of attendance at University lectures in the second and third years. A student who took the course in 1906-8 recalls those lectures 'in a house on Palace Green, -carefully chaperoned,'⁴ while another student who was in College in 1909-11 recalls with some envy that the undergraduates had 'the privilege of privacy for study' in the Library.⁵

The daily régime imposed by the demands of University and College could scarcely have been conducive to reflection, and the effect upon the work of the undergraduates must early have been seen. In a letter to the Principal of the hostel established in 1899, for the first women students to come into residence in Durham, including two from Darlington Training College, Dean Kitchin, while admitting and regretting that so few women had yet

¹ College Annual Report, 1904, p.5

² College Minutes, 29.9.1905.

³ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 10.2.1974.

⁴ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 2.4.1974.

⁵ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 30.4.1974.

come forward for admission to the University, went on to say, 'Really the predominance of Training College girls is not to be desired. We want to raise their standards, not to be pulled down to their unhappy level of working without interest, except in the necessary examinations.'¹ This must of course be taken as a condemnation of the system, and not of those who were the prisoners of it. They were being equipped to raise the level of education in the institutions to which they would be appointed and, at another level, the self-discipline involved in such a régime must have led to a fashioning of life which would have stood them in good stead in a society where the presence of the highly educated woman was suspect, if not bizarre.

The concern expressed by the Dean about the Training College students' attitude to their work was shared by the Board of Education, but from an entirely different standpoint. Their concern was manifold. Primarily, there was an awareness that the concentration on the academic was at the cost of neglect of the practical preparation for teaching, described as 'often lamentably inadequate.'² Then, in a period when Physical Education was coming to be regarded as important, there was recognition of the strain imposed on those taking concurrent courses, and therefore of the need for the utmost care to be taken to ensure the students' suitability, both academic and physical, before permitting them to embark on such courses.³ The lesson had been learned from the revelation of the over-ambitious attempts of many of the early Day Training College students. At the same time, however, there was frustration on the part of the Board that the inclusion of

¹ Quoted in M.Hird:(1974) St. Mary's College, 1899-1974; Durham.

² Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1907, p.viii.

³ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.11.

Physical Exercises in the curriculum of the Two Year students in 1908 could not be insisted upon in the case of those taking Degree courses.¹ The time had clearly come for careful consideration to be given to the professional training of the graduate intending teacher.

Of the forty-five students who graduated, two joined the College Staff immediately after graduation: Miss M. Gibson (1895-1898) and Miss W. Hindmarch (1895-1898). Two more joined the College Staff after a short period away from Durham: Miss S. Grant (1898-1901) in 1903, and Miss M. Taylor (1898-1901) in 1905. The Staff of the Girls' Practising School was also strengthened by the appointment of two of the B.Litt. graduates when Miss S. Ridley and Miss E. Ternent were appointed on completion of their course in 1907.²

Apart from the appointments of the above-named, the appointment of a graduate to a Higher Grade School in 1900 and 1908, and of a graduate of 1905 to a Pupil Teacher Centre, it is not possible to be precise about the level of work to which most of the early graduates were initially appointed. Opportunities were opened up after 1902, when the new Local Education Authorities were empowered to provide for education other than elementary, but this was a steady, rather than a rapid process.³ It was perhaps anxiety about the future work of the graduates which led Canon Tristram to voice some doubts about the University connection. Speaking to the students in 1899, he said that he could see the advantage of the University affiliation, but that he did not know

¹ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Elementary Schools, 1908, p.vii.

² College Annual Report, 1908, p.6

³ See G.A.N.Lowndes: (1969) The Silent Social Revolution: An Account of the Expansion of Public Education in England and Wales, 1895-1965, Oxford; pp.82-3.

whether it was an unmixed advantage: it depended on how far it would help them in their work. He thought, however, that they would have been too sensibly trained in St. Hild's to have their heads turned by the opportunity for gaining degrees. The point they needed to bear in mind was that 'their object, their aim and their end was the promotion of elementary education.'¹ Thus were the aims and objects of the founders re-affirmed.

The impact of those early graduates appointed to the Staff was many-sided. They were able to provide a degree of coaching in the B.Litt. subjects, without which some of their successors might not have been successful. Miss Hindmarch and Miss Gibson were clearly involved in this.² There is evidence to suggest that their contribution to the B.Litt. may have been more than coaching. The receipt, in November 1902, of a letter from the Senior Proctor 'respecting female undergraduates attending lectures at St. Hild's,'³ closely followed by the decision to appoint an additional Governess 'on consideration that the Second B.Litt. teaching be done in College'⁴ and the subsequent appointment of Miss Grant, give ground for thinking that some of the teaching for the degree was given in the College. The appearance on the lists of College Staff in the years 1902-5 of a Monsieur J. Coquelin, Teacher of French, lends support to this view.

¹ College Annual Report, 1899, p.19.

This gains added point from the comment made by the Principal of the women's hostel on the indifference and hostility she found in Durham to the idea of women being in the University for the purposes of gaining a higher education: 'I soon realised that only in two households was there any interest in the cause of women's education,' referring to those of Dean Kitchin and Archdeacon Watkins. Quoted in M. Hird: (1974) St. Mary's College, 1899-1974; Durham.

² See A.Lawrence: St. Hild's College, 1858-1958, p.101, for an account of the extent of that coaching and an expression of a student's indebtedness.

³ College Minutes, 24.11.1902.

⁴ College Minutes, 6.4.1903.

The graduates were also equipped to lift the eyes of the Certificate students, if ever so slightly, above the level of the immediate requirements of the examination papers. The work of Miss Winifred Hindmarch in maintaining the tradition of the College for good teaching in Botany and Nature Study is of significance in this respect.

That tradition had been built up by Miss Thomas, no doubt with the constant encouragement of Canon Tristram.¹ The success of the First Year students in 1889 in gaining five First Class passes and twenty-seven Seconds in Elementary Botany was noteworthy, in a year when the total number of Training College entries for the examination was two hundred and thirty-four, of whom only twelve, all women, were placed in the First Class.² That it was more than an examination interest which had been fostered was noted by the Bishop in 1890, in commenting on the students' choice of books to be received as prizes.³

Miss Hindmarch entered into this tradition. Her contribution to examination success can easily be seen. The multiplication of syllabuses followed in the Colleges had by 1904 made the traditional classification of students difficult, so a single pass list was issued for each College, in alphabetical order, showing the compulsory subjects in which students passed with distinction and the passes obtained in the Optional subjects studied to a higher level.⁴ In 1907, fifty-three Second Year students took

¹ See above, page 134.

² Committee of Council: Report, 1889-90, pp.xxx-xxxiii.
This success may have owed something to the appointment of Miss Skinner as Head Governess in 1888, with a pass in Botany and Biology in an LL.A. examination taken in 1887. The University is not specified. See College Staff Register, p.2.

³ College Annual Report, 1890, p.27.

⁴ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.18.

the Board's examination: sixteen distinctions were awarded in the Ordinary subjects, seven of which were in Botany, and thirteen students passed in Botany taken as an Optional subject. The Inspector's comment in 1907, 'The most successful branch of the Institution is undoubtedly the Science, Nature Study being very well taught,'¹ was made before the examination results were known. A Science Laboratory Monitor of 1908-10 recalls, and at the same time throws light on teaching methods, that it was her task to collect and return the Principal's pet hedgehog whenever it was needed for a lecture in the Science Laboratory.² In 1909, twenty-three students passed in Botany taken as an Optional subject.³

But the real measure of the achievement is seen in the report of the Science Inspector in 1911, 'The students are encouraged to observe and think for themselves,' and he goes on to speak of 'a development in them of a scientific grasp of the subject, an attitude so often lacking in students.'⁴ The spirit of intelligent, critical enquiry, which the writers of the 1904 Regulations hoped would inform the approach to all subjects of the curriculum, was exemplified. It is the encouragement of just such an approach which marks out the new Regulations as being of significance in the development of teacher training - a throwing open of windows and the letting in of some fresh air.⁵

¹ College Annual Report, 1907, p.6

² Letter to M.V.Boyd, 17.2.1974. The same former student throws further light on teaching in recalling that Bede College and St. Hild's shared a skeleton, which had to be collected and returned at regular intervals, such duty being one of the few permitted contacts between members of the adjoining Colleges.

³ College Annual Report, 1909, p.10.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1911, p.6

⁵ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, pp.ix-xv.

Miss Thomas, who was congratulated by the Durham University Journal on being the first lady to be awarded the Classical Scholarship,¹ referred to by Haworth as 'the blue ribbon of the University,'² went on to gain a First Class Honours degree in Classics and General Literature in 1899, continued with her teaching in College, and became the first woman M.A. of the University in 1902.³ A student of 1907-9 writes, 'She awoke in me a love of English and English Literature that has served me in good stead as an English specialist in some Nottingham schools.'⁴ Such a commendation provides a contrast to the oft-quoted, and no doubt deserved, strictures on their teachers by students of about the same period.⁵

The graduate contribution to the teaching of Theory of Education is difficult to assess. Miss Bolam remained only one year before moving to Cheltenham Ladies' College, and she was succeeded in 1898 by Miss E. Hindmarch, a Certificate student of 1890-91. The retention of the title, Mistress of Method, is perhaps indicative of where the emphasis lay.⁶ The Durham University Journal in 1902 welcomed the Senate move in allowing students in Arts and Letters to offer Theory of Education as an optional subject

¹ Durham University Journal, vol.XII, no.7, 7.11.1896.

² College Annual Report, 1899, p.17.

³ College Annual Report, 1902, p.20.

⁴ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 10.2.1974.

⁵ Board of Education: Report, 1912-13, p.53 ff.

Another contrast is provided in an appreciation of Miss Skinner's teaching of English, written in 1941: 'She had a successful way of probing for response, whether of agreement or contradiction, and this made for a zestful and exhilarating forty-five minutes.' See St. Hild's College Magazine, 1941-42, p.5

⁶ College Annual Report, 1898, p.3.

for the Final examination,¹ and by 1904 syllabuses had been drawn up for both Second and Final examinations.² A student of 1906-8 recalls that there was a graduate Lecturer in Education, Miss Grant, on the College Staff,³ and distinctions in the Principles of Teaching were awarded to one Certificate student in 1906, to two students in 1908 and to one in 1909. There is no evidence, however, that any student offered either of the two Education papers included among the Optional subjects in the Certificate examinations from 1905.⁴

The days of the specialist Lecturer had not yet fully arrived, and it would be unwise therefore to confine the teaching in any one subject in this period solely to the name of a Governess with whom it is linked, or to confine the duties of a Lecturer to teaching in a particular area of the curriculum.

The significance of the timing of the University link is that the College was enabled to anticipate the 1904 Regulation which extended the Board of Education's control over appointment of Staff. The concern for the provision of better qualified Lecturers led to the insistence that in existing Colleges alternate vacancies, at least, in the non-graduate Staff were to be filled by appointments approved by the Board, until the position had been reached in which two-thirds of the teaching posts were held by those holding academic qualifications approved by the Board.⁵ But by 1904, six of the College's nine teaching Staff were graduates, three of whom had entered the University as St. Hild's students, and two as St. Hild's

¹ Durham University Journal, vol.XV, no.9, 29.12.1902.

² Durham University Calendar, 1903-4, p.50.

³ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 2.4.1974.

⁴ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1905, p.ix.

⁵ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.3.

Staff.¹

It was on this firm basis that the College was able to build to meet the needs of those students who were to enter with a Secondary School rather than a Pupil Teacher background, especially after 1907. It then became possible for those in Secondary Schools who intended to become teachers to receive a bursary enabling them to remain in school for a further year beyond the age of 16, at the end of which they could either try for entry to College immediately, or serve for a year as Student Teachers and then enter College.²

The Staff showed themselves well equipped when, towards the end of this period, they permitted themselves some of the boldness pleaded for by the Inspector in 1903,³ took a more realistic view of student needs, reduced the hours of supervised study and encouraged private reading or taking part in the activities of one or more of the College Societies which came into being to fill the hour from 8.30 to 9.30 in the evening. Our Gramophone, the St. Hild's student magazine published in the years 1905-9, lists these as the Historical, the Dramatic, the Shakespearean and the Nature Study Society, one of the rules of which was that no members were to discuss dissection or vivisection 'to the harrowing of the feelings of other members.'⁴ In addition, there was an Art Society, a Society for the study of the Brownings and a short-lived Dickens Society. The flourishing, alongside these groups for serious study, of other societies of a somewhat frivolous nature such as the Thirteen, with thirteen members

¹ Miss Buck was appointed in 1893, graduated in Arts in 1901 and took her M.A. in 1904. See Staff Register, p.5

² Board of Education: Report, 1906-7, p.53.

³ College Annual Report, 1903, p.5

⁴ Our Gramophone, vol.III, no.2, 1907.

meeting at thirteen minutes to nine, is a sad comment on a system of training in which the slightest loosening of the bonds of control could lead to such a childish reaction.¹

In fact, the bonds of control remained very tight. The Principal's claim that 'It is sought to make the College as nearly like a home as is consistent with school work,'² carries with it the Victorian middle-class ideas of the place of the children in the home. The early-morning lecture may have been abandoned in 1907,³ but the rule forbidding the making of beds before breakfast remained. To break the rule was to risk having to unmake the bed if discovered.⁴ The Inspector had only to mention the value of swimming as a gymnastic exercise for females,⁵ for the Baths to be reserved for the students on Mondays,⁶ leading him to comment in 1903 that 'the most noticeable novelty was the provision made for physical training, in the shape of hockey, swimming and a liberal supply of lawn tennis grounds.'⁷ But there is no evidence of an adequate reply to the letter in 1893 from the Vicar of St. Giles' Church in Durham, protesting that the students were no longer permitted to attend his Church,⁸ or of a response to the Bishop of Jarrow's suggestion in 1907 that the choice of place of worship permitted to the student might reflect the differing types of Churchmanship.⁹ In 1908, the practising schools used by the

¹ Our Gramophone, vol.III, no.1, 1907.

² College Annual Report, 1892, p.26.

³ Our Gramophone, vol. III, no.1, 1907.

⁴ Letter to M.V.Boyd from a student of 1910-11; dated 17.2.1974.

⁵ College Minutes, 23.6.1900.

⁶ College Minutes, 6.5.1901.

⁷ College Annual Report, 1903, p.5

⁸ College Minutes, 23.2.1893.

⁹ College Minutes, 2.12.1907.

students included schools in West Hartlepool, Newcastle and Sunderland, while back in College the penalty incurred by a student for dropping a pair of scissors during a Needlework period was to stand at the front of the class with her face turned to the wall.¹

With the ending of the First Year Certificate examination in 1902, it might have been thought that there would be some easing of examination pressure, but in St. Hild's this did not happen. In his first year of office, the Principal had, in effect, declared his policy towards examinations by instituting a Prizegiving Day, making it a formal occasion on which a local dignitary was asked to present the prizes. These were awarded on the results of the weekly examinations held throughout the year, and no student could receive more than two prizes.² There were prizes for general proficiency and individual subjects, and, to encourage the less able, a Kangaroo prize, 'for one student out of each class who leaped the most places each year.'³ In 1906, there was even a prize for dormitory neatness.⁴ The Principal did not approve of the changes of 1902-3, bemoaned the loss of the First Year Certificate examination, substituted a College examination for it, and matters continued as before.⁵ A College Maxim, remembered by a student of 1901-3 and contained in her Album,⁶ gives the student view of the time:

Rattle me out of bed early; Set me going;
Give me as short a time as you like
to bolt my meals in,
And keep me at it.

¹ Conversation between M.V.Boyd and a student of 1907-9. The pencilled comment in the student's copy of Our Gramophone, where the punishment is reported, reads: 'Poor Gladys - but it didn't work.'

² College Annual Report, 1894, p.26.

³ College Annual Report, 1897, p.20.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1906, p.19.

⁵ College Annual Report, 1903, p.20.

⁶ Conversation with M.V.Boyd, 1974; See the Album of Edith Brears, Student of St. Hild's, 1901-3; College Archives.

3. The Denominational Crisis.

The link with the University was forged, and the first tightly-reined steps in the direction of liberalisation taken, against the physical background of an extensive building programme put in hand between 1892 and 1913. Canon Tristram's initial proposal in 1892, encouraged by H.M.I. Mr. Fitch, to buy or rent a hostel for a further twenty students,¹ led to an enlargement of the College to the East to provide accommodation for fourteen additional students, and a Chapel to seat one hundred, completed in 1896, at a cost of £3,250 raised by public subscription. Acting on the initiative of H.M.I. Mr. Scott Coward,² there was extension to the West to provide a dormitory for twenty-two students, a Science Room and a Common Room, completed in 1900 at a cost of £3,600. The College was then approved by the Board of Education for one hundred and six students. A house and cottage at the gate of the College were bought in 1903 for use as a hostel by a further twelve students.

But the increase in the number of students meant that Year Groups were becoming too large for teaching purposes, and division or group work difficult to arrange because of lack of teaching space.³ This led to another major extension, again to the West, in 1907-8, which made for a general improvement of living and working conditions, and good facilities for Chemistry and Botany, at a cost of £3,857. At the same time, a temporary structure, to be used as a gymnasium, was erected apart from the main building. A significant feature of

¹ College Minutes, 9.11.1892.

² College Minutes, 6.4.1898.

³ College Annual Report, 1907, p.3.

the enlargements of 1900 and 1907-8 was that, at the suggestion of the Inspectors and with the approval of the Education Department, they had been undertaken by raising mortgages, of £2,000 in 1899,¹ and of £1,600 in 1907,² and not by public appeal to the Diocese. In 1909, the Board required an intake to bring the total number in College to 129. By placing six students in lodgings and having five living at home, the College was able to comply, and was recognised for one hundred and twenty-three resident students and six day students.³

Alongside these enlargements, there were two other developments put in hand. Discussion began in 1905 about moving the Girls' Practising School out of the College building.⁴ The plans were approved, and the consent of the Board of Education for the raising of a £2,000 mortgage given, in 1910.⁵ The second of these developments arose out of the wish of the St. Hild's College Association⁶ to mark in some special way the Jubilee of the College in 1908. The Principal had suggested an enlargement of the Chapel, but the decision taken at a Reunion in 1907 was to open an appeal to provide an entirely new Chapel building.⁷ This would enable the existing Chapel to be used as a library.⁸ The Board of Education

¹ College Minutes, 26.5.1899.

² College Minutes, 2.10.1907.

³ College Annual Report, 1909, p.4.

⁴ College Minutes, 5.6.1905.

⁵ College Minutes, 9.2.1910.

⁶ The Association formally came into being in June, 1899, after a series of reunions of Old Students beginning in 1892.

⁷ College Annual Report, 1907, p.5.

⁸ Catalogues were printed in 1909 of the 700 books in the Common Room and of the 2,000 reference books available for student use. (College Annual Report, 1909, p.6) It was not until 1912, however, that the College H.M.I. was able to say that 'a good library, which has long been wanted, is now within sight.' (College Annual Report, 1912, p.5)

permitted the College to contribute to the fund for the new Chapel to the extent of the value of the Chapel then in use, and this was put at £1,523.¹ The initial hope that each member of the Association would be able to contribute £5 over a period of three years proved to be too optimistic, and it was not until 1912 that sufficient money had been raised to enable a start to be made on the building.²

The motivating power behind this extensive and expensive programme to provide more places for training and to improve the existing facilities was, in essence, the same motivating power which had led to the creation of the College, and which was re-expressed by Archdeacon Hamilton, one of its creators, as late as 1896:

'Nothing could be more detrimental to the religion of this country than that the Government be compelled to found secular Colleges,'³ and by Canon Tristram, another of its creators, as late as 1903:

'Women had everywhere the making of men, and for good or for evil woman was all-powerful. The moulding of the children's minds and habits would depend on them, and this they must do upon a basis of religion. Morality upon any other basis could only fail utterly.'⁴

But to find Miss Skinner described in an obituary as 'one of the builders of St. Hild's College,'⁵ is a reminder that the loyalties of the creators were shared loyalties, shared certainly with the three members of Staff, Miss Skinner, Miss Thomas and Miss Fish, who dominated the College at the turn of the century. At the core of their shared loyalty lay a commitment to its denominational expression. In accordance with the canons of judgement laid down

¹ College Minutes, 6.11.1908.

² College Annual Report, 1912, p.8.

³ College Annual Report, 1896, p.x.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1903, p.20.

⁵ St. Hild's College Magazine, 1941-2, p.4.

by the Archbishops' Inspector in 1897, St. Hild's could not be faulted. 'Those Colleges are manifestly best where the Principal and Staff know that they are first of all officers of the Church, not merely of the Education Department.'¹ A situation arose in 1907 which threatened to make that primary recognition impossible.

St. Hild's inevitably became caught up in the controversy which raged around the publication in 1907 of the Regulations which were to govern the entry of students to Training Colleges from 1908 onwards. The two clauses giving particular offence were 8d. and 8h:

8d. In no circumstances may the application of a candidate be rejected on the ground of religious faith or by reason of his refusal to undertake to attend or to abstain from attending any place of religious worship, or any religious observance, or instruction in religious subjects in the College or elsewhere;

8h. No recognised student may be required to withdraw from a College or Hostel on any ground similar to those set forth in 8d.

In addition, clause 8g. laid down that

8g. No College or Hostel may impose upon candidates for admission an examination, written or oral, in addition to such examinations as may be approved by the Board as qualifications for admission.²

This attempt to open up the denominational Colleges to a wider intake could not have taken anyone entirely by surprise. The matter had been under discussion at the time of the Cross Commission. One of the pieces of information required by the Commission was the number of candidates between 1883 and 1885 who had been refused admission 'on the ground of deficiency in religious knowledge' yet had stood higher on the Queen's Scholarship List than the lowest accepted candidate.³ St. Hild's had rejected four in that period.

¹ National Society: Annual Report, 1897, p.77.

² Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1907, p.7

³ Cross Commission: Training College Returns (1888) p.121.

The Inspectors had then agreed that the proposal of a Conscience Clause in the residential Colleges would be a breach of faith by the State,¹ and the Majority report had accepted this view. But the matter did not end there, for the strongly expressed view of the Minority report, that the dangers of a Conscience Clause had been over-emphasised, ensured that the question remained one of debate.²

The Assistant Bishop of Durham, speaking on Prize-Giving Day in 1897, reminded his audience that the Training Colleges had not passed through as yet 'the same fiery trials as the voluntary schools had done.'³ That the 'fiery trials' were not far distant was the view of Lord Barnard, speaking to the students in 1901. He indicated that the line of attack would be that the Colleges were very largely supported by the taxpayer, and that such resources should not be made available to institutions which existed for denominational purposes. He drew the students' attention to the fact that St. Hild's was dependent on the State for two-thirds of its income.⁴

It was no doubt in the hope of avoiding State intervention that the Colleges began to open Hostels to provide places for students of other denominations. The initiative came from the Colleges themselves, but was commended by the Archbishops' Inspector.⁵ St. Hild's had bought the house and cottage at the gate of the College in 1903 for this purpose. It was, said Canon Tristram, 'to meet the necessities of the times and to show that they did not wish to hinder the advancement in learning of those

¹ Cross Commission: Final Report, Part III, ch.6, p.96.

² *ibid.*, p.242.

³ College Annual Report, 1897, p.26.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1901, pp.22-23.

⁵ National Society: Annual Report, 1903, p.99.

who might differ from them in religious belief,¹ and the College Annual Report for 1905 was the last to open with the sentence with which the Reports had begun since Haworth became Principal: 'The Training College was established for the education of schoolmistresses in the Principles of the Church of England.' By 1906, Hostels were in existence attached to Ripon and Salisbury, and the National Society was encouraging the general establishment of open Hostels,² and also the admission of Day Students under a Conscience Clause,³

There is, however, another factor which must be taken into account in assessing the motivating influences which lay behind the actions of the Colleges, and that is the anxiety felt by all the residential Colleges, and not only those of the Church of England, about how the new Local Education Authorities would react to their freedom to provide for teacher training. There was a quick response by the residential Colleges to the recognition afforded under the 1904 Regulations to a new type of Training College which did not have to be in connection with a University or University College, or be a residential College.⁴ This response, and the measure of their anxiety, are seen in a statement adopted at a meeting of the Principals of residential Colleges in June, 1905, and headed, Not for Publication. It was an attempt to show that, on the evidence of applications received for entry in 1905, there was no basis for the popularly supposed view that there was a shortage of places in Training Colleges, and that therefore the most pressing need was for the various religious and educational societies to join forces 'to urge upon the Local Education

¹ College Annual Report, 1903, p.21.

² National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, no.10; 27.2.1906, p.433, and 7.3.1906, p.439.

³ *ibid.*, 22.1.1906, p.408.

⁴ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1904, p.v.

Authorities the necessity of cooperating with them, and with one another,' in working out a future policy for teacher training provision which would avoid unnecessary waste and competition.¹

The acute anxiety felt by the National Society at this time is seen in the setting up of a Sub-Committee to consider the position of the Church Training Colleges,² which made its Private and Confidential Report at the beginning of 1906. It was a frank statement about the dangers which were believed to be threatening that position. The attraction of the Day Training Colleges was freely admitted, because of their low fees and allowances for board and lodging, the absence of compulsion in religious matters and the freedom from the restraints of the residential college life. The feeling was that competition from that quarter would prove to be dangerous to many of the Church Colleges.³ But the greater fear was that expressed about the increasing intervention of the Board of Education, and the possibility of an attempt being made to introduce some form of popular control into the management of the Colleges, an attempt which it would not be easy to resist because of the large proportion of the annual expenditure which was met from public funds.⁴

Thus although some intervention in the affairs of the Colleges was not unexpected, the sweeping nature of that intervention was, and was seen as, an attempt to destroy the denominational character of the Colleges almost overnight. That this was the resolve of the authorities, at least as far as student intake was

¹ ED/24/464: Statement adopted at a meeting of Principals of Residential Colleges, 24.6.1905. Public Record Office.

² National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, 6.7.1905, no.10, p.350.

³ H.M.I. Mr. Oakeley in 1894 noted that St. Hild's did not suffer from competition with the Day Training College in Newcastle, and there is no later evidence to the contrary. See College Minutes, 2.11.1894.

⁴ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, 22.1.1906, no.10, p.408.

concerned, is seen in a Memorandum of R.L.Morant, Secretary of the Board of Education, after a meeting with the President of the Board, dated 5th. June, 1905. 'It was agreed that the new Conscience Clause must be made as effective as we can possibly make it, and that Colleges which attempt to evade it must be severely punished and, on the second occasion, struck off the Grant List.'¹ The knowledge that out of a total number of 5,201 places in residential Colleges in 1906, 4,142 were open only to candidates belonging to some particular denomination, strengthened the resolve.²

The Regulations for the 1908 entry were issued in July, 1907, and immediate action was taken at the highest level. The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned the Consultative Committee of the National Society to a meeting, which Canon Haworth attended, on 19th. July,³ and led a strong deputation, which included the Bishop of Oxford and four other Bishops, together with the Principals of Warrington, Battersea and St. Mark's, to see the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Education, Reginald McKenna, on 20th. July. Nothing was achieved by this, other than the assurance given by the President of the Board that the problem would take care of itself when there were enough undenominational Colleges, at which time it was anticipated that undenominational candidates would prefer to go to them.⁴ On July 24th., a meeting of Church Training College officials took place at the National Society's office.⁵

¹ ED/24/491 The St. Albans Compromise, 1907-8; Public Record Office.

² Board of Education: Report, 1906-7, p.16.

³ National Society Consultative Committee: Minutes, p.28.

⁴ ED/24/489 Training College Regulations, 1907; Public Record Office

⁵ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, no.11, 24.7.1907. A special Minute Book of Conferences held in connection with the McKenna crisis is mentioned in the Index to the National Society Standing Committee Minutes, no.11, under the letter T, but could not be traced in the National Society's archives.

In the following month, Circular 570 was issued to the Colleges by the Board, setting out the Conditions of Admission for 1908. The intention was to give the Colleges as much freedom in selection as possible, provided that that freedom was exercised within the terms of the Regulations. Thus Colleges were still permitted to accept candidates on the grounds of preference for local candidates, and from 1908 the place where the candidate was examined for entry would be decided by the Board on the grounds of geographical convenience. Colleges were asked to let the Board know the principles of selection they would operate.¹ One of the ways of checking whether the freedom was being abused was the insistence in the Regulations on the keeping of a Register of candidates in the order of receipt of their applications,² and Circular 570 indicated that from 1908 there would be a fee for admission to the Register to discourage applications to a number of Colleges.

The National Society did not remain inactive during the summer months. It had called for an examination of the Trust Deeds of the Church Colleges and invited College representatives to a meeting in October. The Chairman of the Committee of Management and the Principal attended on behalf of the College,³ and it was decided at that meeting to seek Counsel's advice on how far the observance of the new Regulations would conflict with the Trust Deeds.⁴ It was further decided that a Committee of representatives, under the Bishop of St. Albans, should be set up to consider the opinion of Counsel, 'keeping in view the necessity for securing united action on the part of the Church Training

¹ ED/24/491 Circular 570 to Training Colleges, signed by R.L.Morant, 23.8.1907; Public Record Office.

² Board of Education: Report, 1906-7, p.56.

³ College Minutes, 2.10.1907.

⁴ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, no.11, 31.10.1907, p.131.

Colleges.'¹ The original Committee of nineteen was increased to twenty-eight, including the Archdeacon of Durham and the Chairman of St. Hild's Committee of Management, Colonel Rowland Burdon, in the following month.² Here was the beginning of a machinery, which until that time had not existed, to act on behalf of the Church Colleges as a whole.

Counsel's opinion was delivered on 20th. November, 1907, making it clear that to observe Clauses 8d and 8h of the Regulations would be to commit a breach of the obligations contained in the Trusts and Trust Deeds. This Opinion was considered by the Committee and then forwarded to the Colleges, together with a resolution recommending the extension of the Hostel system.³

A further conference of representatives of the Church Training Colleges was held on December 6th., attended on behalf of St. Hild's by the Principal and Chairman. The resolutions of this conference were included in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the President of the Board of Education, dated 9th. December, 1907, in which he pointed out that 'there appears to be no question as to the bearing of the Opinion upon our Training Colleges generally.'⁴ The resolutions themselves stressed that the Church of England had no more than one-third of the available training places, that adequate preparation of a teacher was needed to give Religious Instruction of any kind in an elementary school, and that the Colleges had been founded for that purpose with the full sanction of the State. On those grounds, it was urged that the denominational character of the Church of England Training

¹ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, no.11, 31.10.1907, p.131.

² *ibid.*, 6.11.1907, p.134.

³ College Minutes, 2.12.1907.

⁴ ED/24/491 The St. Albans Compromise; Public Record Office.

Colleges should be safeguarded as far as the resident students were concerned.¹

The resolutions of the Conference of December 6th. came before the College Committee and it was decided that the Chairman would represent St. Hild's on the Provisional Committee of the Council of Church Training Colleges which was to emerge from these regular meetings of the Church Colleges representatives.²

A memorandum from the Secretary of the Board to the President dated 22nd. December, 1907, shows that it was his understanding that, although the Archbishop had objected on principle and on legal grounds, it was the legal case that had been presented, i.e. the interpretation of Trust Deeds, and to which a reply had therefore to be made.³ Accordingly, the reply to the Archbishop, dated 23rd. January, 1908, recognised the objections on principle but answered the legal case presented by pointing out the possibility of amending Trusts. It is clear from the notes passing between Morant and McKenna that the aim was to be conciliatory, and not to score points. Hence the omission from the actual reply of the words contained in the draft, 'There is no apparent reason why the Training College authorities should feel a difficulty which to the Trustees of Elementary Schools has not proved insurmountable.'⁴ The National Society, however, had foreseen that this would be the line of reply in this matter and had indicated in its letter to the College after examination of the Trust Deed that 'in dealing with Training Colleges we have none of the statutory provisions which are contained in the Acts of Parliament for elementary schools, and

¹ ED/24/491 St. Albans Compromise, 1907-8, Public Record Office.

² College Minutes, 18.12.1907.

³ ED/24/491 St. Albans Compromise.

⁴ *ibid.*

which authorise trustees to ignore those parts of their trusts which conflict with the conditions for the time being in force for the earning of a Parliamentary grant.'¹ Hence the National Society's reaction to McKenna's letter of 23rd. January was that 'Cynicism could no further go.'²

The Principal reported on the meeting of representatives of the Church of England Colleges on January 8th., and Colonel Burdon, the Principal and the Treasurer were nominated to represent the College on the General Council of the Church of England Training Colleges, for 1908.³ At what must have been the first meeting of that body, on 3rd. February, 1908, the view was reiterated that whatever arrangements were made for Nonconformist entry must not interfere with the religious life and character of the Colleges as a whole, and therefore an extension of the Hostel system was the best way of ensuring this. This view was conveyed to Robert Morant in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 14th. February, 1908.⁴

The matter was resolved after much correspondence between Walter Runciman, who succeeded McKenna as President of the Board of Education in April, 1908, bringing with him qualities of diplomacy and tact apparently lacking in his predecessor, and the Bishop of St. Albans as Chairman of the Council. In an exchange of letters dated 24th. and 25th. June, 1908, it was agreed that there should be a temporary modus vivendi and that for 1908 Colleges would not be bound to offer the facility of a Conscience Clause to more than fifty per cent of vacant places.⁵ Clause 8d was altered accordingly:

¹ St. Hild's Correspondence, National Society; 30.9.1907.

² National Society: Annual Report, 1908, p.14.

³ College Minutes, 30.1.1908.

⁴ ED/24/491 The St. Albans Compromise; Public Record Office.

⁵ *ibid.*

8d. (i) In the selection of candidates for half the number of places which will be vacant in 1908 the Authorities of a College may not reject the application of any candidate, not belonging to the denomination of the College, on the grounds of religious faith.¹

The use of annexes, lodgings or hostels for such candidates was approved by the Board, but it was made clear that the relaxation of the Regulations issued in 1907 was without prejudice to any future arrangements.²

The arrangement did, in fact, continue and by 1909 it had become clear that the Conscience Clause was not to apply to any candidate of the denomination to which the College belonged,³ and College authorities were again permitted to require such candidates to pass an entrance examination in Divinity.⁴

In the emergence in this crisis, of the Council for the Church of England Training Colleges, with its elected membership of three representatives from each College and an Executive Committee to watch events and take any immediate action that might be required, the National Society saw good coming out of evil.⁵ Too much significance should not be attached to this, however. The Council had only such power and authority as each individual College was prepared to give to it, and was thus the kind of machinery to which resort could be made when required, but at the same time had no power to infringe the independence or impinge upon the autonomy of the institutions of which it was representative. Where the significance does lie is in the recognition that there could be no

¹ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Elementary Schools, 1908, p.7

² Board of Education: Report, 1907-8, p.11.

³ National Society: Annual Report, 1909, p.16.

⁴ Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Elementary Schools, 1909, p.vi.

⁵ National Society: Annual Report, 1908, p.14.

quick, easy, tidy solution to the problem of Church and State relationship in the field of teacher education, any more than there could be in that of educational provision at a lower level.

But need the confrontation have occurred? The best judgement on this is perhaps that of the Archbishops' Inspector: 'The State asked us, perhaps in somewhat peremptory terms, to extend our influence.... The circumstances no doubt were provocative of hysteria on both sides.'¹ There is evidence which suggests that a little less concern for the denominational character of the institutions might have done much to safeguard their Christian character.

The Reports of the Archbishops' Inspector in this period show an increasing awareness that the Church was not taking full advantage of the opportunities that it had. The blame was apportioned equally among Clergy, School Managers and the Colleges themselves. Note was made each year of the number of Pupil Teachers entering College from Church Schools who had received no special instruction in Religious Knowledge, and the Inspector saw the remedy for this as being in the hands of the Clergy.² He might not have agreed with Lord Barnard that School Managers were 'the most unsatisfactory people on the face of the earth',³ but he thought that the situation should not be allowed to occur where

¹ National Society: Annual Report, 1908, p.98.

² National Society: Annual Report, 1903, p.95. In 1900, 131 of the 548 men who entered the Church of England Colleges had received no special instruction in Religious Knowledge. Of the 131, 15 were from Church of England Schools, two of whom entered Bede. The corresponding figures for the women's Colleges were 103, out of an entry of 884, who had received no special instruction, 13 from Anglican Schools, one of whom entered St. Hild's. In 1905, 132 out of the 582 who entered the men's Colleges had received no Religious Instruction. 17 were from Church Schools. 146 of the 1,082 who entered the women's Colleges had received no special religious teaching. 17 were from Church of England Schools, and one of these entered St. Hild's. See National Society: Annual Reports for 1900 and 1905.

³ College Annual Report, 1901, p.24.

students from Church Schools had never given religious lessons as Pupil Teachers.¹

That many Church Pupil Teachers chose to enter other Colleges to avoid the work in Religious Knowledge² is understandable. The average time of four hours per week devoted to religious subjects in the Church Colleges in 1895 may seem little in comparison with ten hours in 1870,³ but the pressure of other examination work - thirteen compulsory subjects, plus Optionals, after 1904 - and the lukewarmness of many of the Clergy and other Managers of Church Schools towards possession of the Archbishops' Certificate⁴ were encouragement enough not to take on an additional work-load.

Consequently, the Church Colleges for men were having to take anyone they could get,⁵ and while some Church of England entrants were coming in unconfirmed one Principal had had twenty-three letters from Nonconformist candidates indicating their willingness to be confirmed, in order to secure entry to College.⁶ The Archbishops' Inspector was very outspoken in reporting, in 1897, that 'there are some colleges where the students do not improve spiritually or evidently, the longer they stay in it,' and where the Inspector was received only as one amongst the many examiners, where students were allowed to be away when he visited and where he was welcome only inasmuch as his visit did not interfere with the students' secular work.⁷ So outspoken was his

¹ National Society: Annual Report, 1900, p.99.

² National Society: Annual Report, 1898, p.75.

³ National Society: Annual Report, 1895, p.94.

⁴ National Society: Annual Report, 1900, p.101.

⁵ National Society: Annual Report, 1896, p.82.

⁶ National Society: Annual Report, 1897, p.77.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.80.

criticism that one is left wondering whether, in his comment that he had noticed in certain quarters 'an attempt to undenominationalise our colleges',¹ he was referring solely to forces at work from without. He was equally frank in his Report some six years later, in which he commented that the Church Colleges had not been so violently attacked as the Church Schools because their influence was seen to be so little on those who went to them that there was little to fear from them.²

There was clearly a considerable difference between the men's and women's Colleges and between individual Colleges within those two categories, but the 1907-8 protest must be seen to have something of a hollow ring about it when it is realised that one of the principal items in the Private and Confidential Report made to the National Society Standing Committee in 1906 by the Sub-Committee set up to consider the position of the Church Colleges³ was the expression of concern about the men's Colleges. The seemingly unbalanced judgement of the Inspector in 1903 is seen to be not without justification when it is revealed in the Sub-Committee's Report that 'the evidence before us testifies that the religious spirit of the colleges is often too weak to cope with religious indifference.'⁴ Little harm could have come to such institutions from an influx of Nonconformists.

The posturing at national level in which the College was involved contrasted sharply with what was happening at the local level, in the case of St. Hild's. The College permitted itself a brief reference to the negotiations, in the Annual Report for

¹ National Society: Annual Report, 1897, p.83.

² National Society: Annual Report, 1903, p.95.

³ See above, p.202.

⁴ National Society Standing Committee: Minutes, no.10, 22.1.1906, p.408.

1908. It was admitted that the new Regulations had caused 'considerable anxiety'¹ but there was no mention of the particular cause of the anxiety, only that the modifications proposed by the Board had enabled the College to comply for the present. There might have been more sound and fury from the direction of the College if the events of 1907-8 had taken place a little earlier, but Archdeacon Hamilton had died in 1905, and Canon Tristram a year later. They had, however, both been active to the end, and had been parties to the provision of a Hostel specifically for twelve Nonconformist students in 1903. It was no doubt the experience of the College since that time which played a part in determining its attitude to the events of 1907-8.

There had been no publicity given to the College's new provision, and no immediate rush of Nonconformist candidates.² Three were accepted in 1903, and three in the following year. None of these took any Divinity examinations. Of the eight students who entered the Hostel in 1905, one took the Religious Knowledge entrance examination and went on to gain a First Class in Divinity at the end of her second year, at which time all but one of the remainder were examined. The Hostel had its full complement again in 1906 and 1907, and they were examined in Divinity in both years of their course.³ Nonconformist students attended all lectures except those on the Prayer Book and Church History;⁴ they were examined only in Biblical Knowledge, and their results were classified apart from the main list.⁵ Looking back on events since

¹ College Annual Report, 1908, p.5

² *ibid.*, p.3

³ College Register.

⁴ College Annual Report, 1909, p.4

⁵ College Annual Report, 1907, p.9

1903 and the opening of the new Hostel, the verdict in 1908 was that 'no difficulties in the administration or discipline of the College have arisen from this step.'¹

There can be little doubt that the College recognised that a new situation had arisen, but it was a situation which it intended to control. The means of doing so may be deduced from a letter sent to the Bishop of St. Albans as the negotiations of 1907-8 drew to a close. The College stood firm that no suitable Church of England applicant would be deprived of a place by the introduction of Nonconformists. Thus, with the assurance by the National Society of the strong Church of England Trusts contained in the Deeds, the College would be unlikely to go beyond the policy of providing Hostel places. But that being said, the letter suggests that the College would favour a policy of proportional representation as being more equitable.² In other words, the College was prepared to enter into the spirit, if not the letter, of the modus vivendi. In 1909, there were 267 applicants for 63 First Year places in the College. 27 were from Nonconformists, and five were accepted for entry.³ For the 65 available places in 1910 there were 221 applications, of which 48 were from Nonconformists.⁴ A second Hostel, Grove House, was acquired and the total number of Nonconformists in the College rose to 22, out of the possible total of 23 for whom Hostel accommodation was available,⁵ representing roughly 18% of places.

¹ College Annual Report, 1908, p.3. In the academic year 1908-9, 1600 students were admitted to the 31 Church of England Colleges. About 170, or just over 10%, were Nonconformists. See National Society: Annual Report, 1909, p.16.

² College Minutes, 19.6.1908.

³ College Applications Register.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ College Annual Report, 1911, p.4. The statement in the College Annual Report for 1909 that 14 Nonconformists were admitted in September, 1908, and 15 in September, 1909, must be understood to refer to the total number of Nonconformists in the College in the years stated, and not to new entrants.

The first application of a Roman Catholic caused something of a stir, but it was agreed that she should be considered 'on the same footing as other Nonconformist candidates.'¹ She was number 173 in the Applications Register for entry in 1910. There is no evidence that she was admitted to the College.² This application must, however, have raised the question of the limits of a Conscience Clause, and the possibility of applications being received from professed unbelievers in Christianity was discussed. The Management Committee's resolve that all such applications were to be refused³ echoed the view of the Archbishops' Inspector in 1908 that 'an unbelieving teacher has not that character that can usefully be brought in contact with childhood and youth.'⁴

The entry of the Nonconformists into the College left the body of students unmoved. A 1907-9 inhabitant recalls that there was a certain amount of envy because the accommodation in the Hostels was considered somewhat superior to that in the College.⁵ A student of the 1908-10 period is in no doubt that their coming had very little effect on the life of the College. 'I can say with absolute certainty that most of the students did not even guess for several weeks that their form of worship was any different from our own. They could attend Chapel with the rest of us during the week if they wished, but with no compulsion. On Sundays, they went together to their own Chapel. Before the end of the first term I'm fairly sure that they all came to College Chapel

¹ College Minutes, 9.2.1910.

² In the absence of provision for recording religious denomination in the Register, the College recorded such information, in the case of candidates other than those belonging to the Church of England, in the date of birth column.

³ College Minutes, 9.2.1910.

⁴ National Society: Annual Report, 1908, p.98.

⁵ Conversation with N.V.Boyd, 1974.

for Morning and Evening Prayers like the rest of us.¹

The College had cast its mould, but judged in the long term it had also been opened up to a new set of influences.

¹Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 30.4.1974.

POSTSCRIPT

Canon Haworth retired in 1910 after twenty-one years as Principal, to be succeeded by Miss Eleanor Christopher, the first woman Principal of the College, with an educational background of Honours in Modern Languages at Oxford, teaching experience in Liverpool and administrative experience as Head of Leamington High School.¹

'When Miss Christopher took over the reins, all students had to be called Miss. It seemed strange after having been called Ethel by the Mistresses for the first year.'² In this manner a student of the period encapsulates the character of the times. It was a time of transition. With the development of Secondary education after 1902, it was becoming possible by 1910 to give reality to that re-definition of a Training College which had been given earlier in the century:

'The definition of a Training College hitherto has been: An institution for educating persons who are preparing to become Certificated Teachers in Public Elementary Schools and for giving them instruction in the principles and practice of teaching.

In the Regulations of the present year a Training College is defined as:

An institution for instructing persons who are preparing to become Certificated Teachers in Public Elementary Schools in the principles and practice of teaching, and for supplementing their education as far as may be necessary.'³

The resources at Miss Christopher's disposal were of two

¹ The Board of Education had ruled in 1908 that as vacancies for Principals occurred in the women's Colleges they were to be filled by the appointment of women. Board of Education: Regulations for the Training of Teachers for Elementary Schools, 1908, p.xii.

² Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 17.2.1974.

³ Board of Education: Report, 1904-5, p.40

kinds. Materially, she inherited the buildings which, without any changes which had not been planned before 1910, brought the commendation of the Training College Commission in 1916 that 'this College is fairly well designed and equipped for its purpose. Among the Church Training Colleges it stands certainly in the front rank.'¹ In terms of Staff, it was a largely graduate one, with the College's own graduates at the heart of it. But beyond that, there was also a College Association of almost half of the 1,800 students who had passed through the College since 1858, whose enormous goodwill and loyalty ensured a continuity. But transition does mean radical change for some, and the departure of Miss Fish and Miss Skinner was not long delayed. The presentations to them in 1913, during which they were described as 'embodying the best traditions of the place,'² marked the end of an era.

But St. Hild's did not change overnight. There are those who would say that it has remained an enclosed, isolated community until very recent years. If by that is meant that it continued to manifest a paternalism, or maternalism, then that is true. But paternalism need not be a perjorative term: at its heart is a concern to say that education is not a process, but a matter of relationships. The quality, the nature and the effect of that relationship must be left for those who underwent what may now appear to us to have been a stifling experience, to judge. One student of 1907-9 writes, 'It would be impossible for one to be in close contact with the Principal and his Staff and not be greatly influenced morally and spiritually by their love of College and their devotion to their several duties.'³ Another student of

¹ The Training College Commission (1916) Report to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. Chairman: the Bishop of Wakefield. Appendix III, p.215.

² College Magazine, 1912-13, p.4

³ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 10.2.1974.

1908-10 writes, in a thirty-three page letter, 'Perhaps you will have noticed that I've only mentioned the Principal once. As a matter of fact we seldom saw him, except in Chapel and during Scripture lectures.'¹ Both students are united, however, in a fierce loyalty, not to be dismissed as mere nostalgia, which has kept them in touch with the College for sixty years.

Brown's description of a Church Training College in the nineteenth century as 'a community living a common life and seeking consecrated ends,'² claims more for that experience than is justified. The provision of a common life was part of that experience, and shared by all. For some, it may have been the most significant aspect of their life in College. For some, the 'consecrated ends' were a motivating power which gave added depths to their lives. It is in the assumption by those responsible for the Church Colleges that all were, or ought to be, seeking 'consecrated ends' that we see the unacceptable face of paternalism. The words of the Archbishops' Inspector in 1898 demonstrate this, and need no further comment. 'I was surprised to find how seldom correct belief is considered as a duty. Many students have told me point blank that they have a perfect right to do what they please with their own minds.'³

The denominational battle continued to be waged by the National Society at the national level, as the modus vivendi remained in force.⁴ Miss Christopher's replies to the National Society's questionnaires about its effects on the College show signs of increasing irritation.⁵ There has to be some sympathy for the

¹ Letter to M.V.Boyd, dated 17.2.1974.

² C.K.F.Brown: (1942) The Church's Part in Education, 1833-1941, p.98.

³ National Society: Annual Report, 1898, p.77.

⁴ See ED/24/1829 Deputation to the President of the Board of Education re the modus vivendi. Public Record Office.

⁵ See Questionnaires, 1912 and 1913; St. Mild's Correspondence; National Society. 'Let sleeping dogs lie,' sums up her attitude.

stand the National Society took, for if the Church Colleges did not express their distinctiveness in their denominational character, where was their distinctiveness to lie, or indeed, their raison d'être? It is a question yet to be answered.

Miss Christopher's Church commitment was no less than that of her predecessor, but other matters were judged to be of more educational concern. Thus while it may be claimed that the laying of the foundation stone of the new Chapel in 1912 was of significance for the continuing life of the College into the twentieth century, equally certainly it may be claimed that the long-term possibilities for the future of the College, and of teacher-training within the College, inherent in that first link with the University, were glimpsed as the new Principal assumed her responsibilities. The Principal's policy was to rest secure that the roots of the College were deep in its Christian allegiance, and to venture forth in that security.

The following paragraph formed part of the prefatory memorandum to the Regulations issued in 1904, and was repeated in the preface to the Regulations in subsequent years:

'Every student who leaves a Training College at the completion of his course of study should have received a thorough training in the principles and methods of teaching children; he should also have received, either before entering the College or during the College course, an education wide and liberal enough to enable him to use his skill in teaching to the best effect in dealing with the several branches of the course of instruction in Public Elementary Schools; and throughout the training it should be remembered that the function of the College in relation to the students is the formation of character no less than the giving of practical or intellectual instruction.'

With these words the founders of the College would have been in total agreement.

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