



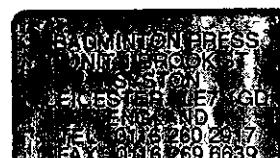
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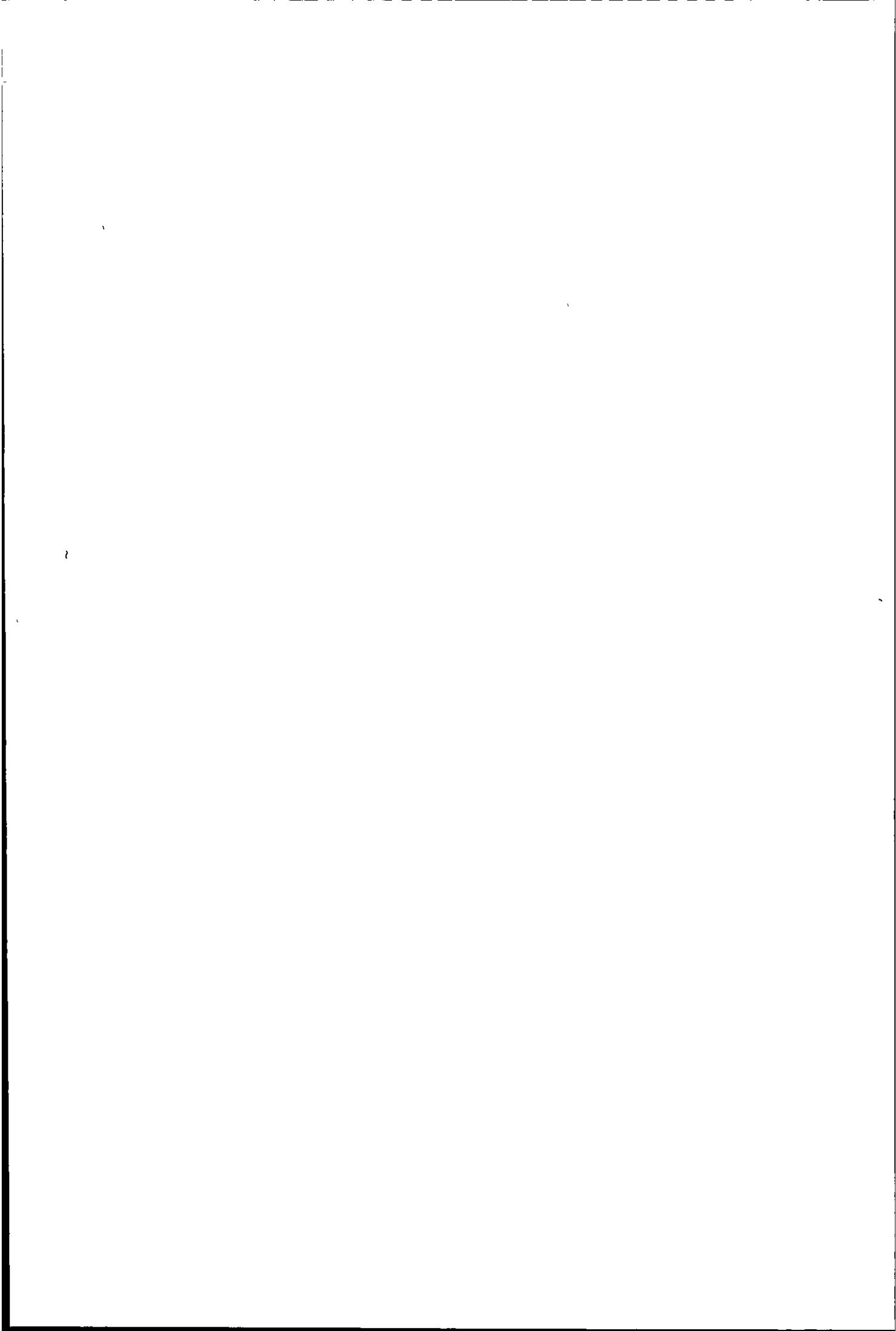
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ABSTRACT

The basis of the thesis is the education of working class girls, as seen against the background of the national educational pattern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and includes the various educational agencies and opportunities on offer to girls, such as prizes and scholarships; Higher, Adult and private education; and careers in teaching. This inevitably involves examining the differences and similarities between the education of male and female scholars, and of working class and middle class girls.

The central form of the study is the issue of domestic subjects tuition and the influence of middle class educators, especially at local level, who determined the actual content of education.

The study also explores the various problems of access to education, such as attendance and absence from school, punishments, medicals and illness etc.

Evidence from a variety of sources has been used, both recent and contemporary secondary sources including fiction of the era, manuscript and original sources, official reports and oral evidence taken from local residents. The thesis provides a coherent picture of the education of girls in Nottingham between 1870-1914.

Keywords: Nottingham, Girls, Women, Education.

The Education of Girls and Women in Nottingham

Between 1870 and 1914,

With Special Reference to Domestic Ideology

and Middle Class Influence

by

Wendy Jones

A Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the award of

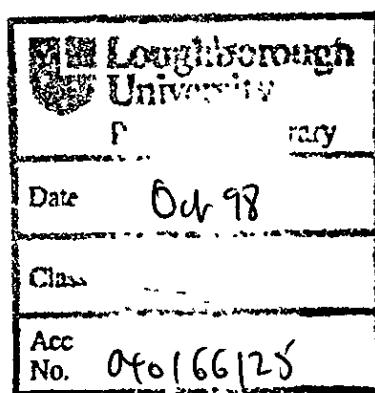
Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

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Prof. John Thomas

April, 1998

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

CHAPTER I: The Development of Education After 1870 With Particular Reference to Nottingham -----	1
---	----------

CHAPTER II: Issues in the History of Women's Education -----	33
---	-----------

CASE STUDY: NOTTINGHAM

CHAPTER III: The City of Nottingham -----	83
--	-----------

CHAPTER IV: Academic Subjects in the Curriculum -----	92
--	-----------

CHAPTER V: Religion, Games and Exercise -----	107
--	------------

CHAPTER VI: Craft Subjects: Needlework -----	120
---	------------

CHAPTER VII: Craft Subjects: Domestic Economy, Cookery and Laundry -----	139
---	------------

CHAPTER VIII: Craft Subjects: Housewifery, Babycare and Manual Instruction -----	172
---	------------

CHAPTER IX: Problems of Access: Attendance, Absence and Punishment -----	189
---	------------

CHAPTER X: Further Aspects of Elementary Education - - - - -	222
CHAPTER XI: Half Timers, School Leavers, Industrial Schools, the Workhouse and Ragged Schools - - - - -	235
CHAPTER XII: Higher Grade Schools - - - - -	255
CHAPTER XIII: Pupil Teachers and Teachers - - - - -	264
CHAPTER XIV: Adult Education - - - - -	284
CHAPTER XV: Higher Education - - - - -	301
CHAPTER XVI: Middle Class Influence in Education - - - - -	324
CHAPTER XVII: Informal Education - - - - -	342
CHAPTER XVIII: Private Education - - - - -	350
CHAPTER XIX: CONCLUSION - - - - -	383
BIBLIOGRAPHY (including interviews with local residents) - - - - -	387

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CHAPTER ONE

The Development of Education After 1870 With Particular Reference to Nottingham

1) The situation in 1870 when Forster's Education Act was passed

Long before the passing of the Education Act in 1870, schools existed for children from all social classes from the top private schools through grammar schools to the small fee paying schools patronized by artisans and craftsmen, and charity and church schools provided by either religious bodies or wealthy patrons for the poor. Many of the latter were more concerned with social control than with educating children; throughout the nineteenth century this remained a concern, but the position of Britain in the industrializing world gave rise to new anxieties. The social and political climate of laissez-faire, individualism, self-help and the Victorian Protestant work ethic all mitigated against state involvement in education, yet threats to Britain's trading position as she began to fall behind Germany and the United States, showed a need for education, especially technical education. This was particularly evident in the foreign goods on display at the exhibitions of 1851 and 1867. Yet the provision of state education was in direct opposition with the principles of laissez-faire economics and there were many fears for the over-education of the poor, such as increased social mobility and rebellion against the class structure. The late development of state involvement in education in Britain may be traced to the mood of the times and to the lack of specific need, such as the military needs of Napoleonic France and of Prussia (especially after her defeat by France in 1806). Thus, strong motivation was needed to initiate state education and Britain lacked that motivation.

Yet, in theory at least, the growing leisure time of children, afforded by the Factory Acts of the 1830's and 1840's, left them roaming the streets, which caused even greater concern among the propertied classes. The Manchester and Salford Educational Aid Society, founded in the 1860's, estimated that around 60% of children aged three and over were neither working nor in school; this led to an increased effort to engage children's

time profitably. Set against this was the continuing demand for child labour, irrespective of Acts of Parliament. (The Factory Acts did not affect workshops at all, only factories, and most child labour took place in workshops). Johnson's work on village schools in Derbyshire shows the extent of child labour in local mills throughout the nineteenth century.¹ Some Bible reading was learnt at Sunday School but, as most children worked a twelve to thirteen hour day in the mills mid-century and few of these offered schooling of any kind, little education was gained. Wardle, similarly, has shown the extent of child labour in Nottingham, where parents were shown to be among the worst exploiters of their children's labour. He cites Mary Thorpe's evidence to the Children's Employment Commission of 1862 regarding child labour in the hosiery industry in Arnold which, at this time, specialized in glove-making:

Little children here begin work at stitching gloves when very young. My little sister, now five and a half years old, can stitch a good many little fingers (this little girl began at three and a half years). She used to stand on a stool so as to be able to see the candle on the table. I have seen many begin as young as that and they do so still . . . Children younger than seven, but not younger than six are kept up as late as that (i.e. 11 or 12 p.m. on a Friday). Mothers will pin them to their knee to keep them to their work, and, if they are sleepy, give them a slap on the side of the head to keep them awake . . . little girls of eight or so go out to nurse a baby, and have to stitch while the baby is asleep during the day, and they are kept to stitch after the baby is put to bed.²

Yet throughout the nineteenth century the population growth had enlisted more children in more schools where much of the idea of education was to reinforce the existing social order and keep the poor in their place. Poor living and working conditions and the spread of new ideas (for example, from revolutionary France) created an atmosphere of hostility and the beginnings of a surge for education, especially among the already semi-educated

¹ Johnson, M., Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century, Newton Abbot, 1970.

² Wardle, D., English Popular Education 1780-1970, London, 1970, p.55.

artisan class. (It is interesting to note that the Church of England and Non-Conformists both began their involvement in education at the time of the Luddite riots). The popular press, such as the Poor Man's Guardian, took up the educational cause and Chartist William Lovett coined the phrase that 'knowledge is power'. Among the middle and upper classes two distinct arguments were formulated: that to educate the working classes would be to render them discontented with their lot and create a tendency to rebellion, and that judicious education could make them better citizens, more submissive and receptive to middle class values. The latter argument prevailed, and it was this need to maintain the status quo which extended state involvement in education. Such a tactic can be traced back to Elizabethan and Stuart legislators who, in 1576, established workhouse schools 'to the intent that youth might be accustomed and brought up in labour and then not likely to be idle rogues'.¹ This led to the advent of spinning schools which were paid for by the labour of the girls. Thus, nineteenth century interest in education was the revival of a similar reaction.

Education for the poor had begun in earnest with the founding of rival church societies promoting voluntary educational provision. Bell established the National School Society in 1811 for the promotion of the Church of England doctrine; in 1814, Lancaster formed the British and Foreign School Society which taught undenominational religion; Catholic schools also began to proliferate around this time. In Nottingham, the first Catholic school for girls opened in 1828 in an old chapel on Stoney Street whilst the boys' counterpart opened in Bell Yard, off Long Row, in 1834. The girls' National School began in 1835. By mid-century, the school claimed to teach reading, writing, accounts and Religious Education, whilst the girls' British School claimed to offer grammar and geography as well as reading, writing and R.E.. Both also taught knitting and sewing. Certainly, all the available evidence points to church schools offering only the basic three R's, often minus arithmetic, but plus sewing and/or knitting, even by 1870. Any advanced work was negligible.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p.23

² Wardle, D., Education and Society in Nineteenth Century Nottingham, London, 1971, p.41.

For the very poor, who were often denied entry to Sunday and day schools, all denominations had Ragged Schools. The Dissenters' Ragged School, known as the Town Mission, opened in 1839, running evening classes and a Sunday School only, until moving to Colwick Street near Sneinton Market in 1859, when day classes were added. The Church of England Ragged School began in 1847, soon moving to Glasshouse Street (near to the workhouse) in one of the poorest areas of Nottingham, offering day, evening and Sunday classes for ten to eighteen year olds (male) and ten to 24 year olds (female). The Catholic Ragged School was on George Street, being run by nuns, but little is known of it. Both the Town Mission and Church of England Ragged School ran mothers' meetings, where cheap clothing was made for children; working men's associations and adult evening classes and Sunday classes; libraries and penny banks in an attempt to reach the parents through the children and instil middle class values.¹

The Workhouse on York Street held 256 children in 1844, reduced to 124 in 1871; it has been argued that its inmates attained better skills than children outside due to constant attendance, a six day week, a complete lack of holidays and greater discipline. Vocational training, however, was sparse (tailoring and shoemaking for boys), although even this was more than elsewhere; for girls, domestic chores as a preparation for service and home life was inevitable. It is believed from inspectors' reports from the mid century that the girls' school work was good, due to the retention of a good mistress.²

Added to these were four public day schools: the Free Grammar with places for 50 boys; the Bluecoat for 60 boys and 20 girls; High Pavement for 40 boys and 20 girls; and the Sacramental School (formed before 1713 and still going in the early nineteenth century, but about which little is known). There were also an unknown number of private schools of varying quality and price.³

¹ Wardle, D., The History of Education in Nottingham, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1965, pp.426-32.

² Ibid., pp 432-41.

³ Wardle, D., Education and Society, op. cit., p.43.

The very beginnings of nineteenth century state involvement date from the first small building grant in 1833; it was the extension of such grants that enabled the two societies to maintain their growing number of church schools, vastly more on the part of the National Society. Indeed, in the history of the National Society, Burgess and Welsby argue that Church of England schools were responsible for 'bringing elementary education within the reach of every child in the country'.¹ This is quite a grand statement, but it ignores the extremely low academic standard attained. The monitorial system adopted by both societies was highly economical and, by the standards of the day, mechanically efficient, even though academically it was poor: the most intelligent pupils avoided monitorial duties as they impeded their own education; monitors, therefore, tended to be the most intellectually mediocre, who held power over their minions and were not unknown to accept bribes. This system, however, facilitated rote learning and recitation which was the main part of the cramming process; no account was taken of a child's interests: the brain was simply a machine to be fed information. This waned after Kay-Shuttleworth's pupil teacher initiative of 1846; teacher training began with pupil teachers at age thirteen and lasted for five years; the pupil teacher remained in the school under the supervision of the head teacher, who gave teaching instruction, alongside normal subjects. At age eighteen, the pupil teacher sat an exam and, if successful, became a qualified teacher. The more academic were able to sit for a Queen's Scholarship which, if passed, enabled them to study for two years full time at a residential college, belonging to either the British or National Society. Rote learning made a revival after the instigation of the Revised Code of 1862 and the inauguration of Payment by Results. Such teaching methods are satirized in Dickens' Hard Times by Mr. M'Choakumchild and illustrated by Bitzer's definition of a horse. It is noticeable that Dickens' bad teachers exceed his good, and he is critical of untrained teachers, often unfit for other jobs. Numerous accounts verify his criticisms, such as Florence Nightingale's testimony to the Newcastle Commission of an old man

¹ Burgess, H. J., and Welsby, P.A., A Short History of the National Society 1811-1963, London, 1961, p.37.

who applied to be a schoolmaster because 'he was past minding the pigs'.¹ Hence also, Shaw's quote that 'He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches.'²

The rote learning so prevalent in nineteenth century teaching made much use of class repetition of moral tales in an attempt to produce submission and docility. For example: 'The Riot; or half a loaf is better than no bread':

On the days spent in riot, no bread you brought home;
 Had you spent them in labour you must have had some . . .
 A dinner of herbs, says the wise man, with quiet
 Is better than beef amid discord and riot . . .
 So I'll work the whole day, and on Sunday I'll seek
 At Church how to bear all the wants of the week . . .
 The gentlefolk too will afford us supplies
 They'll subscribe and they'll give up their puddings and pies.'³

This is also seen in Flora Thompson's Lark Rise to Candleford, in the indoctrination of middle class values in writing lessons, in which pupils had to copy maxims such as: 'A fool and his money are soon parted' and 'Count ten before you speak'.⁴ Also seen is the way in which religion is used to inculcate submissiveness, as Laura and her schoolmates are taught: "To order myself lowly and reverently before my betters" was the clause he (the clergyman) underlined in the Church Catechism.⁵

We can see the same ideas at work in Charlotte Bronte's Jane Eyre, as the severe regime at Lowood, with its over harsh punishment, attempts to break the girls' spirits and render them docile, submissive, humble and grateful, through humiliation, indoctrination of middle class values and rigid discipline. We can see this particularly in the passive Helen

¹ Collins, P., Dickens and Children, London, 1963, 1965 edition, p.97.

² Ibid., p.96.

³ Sutherland, G., Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1974, p.10.

⁴ Thompson, F., Lark Rise to Candleford, (published by Oxford University Press, 1939), this edition: Middx., 1973, p.179.

⁵ Ibid. p.179.

Burns' advice to Jane: 'It is better to endure patiently a smart which nobody feels but yourself, than to commit a hasty action whose evil consequences will extend to all connected with you; and, besides, the Bible bids us return good for evil.'¹ Religion and the Bible were noticeably present in other subjects: Lowndes quotes an early National Society arithmetic textbook from the 1830's but which was, no doubt, in use long after this time, even as late as the end of the nineteenth century: 'The children of Israel were sadly given to idolatry, notwithstanding all they knew of God. Moses had to put three thousand men to death for this grievous sin. How would you express this number in digits.'²

For some reason, writing was more likely to be taught in the early Dissenting schools, than in those of the Church of England. But in both National and British schools, sexual divisions were more formalised than in dame and private schools where, even in mixed schools, children would generally be taught together. Dame schools were more akin to working class life than the church schools; the proprietor often collected her pupils from home in many areas and parents thought their children learned to read more quickly, although the subjects offered were basic: at best reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, sewing and knitting; at worst just reading and either sewing or knitting. In all schools girls generally undertook some form of home based skill, usually plain sewing, often in an attempt to inculcate domestic skills which had traditionally been passed down from mother to daughter, but which the industrial revolution had disturbed through its high employment of female labour. This is noticeable in Nottingham where many wives and mothers worked long hours in a factory or workshop or at home based work, such as lace scalloping and other finishing trades, and had little free time to pass on home skills to their daughters, (although this theory is discredited somewhat by the testimony of interviewees, as we shall see later). Thus, girls' schooling always included (and from 1862 was compulsory if a grant was to be earned) sewing, which was thought to be useful both before marriage, in service or as a seamstress, and afterwards in making a good wife and

¹ Bronte, C., Jane Eyre, Middx., 1847, 1985 edition, p 88.

² Lowndes, G A N., The Silent Social Revolution, London, 1969, p.131.

mother. Johnson notes that in the school at Risley there was '... spelling, writing, and the Church Catechism for boys, but girls learnt only to knit, sew, and do other things proper for their education.'¹

Yet she admits that the records show girls being taught reading and writing well before the bequest allowed for it; it is also difficult to imagine a church school where girls did not receive instruction in the catechism. But in many schools in Derbyshire, where girls were taught reading and writing, boys were also taught arithmetic. Johnson asserts that the British Society were keen on girls being educated, due to the great demand for female labour in the cotton mills. In Lark Rise, too, 'Reading, writing and arithmetic were the principal subjects, with a Scripture lesson every morning, and needlework every afternoon for the girls.'² Presumably, if needlework took up 50% of school time and other subjects made up the remaining 50%, then needlework was, in reality, the principal subject.

Purvis has noted how the middle class ideology of the woman and home has filtered down to the working classes and how the class difference between 'women' and 'ladies' became entrenched by the 1860's; it was this class specific ideology which helped to shape women's education. She notes the publications of the Religious Tracts Society which offered specific images regarding male and female spheres; Bible stories always portrayed women as wives and mothers. She quotes the First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians:

34. Let your women keep silent in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law.

35. And if they will learn anything let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.³

¹ Johnson, Village Schools, op. cit., p.20.

² Thompson, Lark Rise, op. cit., p 178.

³ Purvis, J., A History of Women's Education in England, Bucks., 1991, p.17 (from Corinthians, Chapter 14).

Purvis cites the first Sunday School for adults as being established in Nottingham in 1798 for young women in the lace and hosiery industries, by Methodist William Shingleton and Quaker Samuel Fox, for the purpose of Bible reading and instruction in writing and arithmetic. A men's class was added later and more sprang up throughout the country, all of middle class initiative, sexually segregated and religious based. The aims were not entirely educational, including social control through the inculcation of middle class values of honesty, thrift, hard work, resignation etc. For women it was especially important, that they might become better wives and mothers for the benefit of society. An alternative to this was the Working Women's College which opened in London in 1864 and espoused the ideal of the good scholar rather than the good wife and mother, and self improvement rather than self sacrifice. The range of subjects included many that were usually offered only to men, such as geometry, but few details have survived. Such institutions were rare though; more typical was the Girls' Industrial School, founded in Nottingham in 1811, where reading, sewing and knitting were taught: 'instructing them in such needleworks and other useful employments as may qualify them to become respectable in the capacity of servants and wives.'¹ The school became the first elementary school for girls in Nottingham and the sewing and knitting took up the whole of the morning. This, it was believed, would make them good wives and mothers and stem the tide of juvenile delinquency and drunkenness, which were thought to be the result of untrained wives and mothers. Later, in 1857, the Female Home and Industrial Institution was established by the Church of England for those unable to find work and liable to fall into prostitution; 30 girls were accepted, rising to 40 by the turn of the twentieth century, when the girls took a three year course in domestic subjects with the accent on the duties of a maid.

With state assistance to voluntary contributions, the provision of voluntary school places increased throughout the century. Lowndes has estimated that, in 1870, voluntary education provided places for one child in two in the London area, one in three to five elsewhere.² Wardle, however, in his extensive work on Nottingham, argues that

¹ Wardle, D., The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.282.

² Lowndes, Silent Social Revolution, op. cit., p.133.

voluntary provision offered a place to virtually all children in the city, although there was a shortfall in the surrounding villages of Radford, Basford and Bulwell.¹ Such places would inevitably have been largely Church of England, the Dissenters having almost abandoned voluntary education in favour of state education, although the religious debate continued furiously between those wanting, if not secular, then at least undenominational education and the Church of England who were horrified at the potential Godlessness of state education. Forster was caught in the fracas and the resultant act was inevitably a hybrid.

The state had involved itself in schooling, as we have seen, from Elizabethan and Stuart times, but more comprehensively since the first building grant of £20,000 was given towards the building of church schools in 1833. This amount increased rapidly over the years until the Newcastle Commission, reporting in 1862, highlighted the vast amount spent and little attained in terms of pupil ability. An education that was both cheap and suitable for the poor was the inevitable result, leading to the adoption of the Revised Code or Payment by Results, which encouraged teachers to concentrate on the three R's (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic), rather than any advanced work (which was minimal anyway), in order that pupils might pass exams and earn the grant (upon which the teacher's salary was, in part, dependent). Unfortunately, the rote learning of set books, which harked back to the days of the monitorial system prior to pupil teachers, enabled some pupils to pass without being able to read, simply through learning by heart, or through the rote learning of town names in alphabetical order, which implied little geographical knowledge. (Payment by Results was abolished in 1890, except in the Science and Art Department, where it remained until 1897).

¹ Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.392.

How Did Education Progress After 1870?

It was in this educational climate that the state's final commitment to education was born. Forster introduced a radical bill on 17 February, 1870; it finally received Royal Assent (after several amendments) on 9 August, 1870. Yet the Act was only ever intended to fill up the gaps in the voluntary system. If a deficiency existed in a given area, the National and British Societies (realistically, this meant the National Society as the British Society was keen on state education and had long campaigned for it) were given six months to make good that deficiency. If they failed to do so, a School Board was elected with the power to provide equipment, maintain and staff elementary schools and raise the necessary rates to finance them. Ratepayers could also demand a School Board even if there was no deficiency. Yet the rivalry between the supporters of voluntary schools and those of School Boards continued, especially the fears of churchmen for the secular nature of the new state schools. For instance, in Ilkeston on the Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire border in 1875, a new National School was built solely in order to prevent a School Board from being formed. No doubt this happened in many places. School Board elections, when they took place, were often on sectarian lines and voluntary school supporters frequently stood for election in order to prevent competition. The wording of the Act made it clear that all public elementary schools must be open to inspection. (No mention is made of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington which was separate from the Education Department at Whitehall and with separate funds, and which began to give classes just after the 1870 Act. Perhaps this set the precedent for offering science and art tuition on the rates).

Certainly, the school boards had considerable powers which the church societies never had. They were given permissive powers of compulsion and, as we have seen, the right to levy rates to finance schools (a practice which caused great controversy at the time from opponents of school boards and, later, from dissenters who opposed their rates being used to fund Church of England schools). Fees at board schools were a maximum of ninepence per week, usually much less, and could be remitted in cases of extreme hardship, although

this had to be proven. In such cases the school board could pay the fees of the school of a parent's choice, although this did not extend to voluntary schools. The religious debate continued even after the Act had been passed; the Cowper Temple clause, which forbade the teaching of religious catechisms or denominational religion, incensed the National Society and established church. Furthermore, parents could withdraw their children from religious education altogether if they so desired. Yet despite the powers given to school boards, the restrictions of the Revised Code remained in terms of grants earned.

Thus, the Education Department was able to exert control over school boards through its grants, and threats to withdraw those grants if the school board stepped out of line. Similarly, school boards needed the Education Department's permission to fix a local rate; thus raising money was dependent on official approval. Johnson cites school mistress Miss Jackson's attendance at South Normanton School Board's meeting in December 1887 to ask for additional help with her 200 girls. The Board refused to consider her request until after the annual exam, then decided that as a pupil teacher has passed his/her exams, the staffing level was sufficient 'and the Board hoped that the present year's results would be better than the last'¹ The example shows the strained relations often present between teaching staff and managers as well as the constraints under which the teachers were working.

In Nottingham, the School Board was elected on 29 November, 1870, its speed showing the desire in the city for extra educational opportunities. Dominated by the professional classes, especially the clergy, usually with a token working man, its policy was one of consensus rather than confrontation, but with considerable fraud and intimidation. (The first woman member, Mrs. Cowan, was elected in 1883). The year after its election, the Board commissioned a survey of private schools in the area in its attempt to determine provision of places. Of private schools in the city of Nottingham, 32 were deemed to be for the use of the poor (that is, charging under ninepence per week); of these, only one was considered to be efficient, although a few more could be made so with minor

¹ Johnson, Village Schools, op. cit., p.144.

alterations. Using the 1871 census, the Board then determined that 17,988 children were between the ages of three and thirteen; from this one seventh were deducted for middle class children, who attended the higher private schools, and a further 15% for half timers and those who were absent. The figure arrived at for provision of places was 13,112. The deficit in places (voluntary plus the cheaper private schools) was around 1200; this figure could be reduced to 307 if some schools were made more efficient. The problem was not one of a great deficit of places; of the 12,000 places allocated in schools, only around 7,000 children were in attendance, and even then only nominally. The problem was getting the children into the schools. It is interesting to note that during the 1870's the Nottingham School Board paid attendance officers £20 per annum more than qualified teachers, thus showing the Board's priorities. Wardle argues that it was this compulsory attendance, adopted early in Nottingham, which ended the worst abuses of child labour, rather than factory legislation. Wardle also argues that it was mainly working class children below artisan level who used the elementary schools, artisans preferring to send their children to private schools charging up to three shillings per week. It was labourers who most faced unemployment and casual work, who were aware of the social improvement that education could confer and received it well. Skilled craftsmen in the declining industries, such as handloom weavers and framework knitters, who were usually well educated due to the high standing and good pay of these trades in the past, were amongst those most keen for state education. The demand for free state education at all levels can be seen in John Burns' election address in Nottingham in 1886, the first part of which centred on just this theme. Yet there is evidence to show that artisans and the lower middle class also used elementary schools, the latter perhaps prior to a finishing school. Oral evidence, collected by myself and others, has shown that state schools were widely used by most local people regardless of occupation, at least in the latter part of this period.¹ In the Eastern area of Derbyshire, too, school boards and subsequent schools were quickly set up, including in Ilkeston where, as we have seen, a National school was established in 1875 in order to try to prevent board schools. There had long been a

¹ For example, the oral history collection, compiled by Billy Paton, housed at the Local History Library, Angel Row, Nottingham.

deficiency in this area, but even with the school board attendance was difficult to enforce, discipline poor and the standard of work pitifully low. In Long Eaton, a school board was established in 1873 in response to a rapidly growing population, estimating a need for at least 50 new places in addition to the 249 in the local National school and 64 in private schools. Again, attendance was poor and pupils left early.¹

Pressure for free schooling was increasing nationally: by the end of 1895 less than 800,000 were paying fees, whilst nearly four million were being educated for free at a cost of around £2 million. Between 1870 and 1895 state education provided new places for 2,211,299 pupils, whilst voluntary provision increased by 1,475,000 (between 1870 and 1891).²

As the state's responsibility grew, more acts were passed to ensure that children gained some education. Sandon's Act (1876), for example, forbade the employment of children under ten years during school hours, if living within two miles of a school, and of children aged between ten and fourteen, if they had not passed Standard IV; offending parents could be fined five shillings, employers 40 shillings. This may be seen as the first step towards compulsory education, although it had been compulsory under some school boards for several years; in 1880, compulsory attendance was finally made law. Compulsion brought the submerged tenth into school; the voluntary schools responded by keeping their fees high in order to keep this undesirable element out. By 1880, there were around 3,000 board schools teaching 750,000 children, with average attendance at board schools at 71% (62% at voluntary schools). The 1891 Act abolished fees altogether in state elementary schools and in 1893 the leaving age was raised from ten to eleven (effective from 1 January, 1894) and from eleven to fourteen in 1899. By that year there were an estimated 2,511 boards and 5,500 board schools.³

¹ Johnson, Derbyshire Village Schools, op. cit., p172.

² Sutherland, Elementary Education, op. cit., p.37.

³ *Ibid.* p 37.

State elementary education had made great progress in the level and amount of teaching offered to the children of the poor, for it was essentially poor children that these schools catered for and were aimed at, although, as we shall see later, there is some difficulty as to the definition of the term elementary education. To many this was limited to the very basics of the three R's, plus scripture, and with needlework for the girls. For others, elementary education meant much more, as the state began to experiment with advanced work as children passed out of the existing standards. This inevitably caused controversy among those who opposed state education at all and those committed to it. The former can be seen in the statement of Millicent Garrett Fawcett in 1874: 'Let the children of those parents who could not pay the school fees remain uneducated; the process of natural selection would gradually force the uneducated people out of existence'.¹ Contrasted with this is the following excerpt from a Sherlock Holmes story, 'The Naval Treaty', presumably illustrating Conan Doyle's own opinions on the importance of elementary schooling:

Holmes: Look at those big, isolated clumps of building rising up above the slates, like brick islands in a slate-coloured sea.

Watson: The Board schools.

Holmes: Lighthouses, my boy! Beacons of the future! Capsules with hundreds of little seeds in each, out of which will spring the wiser, better England of the future.²

3) What was the role of the church in education?

Denominational rivalry had existed between the National and British Societies since their inception in the early nineteenth century, perhaps because of the former having vastly more schools than its rival and enjoying the lion's share of the available grant. This denominational squabbling reached its zenith when state education came into being. The

¹ Ibid. p.37.

² Conan Doyle, A., 'The Naval Treaty', The Complete Illustrated Sherlock Holmes, Herts., 1988, pp.305-26, p. 314.

British Society had long since campaigned for state education, which was to be undenominational, as religious education was in their schools. For this purpose, the British Society had ceased to compete seriously with the National Society in terms of school places and concentrated instead on the push for state education: when the school boards came into being, the British Society was first in line to hand its schools over to the local school board. The Church's fears seemed to centre on the rather unrealistic possibility (for the day) of secular and, therefore, Godless education. The 1870 Act contained a conscience clause which allowed pupils to be withdrawn at the parents' request. To facilitate this with minimum disruption to other pupils, religious education was usually taught at the beginning or end (or both) of the school day, for example, prayers and a scripture lesson first thing in the morning and prayers before leaving in the afternoon. Burgess and Welsby claim that this led to a downgrading of religion in the curriculum, especially as it was not integrated into other subjects as in Church schools, such as reading of the Bible, arithmetic based on Bible stories, etc., as we have seen.¹ Yet the established Church and National Society gained a point over their rivals when the Cross Commission reported in 1888 and agreed to give rate aid to Church schools, known as 'Rome on the Rates' by its opponents. Many Dissenters incensed at having to support Church of England schools for which they had no use, refused to pay their rates and were subsequently fined. The Church, however, opposed free education in 1891 on the pretext of the strain it would put on public funds.

In 1893, the National Society was left £40,000 by an R Berridge for the purpose of teaching cookery in its schools and this led to the founding of a school to train cookery teachers. By 1895, the school was flourishing. Its annual report claimed that '11,210 Penny Dinners have been sent out from the training school at Lambeth to the adjacent districts during the past winter. These dinners were cooked and prepared by the students, who thus gained a good training in Artisan cookery.'²

¹ Burgess and Welsby, The National Society, op cit., p.44.

² Ibid. p.44.

Despite incessant whining about the unfairness of school boards luring away Church pupils, Burgess and Welsby still manage to assert that at the turn of the twentieth century three fifths of available places in elementary schools were in Church schools. That Church schools were still playing a role in the late nineteenth century is undeniable, although their importance by the turn of the twentieth century was minimal, much of their teaching methods and content being embedded in nineteenth century values and concepts. Johnson cites a former female pupil at Church Gresley National School who began school in 1884:

I remember an incident that occurred at this time and frightened me. The scripture lesson that morning had been about behaviour and how the good people went to Heaven and the bad ones were cast into Hell-fire. Next door to us at home lived a carpenter and as I was passing his yard where he was working I saw a coffin and the flames from the fire used for melting the pitch. I screamed because I thought the scripture lesson really had come true and all the wicked people were being burned.¹

Similarly, we can see archaic teaching practices at Stanley Common National School (a village school on the Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire border), where older girls were used to teach infants, although not called monitors, after 1870. Note the following entries from the log book for September, 1870 : 'Mary Ann Cotton took the infants in the afternoon for the ball frame' and 'Emily Harvey gave dictation to the fourth class.'² By the following year these girls were described as being no more than ten years old and, by 1872, girls as young as eight were teaching infants. This school had a very quick turnover of teachers; one extract from the log book of 11 July, 1879 by the teacher Miss Winterton illustrates the ability, or otherwise, of the school's teachers: 'Learnt the children 2 new hymns.'³

¹ Johnson, M., The Education of Girls in Derby and Selected Districts of Derbyshire 1800-1939, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1966, p 208-9.

² Ibid., p.444.

³ Ibid., p.446.

4) What progress was made in public elementary schools in terms of subject matter and advanced work?

After the establishment of school boards in many areas after 1870, educational provision increased nationally. In areas with progressive school boards, such as Nottingham, compulsory education was introduced immediately, thereby bringing more children into the schools. In Nottingham, only two schools were built prior to 1877, namely Bath Street and Huntingdon Street; as the School Board had not taken into account the rising population, there was immediately a deficit of places. A massive effort was made, however, after the Borough Extension Act added the surrounding suburbs of Radford, Sneinton, Basford, Bulwell and Lenton in 1877, by which time there were 19,421 places, making a net deficit of 4,600. A new building programme, therefore, was desperately needed. This led to the building of three new schools: Forster Street (Radford), Old Basford and Sherwood by 1878, plus extensions to Colwick Street School which had been taken over from voluntary managers. Between January, 1880 and April, 1881 schools at Coventry Road, Quarry Road, Queen's Walk, Alfreton Road, and St. Ann's Well Road had been built, the People's College had been taken over and virtually rebuilt, and extensions had been made to Bath Street and Huntingdon Street Schools. Five more were built in 1885 and eight more were either built or in the process of building by 1889. By 1892, school places existed for all Nottingham children. Only two more schools, Mundella and Sycamore Road, were built by the School Board between 1892 and 1903.¹

Innovations in teaching methods accompanied the increase in accommodation in Nottingham, especially under the auspices of W J Abel (School Board Inspector from 1881-89), who introduced modern teaching methods for infants: arousing the curiosity of the child rather than bombarding it with facts in a mechanical learning process. Mrs. Roadknight, originally head teacher at Blue Bell Hill Infants School, which became a model kindergarten in 1886, was also responsible for introducing a more enlightened

¹ Wardle, Education and Society in Nineteenth Century Nottingham, op. cit., p.121.

attitude in the classroom. She organised 'Happy Evenings' and 'The Children's Guild of Play', encouraging children to learn through play and exploration.¹

In many respects, the Nottingham School Board was ahead of the Education Department in what it could offer: baby classes for the under three's recognised the extent and importance of female labour in the town's lace and hosiery industries; the boot fund and penny dinners acknowledged the poverty of many families; and the provision of education for handicapped children was soon on the agenda. A centre for deaf/mute children was opened in 1893 and, in the same year, classes began to run for mentally defective children; classes for the physically handicapped began in 1901, whilst blind children were educated at the Midland Institute for the Blind. The penny dinners, provided from the 1880's, included soup and a pudding for a penny, the dishes being cooked at the cookery centres; this was on a small scale, funded by voluntary contributions until 1906, when it became funded by the rates.²

Sports provision was difficult due to lack of space and facilities, but this era saw the beginnings of football for boys. The main activities, however, were drill and swimming: in 1882, the Nottingham School Board accepted a offer made by the Nottingham Swimming Club to teach some boys to swim free of charge. By 1892, an agreement was reached between the School Board and the Nottingham Corporation to allow school children into Sneinton Baths for free, if they were unable to pay. Nearly 20,000 tickets were issued for boys, just 750 for girls.³

Yet the greatest innovation was in the area of crafts or manual work; Needlework had long been established for girls, but cookery was gradually introduced, as was woodwork for boys, although the amount of manual work executed was still far greater for girls than for boys. The Colwick Street Cookery Centre opened in 1884 where the cooking of penny dinners formed part of the girls' cookery course; the centre was in operation until at

¹ Ibid , p.122.

² Ibid., p.123.

³ Ibid., p 123.

least 1903. Manual work was strictly segregated: a Report on science teaching noted specific subjects taken by boys as 'mechanics and elementary natural philosophy' whilst girls had to be content with domestic economy 'or so much of animal physiology and chemistry as is necessary to explain the facts and operations of home life.'¹ Johnson notes home economics and home management classes at Codnor Council School; classes began in Standard IV, when girls were around ten years old. The course of lessons included washing, sorting of clothes, order of washing, drying and mangling. Cookery lessons were theoretical for Standard IV girls; only Standard VI girls were allowed to go to watch demonstrations at the cookery centre where 'Detailed notes were made on stock, pea soup, lentil soup "meant for working men", boiling potatoes, rice pudding, "teas for working people."'² Locally and nationally, there was a vast difference between the new cookery centres which used equipment few of the children had at home and the often dirty classrooms, filled with the fumes from uncovered gas rings.

The problem then began to arise of pupils passing all of the six standards but still being unable to leave school. After 1875, pupils passing Standard VI could learn up to three specific subjects; this may be seen as the beginning of advanced or higher grade work. By 1880, a seventh standard was added. Longer school life and more standards inevitably meant a demand for a greater variety of subjects, mainly from artisan families who appreciated the social benefits of education. Experiments began with English, modern languages, history, geography, sciences, shorthand, commercial writing, surveying, navigation etc., commercial courses generally only being available to boys. A special grant was paid to schools where these class subjects were taught (as well as the three R's) to Standard VI and above. In Nottingham in 1880, 3,570 children qualified for this grant, gaining 700 passes in specific subjects and 802 passes in drawing exams run by the Science and Art Department. Occasionally, higher grade pupils gained entrance to university: between 1892-8, at least eleven did so in Nottingham, although these were not

¹ Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p. 778 (from 'Report on Science Teaching' in Printed Reports of the School Board, 6/10/1885, Vol. 11. No. 30).

² Johnson, Education of Girls in Derby, op. cit., p 449-50.

necessarily from working class backgrounds, as the middle classes certainly used the higher grade schools. We must remember, however, that these were tentative beginnings; the three R's still comprised the main part of school work even for these senior pupils and standards were still low compared with those of today. But the achievement was still considerable: average attendance in the 1840's was 60% and school life less than two years; by the 1890's the corresponding figures were 90% and six years.¹

Despite improvements in teaching methods, some subjects were still taught in a way reminiscent of an earlier age. Wilkins' work on the teaching of history has shown that reinforcing patriotism and glorifying the nation were important aspects of the subject.²

Education at this time was hardly impartial, but designed to instil particular ideas and loyalties which would be useful to the state. Interestingly, Wilkins argues that girls probably gained more history tuition than boys, due to its being seen as an accomplishment and conversation piece, but this would probably apply only to middle class girls in private schools.

As advanced work became more accepted, by the mid-1880's, educational reformers like Philip Magnus advocated separate higher grade elementary schools so that the most able pupils could be taught together in special centres rather than a few at each school. This practice was widely adopted throughout the 1890's. Such schools were seen by many to be fulfilling a genuine need in society: a higher grade school was established at Cardiff in 1885 at the recommendation of the Education Department and was soon filling a real need for local elementary children; some gaining entrance to the University, many becoming pupil teachers and with much local demand for office workers, engineers and fitters. As early as 1879, the Education Department was describing the higher grade work as giving a better quality education (admittedly for a higher fee) that was almost secondary. And this is where the problem lay. Of the growth of the higher grade schools throughout the

¹ Wardle, Education and Society in Nineteenth Century Nottingham, op. cit., p.112.

² Wilkins, D. J., A Consideration of History Textbooks Published Between 1750-1939 in Relation to the Teaching of History in English Schools During this Period, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1969.

1890's, Morant's chief, George Kekewich, said: ' . . . these advanced schools have now become not merely a luxury but an absolute necessity.'¹ But Morant himself was implacably opposed to them on the grounds that they would compete with private secondary schools. Johnson, too, notes the opposition to advanced work from an article in the Derby Mercury of 1880, which claimed to speak for the whole country:

Boys whose utmost ambition is to fill a post behind a counter (and who will probably be obliged to remain content with a labourer's occupation) are taught freehand drawing and similar accomplishments and girls are put through various 'standards' in music, botany, and so forth, which will, no doubt, be of great service to them in the warehouse or at the mill.²

Yet the Education Department continued to encourage boards to allow pupils to take courses and sit exams (such as those of the Science and Art Department) which were later found to be illegal. In 1880, Nottingham put forward a scheme for a higher grade school, stating its objectives clearly:

- 1) It would remain an elementary school
- 2) The major aim would be to study specific subjects of the Fourth Schedule of the Code 'or such other subjects as the Board may determine with reference to the requirements of local industries'
- 3) Pupils would fall into two categories: junior (Standards I-IV) and seniors (Standards V-VI), plus two new standards, VII and VIII.
- 4) As well as elementary subjects, Standards VII and VIII would include Latin, French, German, Mechanics, Maths, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.
- 5) Pupils in Standard VIII would be prepared for local exams for juniors of Oxford and Cambridge or London

¹ Lowndes, Silent Social Revolution, op. cit., p.62 (from Hansard, Vol. 107, col. 1199).

² Johnson, Village Schools, op. cit., p.189.

6) The fee for the upper division would be 9d per week (or 6d per week if Standard VI had been passed in another elementary school in the borough)¹

A letter from the Education Department of September, 1880 agreed to the above as long as the upper departments remained elementary in nature as defined by the Code, but warned that the Department might, in the future, restrict the development of higher grade schools 'in order that no departure may be made from the terms on which the Parliamentary grant is made for primary education.'² The statement is prophetic in the light of subsequent events, but the Education Department can hardly claim to be unaware of the Nottingham School Board's ventures. By the time the LEA's took over from the school boards in 1903, Nottingham had 94 departments with 28,546 places, 64 Church of England departments with 13,079 places, and 14 Roman Catholic departments with 2,473 places, collectively over four times as many places as in 1870. Added to this were 39 special centres for cookery, laundry work, woodwork, practical science, gymnastics, swimming and pupil teacher tuition.³

5) What progress was made in Higher Elementary and Secondary Education after the turn of the Twentieth Century?

The downfall of the higher grade schools began in London when opponents of the School Board questioned its right to provide post elementary education through the courts. This led to an audit which found against the London School Board, known as the Cockerton Judgement, in December 1900, followed by the Queen's Bench ruling that the London School Board could not out of the school board rate:

¹ Eaglesham, E., From School Board to Local Authority, London, 1956, p.34.

² Ibid., p.35.

³ Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.469.

- 1) Conduct classes for exams and grants of the Science and Art Department
- 2) Go beyond the Code of the Education Department
- 3) Give instruction to adults at day or evening classes

This ruling, however, would still allow the London School Board to conduct such classes if they were self supporting through fees, endowments etc. Unfortunately for the London School Board, the Court of Appeal endorsed the more radical view of Cockerton and Morant that the School Board had no right to apply a form of education which came under the Science and Art Department using any part of the funds to which the School Board was entitled, even if it was self supporting. This ruling sounded the death knell of the higher grade school.

The Education Act of 1902 (as well as aiding Church schools from the rates) abolished the school boards, whose powers and assets were transferred to the new LEA's who were (somewhat paradoxically, it seems) allowed to spend a 2d rate on education other than elementary. Technical instruction committees and universities were also given grants out of public money. Banks (1967) argues coherently that the higher grade school was not in fact killed off by the Cockerton Judgement or by the Education Act, as the buildings and pupils remained and nearly 70 schools became absorbed into the new secondary system along with the grammar schools. (Thus, she argues, Morant's attack, via the Cockerton Judgement, was not against the higher grade schools so much as the school boards, who had infuriated many Conservatives as they were often dominated by Liberals and Non-Conformists). This ignores, however, the fact that secondary education was still fee paying and largely academic in content, which alienated many working class families who would have enjoyed further education at a higher grade school. The new secondary schools grew alongside the old grammar schools, eventually with scholarships for working class pupils and fees for middle class pupils, with the curriculum tending towards science and technology in the secondary schools and literary subjects, such as the Classics, in the grammar schools. A backlash regarding the over scientific curriculum in secondary schools, however, led to an increase in literary subjects, although not the Classics. To

support her unconditional approval of the secondary schools, Banks quotes from the *Journal of Education*:

The Educational Committee of the city of Nottingham has lost no tie in deciding what is to be done with the higher elementary schools that the school board had established. There are three in number and are to be turned into secondary schools of the class B division.¹

(Division B was more literary than Division A, which tended more towards science). Nottingham's Education Committee requested four new municipal secondary schools, taking pupils mainly from elementary schools, but it received only two. The Nottingham Education Committee was irritated by the new Board of Education's criticism of the running of schools. For instance, Nottingham's Education Committee alleged that HMI's 'persisted in examining children in subjects in which they have not been taught' and:

It is not suggested for one moment . . . that our schools were perfect, or that all the children would be able to attain the very high standard set up, but it is suggested that the hostility with which the Department regarded these schools led to precipitate action and to very harsh treatment. The local authorities were just as anxious as the Board of Education to see that good work was done, but they wished to attain their objects without undue dislocation of existing conditions, and, above all, without discouraging the demand of the people for increased educational facilities.²

By 1907, the Liberal Government introduced free place regulations at all secondary schools in receipt of a grant, where 25% of available places had to be offered to pupils from elementary schools. In 1906, 23,000 free places were offered to elementary school children; by 1913, this figure had risen to 60,000.

¹ Banks, O., Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education, London, 1955, 1967 edition, p.53.

² Ibid., p 63 (from The Schoolmaster, 13/10/1906).

Yet as the field for secondary education broadened, there was a noticeable reaction against the widening of the curriculum in elementary schools, in Nottingham at least. Shortly after the LEA take-over, the Annual Report of the Nottingham Education Committee made a clear statement about its intentions to reduce the scope of the curriculum:

The Education Committee is strongly of the opinion that the most skillful and successful teachers are those who limit themselves, in the case of children who leave school as soon as it is permitted by law, to teaching intelligently and well the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic with special reference to the actual requirements of everyday life.¹

This attitude continued until the First World War. Indeed, in February, 1914 the Education Committee in Nottingham issued a circular to schools requesting teachers:

to make spelling, writing and arithmetic by formal lessons, fundamental subjects of instruction; and to introduce additional subjects only so far as they can be taught without interfering with the intelligent and thorough grounding of the scholars in these essential subjects.²

The lack of staff and facilities on courses continued to be a problem, just as it had in the days of voluntary schools. This can be seen in a 1911 report from Nottingham:

The size of the class is often most excessive, at least, during the first part of the educational year . . . At Berridge Road there are in the first class of the boys' department 109 boys taught in a room accommodating 60, and, except where the

¹ Wardle, D., English Popular Education 1780-1970, Cambridge, 1970, p 28.

² *Ibid.*, p.28-9.

headmaster is assisting, by a single teacher. In the girls' department there are 96 in the first class.¹

6) In what other aspects did the state take an interest?

Evening classes, usually held in day schools, either church or state, tended to serve teachers and intending teachers keen to improve their skill and qualifications, and those children who had left school without adequate knowledge of basic skills. For the latter group, the grant paid was four shillings for regular attendance but only two shillings and sixpence for each pass in reading, writing and arithmetic; by 1882, pupils were allowed to take additional subjects, but had to be examined in the three R's before any grant could be earned in these extra subjects. Both nationally and locally (certainly in Nottingham), a decline set in throughout the 1870's and 1880's: average attendance in 1871 was 83,000; by 1884, it had dropped to 24,000. It was in the 1880's that the Recreative Evening Schools Association was born; a movement aiming to persuade school boards to hold evening classes. In 1889, a report by the Nottingham School Board seemed to respond favourably to the idea:

If we can win our young people from the corners of the streets and from the byways and alleyways into our schools and they can learn there not to forget what the country has paid so much for them to learn, we shall have accomplished a great and good work. Our aim is not so much to gain government grant as to win our young people to a better and nobler life, and so the moral advantages to the individual student and to the community at large are more than we can measure.²

¹ Ibid., p.35.

² Ibid., p.26.

The report went on to make 'a most confident appeal to all who desire less crime and poverty, quiet streets, more self respect and more respect for others to give us their sympathy and support.'¹ No doubt the 'support' required was financial; the statement reminds one of Joseph Chamberlain's question: 'What price will property pay for the security which it enjoys?'

The 1880's saw an increase in evening class provision and uptake as new courses began to be added: as well as traditional teaching of the three R's, advanced classes under the Science and Art Department were added, as were technological classes such as cookery, sick nursing, laundry work, wood carving etc. In 1899, local authorities were given the power to raise a penny rate specifically for technological education, and recreational classes. In Nottingham, efforts were made to induce school leavers to return to evening classes which, by 1891, were divided into two grades, elementary and advanced, covering 21 centres. Elementary classes offered English, reading, literature, composition, arithmetic, geography, experimental science, cookery, laundry work, needlework (including dressmaking and millinery), ambulance work (for boys only) and sick nursing (for girls only), singing and musical drill; advanced classes offered conversational French, music and various handicrafts. But evening classes posed a problem: the Education Act of 1870 referred to the education of children, but gave no age limits. Also, did school boards have the right to run evening classes on the rates, especially as many students were not children by any definition? Cockerton's Judgement (upheld by the Court of Appeal) set age as the main factor: school boards could only spend money from the rates on the education of children, defined as being sixteen to seventeen years old at most.

Despite the restrictions placed on working class education during this period, some children from humble backgrounds managed to attend the local university college, including some female students. In Nottingham, many women attended courses and passed exams at University College Nottingham; in arts subjects, it seems, women took most of the Cambridge certificates. Yet, in 1886, two women gained certificates in experimental

¹ Ibid., p.26

mechanics, five in hydrostatics and five in light. In the same year, the first female student (and second college student) to gain a degree was Louise Appel (gaining a B.Sc.) In 1889, two more women gained degrees and by 1891, there were almost as many women on degree courses as men. This makes an inspector's comment of 1902 seem particularly inappropriate, showing as it does the male still to be the norm and the female as 'other': 'The opportunities offered to young working men of ability and promise are very considerable . . . '¹

It is perhaps in the field of pupil teacher training that Nottingham was a centre for excellence. The pupil teacher system had been initiated in 1846 by Kay-Shuttleworth to replace the monitorial system of the first half of the nineteenth century. In Nottingham, by 1851, Trinity, St. Johns, Lenton and Hyson Green schools all had pupil teachers; St. Mary's and the Lancasterian schools had them by the following year. Arguably, most important as a higher grade school and pupil teacher centre was the People's College, founded in 1847 with the aim of providing an education equal to that of a good writing school or English Academy, but for working class children. With fees at a shilling a week or ten shillings per quarter (albeit with a few places at half price), this invariably meant only artisan families could afford such an education. Originally a boys' school, but with a girls' section added in 1850, the education offered was typical of the times: the boys enjoyed singing, object lessons, natural history, physiology, social economy, natural philosophy, history, Latin, French and advanced subjects, as well as the three R's, whilst the girls were restricted to 'the usual branches of a sound English education and plain needlework.'² By 1880, the People's College was handed over to the Nottingham School Board to become a higher grade school. By 1886, it comprised 104 boys and 65 girls, with the girls' subjects having broadened somewhat: the People's College Report of 1888 shows girls taking botany, domestic economy, algebra, French, electricity and magnetism, and physical geography in Standards VII and VIII. By 1892, the school was

¹ Wood, A. C., A History of University College, Nottingham, Nottingham, 1953, p 42.

² Wardle, Education and Society, op. cit., p.129.

reorganised and included a commercial section for girls, who studied typing, shorthand and languages, as well as the usual subjects.

Pupil teachers, and subsequently teachers, often found themselves in an unenviable position. On the one hand, teaching offered social advancement with (often) better pay and conditions and more security than traditional working class occupations, but it failed to raise most working class youngsters to the level of the middle class, thus leaving them in a no-man's land. Women, particularly, could find themselves over educated and unable to find a partner from their own class, yet unable to attain a middle class man. This idea of an 'educational ladder' had been revived from Tudor and Stuart times due to politicians' and industrialists' fears of foreign competition, and from within the working class themselves, especially advocates of moral force Chartism, Trade Union leaders etc.).¹ Yet this 'educational ladder' did not always deliver the expected goods, as teaching salaries (especially of rural teachers, assistant teachers and women) were often low, a house was not always included and their work was fraught with undisciplined children, often violent parents and unsympathetic managers. We see examples of this in the literature of the day, for example Bradley Headstone in Dickens' Our Mutual Friend and Hardy's Jude Fawley (Jude the Obscure). By the 1890's, teachers were being encouraged to take further qualifications, such as specialist Science and Drawing qualifications, and even up to and including degrees. Yet the status of teachers was still low and pay was according to status. Wardle notes the low pay of assistant teachers compared with that of head masters, leading to a shortage of (male) recruits, but this ignores the greater amount of female teachers whose pay was even lower. As usual, Wardle takes the male as the norm and the female (even when in greater proportion) as 'other'.

¹ For a fuller discussion of this, see Simon, B., Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920, London, 1965.

7) What other educational institutions or opportunities were available?

For adults who failed to take advantage of evening classes, other options were available: Mechanics Institutes and Working Men's Colleges sprang up throughout the country during the first half of the nineteenth century, working class libraries and reading rooms where newspapers and magazines were available as well as books, domestic servant and cookery training schools emerged in the latter half of the century, mainly in London.

The main problem with Mechanics Institutes and Working Men's Colleges was that they were run by middle class philanthropists and those with vested interests in working class education (either for humanitarian reasons or for social control). Thus, middle class values tended to dictate the content of lectures and forbade the discussion of religion or politics, and often banned newspapers, so that discussion of current affairs was less likely. In Nottingham, the Artisans Library and Mechanics Institute were typical of the national picture and this led to the establishment of the first working class library in Nottingham in 1835, at the Rancliffe Arms on Sussex Street, several others following throughout the city. Here, newspapers and magazines were freely available and topics such as religion and politics were not censored. However, the facilities, like the Mechanics Institute and Working Men's Colleges, were geared towards male use, and education was defined in male terms. Women, if allowed into such places, had to fit in with an existing male structure and male view of women's education: when women were allowed to attend classes they tended to be domestic subjects such as cookery, needlework, sick nursing etc. Thus, educational opportunities open to adults outside evening schools mirrored those of schools in that they were gender specific. Even in working class reading rooms and libraries, women were often banned or, when finally admitted, were subject to an inferior and limited membership, banning them from reading newspapers, for instance.

At the other end of the social scale were the private schools intended for wealthier parents, although many private schools existed in all towns, most being cheap dame schools catering for the working classes, especially artisans. The late nineteenth century

saw a great upsurge of interest in middle class girls' education which led to the establishment of the Girls' Public Day School Company (later, Trust, known as GPDST), in 1872. In Nottingham, the Girls' High School was founded in 1875 and was claimed by contemporaries to be a great boon to the town. Its high fees, lack of scholarships and deliberate exclusivity, however, made it the preserve only of the reasonably wealthy and did nothing at all for the vast majority of Nottingham girls. Yet its 'genteel' education, free from the danger of mixing with the lower social order, made this type of school extremely popular from the 1880's, just when boys schools of this type were suffering a decline, although the Boys' High School (in Nottingham, at least), offered some scholarships to working class boys from elementary schools.

In this introductory chapter it should be possible to discern both the national pattern of education in the mid to late nineteenth century and the general position of Nottingham within that pattern. Much reference has been made here to the work of David Wardle, whose books and articles have been invaluable for background material, but who was more concerned with class as an issue than gender. Class will be an issue in the ensuing chapters, but will be somewhat subordinate to the issue of gender, both in terms of differences and similarities in education provided.

CHAPTER TWO

Issues in the History of Women's Education

The work discussed in this chapter will illustrate the two prevailing themes of the thesis:

- 1) the concept of domestic ideology, as developed by Dyhouse (1977) among others and
- 2) the concept of middle class influence (consciously and unconsciously) and the way in which it influenced girls' education.

The central hypothesis is that Nottingham was a pioneer town, immediately setting up a radical school board, offering subjects before they were made compulsory by the Education Department, with education being geared to the needs of local people and industry; yet, with education at all levels determined by middle class influence. This thesis builds up to a detailed local study which will emphasize these points.

A word should be said regarding problems of methodology, in the fields of secondary, primary and oral sources:

- 1) Secondary Sources: the main problem here is the disproportionate amount of work on middle class girls' education, with little or no reference to the working class experience (e.g. Kamm, 1965; Bryan, 1979). Similarly, older works have ignored the feminist issues inherent in such subjects and, although I have adopted an eclectic approach, driven by material and evidence, in order to produce an analytical study, one cannot ignore such issues as gender differences, the gearing of girls towards 'feminine' subjects and away from academic subjects, the perceived differences in future lives of boys and girls. Added to this is the dearth of local studies which act as models for further research. Gareth Evans' work on Wales (Evans, 1990) is more of a national study, much of which is not relevant to England, and Wardle (1961-74), whose work I have used extensively, did not investigate gender issues. With regard to higher education, the work of Wood on the University of Nottingham is now seriously dated and is devoid of gender references. We

still await a modern history of the University and, while the work of Dyhouse (1996) informs this thesis, it has suffered from the absence of modern historical research of the University of Nottingham.

2) Primary Sources: problems here have included incomplete records, particularly gaps in log book sequences, often lost or destroyed during the war or when borrowed by the school itself; some schools' records are closed to the public and, therefore, inaccessible, such as those of the Nottingham Deaf School, closed to the public until 1999; the total lack of information on some areas, such as schools of industry, has necessarily occasioned gaps in the text which make it incomplete. The often biased accounts of newspaper articles, writings of local politicians, dignitaries etc. are something of a two edged sword, as such partiality renders information slightly suspect, yet at the same time, gives us a good impression of the mood of the times. Historians of Nottingham are lucky in having a rich seam of archival material at both the University and Nottinghamshire Archives and in its highly professional and helpful archivists, although such a wealth of material can cause problems in that balance is often difficult to achieve.

3) Oral Sources: Inevitably, there are difficulties in using oral evidence, as has been noted by professionals in this field such as Thompson (1978)¹ and Gardner (1995)², who note that memories are sometimes inaccurate, coloured by the views and experiences of life and of peers; testimony can also sometimes be swayed by the presence of others (inducing either conformity, bragging etc.), but this can also help to jog the memory. More problematic, perhaps, is the consciously (or in some cases, unconsciously, through the passage of time) false memory for specific reasons; for instance, is a woman's testimony invalid if she alters the dates of birth of her children to conceal the fact that they were conceived or born outside marriage? Surely, this says much about the social taboos of the

¹ Thompson, P., The Voice of the Past, Oxford, 1978.

² Gardner, P., 'Teacher Training and Changing Professional Identity in Early Twentieth Century England', Journal of Education for Teaching, Vol.21, No.2, (1995), pp.191-217 and 'Intending Teachers and School Based Teacher Training 1903-1930', Oxford Review of Education, Vol.21, No.4, (1995), pp.425-445.

day, useful in itself, and should not be used to invalidate such testimony. In addition, oral evidence provides an alternative view to that of the producers of education, the history from above approach, usually middle or upper class perceptions of working class life, rather than working class life itself. It is in this field, that of real people in real situations, that oral history becomes especially useful to the historian. An excellent example of oral sources used in education is that of Gardner (1995), based on the idea of collective memories, also seen in the ideas of Hutton.¹ Oral History is particularly useful in educational history, where schooling is the common experience of all social classes. Given the gender subject of this thesis, there are some practical difficulties in obtaining a gender balanced oral source of historical events because of the differing life expectancies of men and women.

Women's history has rapidly increased in importance, in both the depth and breadth of its subject matter. One of the most interesting of the subject areas is the education of girls and women, made more important because of the contemporary debate on issues of equity in education.

The thesis is essentially a tribute to the wealth of primary and oral sources available locally; great depth of analysis and explanation was never intended. As far as possible, I have allowed the sources speak for themselves with academic commentary as appropriate.

1) What is the relevance of gender and class and how do we evaluate these terms?

The first question raised is the dual issue of sex or gender and class. This thesis concentrates on the education of females, but it is inevitable that the male educational experience will have to be included, if only to explore the contrast between the two. Similarly, the bias is toward the state education of working class girls, but the experience of middle class girls is relevant in its oppositional context.

¹ Hutton, P.H., History as an Art of Memory, Hanover, New England, 1993.

Interestingly, the writers of the literature used for this chapter use different concepts for their analysis of the subject and show that there is no definitive meaning of terms such as 'working class', 'middle class' etc., and the issues of sex and class vary in importance for different writers. Turnbull, in her thesis, illustrates the extremes involved in the debate; she quotes Wolpe's article 'Education for what and what education':

In no way could one claim that historically educational provision is distinguished between boys and girls. The major divide was, and indeed still is, class: the education of middle class girls, whether they attended school or were schooled at home by governesses, was in no way comparable with that of working class girls or working class boys.¹

By contrast, she quotes Dale Spender's argument that education today, as in the past, is controlled by men in their and against women's interests:

The model of education which passes as society's model is the model generated by men, based on men's experience of the world, and women are required to be educated in a manner devised by men as befitting men.²

For Turnbull, both viewpoints are too generalised: sex and class are joint issues in the debate on education, although it must be remembered that, in this period at least, working class women shared with their middle class sisters an education heavily biased in favour of and geared towards a domestic, home based future.

¹ Turnbull, A., Women, Education and Domesticity: a study of the Domestic Subjects Movement 1870-1914, Ph.D. thesis, Southbank Polytechnic, 1983, p.16 (from A. M. Wolpe 'Education for what and what education,' Feminist Review, No. 10, 1982, pp.96-104).

² *Ibid.*, p.16.

Gareth Evans' work on Wales has also shown there to be fewer girls in endowed schools and greater impediments to educational opportunities for girls (for example, the churches and chapels, law, medicine); he quotes Dr. Withers Moore's Presidential address to the BMA at Brighton in 1886, which influenced Victorian Wales:

... it is not for the good of the human race . . . that women should receive an education intended to prepare them for the exercise of brain power in competition with men . . . This Higher Education will hinder those who would have been the best mothers from being mothers at all.¹

Yet, by 1889, attitudes were changing: the Association for Promoting the Education of Girls in Wales (1886-1901) boasted among its leaders Dr. Sophie Bryant, Dilys Glynne Jones and Elizabeth P. Hughes, women all working on the same level as Buss, Beale and Davies in England. Evans quotes Professor Olive Wheeler from 1939, presumably having received her education around the turn of the twentieth century:

In reviewing fifty years of secondary education in Wales, I naturally begin on a note of thanksgiving. I cannot adequately express my sense of personal indebtedness to a system of education so broad in conception and so democratic in character that neither accidents of fortune nor sex barred my way to the fullest educational opportunities.²

The late nineteenth century saw a move away from accomplishments towards academic subjects. But this was for middle class girls only. For working class girls, domestic subjects (cookery, nursing, dressmaking, child management, hygiene etc.) took precedence, despite Wheeler's assertions.

¹ Evans, W.G., 'The Welsh Intermediate and Technical Education Act and the Education of Girls', in Jones, O.E. (ed.), The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889, Cardiff, 1990, pp.115-30, p.117.

² *Ibid.*, p.116

Felicity Hunt argues along the same lines as Turnbull when she cites girls' education in the Victorian period to be gender specific (gender being defined as the perceptions and social functions leading to a social category imposed upon a sexual body), with boys as the norm and girls as 'other'; the homogeneous model of education is male, she argues, girls' 'special needs' deviating from the norm. She also notes the use of gendered language of 'boy' for pupil and references to 'he', 'his' etc.; this is especially problematic for the historian in determining whether the reference is male or simply a child. It is also indicative of the invisibility of women in society and the unregarded, down graded nature of the female experience.¹

Purvis notes particularly the problems of class identification where women are concerned, as women tend to be judged according to their father's or husband's job and/or status. To solve this, she uses the old terminology whilst recognising its limitations, for instance, to regard all women in labouring and artisan families as working class and all women in bourgeois families as middle class, and all women earning a living as working women.² This is a useful tool, provided one acknowledges the difficulties which surround the class divide and the issue of social mobility. It is on this basis of class and gender as an issue in later Victorian/Edwardian education that we will look at the specific education of girls and women in this period.

2) Was there any difference in the schooling of boys and girls?

Most of the authors of literature used for this chapter denote some differentiation in the education of boys and girls, if only in the realms of handicrafts, where boys studied (eventually) wood and metal crafts, alongside girls' needlework, cookery and the growing battery of domestic subjects, but this specific aspect will be looked at later in the chapter.

¹ Hunt, F., Gender and Policy in English Education 1902-44, Herts., 1991.

² Purvis, J., Hard Lessons, Cambridge, 1989.

Roberts, surprisingly, sees no difference in the education of boys and girls, with the exception of handicrafts,¹ but there is much evidence to support the view that all aspects of girls' education were geared towards the domestic, and towards a common goal: that of becoming good wives and mothers. As John Thomas has noted, early women teachers had to support the prevailing ideology that used education to turn school girls into good wives and mothers.² Purvis, too, has noted how, in National schools especially, academic subjects took second place to the acquisition of domestic skills and, in many schools, girls had duties in keeping the school clean: all education was geared to indoctrinating girls with ideas of a woman's place (as domestic servants, wives, mothers, home makers) and appropriate behaviour for women, gearing them for their assumed destination and thereby pushing them in that direction. Girls' education was domestically orientated in order to reflect reality, but it also helped to create that reality. Turnbull, similarly, notes that there was no assumed destination for boys, but that all elementary school girls spent much time in tasks which anticipated their assumed adult roles (for example, sewing, cleaning), and notes the 1861 Newcastle Commission which included a report which stated that girls were not suitable for sports, but might 'find a little wholesome physical exercise . . . in cleaning out the school'.³ Several comments taken from Parliamentary Papers and other official documents illustrate the attitude towards female education. For instance, Morant's statement on the creation of the first female chief inspector in 1904, emphasized the feminine side of education for girls: ' . . . these will for the most part be mothers, and that the infants need, in the upbringing in the schools to be looked at from the maternal and physical aspect - not merely from what is called the intellectual and book learning aspect'.⁴ In higher elementary schools, too, ' . . . a common curriculum for both boys and girls will not as a rule be approved'; the girls' curriculum 'will, as a rule, be expected to include a practical training for home duties, which is applicable to the circumstances of their own homes'.⁵ There was little difference in secondary schools: in 1907 HMI Dr.

¹ Roberts, E., A Woman's Place, Oxford, 1984, p.21.

² Thomas, J B., 'University College, Bristol: pioneer teacher training for women,' History of Education, 1988, Vol.17, No.1, pp 55-70.

³ Turnbull, Women, Education and Domesticity, op. cit , p.82.

⁴ Hunt, Gender and Policy, op. cit , p.59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p 63.

Edwards regarded Domestic Science as 'by far the most important part of their education.'¹ (And this was for GPDST girls!) The Regulations for Secondary Schools (1905) required all secondary school girls to study Domestic Science; but as domestic subjects lacked status and were compulsory for all girls, so the female intellect was perceived as being inferior to that of the male.

Before 1913, clear differentiation in subjects other than practical ones can be seen. For instance, in 1906, the Board of Education noted neglect in music education in boys' schools, but not in girls', even where music interfered with other subjects. But it is in the field of maths and science that most difference can be seen. The approach to arithmetic in elementary schools, like that of maths in secondary schools, was to gear it to the perceived future role, often calling it Domestic Arithmetic, due to the assumption that girls' mathematical ability was inferior to that of boys. Girls' performance in maths was often worse than boys, ostensibly due to the lower level of ability of girls (and, inevitably, of women teachers who also had less mathematical training), but only later in the century was credit given for the amount of time girls spent doing needlework, leading to a lower pass rate for girls. Adams notes that the extra needlework load (added to extra domestic duties at home) caused inspectors to report in 1878 that girls could not be expected to attain the same standard as boys. In science, boys could choose animal physiology, physical geography, mechanics, algebra, chemistry or physics; girls had to be content with domestic economy and botany. When general science was introduced in the 1890's, three times as many boys as girls attended lessons. Adams quotes the reasons for teaching general science to each sex:

. . . the relative densities of solids and liquids. For girls this knowledge is useful when testing the purity of many liquids in the household, and for boys in the detection of the alloying of metal. The course proceeds to deal with the general effects of heat upon matter. The girls here obtain . . . a correct idea of the principles of ventilation, the construction and the use of clinical and household

¹ *Ibid.*, p.65.

thermometers; and the boy can learn at what period of the frost his father's water pipe bursts.¹

Similarly, at training colleges, girls were not allowed to take algebra or geometry and did little science; thus, the skills of male and female teachers were different and these skills and the division therein were passed on to their pupils.

As Turnbull notes in her thesis, women were equally responsible for this bias in girls' education and indeed were at the forefront of the Domestic Subjects Movement. Not all writers see this slant in critical terms: Kamm applauds Kay-Shuttleworth for his interest in domestic training and laments his retirement which held up this training for girls, arguing that needlework was often neglected in favour of the three R's during the Revised Code era.² (This latter point is highly unlikely, however, given the symbolic importance of needlework and the fact that it, too, was a grant earning subject). She also laments that, apart from a little sewing and knitting, girls learned none of the domestic lore and left school without any idea of how to run a home or look after children. She actively presses the point that girls need domestic training for the chief business in life, without ever questioning whether girls should be channelled in this direction or given alternatives. Similarly, she notes the weakness of girls in maths and cites Sara Burstall's aims on keeping maths to a minimum, the emphasis being on the arts, English, languages and music (surely the modern equivalent of the early accomplishments).³ Kamm, however, makes no attempt to account for the female weakness in maths. It must also be noted that needlework for girls (whilst boys did extra arithmetic) reinforced the different curriculums of the two sexes and the sex segregation that inevitably attended it.

As well as practical differences within school life, daughters were often less likely to obtain the same level of education as their brothers. If funds were available, it was often boys who were sent to fee paying schools, whilst their sisters attended the local board

¹ Adams., C., Ordinary Lives a Hundred Years Ago, London, 1982, pp.47-8.

² Kamm, J., Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History, London, 1965.

³ Sara Burstall was head mistress of Manchester Girls' High School.

schools. Purvis notes how girls were often seen as apprentices to their mothers with little time left for education (we will see later how school attendance varied between the sexes) and how available money was spent on boys' education. She notes an even greater degree of gender differentiation in charity schools and schools of industry, where children were prepared for paid work. She cites a strong opposition to writing here, it being perceived as potentially dangerous to the social hierarchy in that it might encourage social and occupational mobility, especially where girls were concerned: they might reject domestic duties, home life and child bearing, the repercussions of which for society were frightening to the middle class providers of education.

Gender specific education was meant to reflect the respective spheres of men and women as determined by middle class values. For girls, this inevitably meant huge amounts of needlework, which could then be sold to help to support the school: there was no comparable contribution from boys. We will look at needlework later (in the section on craft subjects) and see how important it was to middle class observers and providers of education in inculcating desirable female characteristics of cleanliness, humility, hard work, thrift etc. This aspect of school work for working class children is noticeable for both sexes in readers, textbooks, object lessons, stories, poems and songs throughout this period, but is especially so for girls in reinforcing their assumed domestic role in life, along with the usual middle class values which were imposed on boys as well. Horn has noted how reading books were used to inculcate gender stereotypes, for example the Royal Princess Readers Book V (1901), which encourages girls to be domesticated, loyal, hard working and obliging in the shape of the 'good fairy': the daughter or sister who denies herself in order to help others. Girls were encouraged to emulate women like Florence Nightingale and Grace Darling in their role of serving others, and Queen Victoria for her maternal qualities.¹ Adams quotes from Jarrold's New Code Reading Books, II, (1871) as to how boys and girls were conditioned differently:

¹ Horn, P., 'The education and employment of girls 1870-1914,' History of Education, Vol. 17, No.1, 1988, pp.71-82, p.79.

Shan't and Won't were two sturdy brothers,
 Angry and sullen and gruff;
 Try and Will are dear little sisters,
 One scarcely can love them enough.¹

It is interesting to note the use of emotional blackmail, implicit in this verse: girls who are good will gain more love from others than those who are not. Turnbull confirms the rigidly sex differentiated prescriptions of appropriate behaviour in readers: when naughty, boys are depicted as being daring and adventurous; girls are rarely naughty, but when they are, are lazy or untidy. Davin, too, notes that 'again and again girls who are tidy and diligent at home are rewarded with good places in service.'² Later, we will look at middle class influence in working class girls' education, and the reasons for it.

3) How did attendance vary between the sexes?

School attendance became compulsory in 1876 until ten years of age, until eleven years in 1893, and until fourteen years in 1899, with exceptions for half timers as long as an adequate standard had been reached. Turnbull states that by 1900, there were an estimated 87.8% of under 12's on school registers but with an average attendance of only 72.12%.³ She cites local factors such as the poverty of the neighbourhood, incidence of child labour, alternative amusements and the weather as being responsible for the deficit. She quotes Davin on absence: 'More boys would miss just one morning or afternoon a week, more girls would miss two or three or more.'⁴ Girls absences were, it seems, condoned more readily than boys, according to a teacher of 1899: 'A girl seldom came to school more than eight times a week because she had to stay at home and help on washing day.'⁵ (There were ten possible attendances). This raises a dual issue: the reasons for

¹ Adams, Ordinary Lives, op. cit, p.48 (from Jarrold, New Code Reading Books, II, 1871).

² Davin, A., "Mind that you do as you are told!": reading books for Board School Girls 1870-1902,' Feminist Review, 3, 1979, pp.89-98, p.91.

³ Turnbull, Women, Education and Domesticity, op. cit., p.83.

⁴ Ibid., p.83.

⁵ Ibid., p.83.

inattendance and the moral justification of it. Silver cites only the weather, illnesses, parents' unemployment, races, fires, Guy Fawkes' Night etc. as reasons for absence according to log books of girls' schools,¹ but makes no mention of baby sitting, housework, sewing, working, caring for relatives or mother during a confinement etc. Yet these reasons abound elsewhere: Roberts argues that girls willingly stayed at home to help their mothers and quotes an un-named woman: 'We didn't go to school all the time. It was optional. She always kept one at home to mind the babies. She had to.'² Adams supports this with quotes from school log books:

17 Feb. 1873: Numbers again small . . . Parents say they would be glad to send but their daughters services at home cannot be dispensed with.

10 July. 1873: It seems almost impossible to induce parents to make an effort to send their girls regularly - they are kept at home for everything.³

She also quotes from Mrs. Layton's personal account, 'Memories of Seventy Years': 'My fourth sister and I always stayed away from school on washing day to mind the babies.'⁴

Keeping girls at home was seen as unavoidable by the authorities, but not so with boys who were often out working for wages to supplement the family income: employers and parents were prosecuted for their part in boys' truancy. Adams quotes one head mistress as saying: 'I don't see how girls are to be prevented from helping their parents . . . but a boy ought never to miss an attendance unless there is not an elder girl in the family.'⁵ That boys were more likely to be reported to the magistrates than girls is partly due to their being out of the house and therefore more easily caught; girls, being indoors, were more invisible and their 'truancy' was easier to ignore. But it was not just female

¹ Silver, P. and H. The Education of the Poor: the history of a National School 1824-1974, London, 1974.

² Roberts, A Woman's Place, op. cit., p.62.

³ Adams, Ordinary Lives, op. cit., p 26.

⁴ Ibid. (from Mrs. Layton, 'Memories of Seventy Years' in Llewellyn-Davies, Life as We Have Known It by Cooperative Working Women, London, 1931, 1934 edition).

⁵ Adams, Ordinary Lives, op. cit., p.35

invisibility which led to less action being taken against offending parents, but official attitudes, too, on the relative importance of education for boys and girls: one inspector admitted that 'I should wish the boys to be kept until they have passed the fifth standard . . . and I would let the girls go when they have passed the fourth.'¹

This attitude may well have reflected the reality of working class girls' lives and the extent of their importance in the home, but by releasing girls from education sooner than boys the judgement was implicitly made that education was less valid for girls; this then helps to create reality, just as the tacit agreement of the authorities to allow girls' absence from school to attend to domestic duties reinforces their commitment to those duties.

4) How far did work encroach on education?

Despite compulsory education and regulations regarding the employment of children, many continued to work long hours. Adams cites the bakehouse of Carr's biscuits where, in the 1870's, children worked a sixteen hour day. But, as well as those who worked long hours, many more worked part time to aid the family income. These half timers generally worked for half the day and attended school for the other half, or alternated on different days. Of these half timers, Miss K. Baker (head mistress of the Domestic Science and Handicraft Centre at Glover's Court, Preston), speaking at the annual conference of the ATDS (Association of Teachers of Domestic Science) in London in 1910, said:

What wonder it is that many of the girls are half dead with fatigue and drop asleep over their work in the afternoon. Some head mistresses have told me that they allow them to continue sleeping, as it seems almost inhuman to make them try to do brain work whilst they are in that condition, and any work accomplished is of a very poor quality. It is unfortunate that these textile workers who are most liable

¹ Ibid., p.54.

to be deprived of the benefits of sound domestic training are just the ones who need it most.¹

Despite the usual insistence on domestic training as a panacea for all working class ills, the statement illustrates the position of half timers in school.

Adams cites a survey of London schools in 1899 in which the average time worked by an eight to nine year old boy was twenty hours, although many worked over 40 hours. Girls did mostly domestic work which is often hidden from view and often not categorized as work, for example, minding younger children in the family. Girls also helped their mothers with 'outwork' or 'homework', for example, taking lace home from factories, seaming hosiery garments, matchbox making etc. Of the latter, Adams quotes Edith Hogg: 'It is unfortunately true that homework invariably means child labour - chiefly girl labour - at all hours of the day and often far into the night. Little matchbox makers work habitually from the time that school closes until eleven or even midnight.'²

5) What were the difficulties for rural girls?

Information on this aspect of female education is taken mainly from Kitteringham, who states that school often only took place in the winter when the ground was too hard to work or when the market for gloves or lace (or whatever the local industry might be), was low. Where school was available, it was often geared to fit in with work, according to evidence given to the Newcastle Commission, from 10:30 to 12:30 and from 1:00 to 3:00, with work before and after. Wages, however, were often insufficient for school fees and children's wages were essential in stretching out the family budget. Child labour included apple picking, bird scaring, singling turnips, stone picking etc. Kitteringham quotes an entry in Roxwell Church School (Essex) log book: '11 August 1880: Pretty good school on Monday, but many girls away in the afternoon for a report was spread that some

¹ Roberts, A Woman's Place, op. cit., p 35.

² Ibid., p.31 (from Edith Hogg, Schoolchildren as Wage Earners in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1975, p.82).

gleaning was to be had, however, proved to be incorrect.¹ The school, like others, could not reopen after the summer holidays if the harvest was unfinished: '19 Sept. 1880: Attempted to open but found it impossible to do so for the girls were out gleaning and hop picking.'² Pea picking in Essex during the summer term caused major absences each year; by October, acorn gathering took over from the harvest, followed by bean dropping in November. In Kent, hop picking in the summer holidays could spill over into the autumn term as late as October. Added to all of this, girls had domestic duties, especially child minding whilst their mothers worked: several log book entries, according to Kitteringham, show girls staying away from school to help their mothers, mind babies, run errands etc.

6) In the field of resistance to school discipline and punishment, were there any differences between boys and girls?

Looking at the education of working class children from a Marxist perspective, Humphries sees the three tier education system (elementary, grammar and public schools) as a means of perpetuating the class system and thereby restricting social and occupational mobility. He notes the state's intention to educate the working classes in order to impart middle class values of deference, hard work, thrift and discipline, and cites the link between teaching habits of punctuality, cleanliness, thrift and good manners, and the government's and industry's need for a malleable and disciplined work-force.³

Humphries notes that reformatories and all such institutions were instruments of class control where, he argues, girls were even less likely than boys to absorb middle class values and reform their characters. Regular complaints were made regarding domestic servants who had been trained in reformatories, that they were sullen, disrespectful and likely to steal from their employers. In 1896, Miss Poole, secretary of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, warned that former industrial school girls

¹ Kitteringham, J., 'Country work girls in nineteenth century England,' in Samuel, R (ed.), Village Life and Labour, London, 1975, p 82.

² Ibid., p.83.

³ Humphries, S., Hooligans or Rebels, Oxford, 1981.

were 'violent and rough . . . we constantly have cases of dishonesty, and if we get their previous history and find that they went in for dishonesty, it seems to me that they are very seldom really cured by being sent to the school.'¹ The statement is in keeping with Humphries' argument regarding the amount of resistance to control in education by middle class authorities, that punishment, especially indiscriminate corporal punishment, was counterproductive, inciting more hostility rather than instilling obedience. He argues further that not all punishments and disruptions were entered in log books as this gave an impression of inefficiency to visiting inspectors and, as teachers were dependent on them for their salary, it was in their best interest to mitigate the numbers and severity of incidents. When punishments were recorded in the punishment book, the following details should have been entered: date, name of child, class/age, amount of punishment, nature of offence, and a signature. This is in accordance with the London School Board, although many had their own regulations, which Musgrave agrees included not recording punishments.² The nature of the offence, according to Humphries, was often described in terms such as 'insubordination', 'wilfulness', 'ill manners' etc., using middle class values to determine working class defiance.

Acts of defiance did not always manifest themselves in open rebellion; girls, it seems, would often use more subtle methods. Humphries notes the streaming of children in rows according to intellect; their response could be to deliberately 'flunk' their work to avoid being removed from their friends, as happened with this un-named Bristolian, born in 1904:

Girls 'ud sometimes get their work wrong just so that they could sit next to their mates. You see, the class was divided up in rows, one row of bright children, then the not so bright, then the average ones, then the dunces. If you were a bit brilliant, and yer mates were only average like you wouldn't want to be moved up

¹ Ibid., p.237 (from the 1896 Report on Reformatories and Industrial Schools, p 80).

² Musgrave, P.W., 'Corporal punishment in some English elementary schools, 1900-39,' Research in Education, No.17, May 1977, pp.1-11.

the class, you'd want to stay with them, so you'd deliberately get some of your spellings or your sums wrong.¹

Girls could be as disobedient as boys, sometimes with higher expulsion rates, yet often employed more subtle means, based on trickery rather than strength, to evade punishment. For instance, Bristolian Winnie Ettle (born 1899) who defied the rule that forbade the bringing of a skipping rope into school: 'We used to buy a skipping rope (for) a ha'penny . . . we would put that round our waist under our dress an' take it into School, then come out an' play skipping with it.'² Yet female tactics did not always prevent punishment; the same woman recalls her difficulties in needlework classes:

Friday afternoon was sewing and I couldn't see to thread a needle. You'd 'ave to stand on your seat, then you'd thread the needle, then you'd sit down. Well, I'd be up all the time trying to thread me needle. Well, then you'd get the cane on the end of that because you hadn't 'ave thread your needle an' done your work.³

Parents, it seems, protested more at the caning of girls than boys and teachers sometimes had to back down, although Humphries notes the prosecution and fining of parents for attacks on teachers (and, often, the street collections to raise funds to pay the fines). He quotes the case of Hilda Williams (born in 1891 in London) who advised a friend to scream continuously if a teacher beat her again. The girl did so and exposed a brutality to the entire neighbourhood: 'And then the caning stopped. After that you only had your name put in the punishment book.'⁴ The class solidarity against teacher brutality is also illustrated by the support pupils gave to its victims. Humphries quotes Bristolian Alice Comelay (born 1897), who recalls an incident in which a teacher taunted a girl for being consumptive and unable to perform well; the girl eventually threw an inkpot at the teacher, who subsequently 'went for' her:

¹ Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels, op. cit., p.55.

² Ibid., p.77.

³ Ibid., p.65.

⁴ Ibid., p.78.

... and we shouted "Leave 'er alone!" 'Course the head mistress came in and she said "What's the trouble?" Teacher told her and she asked the girls and we all shouted out "She shouldn't 'ave said what she said to the girl." The head mistress took the girl's part, sent the teacher home.¹

Such examples go some way to challenging the traditional belief in the passive, docile nature of girls.

Despite a reduction in recorded canings, Humphries claims oral evidence to show that corporal punishment was an everyday part of life: pupils habitually lied with regard to lateness in an attempt to avoid being caned, but teachers were generally disinterested in the reason, which may have been quite genuine, for instance, domestic duties, running errands, taking younger children to a different school. He also notes the use of punishment by assistant teachers, who were forbidden to use the cane, and so devised other punishments such as beating with rulers, throwing blackboard rubbers, slapping; for girls specifically, being forced to stand on a chair holding a slate or their petticoat above their head for long periods was a common punishment. Musgrave quotes from the Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers (1905) that 'In no case should infants be punished by the infliction of bodily pain, nor should girls be subjected to corporal punishment unless in exceptional cases, and then *if possible*' at the hands of a woman teacher.'¹ He then goes on to note the use of the strap for infants: two straps on the arms or legs, and notes the caning of infants in at least one (un-named) school between 1903-5, both of which presumably involved a certain amount of bodily pain for a young child. The size of the cane varied and the strap could be inflicted on the hand or seat as well as the arms and legs, the amount of either depended on the 'crime', age, previous offences etc., but was usually between two and eight strokes. Punishment could also be used for offences outside school and for unclean appearances, not doing homework, not learning

¹ *Ibid.*, p.79.

* my italics.

¹ Musgrave, 'Corporal Punishment,' *op. cit.*, p 2.

tables etc. Adams gives further insight into this with a quotation from Jane Walsh's Not Like This:

Every Monday morning the priest came to each class, and asked us who had missed Mass the day before. I, and a few like me, always had to miss because Sunday was washing day, and we only had one lot of clothes. So week by week we admitted our absence, and were given the strap for it. We should have been able to explain, but we just couldn't bother to make the effort, and we were ashamed to give the real reason. It was easier to come forward and get strapped on the hand instead.

Once - just once - I answered back.

"Don't you know," asked the priest, "that God loves you, and wants to see you in His house on Sundays?"

"But if He loves us, why does He want us to get the strap on Mondays if we can't go?" I asked.

I don't remember what the priest said, but I do know I got a double lot of stripes when he'd gone.¹

This last example, particularly, illustrates the coercion by the church of the working classes in general and impressionable children in particular to conform to its own middle class rules, and the church's lack of empathy with the lives of working people.

7) How did girls' craft subjects differ from those of boys in content and amount?

This area provides the main ground for differences in the education of the sexes, where boys' and girls' curriculums were deliberately structured around gender specific roles and perceptions of future lives. Turnbull argues that practical subjects for girls existed long before 1870 and incited considerable opposition from parents who linked 'industrial

¹ Adams, Ordinary Lives, op. cit , p.49.

education' with that of the workhouse. She further argues that all domestic subjects had been tried before 1870, with girls washing, sewing, cooking and cleaning for the church and members of the clergy, teachers and school patrons. In 1862, sewing became compulsory in grant receiving schools and training colleges, although there would have been few schools in which sewing (or fancy needlework in middle class schools) did not play a large part. Similarly, Gordon and Lawton state that Home Economy dates back to Kay-Shuttleworth's experiments at Norwood Pauper School in 1838.¹ The modern progression of domestic subjects can be outlined as follows:

- 1862: Needlework became compulsory in all schools wishing to obtain a government grant.
- 1870: The Education Department introduced theoretical Domestic Economy.
- 1874: Domestic Economy became a grant earning subject.
- 1878: Domestic Economy became compulsory as a specific subject.
- 1882: Practical cookery was introduced (grant earning).
- 1889: Laundry work was introduced (grant earning).
- 1897: Housewifery was introduced.
- 1900: Housewifery became a grant earning subject.
- 1907: Domestic Science was introduced.
- 1909: Girls over fifteen years of age were allowed to drop science and all maths (except arithmetic) for Domestic Science.

(Article 9 of the Regulations for Secondary Schools defined Domestic Science subjects as 'needlework, cookery, laundry work, housekeeping and household hygiene').²

Despite the impressive list and the above dates, not all girls were taught all subjects, although needlework was never omitted. Dyhouse, however, notes the massive increases in the amount of girls studying domestic subjects: between 1874 and 1882, the numbers of pupils studying Domestic Economy rose from 844 to 59,812, and between 1892/3 and 1895/6 the numbers studying laundry work rose from 632 to 11,720. By 1913/14, the numbers for domestic subjects were as follows:

¹ Gordon, P. and Lawton, D., Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, London, 1978.

² Hunt, Gender and Policy, op. cit., p.123.

Cookery	379,095	Laundry work	182,342
Housewifery	55,490	Mixed courses	21,598 ¹

The following figures, taken from Turnbull, show the rise in popularity of cookery and laundry work at schools and among scholars in England and Wales:

YEAR	COOKERY		LAUNDRY WORK	
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars
1877	125			
1882	347			
1887	921	30,431		
1892	2,113	90,794	153	2,766
1897	3,075	167,606	573	22,623
1902	3,693	202,551	671	28,413
1907	6,372	304,361	1,695	76,629
1912	8,268	357,847	3,462	157,868 ²

Despite these figures, 1,750,000 were eligible to take the above courses, yet many were not chosen: head mistresses tended to pick older girls who necessarily came from artisan type families, as poorer parents still withdrew their children at the earliest opportunity, although it was possible for children to attend domestic courses from the age of eleven.

One of the main arguments from both contemporary observers and the writers used here, is that much of the domestic teaching was inappropriate to working class life: 'As school managers valued most the cookery teacher who ran her courses at the least cost to the school, children spent too much time making small items that could easily be sold afterwards such as rock cakes or sausage rolls.'³ Cookery gradually became more appropriate to the homes of working class children: by 1887, 8-9,000 girls in London were learning basic cookery, 'making beef tea and mutton broth, and drinks for sick people; and also porridge, and coffee, and cocoa, and bread, and cooking vegetables of various kinds.

¹ *Ibid.*, p.124.

² Turnbull, Women, Education and Domesticity, op. cit., Appendix II, p.xi (from the Annual Reports of the Board of Education).

³ Hurt, J., Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, Oxford, 1979, p.164. Hurt also notes the making of expensive dishes, inappropriate to working class families.

Also in season . . . jam.'¹ Adams notes the London cookery centres which, in 1891/2, included toad in the hole, apple dumplings, Cornish pasties, mince pies, curried meat, seed cake, Christmas pudding, sausage rolls and fig pudding. Adams argues, however, that the above dishes were inappropriate to many labouring families as gas stoves or ovens were not possessed by everyone (much cooking was still being done on an open fire even in the early twentieth century); nor were the necessary utensils or money to buy all of the ingredients always available.

According to Adams, the cookery centres' emphasis was strongly upon thrift; she quotes Lord Shaftesbury from the 1880's: 'I would like to see every woman of the working classes have some knowledge of cookery . . . for . . . I am certain that they are ten times less provident and more wasteful than the wealthiest in the land.'² (No evidence is given for his Lordship's assertion.) Inevitably, it was women who were blamed for the poverty of the family: the teaching of cookery, it was believed, would be a panacea for all working class ills. After compulsory cookery, came laundry work, mixing moral justifications with practical ones: 'the object of teaching laundry work is not only to teach girls how to wash and dry clothes and starch and iron them in the best way . . . but to train them in habits of neatness, quickness and cleanliness.'³ Such attributes seem to coincide neatly with middle class requirements for domestic servants. Adams quotes one woman's description of the weekly half day spent at the housewifery centre (this was a whole day in some areas.)

If we did the housewifery course we were taught to sweep, dust, polish, make beds and bath a life-size doll. We had great fun on this course, for it was held in a house set aside for the purpose, and with only one teacher in charge, we were quick to take advantage when she went to inspect some other part of the house. We jumped on the bed, threw pillows, drowned the doll and swept dirt under the

¹ *Ibid.*, p.185.

² *Ibid.*, p.185.

³ Turnbull, A., 'Learning her womanly work: the elementary school curriculum 1870-1914,' in Hunt, F. (ed.), Lessons for Life, Oxford, 1987, p.95 (from Mrs. Pillow, 'Domestic Economy teaching in England 1896-1897,' in Education Department Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol 1, p.9).

mats. This was the highlight of the week, the one lesson we never minded going to.¹

How useful such a class might have been, will be considered later; Adams' quote from the notice displayed in housewifery centre is certainly indicative of some degree of inappropriateness to many working class homes in this period:

GUIDING PRINCIPLES TO ENSURE HEALTH AND HAPPINESS

- a) Select a house that is thoroughly drained, well lighted and capable of thorough ventilation
- b) Endeavour to obtain knowledge of the chief elements of food, their uses and the best method of cooking
- c) Learn the best methods of keeping your home thoroughly clean and wholesome
- d) Study how to prevent disease as well as how to restore health to those who are sick
- e) Provide recreations and amusements in the home so that the members of the family may be made happy and kept from seeking their pleasures in objectionable places
- f) Be careful and thrifty so that you may be independent in your old age²

One can immediately see middle class influence at work in the insistence of thrift as a means of alleviating poverty (the natural corollary to which is that poverty is the fault of the individual) and on the evils of the public house.

This insistence on catching girls young and instilling in them their duties to the home and its occupants was partly a result of its supposed failure with adult women in the growing number of cookery schools. Edith Nicholls, Superintendent at The National from 1874, explained her reasons for concentrating on young girls: 'Experience has taught me that it is nearly hopeless to teach the wives of artisans how to improve their cooking; they are utterly indifferent. Our only hope is to reach the children.'³ Thus, working class girls became the sole object of the Domestic Subjects Movement's energies. In 1890, the

¹ Adams, Ordinary Lives, op. cit., p 44 (from Grace Foakes, My Part of the River)

² Ibid , p 46.

³ Stone, D., The National: the story of a pioneer college, London, 1973, 1976 edition, p.38.

Customs and Excise made available money from Customs and Excise duties for the teaching of domestic subjects training (known as 'whiskey money'): this helped to fund a large number of domestic subjects training schools during the early 1900's which led to an expansion of domestic subjects, not just in schools, but also in evening institutes, trade schools, polytechnics, continuation classes, domestic servant and domestic economy schools. Although it was not until after the 1902 Education Act that pressure began to include domestic subjects in secondary schools, by 1905, the Board of Education was insisting on Domestic Science, which coincided with more girls (and more working class girls) entering post elementary education. These new secondary schools were originally academic, but by 1909:

In schools for girls the curriculum must include provision for practical instruction in domestic subjects such as Needlework, Cookery, Laundrywork, Housekeeping and Household Hygiene; and an approved course in a combination of these subjects may for girls over 15 years of age be substituted partially or wholly for Science and for Mathematics other than Arithmetic.¹

Horn also cites the Board's commitment to domestic subjects from the Suggestions for Teachers (1905):

The course of instruction in Home Management must include cookery, laundry work and practical housewifery, and should be a thorough training in domestic duties . . . they ought to be designed to fit girls, by repeated practice, to undertake when they leave school the various household duties which fall more or less to all women . . . If these aims are kept in view the training should lead the scholars to set a high value on the housewife's position and to understand that the work of women in their homes may do much to make a nation strong and prosperous . . .²

¹ Gordon and Lawton, Curriculum Change, op. cit., p 113.

² Horn, P., Education and Employment, op. cit., p.74.

Again we see the blame falling on women, not just for the state of their own homes, but for the condition of the nation. Thus, the link was made between maternal ignorance and national efficiency - or inefficiency; awareness of this led to increased interest in the teaching of domestic subjects. The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (reporting in 1904) noted 'the alarming proportion of the young men of this country . . . who are unfit for military duty on account of defective physique.'¹ The fault, it implied, lay with ignorant mothers, feeding their families and running their homes badly. The Committee recommended the teaching of cookery, domestic economy and hygiene compulsorily to all older girls.

Dyhouse takes up this theme and notes the two arguments put forward to support domestic teaching: incompetent wives, who drove their husbands to the public house with their appalling cooking and ill managed home, and the shortage of domestic servants. By the early twentieth century, two more interrelated arguments were being given: physical deterioration and the high infant mortality rate. Dyhouse notes the unfitness of Boer War recruits and the need for social efficiency which led to the blame being placed on women for their ignorance of hygiene, nutrition and infant care, which formed a major part of the above Committee's report:

There is no lack of evidence of increasing carelessness and deficient sense of responsibility among the younger women of the present day . . . some great scheme of social education was necessary . . . to raise the standard of domestic competence.²

The Committee also suggested that parents could apply to keep girls at home part time to help with baking, child care etc., on the condition that such homes were visited and approved of; this idea was not acted upon, although their recommendation that older girls should drop certain subjects (for example Maths and Science) in order to study more

¹ Gordon and Lawton, Curriculum Change, op. cit., p.74.

² Dyhouse, C., 'Good Wives and Little Mothers: social anxieties and the schoolgirls' curriculum 1890-1920,' Oxford Review of Education, Vol 3, No.1, 1977, pp 21-35, p. 25.

domestic subjects was accepted, as was the provision of continuation classes for those who had already left school. Fears for the state were also at the heart of concerns regarding the high infant mortality rate, lower birth rate and health of those surviving infancy, as these led to poor quality canon fodder for future campaigns. The high infant mortality tended to concentrate in industrial centres and overcrowded cities, especially the mining and industrial areas of the Midlands and the North, with the blame firmly on the mothers. Added to the old argument against women working were the new ones of ignorance and neglect: 'The problem of infant mortality . . . is mainly a question of motherhood . . . it is the ignorance and carelessness of mothers that directly causes a large proportion of the infant mortality.'¹ Feminists countered this with Dr. John Robertson's study of 1908 in Birmingham, comparing babies of working and non-working mothers, which found a lower mortality rate among the former, indicating that the mother's income might alleviate poverty and thereby give the child a better chance of survival. This, then, promotes the idea that perhaps poverty, and not maternal ignorance, was to blame for the high infant mortality rate in cities. This had little effect, however, on the authorities of the early twentieth century, whose own philosophy was at stake. The first school for mothers was opened in St. Pancras in 1907, quickly followed by others; they were mainly for existing mothers and pregnant women, but older girls were encouraged to attend. It was inevitable, given the mood of the times, that teaching along similar lines would soon begin in schools. In 1910, Dr. Christopher Addison introduced a bill in the House of Commons which would have required all elementary schools to teach infant care to all girls over the age of twelve. The bill was unsuccessful, yet in a memorandum compiled by Dr. Janet Campbell and prefaced by Morant, the education of girls aged twelve to fourteen in child care was specifically encouraged and Morant's note to the report on the teaching of infant care in elementary schools (1910) stated: 'If girls and women could be taught how to take care of infants . . . we might hope to diminish not only the high rate of infant mortality, but also a large amount of unnecessary ill health and physical suffering caused by neglect in

¹ Ibid., p.26 (from Dr. George Newman, Infant Mortality: A Social Problem, London, 1901).

infancy and childhood.¹ Added to this was a cut in the provision of education for the under fives in an attempt to discourage women from working.

As schooling in academic subjects was seen as an encouragement of the wrong kind of aspirations in girls, undermining their attachment to domestic duties and, therefore, the home, means had to be found to encourage girls to value the domestic sphere, hence the amount of subjects on offer and the pressure to take them. Horn has noted how girls had to sit a paper on domestic economy and give a needlework lesson in the presence of an inspector if they wished to sit for a Queen's Scholarship, and John Thomas cites the request from the Inspectorate that cookery be added to pupil teachers' timetables 'because our rural school teachers should be able to give lessons in cottage cookery.'²

Turnbull argues that, by 1910, women elementary school teachers largely supported girls' domestic roles, and that the belief that women's inevitable domestic burden should determine the content of girls' schooling was generally accepted. Female teachers' journals frequently carried articles showing how girls could be encouraged to value 'women's realm' by linking aspects of home management with arithmetic, drawing, composition, literature and the singing of songs such as 'Home Sweet Home'. She quotes an interview with teacher Miss M. M. Young in The Woman Teacher's Magazine from 1910:

'My great aim is that everything the girls do should be of use to them when they leave school . . . In Maths I do not believe in teaching the girls difficult rules, which they will never have to apply . . . The science we take is purely domestic science.'³

¹ Dyhouse, 'Good Wives', op. cit., p.29.

² Thomas, 'University College, Bristol,' op. cit., p 66

³ Turnbull, Women, Education and Domesticity, op. cit., p.90.

Yet, despite the all embracing nature of domestic subjects, there were many regional variations due to the cost and local rates; urban schools fared better than their rural counterparts. As far as cookery was concerned, there were strong disagreements amongst its promoters, between whether to teach the proper way to cook or that suited to the children's homes. Added to this was the opposition of many parents who were often prosecuted and fined for withdrawing their children, and of some teachers who found all the domestic subjects too much for the girls to learn as well as hampering those academic girls who were destined for higher grade or secondary schools and a career in office work rather than the factory. Also, MP John Lubbock commented on domestic economy's inclusion in the Code of 1874: ' . . . It is restricted to girls. Why should not boys, also, be allowed to learn about food and clothing? Are not cleanliness and ventilation as necessary for men as for women? Are boys never ill, men never improvident?'¹ This was an unusual stance to take for the time, although it should be added that boys who lived in seaport towns, where the possibility existed of a career in catering, did have the option of learning to cook at school. Less surprising was the criticism by feminists of the day. Dyhouse quotes Christine Bremner on the domestic content of girls' education, and the teaching of eleven year olds in cookery, laundry work and housewifery 'as if little girls could not be too early pressed into a narrow mould'² and Rona Robinson's attack on an article in the British Medical Journal on Home Science:

We presume that the writer of the article in the Medical Journal is a trained medical man. When did he begin his training for his life's work? . . . How would his future career have suffered had he been compelled to spend his childhood learning to wash, scrub, cook, clean and mind babies? So to specialize in the education of girls in their schooltime is to deprive them of the broad educational advantages secured to boys.³

¹ Gordon and Lawton, Curriculum Change, op. cit., p.109-10.

² Dyhouse, 'Good Wives; op. cit., p.21 (from Bremner, C., The Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain, London, 1897).

³ Dyhouse, 'Good Wives,' op. cit., p.30.

For all the importance of cookery, laundry work and cleaning, it is in the field of needlework that most differentiation between the education of boys and girls can be seen, for it was sewing, above all, which symbolized the female, and caused girls to spend so much time engaged in needlework. The Silvers, in their work on Kennington and South Lambert National School, have shown how girls spent four afternoons per week sewing, the results of which were then sold to local families; the money raised thereof paid for clothing for *deserving* girls. Turnbull supports this argument and states that as late as 1912 schools took orders from shops for sewing garments etc. in order to make needlework classes pay. She also notes children's (and parents') opposition to needlework which often resulted in truancy. The Silvers' quotes from log books give further insight into this: 'Commenced work this afternoon with a large attendance in consequence of having told the girls we were going to have a lesson instead of needlework' and the mistress who admitted to keeping girls in late on the pretext of being idle because there was a lot of sewing to do, aptly show the importance of this subject.¹

The possibility of reducing the amount of needlework done by girls did not seem to occur to the providers of education, needlework being of such symbolic importance in society. Dyhouse gives some insight into the reason for this: that in symbolic terms, needle skills implied femininity and thrift. Suggestions for the Teaching of Needlework (1909) held that it appealed directly to the natural instincts of the girls and that 'it should be looked upon as a matter of shame that any girl should reach woman's estate without a practical knowledge of what use she can make with her needle.'² The comments of HMI J. Fitzmaurice in 1900 show the dual purpose of needlework instruction: ' . . . not only on account of its practical utility, but because it is a splendid training for hand and eye, and has also a great refining influence; and the love of the needle encourages domesticity.'³ The self sacrifice involved in sewing for others enhanced the domestic, feminine ideal and even took on religious tones: sewing could be a means of serving God by making ministers' or vestry articles, or items to sell to raise church funds.

¹ Silver, History of a National School, op. cit., p103.

² Dyhouse, C., Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England, London, 1981, p.89.

³ Turnbull, Women, Education and Domesticity, op. cit., p.100.

Yet, during the period 1870-1914, the justification for needlework changed from the purely utilitarian to having educational significance, in developing minds and bodies and producing feminine characteristics. The position of sewing altered in accordance with society's perceptions of gender roles. During the latter part of this period, needlework gradually developed as an art form, just as cookery had become a science, and growing artistic claims were made for it. This was especially so in middle class girls' schools, where the utilitarian aspect of plain sewing was inappropriate to their lives and where fancy sewing was being criticized for detracting from academic subjects. The artistic claims for needlework, along with its supposed development of femininity, helped it to remain a staple subject in even the highest of girls' schools. Yet, in elementary schools, the reality of needlework changed little for girls. In 1857, an un-named HMI had stated:

'If we can teach them to darn and patch with readiness and skill ~ if we can enable them to master cutting out to such an extent as is required for the ordinary work of a poor man's home, we shall have rendered to them, and at the same time we shall have rendered to society, a lasting and incalculable service.'¹

By 1912, Susan Lawrence's introduction to a textbook declared the function of needlework to be 'to fit girls for the ordinary duties of the housewife,'² thereby showing that little had changed in over half a century.

Despite a lack of real change as far as working class girls were concerned, there was some change in the method of teaching needlework. Instead of each girls working at her own pace, from 1876 instruction was by demonstration at the front of the class on a large frame; this being subject to the inspection of every girl. Instruction began with drill in the baby classes, where three year olds would practice putting on thimbles for one hour at a time, threading needles with baby threaders (needles without points) and holding work correctly. Turnbull argues for the deliberate intention in schools to dampen high spirits

¹ Ibid., p.98.

² Ibid., p.98

and notes Louisa Floyer (the first salaried needlework inspector on the London School Board in 1873) who found the image of girls silently bent over needlework to be the ideal of mature womanhood, which could be moulded from infancy through the needlework curriculum. Floyer also linked needlework with other subjects such as spelling (including words like 'stitching' and 'herring-boning') and object lessons (for example, on the parts and uses of the needle).

There was less opposition generally to needlework than to other domestic subjects, most observers tending to agree that it was essential for all girls. The women's movement made some criticism of fancy sewing for middle class girls on the grounds that it detracted from academic subjects, but still approved of plain sewing in elementary schools.

The differences in the practical education of boys and girls, then, could hardly have been greater: for many years girls alone studied practical subjects, for it was not until 1890 that the Education Department recognised manual instruction for grant purposes, and even then the quantities were greatly unequal. By 1913, 26 areas of the country had no domestic subjects instruction (with the exception of the ubiquitous needlework), but 71 had no handicraft tuition for boys. It should also be noted that in many areas boys received books as prizes, whilst girls were simply allowed to take their needlework home without paying for it.

8) Were domestic subjects used as training for domestic service?

Politicians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would have argued 'no' to this question, as would many later, even recent, writers; yet there is evidence to support an alternative view: that the training of young girls in domestic subjects was, implicitly at least, gearing them for domestic service in adult life. Motivations for this varied from the philanthropic (a concern for secure employment for working class girls) to the selfish (a desire for well trained servants).

Horn cites the youth of girls entering service, although she acknowledges that the age was rising towards the end of the century, from eight to nine years mid century, to twelve to thirteen years towards its close. Yet girls would be engaged in work long before leaving school in order to get money for their uniform and to gain experience. Horn quotes the mistress of a school at Cublington, Buckinghamshire, from the log book of 28 June, 1877: 'Agnes Beckett (had) made 12 attendances in 9 weeks - am told she is nursemaid to Mrs. White in this village.' By 16 July, of the same year: 'Agnes Beckett left, gone out nursing for good.'¹ Despite this, she notes the unpreparedness of (especially) workhouse and orphanage girls who were used only to hard cleaning, such as scrubbing floors, rather than polishing china; this, then, determined the type of domestic service they could obtain. Dyhouse goes further and claims that the aims of charity schools were intentionally to turn out well trained servant girls.² The servant shortage in the second half of the nineteenth century had led to calls for domestically orientated education for girls. Horn quotes the Reverend R. Gurney (Clerical Secretary to the Church of England Education Society) from 1859, who suggested that the 'industrial element' in girls' schools should be 'more largely introduced, so that we might look to them with more hope for a better and higher principled class of household servants than they now furnish.'³ And, by 1872, 'A Lady Overseer from Leamington' wrote to the Royal Leamington Chronicle on 28 May, calling for instruction to be given in:

. . . washing and ironing and cleaning grates and making fires . . . It is lamentable to see that the present system of education (especially in schools under Government inspection) is ruining the daughters of our agricultural poor for domestic service, and so leading many into the broad road which leads to destruction.⁴

¹ Horn, P., The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant, Dublin, 1975, p.33.

² Dyhouse, Girls Growing Up, op. cit.

³ Horn, Rise and Fall, op. cit., p.34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.34.

Thus, we can see the emotional blackmail being used to ensure a steady supply of well trained (and trained at the expense of others) servant girls. The alternative view was seen as early as 1873 by one astute writer to the School Board Chronicle:

Those philanthropic ladies who . . . are seeking to provide the means of teaching to the children of the poorest, the arts of domestic service, must not disguise from themselves the fact that the work is undertaken as much in the interest of the people who want good servants as in that of the girls sought to be prepared for that occupation.¹

All of this argues against the stance taken by Kamm, among others, who insists that training for service was never intended and that domestic subjects were a tiny amount anyway, despite the fact that they covered two days per week in some areas and five half days in others. Yet, as late as the 1870's and 1880's Lord Brabazon's wife and other 'ladies' campaigned to get domestic economy on the schoolgirls' curriculum, in order to obtain better servants, as well as train future wives and mothers. State policy, theoretically, opposed such training, but readers and textbooks used often espoused the virtues of domestic service, as we shall see later when looking at middle class influence in working class education. Dyhouse quotes from a textbook for Domestic Science teachers (Domestic Economy by Newsholme and Scott): 'Teachers should, when possible, advise mothers to encourage their daughters to become good domestic servants in preference to entering upon indifferent callings which frequently entail late hours, injury to health and exposure to temptation.'² Again, we see the use of emotional blackmail on parents with regard to the physical and sexual safety of their daughters, although one could argue that young servant girls in Victorian households also worked long and late hours, and seduction and rape by male employers was not unheard of either.

¹ Turnbull, Women, Education and Domesticity, op. cit , p.251.

² Dyhouse, Girls Growing Up, op. cit , p.83.

We have seen how the schooling of girls in specifically female craft subjects increased throughout this period; much of this seemed to be intentionally designed to fit girls for domestic service. Horn quotes an example from Well in Lincolnshire as part of the evidence given to the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture (1867-9): as well as needlework every afternoon, one girl was always employed in the mistress's service, and others were engaged in cleaning out the school room, grates and outhouses, and 'The oldest girls take it by turns one quarter of the year, and one day in every week, to prepare dinner for 8 or 10 of their schoolfellows . . . the girls are responsible for all the arrangements, the dishing up, the service, the washing up, etc.'¹ Much of the content of the above quote would have been more relevant to service in a middle class home than to the children's own home life.

There also existed special domestic service training schools (funded by philanthropists and charities: Charles Dickens established at least twenty in London by 1879) and several publicly funded ones, such as Dallington Domestic Economy School, founded in the last years of the nineteenth century by Northamptonshire County Council, in which girls were given a thorough training in all branches of a housewife's or a servant's duties. Horn notes the timetable for 1897, with the main subjects as housework, laundry and cookery, plus dressmaking and mending; the day was divided into three: 6:30 - 9:30; 9:30 - 12:30; 2:30 - 4:30, Monday to Saturday inclusive.² In England and Wales, local education authorities ran ten domestic service schools and eighteen domestic economy schools by 1914; four of the former and ten of the latter were in London.

9) How useful or effective was domestic education?

We have seen previously how opposition to domestic subjects came from a variety of quarters (children, parents, some teachers, feminist observers), but have not examined its relevance to the lives of pupils. Roberts argues that there was little enthusiasm among her

¹ Horn, Rise and Fall, op. cit., p.35.

² Ibid., p.35

interviewees for domestic subjects, many women stating that they learned more from their mothers at home than at school. Despite the criticism from officials, when these home skills were examined, many women showed themselves to be good cooks and housekeepers. Yet the view that women were to blame was deeply entrenched: the ATDS conferences continued to stress the inefficiency of working class women, resolutely ignoring issues such as poverty and the fact that women cannot always influence their family's eating habits. Inspectors stressed relevance at all times to the homes of pupils, yet we have already seen how small saleable items continued to be made. In laundry work, too, relevance was not always the first concern: one un-named woman cites taking a brother's collar into the laundry centre, but the collar had to be clean!¹ Adams also notes one woman who spent her laundry lessons learning how to starch white collars, although none of the men in her family wore a collar.² Turnbull, too, argues for the irrelevancy of much needlework in schools: finery for dolls, pure white men's shirts, fancy underclothes, all of which were irrelevant to the working class home. Most of working class women's sewing involved mending and patching, and altering clothes to fit, which were little taught in schools generally (although Nottingham did offer such classes, as we shall see later). Perhaps the insistence on white shirts and starching collars has more relevance to middle class homes and to service than to the homes of elementary school pupils.

The lack of utility in cookery is also seen in the cooking of one chop when learning how to roast a joint, in order to save on cost; thereby showing that neither competence nor relevance was actually achieved. Providers of domestic education were blind to the realities of working class life. Turnbull argues that tea, sugar, potatoes, bread and margarine were the staple fare and low funds meant buying small quantities, often a daily supply, which were more costly than bulk buying.³ Working class housewives were more likely to be sold tainted food: broken eggs, old vegetables, gritty sugar, and doctored milk. Equipment, too, was meagre and, at the most basic level, consisted of a kettle, a frying pan, a couple of saucepans and an iron range, or even an open fire, on which to cook.

¹ Roberts, A Woman's Place, op. cit., p.47.

² Adams, Ordinary Lives, op. cit., p.48.

³ *Ibid.*, p.48.

Such realities were not always catered for in the school curriculum, which concentrated on an ideal rarely achieved below artisan level. Turnbull notes that when the first generation of girls who had been taught cookery had grown up, the situation had altered little: husbands still drank at the public house, and children were still poorly fed and clothed.¹ Hurt argues for the rise in real wages between 1875 and 1896 as the real reason for the gradually improving diet, rather than cookery in schools. According to Turnbull, the power of domestic subjects instruction lay not in the transfer of skills but in the transmission of a domestic ideology, moulding women in an ideal of privatised domesticity.²

The middle class influence in the transmission of values to the working classes is most evident in the case of porridge. This food was 'seen to encapsulate all the moral virtues of thrift and humility which the middle class so revered.'³ The middle class ladies who so advocated porridge did not see its bad side: the long cooking time, the expense in terms of fuel, the gluey pot to wash, the (often) absence of milk and sugar to make it palatable, and the resistance of many families.

As the irrelevance of much domestic subjects teaching became known, new theories had to be devised to persuade the public, and the Government, of their benefit; this led to a gradual professionalisation of domestic skills: housework was seen as the married woman's profession. Self fulfilment rather than self sacrifice became the image for the modern woman of the early twentieth century, especially among the middle classes.

10) Did domestic subjects tuition bring any change for the better for women?

Turnbull has noted how the Domestic Subjects Movement re-evaluated women's domestic role, elevating it to a higher plane but, at the same time, restricting women to that role. Thus, life for most women, certainly working class women, remained the same. The work

¹ Ibid , p.48.

² Ibid., p.48.

³ Ibid., p90.

of the Domestic Subjects Movement reflected middle class values and criticisms of working class lifestyles; schools, then, were used as agents of social control 'wherein bourgeois ideals of domesticity and domestic work could be presented to working class girls.'¹ Many men helped to propagandize domestic subjects, as they had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo of women as homemakers and men as breadwinners, yet it was middle class women who comprised the core of the movement. It was believed by these and some others that a professionalisation of domestic skills would raise women's status; consequently they promoted sex specific roles for themselves in the developing educational system. Yet the opposite of their prediction happened: rather than raising women's status, domestic skills served only to keep women in a subordinate position and the skills themselves were automatically down graded because they were women's skills. But the middle class women who engineered domestic subjects provision for the working classes benefited from the vastly increased educational bureaucracy based on women's subjects, which provided jobs such as cookery teachers, institution managers, demonstrators for food companies, school and factory inspectors, journalists for women's magazines and places on various government boards and commissions. It is ironic that whilst reinforcing women's domestic role in the home, these middle class women created for themselves a life and a career outside the home.

11) What was the role of cookery tuition in the late nineteenth century?

Interest in cookery as a subject seems to have begun with a demonstration by J.C. Buckmaster on 1 April, 1873, as part of the Third International Exhibition. The demonstration was a huge success and cookery teaching became a fad amongst trendy Londoners, which soon led to a desire by the middle classes to pass on their knowledge to the working classes, particularly as it arrived at a time when social investigations into poverty were beginning. The idea soon took hold that cookery teaching would re-educate the nation, and compensate for the failings of the working classes, and especially its women. Stone applauds Edith Nicholls who, obsessed with the evils of alcohol, saw good

¹ Ibid., p 42.

food as a panacea for all society's ills. Her statement regarding the futility of teaching artisans' wives to cook due to their indifference has been quoted previously; her object in teaching cookery was:

‘to reach the people, and to ensure to the working man a wholesome meal, which will supply the nourishment that he requires to enable him to do a hard day’s work. The lassitude produced by bad food and hard work is a constant source of the craving for drink which drives the working man to the public house.’¹

Typically for middle class women of the day, Nicholls ignores poverty, entrenched eating habits, the need for many women to work long hours and the fact that many working class women were good cooks, as seen in the oral evidence of Roberts and others. Yet their philosophy dictated that poverty and its symptoms were the fault of the individual, and proceeded to find solutions based on that same philosophy, without any empirical attempt to find the real causes.

12) To what extent can middle class influence be seen in working class girls education?

We have already seen how responsibility for poverty fell on the individual, and how the middle class attempted to alter working class lifestyles rather than the environment. Dyhouse has noted the educational policies which were used to ‘civilize’ the working classes and bring them into line with middle class values of respectability, thrift, hard work etc., by encouraging the division of labour (seen as both natural and divine law), the male breadwinner and female homemaker.

Gorham has examined the reading matter provided by the middle class establishment to promote femininity and domesticity; although her work concentrates mainly on the middle and upper classes, much of it would be equally relevant to working class girls. She divides

¹ Stone, The National, op. cit., p.38.

the reading into three distinct groups: the daughter at home, 1850-1880; the widening sphere, 1880-1900; the School Girl, 1900-14. The first category, reading for daughters at home (mainly middle and upper class girls), emphasized the gentle arts and self sacrificing natures of girls, as seen in works by writers such as Charlotte Yonge, Elizabeth Wetherell and E.M. Sewell. The second group, again middle and upper class girls, have gained a better education: Gorham cites girls' magazines such as Girls Own Paper (published by the Religious Tracts Society) from 1880, showing middle and upper class heroines espousing the domestic position in the traditional romantic formula. In its non-fiction, the magazine often included pieces on girls' education, working girls and the new employment opportunities; it even supported the moderate goals of the women's movement and made some attempts to cater for the lower middle class and upper strand of the working class. The third group comprises mainly of fiction set in girls' boarding schools; the setting, therefore, is exclusively female and either middle or upper class. Gorham cites the work of L.T. Meade who represented the transition from the Victorian to the modern with melodramatic stories of illness or death and the moral development of characters; also, Angela Brazil who, in the early twentieth century, was the most successful writer in this genre. Here, the setting is still the boarding school, but the stories are less overtly moralistic with more emphasis on adventure. From this era we begin to see the arrival of commercial magazines for working women. Although Gorham's work centres mainly on middle and upper class girls it is quite possible that the magazines were read by working class girls, either because parents (particularly in the artisan strata) could afford to buy them, or because they were passed on, when read, to mothers doing char work in middle class homes, for their daughters. It is certain from Gorham's appraisal, that the accent on domesticity (if not femininity) was just as relevant to working class girls as to their richer sisters.¹

¹ Gorham, D., 'The ideal of femininity and reading for girls 1850-1914,' in Hunt, F., Lessons for Life, Oxford, 1987.

Davin's work on the London School Board is more immediately relevant to the lives of working class girls. She cites one story from a school reader, called 'Rich and Poor' or 'The Discontented Haymaker,' in which a couple are haymaking when a rich and beautiful lady rides past; the wife is envious, but the husband says:

God knows what is good for all his creatures. Don't let us murmur, Peggy, dear, for if many seem to be better off than we are, it is still quite certain that we are better off than many more . . . while I have hands to labour, a good tidy wife to make home comfortable, and dear little children to divert me with their prattle, I am not going to fret because perhaps others have something else that I never feel to want.¹

The story continues with the lady being thrown from her horse and taken to their home where 'Peggy took pride in the thought that she could provide a nice clean pair of sheets and pillow cases.'² All of the stories in this book are set in a static, hierarchical world where everyone keeps his place and does his duty. For women, this involves listening to their husbands and superiors, being obedient, industrious, contented and, above all, a good wife. Other virtues recommended include patience, humility, modesty and thrift. Davin quotes from another book and the story of a girl who is lazy, but who dreams of becoming a housemaid at the Hall; repeatedly, though, it is girls who are tidy and diligent who get good positions in service.³ Similar stories regarding the neatness of dress encourage girls to mend clothes promptly, or again not find a situation. Dyhouse, similarly, cites a story from Nelson (1905) in which a mother dies young and the two daughters ('dear little house mothers') decide to leave school as soon as possible and attend evening classes in domestic economy in order to keep house, so that their brother can stay on at school.⁴ Presented as exemplary behaviour, this story inevitably encourages girls to see the importance of the domestic role and the relative unimportance of academic work for girls.

¹ Davin, 'Reading books for board school girls', op. cit., p.91 (from Howard and Contell II, 1873).

² Ibid., p.91.

³ Ibid., p.91 (from Bilton IV [girls], 1870).

⁴ Dyhouse, Girls Growing Up, op. cit., p.23.

The insistence on work for both sexes was directly in the interests of the providers of education, for their class (and sometimes they themselves) were the main employers of the day. The old idea of knowing one's place was slow to shift as Davin notes from 1871: 'There is more happiness to be had by remaining in the station of life to which it has pleased God to call you, living in comfort and respectability, than in quitting it to associate with those with whom you cannot feel on an equality.'¹ With time, this rigid idea began to bend and several working men became masters in their own right; for girls, however, the greatest hope was for a good position and then a good husband. Indeed, as we noted at the beginning of this chapter, a woman's status depended on the men in her family; therefore, if a woman wanted to rise in class terms, she had few options other than to marry a man who was higher up the social scale.

13) What were the arguments against female education?

We have seen the arguments in favour of the education of girls in the previous section: as a means of saving the nation and, theoretically, at least, raising women's status. But the arguments against the education of women, or certain aspects of education, came from different, even opposing, sectors of society: from the (largely male) traditionalists to educated women, themselves often involved in girls' education. In this latter category, we find Sara Burstall who, as we have noted previously, argued against too much maths for girls.

Burstyn cites the Victorian view of women as an ornaments, decorative and non working status symbols, whose virtue and purity contrasts with male worldliness; the divine ordination of the separation of the spheres and the idea that a woman's place is in the home; and the supremacy of the male. Yet her work is exclusively concerned with middle class women; working class women were never intended to be decorative and ornamental. But the view that women were inferior to men, physically and intellectually, transcended class barriers: the underlying philosophy that Burstyn expounds is applicable to all classes.

¹ Ibid., p.96 (from Grant, 1871).

She notes also the need for middle class daughters to marry (and marry well) in order to uphold their father's prestige, for marriage was seen as the only career for women in the late nineteenth century.¹ Those who did not marry were seen as a burden to their family. This raises the education issue in that not everyone could uphold the middle class ideal: if a woman did not marry and her family could not afford to support her, she had no option but to work and, therefore, needed a better education to enable her to find better jobs both in the traditional role of governess (many of whom were badly educated themselves) and in the expanding office and service industries.

The opponents of women's education feared for the future of the nation: if women became too educated they may become discontented with the domestic sphere, and paranoia was already rising with regard to the falling birth rate, high infant mortality rate, the unfitness of young men for military service, husbands supposedly being driven to the public house by bad food etc. As in other areas, social Darwinism became apparent here. Similarities were drawn with ancient Greece and Rome, mighty civilizations which had long since fallen; national efficiency and the survival of the fittest (which the British Empire was deemed to be) became a national obsession. The health and quality of the nation was seen as a measure of racial superiority and progress. Much of the blame for Britain's supposed regression in this field was placed on mothers and the three R's in education, leaving too little time for domestic subjects, although these were prevalent enough before the Boer War (when much of the fear began). Dyhouse quotes from the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration; the dialogue is between Commissioner, Colonel Fox and Charles Booth:

(FOX): Well, then, we are told that Jewish children, both boys and girls, of the age of 12, are much taller and heavier than the Christian children - are you aware of that?

(BOOTH): I was not aware of that.

¹ Burstyn, J.N., Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood, London, 1980.

(FOX): We have been told that, and we have statistics about it. To what do you attribute that.

(BOOTH): To the fact that Jewish mothers do not work.¹

Note the preoccupation with the mothers' role in this, one of many examples of the day, emphasizing that motherhood was women's highest goal; hence the introduction of infant care into the school girls' curriculum.

Added to the national efficiency argument against female education, was the fact that women were not seen to be strong enough, mentally or physically, for too much exertion, nor were they capable of sustained study. Fears for the damage to women's physiology and reproductive system resulted only partly from humanitarian causes and partly, again, from fears for the future of the nation. Women's supposed feebleness led to special exams for women, easier than those of their male counterparts, which helped to perpetuate the myth of women's inferiority.

Contemporary books often warned of the dangers of over-education for young women, as in the 1887 book Forbidden Fruit for Young Men, which consisted of a series of Questions and Answers on relations between the sexes, written by a doctor. For example: 'Should the girl who wishes to fulfil her maternal duties avoid the influence of education? And should the educated woman remain celibate?'² The answer was inevitably 'yes' to both:

Girls who are natural, and would like to be (well) married, would do well to avoid education, remembering that the personal advantage to the highly educated woman impairs her usefulness as a mother. Those who overtax their vital energies by an intellectual strain likely to produce ill effects on their offspring, ought to accept

¹ Dyhouse, C., 'Social Darwinistic ideas and the development of women's education in England 1880-1920,' History of Education, Vol.5, No.1, February 1976, pp.41-58, p.47 (from the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration II, List of Witnesses and Evidence, 1904, XXXII, [Cd.2210], paras. 1165-69).

² Delamont, S., A Woman's Place in Education, Aldershot, Hants., 1996, p.1.

voluntary celibacy. They are self made invalids and must accept the penalties of the position.¹

It seems ironic that the above could be penned by a woman doctor, Arabella Kenealy, herself an educated woman, who argued against academic education for women into the 1920's, on the ground that it made women more masculine, both mentally and physically.²

It should be noted that several private girls' schools worked only mornings, allowing the girls to be at home with their mothers in the afternoon, so that girls did not overstrain themselves. The more progressive head mistresses, however, were not blinded by preconceived opinions on female inability; note these words of Miss Buss, writing to Miss Davies on the subject of doctors' opposition to girls' education: 'The smallest ailment always proceeds from over-brainwork!! never from neglected conditions of health, from too many parties, etc. etc.'³

14) What secondary education provision was made for middle class girls?

Like their working class sisters, the education of middle class girls was geared towards the home and a domestic future but, in this case, in order to be able to manage servants and the home, be decorative, provide solace to her husband and sanctuary from the rough world outside. Even in GPDST schools, the link between science and domesticity geared girls to a life centred around the home.

This period also saw the beginnings of commercial training for girls such as typing, shorthand, book keeping etc. at colleges as well as schools, in order to gain entry into the Civil Service and Post Office. The opening up of these careers to women and the massive increase in office work and the service industry led to an increase in the teaching of

¹ Ibid., pp 1-2.

² Ibid., p.2.

³ Delamont, S. and Duffin, L., The Nineteenth Century Woman, London, 1978, p.105 (from Barbara Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, London, 1927, pp.290-1).

secretarial and commercial work in secondary schools. Thus, education for middle class girls gradually began to offer opportunities outside the home, but its essence was still domestic, encouraging girls to see a domestic life as the norm and work as a temporary situation prior to marriage.¹

15) Was there equality of places at secondary school?

We have already seen how lower standards of academic competence were accepted for girls due to the heavy load of needlework, which transcended the elementary secondary divide. Gordon cites the difficulties for girls in getting scholarships to endowed schools which, by 1905, stood at a ratio of two to one against girls, but which was equal by 1909. The uptake of scholarships was especially poor in rural areas due to transport problems; according to Gordon, this was particularly so for girls, although the reasons for this are not stated: perhaps chaperonage, safety on long lonely walks to school and their universal importance in the home explain this difference. Yet after the age of twelve, school life appears to be slightly longer for girls than for boys, and the average leaving age slightly higher:

Average School Life

(compiled by Gordon, 1980, p.176)

(1908)	YEARS	MONTHS
Boys	2	7
Girls	2	7
(1912/13)		
Boys	2	9
Girls	3	0

Average Leaving Age

(1908-9)	YEARS	MONTHS
Boys	15	5
Girls	15	11
(1912/13)		
Boys	15	7
Girls	16	0

¹ Hunt, F., Gender and Policy in English Education 1902-44, Herts., 1991, p.65.

These figures appear to be encouraging for the secondary education of girls, but they mask the actual numbers of girls entering post elementary schooling and the particular demands on girls in the home.

16) What were the requirements for women teachers and pupil teachers?

Children of both sexes had to be of the right moral character (i.e. upholders of the church, law and order, and the status quo in society) in order to be chosen as pupil teachers and eventual teachers, according to Hurt. Dent supports this idea that academic ability was less important than religiosity: school managers checked up on the moral character of the family and, as well as pass an annual exam, pupil teachers had to produce evidence that their behaviour was beyond reproach, submitting three certificates each year, two from the school manager showing their character and attentiveness to their religious duties (i.e. church going) and one from the teacher regarding punctuality and diligence.¹ The backgrounds of pupil teachers tended to be that of tradesmen, yeomen and upper servants in rural areas, respectable artisans in urban districts.

Dent argues that women fared worse than men in the training colleges with: 'poorer buildings, poorer amenities, a poorer staff-student ratio and heavier domestic duties. And they were more conscientious and compliant than men,'² and that 'women's colleges were in general worse off than the men's; students were more closely supervised, did more housework, and often got their only outdoor exercise in formal walks "in crocodile."'³ With a heavier domestic load, women's leisure time was inevitably less than that of male trainees. Dent also notes the restrictions placed upon women's dress etc., which had to conform to their humble station in life: a plain, dark skirt with a long sleeved, high necked blouse, and hair in a bun or topknot: all had to be very plain and modest.

¹ Dent, H.C., The Training of Teachers in England and Wales 1800-1975, Kent, 1977, p.14.

² Ibid., p.15.

³ Ibid., p.30.

Female teachers had, of course, to be proficient in sewing and knitting at the very least, in order to inculcate the correct values of domesticity in their pupils. As the array of domestic subjects increased, the expected range of competence in these subjects increased for women teachers, leading to some opposition, until specialist domestic science teachers began to be trained.

By 1881, the beginnings of Physical Education arrived with the training of PE teachers by the Swede Martina Bergman at the London School Board. By 1887, 1300 teachers had been trained and all girls in London secondary schools had PE lessons. The training of secondary school teachers in PE began in 1885.

The calibre of many pupil teachers was poor academically, possibly due to the low wages which made it difficult to recruit the better pupils; even a girl could earn a higher wage working in a mill or a factory than as a pupil teacher, although the prospects of the latter would be better. But the constant emphasis on religiosity and, for girls, domestic skills negated the academic side of teacher training and may also explain why the academic ability was so poor. John Thomas, in his work on Bristol, has noted that girls dominated teacher training from 1896 onwards, four to one against boys, which may also be a reflection upon teachers' wages: women are prepared to take lower wages in order to gain respectability. He also notes, interestingly, that female teacher trainees did better than men at Bristol, supporting Dent's argument that women were more conscientious.

The result is that there were considerable differences in the requirements for female teachers and pupil teachers, that the constraints present in late Victorian and Edwardian society transferred themselves to all aspects of the teaching profession, from curriculum through to the conduct of teachers' private lives.

16) Commentary of the value and significance of evidence from Literature

What remains to be done in the field of women's education are local studies. This has been initiated by historians such as Davin in her work on London; Roberts includes much on education in the North; and Humphries' work, mainly on Bristol, includes much about women and schooling. Little has been done on Nottingham, however, with the exception of David Wardle, whose thorough and informative work has provided something of a background for my studies here. This, then, is where the field lies for my investigations : the schooling of, primarily, working class girls in state schools in both the city and county of Nottinghamshire, as set against the local education of middle class girls in private schools and against the national pattern, if there can be said to be such a thing as a pattern, nationally.

Certainly, most of the work done thus far relates to the middle classes in education; writers such as Kamm, Richardson and Burstyn almost ignore the working classes as if they did not exist (albeit, usually, without stating this omission, thereby giving the impression that the middle class is the rule rather than the exception). This is counterbalanced by Dyhouse, in particular, who specifically targets the working classes in her work. It is this area and in this context that I want to examine Nottingham through school log books and other records, School Board minutes and other official documents, text books and any aids remaining from this era and through the oral evidence of those whose educational experiences lie before the first world war.

Specific information, even of a limited geographical area, will inevitably contribute to the general understanding of any subject through its very specificity and detail, especially when this is related to other aspects of social history in the same locality and to the country as a whole in the same historical area. It also provides a starting point for the local studies in women's education which, taken together, will greatly enhance our understanding of the history of education and its part in social history generally in Great Britain.

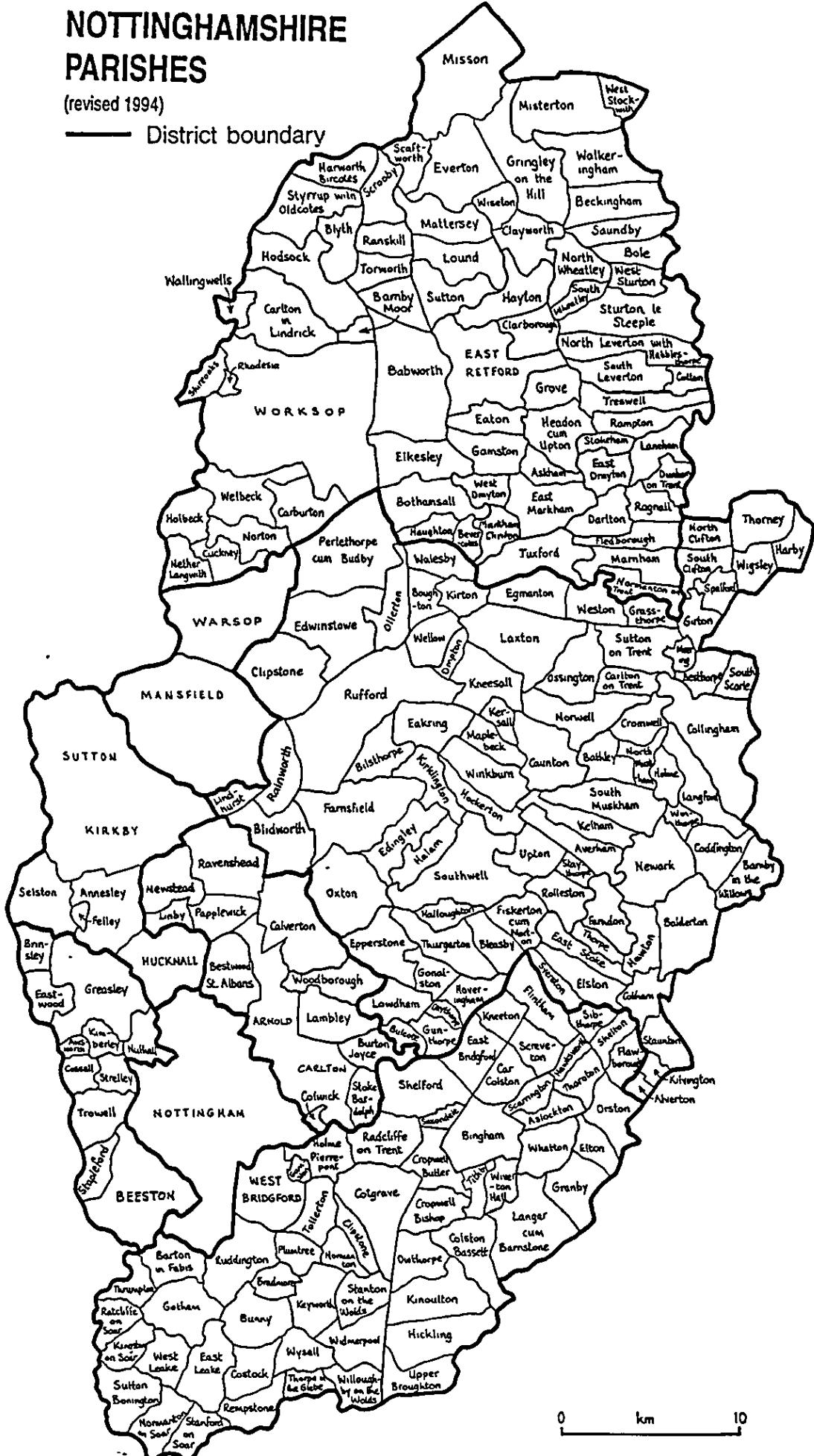
CASE STUDY**NOTTINGHAM**

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE PARISHES

82

(revised 1994)

— District boundary



CHAPTER THREE

The City of Nottingham 1870-1914

Nottingham in the late nineteenth century was a thriving, vibrant, growing town, moving rapidly towards its city status (granted in 1897). The Borough Extension Act of 1877 enlarged the town from 1,996 acres to 10,935 acres by adding the districts of Radford, Sneinton, Basford, Bulwell and Lenton, which brought the population to over 100,000, a figure which can be seen increasing over the next few years:

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1881	87,633	98,942	186,575
1891	98,730	115,147	213,877
Increase	13%	17%	15% ¹

From the above figures, we can see the importance of women in the town which led to a high instance of female labour in the town's two principal industries, lace and hosiery, many of which were situated in the Lace Market, such as Birkins, Thomas Adams, Copestake and Moore and Company. Lace making (on machines) was a male job; women and girls were employed mainly in workshops, warehouses and in the finishing trades, the latter of which were often conducted in the employees own homes as homeworkers or outworkers. This was frequently managed by mistresses who were employed by the lace firms and who invariably charged more in commission than the allowed shilling in the pound and who often paid their women workers in truck (i.e. bread) rather than in cash. Yet, both the lace and hosiery industries suffered a decline throughout the century due to competition (both from home and abroad) which squeezed out framework knitters, and the introduction of new machinery, such as the overlocking machine (1887) which became used by women and led to male unemployment in the hosiery industry.² However, lace

¹ Wood, A.C., A History of Nottinghamshire, Nottingham, 1947, this edition 1971, p.12 (from Census for England and Wales, 1891).

² Beckett, J (ed.), A Century of Nottingham History, Manchester, 1997, p.341.

and hosiery were still the main industries, and in 1881 over 500 firms were engaged in the lace trade and around 150 in hosiery, together employing nearly 10,000 hands (a figure which is unlikely to include the finishing trades).¹

Yet, the trade depression of the 1880's led to a decline in these and other areas such as the building trade which, in turn led to a diversification into other areas such as coal and tobacco, and saw the early development of Boots, Players and Raleigh, along with the development of the department stores of Jessops, Pearsons, Farmers and Griffins. Improvements in transport occurred, especially the building of new rail lines and extensive road building, including the widening of Parliament Street.²

The increased population also led to new housing in the city area and this resulted in considerable overcrowding. Nottingham had around 8,000 back to backs in the middle of the nineteenth century and many would still have been inhabited at the turn of the twentieth century; the re-development of the notorious rookeries did not take place until the 1880's.³

This also coincided with improvements in public health in the late nineteenth century. For instance, from 1895, all new houses built with an annual rental of at least £18 had to contain a water closet, although this would hardly have helped the very poorest.⁴ Death rates fell overall, but the Infant Mortality Rate remained high, the Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for 1883 showing that 188 out of 1000 children died before reaching the age of one year. Between the years 1884 and 1900, the Infant Mortality Rate varied between ten and 25 %,⁵ hence the diatribe against working women, which we will look at later.

¹ Meller, H.E. (ed.), Nottingham in the 1880's, Nottingham, 1971, p.9.

² Beckett, Century, op. cit., p.342.

³ Ibid., p.342.

⁴ Church, R.A., Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham 1815-1900, London, 1966, p.345.

⁵ Ibid., p.346.

The religious and political life of the town was largely liberal, but low attendance at churches and chapel was shown by the 1851 census to be a cause for concern among the ruling class and clergy alike although, as we can see from the figures below for church attendance, Nottingham was slightly ahead of the rest of the country:

Nationally: 39%

Nottingham: 42%¹

Concern necessarily centred on the non-attendance of the working classes and attempts were made to interest them in religion and oppose the attractions of the public house. This led to the foundation of temperance societies, the Band of Hope Union and the PSA (Pleasant Sunday Afternoon) Movement. The latter was religious in tone but non-denominational and concentrated on filling in the free time of working men. Its president in Nottingham was the redoubtable Robert Mellors², whom we will encounter later as an educational reformer. Nottingham was also a centre for Evangelical Revival, particularly amongst the Non-Conformists in the first half of the nineteenth century, and amongst both Non-Conformists and Anglicans in the second half. However, Non-Conformism remained extremely strong in Nottingham and this lent much support to the drive for state education, including that of girls (perhaps because many were local employers of female labour and were keen to ensure a future workforce with good skills and abilities).

Radical politics have a long history in Nottingham. In the nineteenth century, Luddism began and had its heart in the town, in 1831 a mob who were disillusioned at the limited scope of the bill to extend the franchise sacked Colwick Hall and went on to set light to Nottingham Castle, and mid century Chartism was important in the town. Thus, Nottingham, being governed largely by the Whig Party, enjoyed radicalism in both religion

¹ Beckett, Century, op. cit., p.342.

² Robert Mellors was a well known local dignitary of this period. He founded and became the first secretary of the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Traders Association, was a county councillor for thirty six years (1892-1928), a local Methodist preacher in the New Connexion (from his teenage years) and a prolific writer on local history and educational matters.

and politics well into the twentieth century. This radicalism, which is also noticeable in other large cities such as Birmingham and Bristol, is reflected in the work of the Nottingham School Board (hereafter referred to as NSB) for which, see Wardle, (1961) and may be seen in many of the policies and practices to be discussed in this thesis.

Elementary Education in Nottingham

Nottingham was one of the first towns in Britain to elect a school board in 1871, after which board schools sprang up rapidly throughout the next thirty years, both purpose built and those which took over existing, mainly Church, schools.

All schools were under Government inspection and inspectors' reports varied greatly, showing the lack of uniformity, even in board schools, as can be seen from the following extract from the Nottingham School Board's Minute Books:

Huntingdon Street: Boys: very good.
 Girls: good except grammar.
 Sewing excellent.
 Domestic Economy and Practical Cookery: very creditable.

Old Basford: Boys: good, but could improve.
 Girls: satisfactory.
 Sewing: promising, but 'knitting, darning and marking should be introduced without delay.'

Bulwell: Boys: good.
 Girls: fairly good.
 'Sewing was extremely well done, but geography was altogether deficient.'¹

The above illustrates just how important domestic subjects were in the school girls' curriculum, as we shall see later.

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.3, 'Report of the School Management Committee Setting Forth the Government Reports on Board Schools,' period ending August 31, 1879, pp 10-15. (pp.541-546 of Minute Book).

According to HMI Capel Sewell, Standard I should have been passed at the age of seven, Standard II at eight years and so on, but this was rarely achieved.¹ Many of the comments in school log books refer to the backwardness of pupils: Berridge Road Girls School log book notes the admission of a girl named Willet (no first name given) of '12 years old, never been to school - totally illiterate.'² As the log book began in 1884, one wonders how the girl managed to elude the attendance officer, or School Board Man, as he was more commonly known. Nevertheless, it was managed and, no doubt, in other cases, too. A Beeston school notes the admission of children from private schools as being particularly backward; total illiteracy was not unknown here either: 'Nellie Bell - over 7 - admitted - cannot read - write - nor sum. ought to be in infants but they are full.'³ Other comments are more terse: 'Admitted E. Barker - an idiot.'⁴ The log book for Carrington Girls and Infants School lists exemptions from exams and the reasons given, often along similar lines:

E. Garratt: half time - backward and dull.

S. Ward: idiot.

G. Wild: very dull and backward.⁵

These are a few of many typical comments; for some reason the log books show a high percentage of 'dull' or 'backward' children, as well as 'delicate' ones, but the reasons for these designations are rarely investigated. In rural areas, 'backwardness' was even more likely to be used against children: Keyworth school children were perceived as being very backward in that '7 out of 10 can't figure or letter.'⁶

¹ Capel Sewell to Canon Morse, press cutting dated Sept. 8, 1873 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.1, 2 Oct., 1873, p.239.

² Berridge Road Girls School, Log Book, 1884-97, p.20.

³ Beeston Nether Street Mixed Wesleyan School, Log Book, p.73. (This school was transferred to NSB on July 2, 1894).

⁴ Carrington Board School (Girls Department), Log Book, 1888-1903, p.120.

⁵ Carrington Board School (Girls and Infants), Log Book, 1877-88, p.260.

⁶ Brown, G.T., Keyworth School Board 1871-1903, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1972, p.22.

Given the references in school log books, the abiding fear of the day regarding overwork seems ironic. Numerous instances appear of this 'danger', such as this letter by John Wild Thackeray to the Nottingham Guardian in 1887, entitled 'The Dangers of over-education':

The remarks of Dr. Bell Taylor in his lecture on school myopia or short sight induced by over-education, quoted by you from the report in The Lancet are certainly deserving of public attention. Whereas in Germany, the age at which children go to school is about to be raised from six to seven years, in England the tendency of the legislation is in the opposite direction. The School Board authorities in Nottingham constantly prosecute the working classes for neglecting to send children of five years old to school. I say the working classes, because it is well known that the rich are exempt from school Board surveillance. It is only those who are wicked enough to be poor that our authorities bring before the magistrates. During the short time that I have been on the magisterial bench I have heard and drawn attention to some heart-rending cases.¹

The fears of over-work seem to be doubly ironic given the poor school attendance of most children; although class sizes were huge by comparison with today, school log books constantly show teachers' exasperation with getting children into school, on time, and keeping them there. Lucy Caroline Turner, the teacher at Carlton Girls' School, continued to admit children to her class, knowing that poor attendance would prevent the class from becoming too overcrowded; she sees 60 as poor attendance, 86 as better: this is for one teacher with one fifth year pupil teacher to assist her.²

The backgrounds of most board (and church and voluntary) school children were solidly working class (with increasing numbers of middle class children, especially after the abolition of fees in 1891); most were subject to the vagaries of trade and the economy and experienced at least bouts of, if not continual, poverty. Most children in Nottingham were

¹ NSB Correspondence, Newspaper Reports and Adverts, 1880-88, press cutting from the Nottingham Guardian, 30 April, 1887.

² Carlton Girls School, Log Book, 1878-1912, no page numbers.

kept away from school for a variety of reasons from paid work to child minding; lack of fees also posed a problem. Nottingham school log books are full of entries relating to sending children home for their 'school wage'; many did not return for lack of the money. The higher grade schools charged a higher fee, usually one shilling per week, although this was remitted in the case of exceptionally able scholars without means. This inevitably resulted in a different class basis in the higher grade schools, with a far higher proportion of children from artisan and middle class backgrounds, the latter of whom often went on to a private school or the Nottingham High School for a year or two. The records of some schools give a good indication of the backgrounds of their pupils: High Pavement School's Admission Registers lists fathers' occupations as including the following: clerk, grocer, publican, coach builder, baker, lace maker, dyer, builder, joiner, chemist, manager, brewer, etc.: all business, professional or at least highly skilled tradesmen.¹ A (later) log book classifies fathers' occupations as follows:

Professional, Independent	56
Merchants, Manufacturers, Bankers, Wholesale Traders, Auctioneers etc.	49
Retail Traders	31
Farmers	1
Commercial Travellers, Agents, Managers, Clerks etc.	120
Postmen, Policemen, Domestic and other Servants, Artisans and Labourers	77 ²

It is interesting to note that the latter category includes all of the working classes, without any distinction between skilled craftsmen and unskilled labourers.

The Science Results volume also gives us some idea of girls' backgrounds specifically; for instance:

¹ High Pavement (Higher Grade) School, Admission Register (Boys), 1862-74, no page numbers.

² High Pavement (Higher Grade) School, Log Book, 1908, Jan. 13, no page numbers.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>
Laura Robinson	15	Solicitor
Sarah Thompson	14	Shopkeeper
Catherine Thompson	13	Shopkeeper
Edith Lawrence	12	Smallware Dealer ¹

Most addresses for High Pavement School pupils are within the city area, including Fishergate, Bridlesmith Gate, Goosegate, Canal Street, Shakespeare Street, Derby Road, London Road, Broad Marsh, Collin Street, Fletcher Gate, Castle Gate, Cranmer Grove, Woodborough Road etc. with a few suburban addresses such as Basford, Sneinton, Kimberley, Radcliffe-on-Trent, Wilford, Sherwood, Carrington, New Lenton and Ruddington.²

It is interesting to note that girls appear to be kept at school for longer than boys, according to the following figures:

Years of Age	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Boys	3	21	40	57	30	10	-	-
Girls	1	19	49	50	41	12	12	1
Total	4	40	89	107	71	22	12	1 ³

This tendency may be an exception rather than the rule, or it may be indicative of the well documented nineteenth century Quaker interest in, and enthusiasm for, female education. Note this excerpt from The Parents Conference of 23 January, 1883, led by Reverend P.H. Wicksteed, which stated that girls' interests should not be sacrificed to those of boys:

¹ High Pavement (Higher Grade) School, Science Results, 1877-89, no page numbers.

² High Pavement (Higher Grade) School, Admission Register (Boys), 1862-74, and Admission Register (Girls), 1872-4, no page numbers.

³ High Pavement (Higher Grade) School, Log Book, 1908, Jan. 13, no page numbers.

The way in which, in many families, the boys are always made to feel that they are considered of the most importance, and that their sisters must give way to them, is very bad for both. The lesson that women ought to be subservient to their pleasure is one only too easily learnt by boys, and one which will bring forth bitter fruit in years to come. The boys should always be taught to be courteous, gentle and kind to their sisters.¹

Despite this show of equality between the sexes, there is a very obvious male bias in many of the adverts and articles relating to High Pavement School, such as this news cutting from 1877 describing a prize giving ceremony, which begins with references to boys and girls attendance but soon descends into male only references: The Mayor gave a 'bit of good advice to the boys' and quoted a speech by Gladstone which he 'advised all the boys to read' and referred to the 'education which was provided for boys when he was young.'² Similarly, an undated advertisement begins with details of the Boys' School, regarding teachers and subjects, and ends with 'Girls' School' and a teacher's name, but no subjects, the latter being 'tacked on' at the end almost as an afterthought.³

This attitude to women is also evident in the composition of the NSB, which remained an almost exclusively male preserve for most of its 32 year history, Mrs. Cowan being the first and one of very few women, to be elected to the NSB in 1882.

¹ High Pavement Chronicle, March, 1883, Vol.VI, No.68, p.117.

² News cutting regarding prize giving dated 25 Sept., 1877 in High Pavement (Higher Grade) School, Log Book, 1878-92, no page numbers.

³ Miscellaneous material housed at University of Nottingham archives: Hs 56/1.

CHAPTER FOUR

Academic Subjects in the Curriculum

Schools outside the private sector in Nottingham taught a range of largely similar subjects, usually with considerably more religious instruction in church schools. The range for both boys and girls widened somewhat during the period, with church and voluntary schools taking the lead from school boards. Infant subjects were more limited and in the early 1870's consisted of:

- a) Bible and principles of Religion and Morality
- b) Reading, writing and arithmetic.
- c) Object lessons.
- d) Music and drill.¹

It is interesting to note that the Bible and religious instruction precede the three R's even in board schools.

By 1881, the range of subjects for children in the standards had expanded considerably, although emphasis would still have remained on the basics: three R's, religion and sewing (for girls), and not all children would have been taught all of the following subjects:

Religion	Object Lessons
Three R's	Domestic Economy
Grammar	History of England
Composition	Elementary Geography
Elementary Drawing	Principles of Book keeping
Music and Drill	Mensuration
Elementary Social Economy	Plain Needlework and cutting out
Algebra	Practical Cookery
Geometry	Calisthenics ²

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol 1, 'Regulations for Nottingham School Board', 17 March, 1872, p.185.

² NSB, Revised Regulations for the Management of Board Schools, Nottingham, 1881, p.6.

The High Pavement School's Log Books give a little more information on subjects offered:

'Class subjects':

- I. English to all Standards.
- II. Geography to Standards V, VI, VII.

'Specific Subjects':

- I. Domestic Economy (Stage II).
- II. French (Stages I and II).

Moreover, the Scheme of Instruction for 1885/6 is outlined below:

<u>Standards</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>History</u>	<u>Recitation</u>	<u>Geography</u>
II	Graduated Reader (Chambers).		The Village Blacksmith. Lucy Gray.	Geographical Reader (Blackie).
III	As Above	History Reader Part I (Chambers).	Wreck of Hesporus. Soldiers Dream.	As Above
IV	As Above	As Above	Horatius. Spanish Champion.	As Above
V	As Above	Tudors & Reformation (Creighton).	Spanish Armada. Bellaz Altra.	As Above
VI & VII	Tom Browne's "The Struggle School Days. Against Julius Ceasar. (sic)	Absolute Monarchy" (Creighton). ¹	Mark Anthony's Oration on the brdg. (sic) of Ceasar. (sic)	As Above

¹ High Pavement (Higher Grade) School, Girls Log Book, 1863-92, no page numbers. (High Pavement School was originally a charity school belonging to the members of High Pavement Chapel for the education of its members' children, later being taken over by the British Society and in 1891 by the NSB).

The above, however, is not typical of reading books and recitation pieces in most state schools, High Pavement being one of the Higher Grade schools. More common was the position at Carlton Church of England School, where recitations for 1884 included 'The Boy Who Told a Lie' (Standard I), 'The Little Orphan' (Standard II) and 'The Good and The True' (Standard IV).¹ We can see a similar style at Beeston Church Street Girls' School where the scheme of instruction for 1905-6 for recitation included 'Home Sweet Home' (John H. Payne), 'Grace Darling' and 'To Duty' (both Wordsworth), and 'Love of Fatherland' (Scott).² Similarly, Berridge Road Girls' School recitations for 1896 included 'The Battle of Flodden' (Scott), 'Fidelity' (Wordsworth) and 'The Pipes at Lucknow' (Whittier).³ One cannot help but observe that in the three latter schools the reading and recitation material is of a morally uplifting or patriotic nature, encouraging children to revere their home, their country, their duty in life and to observe certain rules of behaviour, often by the emulation of great men or women. We noted earlier the work of Davin and how the content of books attempted to influence the behaviour of girls.

Characters from history such as Alfred burning the cakes, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great and, more specifically for girls, Grace Darling, Florence Nightingale, Joan of Arc and Queen Victoria frequently appear in reading and recitation pieces and history lessons alike. The history syllabus for Beeston Nether Street Girls' School for 1900 ran as follows:

Standard III: The Prince of Wales Feathers

Wat Tyler's Rising
The Gunpowder Plot

Standard IV: How England Became a Christian Land

Richard the Lionheart
How Wales was joined to England
With Clive in India

¹ Carlton Church of England School (aka St. Paul's), Log Book, 1869-1905, p.280.

² Beeston Church Street Girls School, Log Book, 1904-28, p.35.

³ Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1884-97, p 437.

Standard V: Celtic Britain
 Roman Britain
 Cavaliers and Roundheads
 Crimean War
 Victorian era
 Our King/Queen

Standard VI and VII: Mother Country and her Children
 The Children's Friend
 Our Quarrel with Russia
 The Indian Mutiny
 The Zulus and the Boers
 Votes for the Workers¹

History and Geography

Similarly, Arnold Sherwood Lodge National School cites the Scheme of Work for 1905, showing History as 'The growth of our Empire from the Conquest to the present day,'² whilst Old Basford Girls' School contains stories of Robin Hood, King Alfred burning the cakes and much that supports the monarchy, such as 'Good Queen Margaret', 'The Days of Queen Bess', 'Victoria', 'The Death of Queen Victoria', 'The King's Empire' and 'The Coronation' as well as much that glorifies England's past: 'The Relief of Lucknow', 'The Relief of Mafeking', 'Heroes of Rorke's Drift', 'A Hero: General Gordon' and 'How England Took Gibraltar'.³ Such subjects help to gender the history curriculum by holding up an image of ideal female behaviour to be emulated, as well as attempting inculcate patriotism in all working class children. This is in keeping with many history books of the day which, according to Wilkins, frequently used sensationalist stories to relate historical events, opposing the teaching of analysis and understanding. He cites Beale on history for the under twelves, which is recommended to centre on great men and women and should lead to ethical teaching, and quotes W.H. Woodward, that the ends of history is the stimulation of 'the patriotic sense'.⁴ He quotes also from Mrs. Markham's A History of

¹ Beeston Nether Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1900-36, no page numbers.

² Arnold Sherwood Lodge National School, Log Book, 1902-18, p.42.

³ Old Basford Girls' School, Log Book, 1890-1915, pp.435-50.

⁴ Wilkins, D.J., A Consideration of History Textbooks Published Between 1750 and 1939 in Relation to the Teaching of History in English Schools During this Period, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1969, p.484 (from W.H. Woodward, Essays on the Teaching of History, p.78).

England, published in 1823 but, like many such books, reprinted and still used many years if not decades later, containing stories of monarchs and great men, and with instructions on behaviour for children: 'Think, my dear, how much love, reverence, and duty children ought to bear to kind and indulgent parents.'¹ Mrs. Markham further cites the beauty of England, its good roads and comfortable houses, thereby using history as a source of national pride, cementing patriotism and spurring a sense of duty in youngsters.

Chancellor's work on history textbooks confirms this theory, noting that opinions in History readers fall into five broad categories:

- 1) Class ~ invariably written by the middle class for the working class with blind assumptions made about working class life.
- 2) Politics ~ portraying the monarchy as popular and a unifying force; arguing for the status quo.
- 3) Morality ~ often critical of the private lives of famous people, promoting Christian morality.
- 4) Religion ~ all uphold the Christian Church and either ignore or criticize other churches and those opposing the Church of England.
- 5) Patriotism ~ all espouse the greatness of Great Britain and the empire. Little exists on other countries' achievements.²

Chancellor argues that an increase in nationalist propaganda prior to World War One was deliberately designed to foster a willingness to fight for the motherland, especially among the young and that there were: '... obvious elements in the opinions expressed in all types of history textbooks which lend colour to the view that they were designed to educate the rising generations to uphold the traditions of society rather than to reform it.'³ It is interesting that Chancellor's use of 'Masters' in her title is almost certainly a reference to differences in social class, when it could equally have been regarded as a reference to gender bias, where she might have equally written 'History for their Mistresses'!

¹ Ibid., P.494 (from Mrs. Markham, A History of England, 1823, p.255).

² Chancellor, V.E., History for their Masters' Opinions in English History Textbooks 1800-1914, New York, 1970, p 131.

³ Ibid., p.139.

The radicals' doctrine of progress, for instance, was turned against them and Chartists were discredited by accounts of their activities (although many of their demands had already become law by the time the critics were disparaging them). Calls for loyalty and patriotism were 'justified' by way of 'threats' emanating from foreign powers to the security of the British Empire, thereby inculcating a sense of duty and loyalty among elementary school children.

This could be specifically targeted towards girls by encouraging the emulation of a particular female. This frequently centred on Queen Elizabeth I, Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale, Grace Darling etc. but, throughout the Victorian era (and even for some time afterwards), was more likely to revolve around Queen Victoria. As we noted earlier in the history lessons on Sherwood Lodge National School, Queen Victoria was a popular subject, embodying both the ideals of womanhood and motherhood, and loyalty to the empire. Chancellor notes the treatment of Queen Victoria in one history textbook:

Her court was pure, her life serene,
God gave her peace, her land repos'd,
A thousand claims to reverence closed,
In her as Mother, Wife and Queen.¹

In Geography lessons, too, most log books show inclusion of Britain's principle possessions around the world. For instance, Beeston Nether Street Girls' School for 1900, geography included: 'Situation of our colonies, manner of acquisition. Geography of India, Australia, New Zealand. Possessions in Africa.'²

Thus, we can see how Geography and, particularly, History lessons were used to inculcate ideas of patriotism, duty and correct behaviour in school children and specifically feminine behaviour in girls.

¹ Ibid., p.43 (from Pitman's King Edward History Readers, 1901, p.212).

² Beeston Nether Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1900-36, no page numbers.

Object Lessons

Object Lessons, usually for Standards I to IV, formed the basis of early science classes, giving children some knowledge of ordinary household objects, animals and birds, and plant life. Much criticism has centred on the disjointed and unsystematic nature of the teaching of these classes which, with inexperienced teachers and lack of teaching aids, could leave children less knowledgeable and more confused than before the lesson. At High Pavement School, weekly object lessons for infants and Standard I included a bag, cow, camel, monkey, whale, parts of the body, sheep, teeth, silkworm, the fly. Later lessons included the polar bear, gold, punctuality, beaver, truthfulness, the diving bell (boys only), cheerfulness, animals' tails, noticeably including lessons on perceived good behaviour along with natural and inanimate objects. By 1885, Object Lessons were split into four categories:

- 1) Common Objects
- 2) Natural History
- 3) Vegetable Life
- 4) Natural Phenomena.

Some of the lessons included in each category included:

- 1) Soap, cotton, paper, Lucifer matches
- 2) Cat, lion, eagle, snake
- 3) Tree, sago, orange
- 4) Clouds, sky, Wales, snow¹

The format for Object Lessons for very young children under the NSB often followed that of this 'Lesson on The Oak':

¹ High Pavement School (Infants and Standard I), Log Book, 1869-92 p.206.

- 1) Drawing and colouring of pictures.
- 2) Card board cut outs of a leaf and an acorn.
- 3) Stick-laying: small thin sticks are laid on paper and held in place with cotton thread sewing through on the reverse side, showing the structure of an oak tree.
- 4) Thread-laying: as in stick-laying, but using wool to outline a leaf and an acorn, again held in place with thread.
- 5) Sewing on card, showing the outline of a leaf, with the veins detailed, and an acorn.
- 6) Pricking: pin pricks outline and fill in details of a leaf and acorns. Sometimes coloured as well.¹

At Carrington Girls' School, Object Lessons for the quarter following 31 August, 1888 are given as:

- 1) Tidying bedroom before breakfast
- 2) Air - necessity for plenty in the home
- 3) Coal - its uses and properties
- 4) Wood
- 5) Matches
- 6) Paper
- 7) Cleaning a grate
- 8) Lighting a fire
- 9) Water - soft - hard - Importance in the home
- 10) Soda - washing powders
- 11) Linen and cotton towels etc.
- 12) Washing up after breakfast²

No age or Standard is given for girls studying the above, but we increasingly find that girls' object lessons become more domestically orientated as they progress through the Standards. Ten years earlier the Girls' and Infants' School (then combined) even listed 'seaming' as an object lesson.³

¹ Object Lesson Materials: 'Lesson on the Oak', Nottinghamshire Archives: M24,61/A6.

² Carrington Girls' School, Log Book, 1888-1903, p.15.

³ Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p.18.

At Beeston Church Street Girls' School, the emphasis was also on domestic subjects for object lessons, including wheat, flour, bread, salt, tea, coffee, cotton, wool etc., for Standards I to IV. By Standard V, this becomes more scientific whilst maintaining the link with the domestic, including ventilation, cleanliness and 'The choice of a house', coal gas, carbonic acid gas, glass and windows, putty, bricks, mortar' as well as 'How to make a fire, how to keep the body healthy . . . choice of clothing . . . process of washing, how to spend money.'¹

Arnold Church Drive Girls' School gives more specific details of Object Lessons in relation to the Standards, as follows:

Standard II: Coal, fish, clockface, birds, flour, bread

Standard III: Apple and pear, candle, a train, onion, potato, cork, trees, nuts, lead pencil

Standard IV: Air, ventilation and respiration, water, washing and cleaning

Standard V: 'Choice of food and drinks . . . management of Health and on the methods of dealing with Common Ailments, colds etc.'²

Here we can see the progression of increasingly domestic subjects labelled as Object Lessons, this practice being evident at many schools, including Berridge Road, All Saints, Old Basford and others. Just as the lines between Domestic Economy and Object Lessons were blurred, so too were the lines between Science and Object Lessons and between Science and Domestic Economy, as the terms appear to be interchangeable in the log books of various schools.

Science

As we have seen, much of what passes for elementary science in girls' schools is, in reality, Domestic Economy, but this will be looked at separately elsewhere. Even given this separation, there are wide gulfs in the teaching of science to the sexes. The equipment believed to be needed for Science lessons in state schools is given below:

¹ Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1904-28, p.48-9.

² Arnold Church Drive Girls' School, Log Book, 1902-19, p.55 (1903).

- a) Boys' Departments - A case, containing blow pipe, platinum wire and foil, charcoal, spirit lamp, porcelain capsule, evaporating basin, test tube stand, retort stand and ring, 6 test tubes, test tube cleaner and holder, 2 glass funnels, 100 filter papers, Bohemian glass flask, mortar and pestle, sand bath dish, two watch glasses, glass tubes and rods, sulphuretted hydrogen flask and acid funnel.
- b) Girls' and Infants' - A case, containing spirit lamp, two evaporating basins, test tube stand and holder, 9 test tubes, 3 watch glasses, 100 filter papers, book of Litmus paper, syphone (sic) and other glass tubes, iron wires, lens, saw, file, common and test tube forceps.¹

It is noticeable that 'Girls' are classed along with 'Infants' for Science education and are assigned less equipment than boys, presumably as they are given less Science tuition. This is evident in the Science tuition given at higher grade schools in Nottingham, taken from the Science and Art Classes Timetable for 1888/9, and applies to boys and girls at the People's College, but boys only at Huntingdon Street:

- Huntingdon Street: Boys: Physiography
Maths
Practical, Plane and Solid Geometry
- People's College: Girls: Animal Physiology
Physiography
- People's College: Boys: Inorganic Chemistry - theory
Organic Chemistry - theory
Inorganic Chemistry - practical
Organic Chemistry - practical
Maths
Practical, Plane and Solid Geometry
Mechanical Construction and Drawing
- People's College: Boys (Pupil Teachers): Maths - Elementary and Advanced
Animal Physiology
Inorganic Chemistry
Physiography
Perspective Geometry
Freehand Geometry²

¹ 'NSB School Management Committee for Systematic Object Teaching as Required by the New Code,' 1882, p.5, in NSB, Minute Books, Vol. 5. pp.279-84.

² 'NSB Science and Art Classes Timetable for Session 1888/9', NSB, Minute Books, pp.277-8.

We can also see the differences in the science education of the sexes from the exam passes at the People's College:

YEAR	Boys' Department		Girls' Department			
	Advanced	Elementary	Elementary			
	I	II	I	II	I	II
1884	None	Presented	21	48	no classes	
1885	1	9	45	110	no classes	
1886	9	12	52	94	2	39
1887	6	27	89	187	21	51
1888	7+1*	50	96	176	3	35 ¹

Similarly, High Pavement's Science and Art Department's Register shows the subjects available to boys as Maths; Theoretical Mechanics; Sound, Light and Heat; Magnetism and Electricity; Inorganic Chemistry (Practical); Organic Chemistry (Theoretical); and Animal Physiology. The girls appear only to be offered animal physiology.² Yet Russell-Gebbett in her articles on High Pavement Schools notes that girls were brought into senior science classes having distinguished themselves in elementary and advanced physiology.³ At Bath Street Girls' School, what is described as Elementary Science seems to have more in common with Object Lessons, thereby showing the indistinct divisions between the two subjects:

Standard I: To tell from pictures the names of different animals e.g. camel, kangaroo, and various trees. Lessons on apple, coal and sugar. Standard II: Division of animals with and without backbones; parts of a plant and fruit and their uses. Lessons on a brick, iron, cotton, salt.

¹ Ibid. pp 277-8.

* The one here is a half timer.

² High Pavement School, Science and Art Department Register, 1882-95, no page numbers.

³ Russell-Gebbett, J.P., 'High Pavement: Britain's First Organised Science School,' History of Education Society Bulletin, No.43, Spring, 1989, pp.17-29, p.23.

Standard III: Division of vertebrate animals into mammals, birds, reptiles and fish. Parts of a blossom. Some properties of matter i.e. elasticity, flexibility. Lessons on sponge, chalk, wool, silk.

Standard IV: Lessons on animals that supply us with food, and the component parts of that food. A general outline of the digestive organs, showing how the body is nourished by food - solids, liquids, gases. The chemistry of air and water. Lessons on wheat, rice, potato, milk, thermometer.¹

Thus, it is possible to see how Object Lessons acted as forerunner to Science, and how the two terms appeared to be interchangeable during this period. Science for girls was often of a domestic nature and had strong links with Domestic Economy, as we noted earlier: pure Science was seen as being unsuitable for girls and that, at all levels, Domestic Science was infinitely preferable. In fact, Log Books frequently contain references to the Science Demonstrator giving a lecture, but the content is more closely linked to Domestic Economy than to Science.

Arithmetic

Arithmetic in elementary schools centred on basic addition, subtraction, multiplication and division with simple fractions and, later, towards the end of school life, slightly more complex long division and multiplication. Most Arithmetic was non-gender specific in content, although girls would often be given problems based on measurements of fabric or quantities of food, but girls habitually spent less time on arithmetic due to the amount of time spent on needlework. Inevitably, girls did not reach the same standard as boys and were, therefore, set easier exams which led to the myth of female inferiority in Arithmetic. The log books confirm girls weakness in this subject:

¹ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1871-88, pp.258-9 (for year 1882/3).

28 June. Have noticed Arithmetic very weak again among the girls, especially the tables, and ignorance of the rules with the upper girls. Intend allowing sewing only on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, half timers omitting Fridays.¹

It never seems to occur to anyone to reduce the amount of needlework done by girls, its importance being so great in the minds of middle class educators of working class children. Beeston Nether Street Wesleyan School also notes the weakness of various subjects, of which girls' arithmetic appears to be paramount: 'The weakest parts are the Reading of Standard I, Standard II Girls and Standard III Boys; the Arithmetic of Standards II, III and IV Girls; and the Writing of Standard II Girls.'² No attempt seems to be made, in the log books at least, to investigate the weakness of girls in arithmetic or to try to remedy it.

Reports and exams also show that girls did not always attain the same grades as boys, for whatever reason. A copy of the Government report of schools for 1878 illustrates this fact in several schools; shown below are Bath Street and Huntingdon Street:

Bath Street: Boys: Excellent

Girls: Poor except Domestic Economy

Huntingdon Street: Boys: Excellent

Girls: Fair, especially Domestic Economy and

Needlework

Arithmetic poor³

This can be seen further in the percentage pass marks for the years ending 28 February, 1877 and 1878:

¹ Carlton Church of England Mixed School (aka St. Paul's), Log Book, 1869-1905, p.74.

² Beeston Nether Street Mixed Wesleyan School, Log Book, 1892-1901, p.173. (This school became a board school on 2 July, 1894).

³ NSB, Minute Book, Vol.3, p.177.

<u>Huntingdon Street</u>		<u>1877</u>		<u>1878</u>	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Reading	94%	78%	94%	92.4%
	Writing	96%	83%	90.5%	94.2%
	Arithmetic	91%	81%	94%	92.3%
<u>Sneinton</u>	Reading	68.4%	90.9%	96.8	79.3
	Writing	92.1%	86.3%	100%	74.6%
	Arithmetic	84.2%	75%	95.3%	57.1% ¹

In the above two examples, girls marks only exceed boys in two cases: Huntingdon Street (writing) in 1878 and Sneinton (Reading) in 1877, never in arithmetic.

A press cutting from 1873, containing exam successes in Nottingham schools, cites girls' results as being 10% lower than those of boys. The figures show that fewer girls are presented for exams and perform less well on the whole in academic subjects; notably, too, girls take Domestic Economy whilst boys take physiology, although few girls were presented given the supposed importance of the subject:

	<u>Percentage Pass Rates</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Geography	60%	53%
History	68%	89%
Grammar	54%	39%
Literature	93%	92%
Physiology	52%	Domestic Economy 82% ²

By 1884, we can see boys' and girls' achievements in a range of subjects at several schools, some higher grade and some ordinary elementary schools.

What is immediately obvious from the figures is that in departments where boys and girls feature separately, French is the only subject taken in common. Algebra and even animal physiology are exclusively male subjects, whilst Domestic Economy and Cookery are by

¹ Ibid , p.177.

² Press cutting dated 8 Sept., 1873 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.1. p.360.

far the most popular subjects for girls: a total of 222 passing Domestic Economy and 227 passing in Cookery, whilst a total of 56 passed in French, the only other subject with any female entries.

We can see, then, how even in academic subjects, there were differences both in male and female subjects and in performance, as well as anomalies within the subjects themselves in terms of usefulness; this is especially true of Object Lessons. We will look in greater depth later at middle class influence in subjects for working class children and the reasons for it. However, the local picture confirms the assertions of recent writers that girls *were* offered a different curriculum from that of boys, based upon a perception of less intelligence and an anticipation of a different, largely domestic, future.

CHAPTER FIVE

Religion, Games and Exercise

Religion

Religion was not the problem in Nottingham that it was in some towns, with serious differences between churches and school boards. The various members of the NSB generally managed to agree to disagree and school board elections were largely free from corruption. However, many supporters of church education opposed and saw little need for board schools:

Indeed, the churches had provided so energetically that it was quite plausibly argued, when the School Board was first created, that complete provision for all working class children already existed and that the erection of board schools in Nottingham was totally unnecessary.¹

Board schools were built, however, and within many years were overcrowded, thereby proving that a need did exist. Difficulties also arose over the teaching of religion in schools, which was meant to be undenominational and with the proviso that any child could be withdrawn from such teaching at the request of his/her parents. This did not always happen and some school boards had to be reprimanded for including parts of the Church Catechism. Wardle has noted what was seen as acceptable religious tuition in board schools:

. . . . the Bible shall be read and there shall be given such explanations and instruction therefrom in the principles of Morality and Religion as are suited to the capacities of children: provided always ~ That in such explanations and instructions the provisions of the Act in sections VII and XIV be strictly observed

¹ University of Nottingham, A Century of Nottingham History 1851-1951, Nottingham, 1952, p.44.

both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt be made . . . to attach children to any particular denomination.¹

Towards the end of our period, such teaching was still seen as being of paramount importance, as can be seen from this extract from local dignitary Robert Mellors:

The establishment of character must always be one of the main areas of elementary education, and every part of school life has some influence in this regard whether for good or evil . . . The good moral training which a school should give cannot be left to chance . . . the moral training is better when it is sustained by the religious motive.²

Religious teaching was even more extensive in church schools, where several interviewees responded with information: ‘ . . . Scripture . . . sort of Bible reading . . . and we used to have to go to all the Church services or they wanted to know why not. At school, we started with . . . hymns and prayers and p’raps a Bible story.’³ This was a Church of England School; Roman Catholic schools were perceived as being at least equally keen on religious teaching, as can be seen from the next two quotes from old school friends, Maud Strickland and Kate Jeffrey: ‘Well, religion first thing, always . . . that was very important ~ too much of it really . . . it put you off. They used to check up if you’d been to Mass on Sunday;’ and ‘ . . . religion was the main thing. We used to have what we called Catechism in the morning and we read a lot of the Bible.’

¹ Wardle, D., The Work of the Nottingham School Board, Nottingham University, 1961, p.155 (from Regulations for the Management of Schools, 1878).

² Mellors, R., Then and Now Series, No 5, Mapperley and Carrington, Nottingham, 1913, p.21.

³ Minnie Charlton.

This is confirmed, especially in relation to girls, by Bastow in his work on Catholic education in the Nottinghamshire area, when he quotes Mother Cornelia Connelly, who was heavily involved in the education of girls: pupils were expected 'to be imbued with piety and other virtues as much as with liberal knowledge, for a woman without virtue and piety is a disgrace to her sex.'¹

As we have seen from Minnie Charlton's testimony, church attendance was generally enforced in Church of England schools. This is corroborated by works on St. Mary's Church of England School, Edwinstowe² and the Bluecoat School³ in Nottingham where, at the latter, various services and festivals, besides that on Sundays, were also compulsory, where instilling ideas of humility, the worthlessness of human beings and 'Fear of God' were an integral part of religious education. This often involved children's absence from school to attend such services which, inevitably, meant lessons being missed, thereby causing their education to suffer. For instance, the log book for Clifton Church of England School notes various absences and 'holidays' for festivals such as Ascension Day (May 14), Day of Intercession (May 22) etc.; for the latter service, the teacher notes that as the children were taken to church at 10:30, the register was not marked, so the children lost an attendance mark as well as a day's teaching.⁴

The Bluecoat School was founded in 1706 as a charity school, due to the lack of morality and Christianity among the poor. The intention was the teaching of reading, 'instructing them in the knowledge and practice of the Christian Religion and for learning (sic) them such other things as are suitable to their conditions and capacity.'⁵ Subscriptions came from local dignitaries, clerics and others interested in the maintenance of law and order.

¹ Bastow, J., The Development of Catholic Education in the Nineteenth Century in the Five Counties of the Diocese of Nottingham, M. Phil., University of Nottingham, 1970, p.178 (from Connelly, Mother C., The Order of Studies, 1863, p.9).

² Jackson, M.J., Our Old School: The story of St. Mary's Church of England School Edwinstowe, no date or place of publishing.

³ Taylor, F.W.V., History of Nottingham Bluecoat School 1706-1956, no place of publishing, presumably Nottingham, 1956.

⁴ Clifton Church of England School, Log Book, 1872-91, p 84.

⁵ Nottingham Bluecoat School Souvenir History, Nottingham, 1906, p.2.

Uniforms were provided for both boys and girls 'so that the trustees and other benefactors may know them and see what their behaviour is abroad.'¹ Preference was given to orphans and children from large families but 'no children chargeable to the parish, or those whose parents receive relief therefrom, are to be elected,'² thereby making sure that only the 'deserving' poor were given the opportunity of education. The main purpose was instruction in the Christian religion, but the master also taught good behaviour, reading, writing, spelling and basic arithmetic, whilst a mistress was engaged to 'teach girls to mend own clothes, work plain work, and to knit . . .'³ But religion took precedence over everything else: both the master and mistress:

... shall take special care of the manners and behaviour of the children, endeavouring by all means to impress the principles of the fear of God, of Christian truth, justice, integrity, patience, temperance, and all good morals, on their hearts and consciences . . . to root out the very beginnings of vice . . . not only by corporeal correction, but at the same time by reminding them of their duty towards God and their neighbours.⁴

Yet also impressed upon them was acceptance of their station in life as ordained by God, thereby linking religion with social control:

To all these is given instruction in those branches of secular knowledge most calculated to fit them for the practical duties of everyday life and at the same time every attention is directed to their regular instruction in Biblical and moral teaching, and to the inculcation of the sound principles of the Christian faith in accordance with the teaching of the Church of England.⁵

¹ Ibid , p.4.

² Ibid., p.4.

³ Ibid., p.5.

⁴ Ibid , p.6.

⁵ Ibid., p.16.

The actual content of religious education teaching has been difficult to ascertain, but was certainly designed to 'inculcate lessons of duty to God and to man'¹ in board schools as well as church schools. At a general level we can glean some information from Thompson's Lark Rise:

Every morning at ten o'clock the Rector arrived to take the older children for Scripture. He was a parson of the old school; a commanding figure, tall and stout, with white hair, ruddy cheeks and an aristocratically beaked nose, and he was as far as possible removed by birth, education, and worldly circumstances from the lambs of his flock. He spoke to them from a great height, physical, mental and spiritual. "To order myself lowly and reverently before my betters" was the clause he underlined in the Church Catechism, for had he not been divinely appointed pastor and master to those little rustics and was it not one of his chief duties to teach them to realize this?²

Along with the content of religious teaching must be added the constant visits of clergymen, as seen above (especially in church schools), to examine the work done and watch over teachers' performances, which must have had the effect of reinforcing any message conveyed. The content of Bible stories, prayers and hymns, as well as pictures brought in (often by the local vicar or priest) to adorn the walls or even the religious imagery present on school certificates, were all intended to have a collective if subliminal effect:

The rich man at his castle,
The poor man at his gate

God made them high and lowly,
And ordered their estate.³

¹ Beckett, E M, The History of Education and Educational Institutions in Nottinghamshire, Excluding the City of Nottingham from 1800-1930, Ph D, London University, 1936, p.97.

² Thompson, Lark Rise, op. cit., p.179.

³ 'All Things Bright and Beautiful'.

Thus, we can see how all of these elements combined to inculcate religion in the minds of school children; whether it succeeded or not, given that such influence would often cease when the child left school, is debatable. The same may also be said of Sunday Schools, which acted as the forerunner of day schools for working class children, teaching them the basics of reading, in order that they might read the Bible and be imbued with Christian values, and occasionally writing and simple arithmetic. Sunday classes often led to week night classes, especially in dissenting churches where the educational instinct was strongest. We can see this at St. Peter's Street Church in Radford where, in 1850, a 'History of England' class began in 1850. The interest in education often then led to the establishment of day schools, such as the Wesleyan Day School in Beeston (1866) for 500 children and the Methodist Day School in Nottingham (1869) for 160 children attending half time: this latter establishment was connected with the Wesleyan Chapel on Arkwright Street; by 1870 it accommodated 80 boys, 65 girls and 117 infants; by 1877 there were 604 children on its books. By 1874, there were a total of twelve Wesleyan schools in the county of Nottinghamshire, covering the five circuits of Nottingham South (one school), Nottingham North (one school), Mansfield (five schools), Newark (four schools), Retford (one school).¹

Sunday Schools were still seen as an important aspect of working class education, at least by the middle classes, but attendance was still subject to the same constraints as ordinary schooling. Boys, in particular, were often running errands, working for a local farmer or employer whilst girls were expected to help with cleaning, cooking, child minding and, often, their mothers' lace finishing or seaming. Few records appear to be available, but the Sherwood Methodist Sunday School has left some details in a small enrolment book dated 1904-12. We can trace the backgrounds of pupils to show that addresses varied but centred on the Mansfield Road area, spreading out around Winchester Street, Percival Road, Daybrook Street, Osborne Grove, Haydn Road, Burton Street, Marshall Street, Church Drive etc., an area of small terraced houses with tiny rear yards, thus showing the

¹ Swift, R C., Lively People: Methodism in Nottingham 1740-1979, Nottingham, 1982, p.123.

scholars to be of working class origin. Over the eight year period of the register we find dates of birth from 1894-1907, most enrolling at the age of around seven and leaving at about twelve or thirteen, although several appear to leave for another Sunday School at a much earlier age. The only discernible difference between the sexes is the numbers on the roll: 303 girls; 254 boys. Perhaps, it was deemed more important for girls to attend a Sunday School; however, the difference in numbers enrolled does not take into account actual attendances, which may have redressed the balance.¹

As for the content of Sunday School work, little local material remains, but what does exist suggests a desire to inculcate both love and fear of God, gratitude for and resignation towards one's station in life, and good behaviour. A small promise card for Sunday School scholars retained by Nottinghamshire Archives contains a 'promise' on each of its two halves, both of which have to be signed and dated; one half is to be kept in the scholar's Bible or other safe place, the other returned to the church minister. The promise runs thus:

I obey the call of the Gospel and surrender myself to Jesus Christ as my Saviour and Lord.

I believe that He died for me, and I trust Him for the forgiveness of my sins, and for the Grace of the Holy Spirit, to create in me a new heart and a right spirit.

I hereby promise by His Help to serve Him all my days.²

As well as obedience to God, elements of social control are also visible in the following hymns, taken from hymn sheets used in Nottingham Sunday Schools:

¹ Sherwood Wesleyan Sunday School, 1904-12, no page numbers, Nottinghamshire Archives, MR4/104.

² Promise card for (unnamed, but presumably Sherwood Methodist Church) Sunday School, Nottinghamshire Archives, MR4/104

'A Song of Thanksgiving (verse II):

We thank Thee for Thy guidance

To aid us in the strife,

For thoughts that lead to purpose strong

For faith that makes our spirits Long,

To live the higher life;

For light when life is dreary,

For courage in despair,

For strength when we are weary,

For patience, hope and prayer.

'Thou art near us' (verse III)

When the hour of sadness

Darkens o'er our day,

And our dreams of gladness

Seem to melt away,

Thou art near us in our grief,

Thou canst give our hearts relief.¹

We can see the same ideals at work in the provision of treats and outings for Sunday School scholars: obviously, only those attending the Sunday School achieve this reward. Returning to the Sherwood Methodist Sunday School, we note that an outing takes place every year in either June or July: The treat for 1913 was to travel by tram (3d for adults, 2d for children - return) to Mr. Lowe's field in Wilford, where a tea was provided (8d for

¹ Hymn Sheet for use in Sunday Schools, Nottinghamshire Archives, PR20,047/1.

parents and friends, presumably free for the children). But 'tickets must be obtained and fares paid on Friday July 25, at the schoolroom, from 7.0 - 8.30.'¹

The same institution also organized teas, festivals and exhibitions, such as the Sunday School Festival of 30 March, 1912 (Saturday: 4:30 - 7:30), which included 'Afternoon Tea', 'Exhibition of School Equipment and Scholars' Work' and a 'Stall of Work'. It is unclear how the latter item differs from an exhibition of scholars' work; perhaps it refers to that which is for sale, in which case it is likely to include needlework and knitted items. We are told that representatives from the scholars, the Band of Hope, Young Leaguers Union, Girls' Guild (no mention is made of a Boys' Guild) would also be present and a collection would be taken for the school's funds. (The paper prior to this one calls for donations of cakes and other suitable items for sale at the festival, thereby linking the domestic with the religious, for women at least).

Thus, we can see how religion, through both schools and Sunday Schools, was used to indoctrinate children with middle class theories, not only of personal salvation, but of other middle class values, such as hard work, resignation, gratitude, thrift, selflessness etc. This often, although not exclusively, fell heaviest upon girls as future mothers of the next generation whose responsibility it was to promulgate these middle class ethics and who, on a more practical level, were expected to help with the teas, make cakes and articles to sell in order to boost funds so that the message could be rendered all the more effective by its reward.

¹ Miscellaneous papers of Sherwood Methodist Church, various dates, Nottinghamshire Archives, MR4/112/1-19.

Games and Exercise

These appeared gradually in Nottingham schools towards the end of the nineteenth century. Sports were always likely to be limited in city schools due to lack of space, but that did not prevent the playing of games, often in the street: football and cricket for boys; skipping, hopscotch and other simple games that allowed for the care of younger siblings in the case of girls. The first exercise to be taken in schools, however, was drill. This consisted of marching up and down in the school yard with military precision, often known as military drill, for both boys and girls initially, later just for boys. Priestland, in her work on Radcliffe on Trent School has noted that from the 1890's military drill was taken once a week by the boys, supervised by Colour Sergeant Rushton (later by Sergeant Lacey); girls took Swedish Drill, also once a week, with Miss Baxter the assistant mistress.¹ Interviewee Thomas Hunt corroborates this with his experience of school exercise: 'Well, we did drill, like marching up and down outside, all in line and then marching in. But nothing else. No swimming, no.'² Most respondents recalled doing drill, often to the exclusion of any other form of exercise. Berridge Road School's first reference to exercise of any kind relates to older girls taking Calisthenic Drill on Friday afternoons at 4pm for half an hour (1886); it would be unlikely that older boys did not do a similar activity. Zaleski also cites the arrival of the School Board's drill instructor, intended to improve the quality of the teaching given for a subject to which teachers were hardly partial. He quotes a reference from the log book: 'Miss Ada Orton is absent today with a bad throat. This is brought about by taking Physical Exercises in the School Yard. This ordeal is done to meet the wishes of the Drill Instructor, but Miss Orton is not strong enough for outdoor instruction.'³ Yet games gradually found their way into the school curriculum in some schools at least. Old Basford Girls' School notes the granting of a day's holiday for school sports, although it does not state what sports might have been played by the girls, or even if the sports were played only by the boys and the girls simply

¹ Priestland, P., Radcliffe on Trent 1837-1920, Nottingham, 1989, p.308.

² Thomas Hunt.

³ Zaleski, S., Berridge: the School's First 100 Years, no place of publication or date, circa 1984, p.11.

enjoyed a day away from school.¹ One interviewee, Elizabeth Radford, also noted the playing of cricket (boys) and rounders (girls) and another, Eva Kummer, states: ' . . . we had a gymnasium in the school and we used to take it in turns to have half an hour in the gym . . . no sports, no . . .' Just what the gym might have consisted of is unknown, but may not have been very extensive if this acerbic excerpt from Carrington School is at all reliable: 'Gymnastic apparatus, which for the girls consists of one swing, placed this afternoon. As one child can only use it at once, it is to be hoped the Managers will recommend some additional apparatus. The number of children to use the swing is 267.'² At High Pavement School, the gym apparatus was a little more advanced judging by the picture here,³ although High Pavement was hardly typical of elementary schools.

Most games, however, were not actually played during school time, but during play time or out of school completely. Two Lambley residents, a husband and wife, recall boys playing cricket, hockey and football, whilst girls enjoyed cat-ball, shuttlecock and battledore, marbles and skipping, but argue against any form of games being provided at school.⁴ Hazel Wood is equally certain:

Q: Did you play any games or sports or have swimming lessons (at school)?

A: Not at school, no. We played lots of games in the streets and . . . oh, in play time at school. But there wasn't no sports like you have today . . . Swimming? No, they didn't take us swimming, no.

Although the playing of games in the street was a way of life for working class children, it caused consternation among the authorities and the middle classes. The Reverend J.B. Paton, school board member and interested party in state education, espoused the

¹ Old Basford Girls' School, Log Book, 1890-1915, p.258 (28 June, 1900).

² Carrington Girls and Infants School, Log Book, 1877-88, p.125-6 (10 April, 1891).

³ NSB, High Pavement Higher Grade School and School of Science, Stanley Road: Prospectus 1895-1900, Nottingham, 1895, p.8.

⁴ Oral History Interviews collected by Billy Paton throughout 1980's: Lambley residents, born early twentieth century.

organization of games under efficient leadership, to oppose street playing which he deemed to be 'morally injurious'.¹ To this end he was instrumental in establishing Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades (1900 and 1903 respectively) which involved marching and suitable drill. Girls also took sick nursing, whilst boys took exercises in life saving: drowning, fire and accident.

One exercise that many Nottingham children benefited from was that of swimming. In 1882, the NSB accepted an offer from the Nottingham Swimming Club to teach some boys for free. By 1892, an agreement was reached between the NSB and Nottingham Corporation which allowed children who could not afford to pay to use Sneinton Baths for free. A bonus was given to encourage teachers to teach children to swim of one shilling per child taught; the ability to swim was classed as one length for a boy, one width for a girl. The following figure show how many children were taught to swim at Nottingham swimming baths in 1899:

<u>Swimming Pools</u>	<u>Numbers of Boys</u>	<u>Numbers of Girls</u>
Victoria	172	39
Radford	48	33
Stanley Road	49	11
Albert Street	16	8
Sycamore Road	15	7
Leenside	12	9 ²

No justification is offered for the gender inequality inherent in these figures. That some girls at least were able to access swimming lessons is evident from various sources. Zaleski's work on Berridge Schools notes that boys and girls attended Radford Baths (separately), although he believes the motivation of the board was more to prevent drowning than for exercise or recreational benefit.³ Various school log books mention girls beginning swimming classes, although an entry in Huntingdon Street Girls School log book states that all girls who began at the swimming classes had been ill since, and whose

¹ Marchant, J., JB. Paton, London, 1909, p.261.

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol.20, pp.68-71.

³ Zaleski, Berridge, op. cit., p.11.

mothers blamed the baths and would not allow them to attend again.¹ Oral sources also show that swimming tuition was available to some girls: Hessie Garton recalls going to Boden Street Baths with the boys from Churchfield Lane School, once a week, and Eva Kummer remembers being taken to Bath Street Baths where she completed her width; Elizabeth Radford also recollects: 'I was just learning to swim; I'd just done one width when war broke out and the baths closed ~ that was Radford Baths ~ and I missed getting my certificate.'

It is possible then to note some differences in the provision of exercise for working class children, particularly girls: there were quite clearly some who enjoyed gymnasium, sports and swimming facilities and equally clearly those who received very little if any exercise in school time. This, however, is totally in keeping with the overall pattern of educational provision at this time, which was patchy in its coverage of the various subjects in the various areas of the county.

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls School, Log Book, 1891-1912, p.78 (13 May, 1893).

CHAPTER SIX

Craft Subjects: Needlework

This is the area in which most differentiation in education between the sexes can be seen. Girls had long since taken needlework or, more properly for working class girls, plain sewing, whilst boys took extra academic subjects. Gareth Evans notes that whilst girls in Wales enjoyed an increase in academic subjects and decrease in 'accomplishments' in secondary schools, working class girls in elementary schools faced a range of domestic subjects under the guise of technical education, including cookery, nursing, dressmaking, child management and hygiene.¹ Even when other domestic subjects such as Practical Cookery, Domestic Economy, Laundry work and Housewifery (or Housecraft) came to be seen to be important for girls and accordingly earned a grant, no comparable subject existed for boys until woodwork became recognized by the Board of Education in 1891 (although Nottingham, as we shall see later was something of a pioneer school board in that woodwork was offered well before a grant could be earned). Such was the importance of domestic subjects for girls, of which needlework was paramount. References to domestic subjects of all types can be seen in the school log books and occasionally in the minute books as well as the volume of minutes belonging to the Cookery (Ladies) Sub-Committee. These give us a wealth of information on the reality of domestic subjects tuition in girls' schools and corroborate, or sometimes contradict, information given in secondary sources. Added to this are the miscellaneous documents such as the Laundry exercise book and certificates of merit, and the evidence given orally by local residents, which help to produce a more comprehensive picture of the reality of school life than mere secondary literature alone can do.

¹ Evans, W G., 'The Welsh Intermediate and Technical Education Act', *op. cit.*, p.194.

This importance can be seen in several comments of the day such as two from Nottingham dignitary, Robert Mellors: ' . . . girls are taught how to make articles of clothing and all the other domestic arts that make a girl an angel in the home;'¹ the result of which was inevitable for Mellors and many others: 'The next generation will be better for it.'² This view stemmed from the perception that most working class women were, without suitable training, slovenly and thriftless wives and mothers; middle class opinion, therefore, dictated that young girls must be given suitable training to equip them for their future roles:

I believe that every afternoon in girls' schools should be yielded to the managers with permission to occupy it on domestic economy, and that inelastic and tyrannous thing, the time-table, should be altogether banished; there would be time to teach cutting out and thorough needlework, and cooking, and everything that bears upon the happiness and very existence of the home. Many a child who now makes but an indifferent scholar might prove a good, happy, sensible wife and mother if early taught the beauty of cleanliness, methodical habits, and how to sew and cook thoroughly,³

Thus we can see how the preoccupation of the day with the quality of housewives and mothers transferred itself to the school girls' curriculum.

So many domestic subjects would inevitably detract from a girl's education, with less time remaining for academic subjects. Although the above recommendation was never officially put into practice, and the number of domestic subjects varied between schools, girls still had less time free for academic subjects than boys. Yet, it was always girls lack of proficiency in domestic subjects, especially needlework, that horrified middle class

¹ Mellors, Then and Now, op. cit., p.21.

² Mellors, R., Nottinghamshire Villages, (Beeston), Nottingham, 1916 p.28.

³ Leigh, C.A , 'For lack of knowledge', in Lord Brabazon (ed), Some National and Board School Reforms, London, 1887, pp.120-22, p.122.

observers: ' . . . our land shall no longer be disgraced by a boy who cannot read or a girl who cannot sew.'¹

Despite the growing use of the sewing machine, ready made patterns and, most of all, cheap ready made clothes, sewing and all aspects connected with it (patching, darning, mending, dressmaking and cutting out) were seen as being of paramount importance in the education of girls. Consequently, it was generally taught well in Nottinghamshire schools with much time expended upon it; log book entries and minute books corroborate what has long since been ascertained by modern historians, such as Dyhouse, Turnbull et al:

Needlework seems to be taught very satisfactorily in most schools. Much time has to be devoted to it, but considering the importance of the subject, it cannot be said to receive an undue share of attention. Mistresses generally complain of the severe tax the teaching of this subject imposes upon them; but when they think of the benefit they are conferring prospectively upon the families of the future they must feel that their task is not without its reward.²

The following year's report appears to contradict some of the above, yet emphasizes the importance of sewing:

The more I see of this subject the more thoroughly do I become convinced that the requirements of the Code are hard in it. It appears sometimes necessary for Teachers (head and assistants) to stay till six in the Afternoon, or to return to school in the Evening and work until eight, and sometimes also to take work home to enable them to meet the Code needlework requirements. This certainly should not be. It is difficult to overrate the importance of needlework to girls, and the results obtained throughout the Schools are most pleasing, but they are not worth

¹ R.L., 'A Plea for Industrial Training for girls,' in Brabazon, Lord, Some National and Board School Reforms, London, 1886, pp.122-9, p.123.

² 'NSB School Management Committee General Report of the Board Inspection of Schools,' 1881/2, p.10, in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.5 (pp.147-152).

their cost, the attention they demand crowd out other *almost*^{*} equally useful subjects.¹

It is interesting that other, presumably academic, subjects were only almost equal to needlework. By the late 1880's, HMI Green reporting on Nottingham stated that: 'The time expended on Needlework is considerable and often much begrimed by the teachers, but as a result most girls seem to be very tolerable needlewomen when they leave school.'²

The details from school log books confirm the importance of this subject, the amount of time spent upon it and its success within Nottingham schools: 'The Girls as usual, every Wednesday, Thursday and Friday afternoon received instruction in Needlework from the Assistant Mistress.'³ From this, it immediately becomes apparent that three tenths of school hours were spent on sewing. By 1908, sewing time had reduced, but we must remember that a whole host of other domestic subjects had been added by this time, in addition to the time spent on needlework. In the same year: 'Circular received from the office to the effect that the Elementary Schools Committee had decided that three hours per week must be devoted to Needlework.'⁴ This may be taken to be a minimum and might well be considerably more in some schools, and could be in addition to knitting.

That Needlework was generally of a high calibre can also be seen in school log books, especially when HMI's made their reports, which were often quoted in the log books. For example: 'Excellent needlework is a special feature of this school.'⁵ Such references abound throughout the log books, illustrating the success of Needlework even when other

¹ 'NSB School Management Committee General Report of the Board Inspector of Schools,' 1882/3, p.7, in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.5, (pp378-85).

² Committee of Council on Education, Report, 1888/9, p.276.

^{*} my italics

³ Carlton Church of England Mixed School (AKA St. Paul's), Log Book, 1869-1905, p.61 (1 Dec., 1871).

⁴ Queen's Walk (later Mundella) Girls' School, Log Book, 1895-1909, p.424 (24 Jan., 1908).

⁵ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.240 (30, Aug., 1898).

subjects are only fair or even poor; when, very occasionally, Needlework is less than perfect, much stress is placed on putting it right, as can be seen in the following HMI's report on Huntingdon Street Girls' School:

More attention is necessary to the methods of sewing, to the use of the thimble, and to acquiring quick sensible habits of work. The sewing machine should be taught and used in the upper classes. Calico, print and material in the piece should be freely supplied and handled by the girls. Such subjects as width and price of material, the selvedge way of the material, should be not only demonstrated, but actually tested and realized by the scholars.¹

It is notable from the log book that the Inspector's Report takes up 51 lines, of which thirty are devoted to Needlework. No comparable entry exists in any log book examined in which so much advice is given on improving a particular subject.

Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers states: 'It is not compulsory that girls under six years of age should be taught to sew,'² but goes on to make it clear that movements appropriate to sewing and knitting are compulsory even at that age; the quote is also evidence that sewing was compulsory from the age of six. The instructions given to HMI's regarding Needlework exams expand upon this theme: 'In Infants' classes children, including those who are too young to work exercises, should be prepared to go through the movements of needlepoint, and knitting pin drill, in your presence.'³ Interviews with local residents indicate that sewing classes began at around five or six years old, with some variations at different schools.

Several sources (log books, interviews, secondary sources) show that sewing for this age group included boys as well as girls. This is borne out by an extract from The Schoolmistress from 1884:

¹ Ibid., p.466-7.

² HMSO, Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers, London, 1905, p.77.

³ Committee of Council on Education, Report, 1883/4, p.164.

When managers elect to take needlework as a subject of instruction for all the infants, and to claim a grant for that subject in respect of boys as well as girls, sewing and knitting should as a rule be taught to the boys in Standard I, as well as to those in the rest of the school.¹

Indeed, when Needlework inspectress Mrs. Roadknight visited the United States, Needlework for boys was one of the things which impressed her: 'One good feature I noticed was that boys in mixed classes were being taught to mend their own clothes and sew on their buttons.'²

Amount of Needlework

The amount of Needlework done in schools varied considerably between schools and throughout the period; a greater amount tended to be done before the introduction of other domestic subjects and in church schools. Oral sources invariably indicate that 'a lot of sewing and knitting' was done, from half a day per week to ' . . . one day a week sewing and one day a week cookery and domestic science.'³

Yet, despite the amount done, there was much fear (largely among the middle classes) that insufficient Needlework was being taught and sources abound which call for an increase in the amount, as well as comments from teachers which prove that additional Needlework lessons were commonplace:

'Standard IV had extra hour for Needlework.'⁴

'A little extra time has been devoted to Needlework in the upper division of the school to secure the finishing of articles for sale before the holidays.'⁵

¹ The Schoolmistress, 26 June, 1884, in NSB, Newspaper Reports and Adverts, 1880-88, p39.

² Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.433.

³ Dorothy Straw.

⁴ Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1898-1913, p.374 (3 Dec., 1909).

'An extra Needlework lesson in all classes from three to four twenty.'¹

Several other similar references occur at a variety of schools throughout the city and county. One cannot help but ask what subjects were omitted in order to allow the extra needlework: presumably something, possibly academic, has been deliberately ignored in favour of Needlework. Again this highlights the importance of this subject and relative unimportance of academic subjects. We can also perceive the self-supportive nature of craft subjects: the need to pay for the materials via the sale of work was more important than education. Added to this is the influence on young girls' minds implicit in the undue importance placed on Needlework.

That middle class observers believed that insufficient time was being devoted to Needlework can be seen in the two following statements:

Miss Allcock was of the opinion that the time devoted to plain needlework and knitting in our Girls' Schools was not nearly sufficient. The Lady Managers unanimously agreed with Miss Allcock in this matter. Miss Allcock asked whether it was a fact that in some schools the children only practised needlework for one hour or one and a half hours per week. Miss Guildford (Chair) replied that this was not so.²

I beg to suggest that the girls should take needlework as a class subject, for they seem to have too much work to do' and 'I agree with Mr. Green that too many subjects are attempted, Needlework as a class subject is suggested.³

¹ *Ibid.*, p.178 17 July, 1903).

² Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1904-28, p.178 (20 Dec , 1911).

² Minutes of Cookery (Ladies) Sub-Committee, 1898-1903, p.123.

³ Reports of Government Inspectors, F.T. Green and T. Morgan-Owen, in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.17, p 592 (Arkwright Street School) and p.597 (Huntingdon Street School).

However, adulation of the art of sewing was not universal: there was much criticism at the time from some observers, from parents and not least, from the children themselves. Some criticism centred on the methods of teaching and the content thereof: Sillitoe, writing in the 1930's, criticizes the teaching of Needlework in the 1870's, it having little appeal to the intelligence of school girls, their being given long seams and hems to sew, and socks and cuffs to knit; the cutting out and putting together of garments, she argues, was done by teachers out of school time. She reinforces her criticism of the type of sewing done, especially in rural districts, with a quote from HMI Sneyd-Kinnersley:

Before 1876 the inspection of needlework was very simple. That plain needlework should be taught to all girls was a condition precedent of the annual grant. In country schools there was not much fear of neglect, for Mrs. Squire and Mrs. Rector kept vigilant eyes on this branch of education, and the subscribers of the school funds often got back part of the value of their money by sending their household sewing to be done in school. It was no unusual thing to find five afternoons a week entirely devoted to sewing.¹

Dyhouse and others have argued to the same effect: namely that girls were used as cheap labour for the local gentry. As we have seen from the log books, such practice was not unheard of at times during the school board era.

A substantial amount of criticism was levelled at domestic subjects generally by Christine Bremner, who criticized the amount of sewing done in schools, when most garments were bought and the girls did not like it:

¹ Sillitoe, H., A History of the Teaching of Domestic Subjects, Essex, 1933, p.47 (from Sneyd-Kinnersley, E M., Passages from an HMI)

Thus, girls lose the cultivation of their powers of observation by drawing, neglect history and geography, by which the mental horizon widened; have the training in precision and accuracy, which arithmetic can give, relaxed . . . The keeping of girls to the needle was a great business in olden times. The elder ladies seem to have found that it depressed the spirits of the younger ones, making them more amenable to control. Consequently, the needle was greatly praised.¹

Thus, we can see how excessive amounts of Needlework displaced academic subjects, inured children's minds to domestic work and attempted to subdued high spirits, (as we noted in Chapter One). But, as well as a desire to increase the amounts of Needlework, we can also see some attempts to reduce the amount done, as in the following statement from 'Revised instructions to Inspectors' taken from The Schoolmaster:

It will be seen that considerable reductions have been made in the amount of needlework required, and that the obligatory parts of Schedule III now contain no more than can be fairly mastered by any girls school in which four hours weekly have been devoted to this subject.²

By 1913, 'The time devoted to Needlework on Wednesday mornings (10 to 10:45) has been withdrawn as three hours are now devoted to Needlework and Cutting Out.'³ Thus, it is possible to see a very gradual reduction in the time spent on Needlework each week but, as we have seen, it remained an important subject in girls' schools.

¹ Bremner, C., Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain, London, 1897, p 47-8.

² 'Revised instructions to Inspectors' in supplement to The Schoolmaster, Saturday, 28 June, 1884 in NSB, Newspaper Reports and Adverts, 1880-88, p.919.

³ Carlton National Church of England Mixed School (AKA St. Paul's), Log Book, 1906-41, p.110-11 (3 June, 1913).

Damage Caused by Needlework

Another criticism levelled at Needlework was the damage it could cause to eyesight and body posture, especially when tiny, close stitches were demanded and often only poor light was available in which to do such work. The NSB's advice was that girls should sit upright, with their work twelve inches away from the face:

A teacher who allows her class to sit with shoulders bent, and almost smelling their work, or to hold their needles within three or four inches of their eyes when threading them, is doing her scholars serious physical injury . . . The previously contorted postures required to produce "neat little stitches" or to thread ridiculously fine needles tend to cause short-sightedness and curvature of the spine . . . It should be remarked here that fine needlework and small eyed needles tend to produce oblique vision, or squinting, in young children.¹

The Board's Inspectress of Needlework, Mrs. Roadknight, was similarly unimpressed with the style of Needlework in America when touring state schools there, the overly fine materials and stitches leading to, in her opinion, incorrect postures.²

The beginning of eyesight testing around the turn of the century showed a higher proportion of defective eyesight among girls than among boys, often attributed to fine Needlework and the necessity for counting each thread. Parents were advised to see an optician and furnish their children with glasses; no mention is made here of reducing the amount of Needlework to remedy the effect.³

¹ 'Revised Regulations for the Management of Board Schools,' 1890, p 80 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.10.

² 'United States Educational Reports of the Boards Inspectors,' 1901, p.15 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.22 (pp.166-99).

³ Bentinck Secondary School for Girls 1860-1960, no place or dates of publication, presumably Nottingham, circa 1960, p 37.

Lighting also had an effect on eyesight, especially where close work was concerned: 'The incandescent lights are a great boon, especially in needlework lessons. The knitting of Standard IV (socks in black wool) is not as good as it should be owing to the poor light during the past two months.'¹ Even as late as 1909, no mention is made of the danger to eyesight; getting Needlework and knitting done appears to take precedence.

Lady Visitors

Most school log books, and especially those of church schools, note a constant stream of visitors, quite often clergymen and their friends, but most often middle class ladies visiting to assist with sewing classes or to examine Needlework. Note these examples from High Pavement School:

Ladies Committee met to discuss needlework and decided to have it in the morning so that 'Ladies' could assist.

Miss Hardmett visited the school and taught knitting for one hour.²

Similar references continue every few days showing extra Needlework lessons and 'Lady' visitors offering assistance. The Ladies' Committee obviously enjoyed considerable influence, as they had the power to change classes around at will. In the Infants' and Standard I Department, we also see a constant flow of visitors: Mrs. Armstrong (the vicar's wife) visited the school to inspect the sewing, followed twelve days later by a Mrs. Farmer, and so the entries continue.³

Most other schools appear to experience 'Lady' visitors in abundance; this reference from All Saints School harks back to Sneyd-Kinnersley's comment about household sewing being taken into schools: 'Mrs. Gadd visited the school and brought some sewing for the

¹ Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1904-28, p 37.

² High Pavement Girls' School, Log Book, 1863-92, no page numbers.

³ High Pavement School (Infants' and Standard I), Log Book, 1869-92, p.60.

children.¹ In fact, this school has so many 'Lady' visitors (Miss Dunbar, Miss Jeavons, Miss Mussey, Mrs. Simons et al) that one wonders if they had a sewing mistress, especially as so many of them brought a supply of Needlework with them.

Needlework from Home

This represented another branch of Needlework: sewing, often mending, patching or altering, that the children brought from home to do at school. It seems that most schools allowed this practice to varying extents: an early copy of the British Society's Manual on Teaching stated: 'Every Tuesday, morning and afternoon, the girls are allowed to bring work from their parents, and do it in the school.' At the end of each session, the mistress 'examines the work of every girl in the school, rewarding those who have done it well, and punishing those who have done it badly.'² It is difficult to know if this was the case in our period, but work from home certainly persisted throughout the school board and into the LEA era:

Parents shall be encouraged to send articles of wearing apparel to the school to be made, mended, patched, knitted or darned, on condition however that every article sent shall be scrupulously clean and labelled with the owners name; but such home work shall not interfere with the systematic instruction in this branch . . . No fancy work shall be done in any Board School.³

¹ All Saints Girls' School, Log Book, 1866-83, p.1 (11 Jan., 1866), (This school was originally on Raleigh Street, moving to Forest Road in 1872).

² Manual of the System of Teaching Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic and Needlework in the Elementary Schools of the British and Foreign School Society, London, 1816, pp.35 and 37.

³ 'Regulations for the Management of Board Schools,' 7 Feb., 1878, p 15 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol 3 (pp.13-38).

By 1898 we find 'The girls allowed to bring their own needlework'¹ on the last day of term, and cannot help but ask if this is the forerunner of taking games on the last day. However, this was an eminently practical form of needlework for working class girls, as it related strongly to those aspects of sewing most needing to be done in their homes. Ten years later, a Beeston school was more specific about types of home sewing allowed: 'Rule that girls in Standards V, VI and VII allowed to bring work from home, on which to practice the mending etc. which they learn in school (garments to be brought once a fortnight).'² The branch of Needlework is commendable enough, but why is it available only to older girls; many will have left on reaching Standard IV and hardly get a chance to take part in it. (Arguably, these are likely to be girls from the poorest families and therefore those in most need of instruction in and practice on mending, patching and altering of clothes).

Needlework Displacing other Work

We have previously noted how boys enjoyed extra Maths lessons whilst girls sewed, and how extra Needlework lessons were often added to girls' timetables, but Needlework frequently displaced other subjects as can be seen from several log book entries:

Took Needlework Exercises in morning for girls whilst boys were drawing.³

Needlework taken from 3 - 4 o'clock instead of General Knowledge and Reading in Standards I and II.⁴

It should be noted that several log books cite girls taking Needlework whilst boys take Geography.

¹ Colwick National School (Mixed), Log Book, 1888-1911, p.133 (19 Dec., 1898).

² Beeston Nether Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1900-36, p.114 (14 October, 1908).

³ Colwick National School (Mixed), Log Book, 1888-91, p.63 (22 Sept., 1893).

⁴ Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1904-28, p.201 (29 Nov., 1911).

Added to this is what appears to be the annual Needlework Exhibition to which all girls from all schools seem to have contributed, and often attended along with their work; for instance: 'Sent a number of girls down to the Needlework Exhibition held in the Mechanics Hall, Nottingham.'¹

Needlework Content

The content of Needlework lessons sometimes varied between schools, even between state schools, but more often followed a general pattern. NSB correspondence from the turn of the twentieth century shows the content to be as follows:

Infants' School (instruction in all classes)

Babies or Kindergarten: exercises with thimble, needle, thread and paper slips*. The object of these exercises is to make children quick and deft in handling the implements of sewing, and accustomed to the feel of them, especially the thimble. It is also useful for imparting the habits of quiet attention . . . the exercises come frequently, not on sewing afternoons only.

Lower Division: hemming with black cotton (to see thread).

Upper Division: These work stitches determined by the Code with white cotton.

(Of all the above: They lay the foundation of manual dexterity and good sewing habits, which girls too often leave school without acquiring).

Girls' School

¹ Beeston Methodist Girls' School, Log Book, 1900-36, p.176 (18 April, 1913).

* AKA 'position drill'.

Here girls are taught counter-hemming and pleating in order to be able to make garments and particular pains should be taken to fix the backs of patches, and darn sufficiently loosely. The most difficult and least practiced operation is that of cutting out. It begins at stage 4. All girls in the stage should be taught as a class . . . two lessons a week should be given . . . no patterns used.

Stage 5: more complicated garments can be made.

Stage 6: They have by that time acquired confidence, certainly of hand, and economy in the use of material and can be trusted with calico or print.¹

Log books also give an indication of the content of sewing classes: 'The girls of the 1st class placed the pinafores of Standard I as a lesson in "fixing a fell".'² High Pavement School's log books show Needlework specimens as including 'darning, buttons and button-holes, cutting out, patches, hooks and eyes, gussets, run and fell, tucks. Also knitting and dressmaking.' The report for which states: 'These excellent results reflect much credit upon Miss Thompson and the needlework staff.'³

Similarly, at Carrington Girls' School, Needlework involved: 'Paper folding and cutting includes paper patterns for dolls clothes (Standard III); child's 1st shirt, pinafore and drawers (Standard IV); child's shirt, yoke pinafore, shirt sleeve and drawers (Standard V).'⁴ (See also the extract from The Teachers' Times on Needlework for Standard VI and VII girls).⁵

¹ 'Memo on Needlework', School Board Correspondence, App.4, p.23, no date, circa 1900.

² Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.68 (30 June, 1878).

³ High Pavement School, Log Book, 1892-9, p.165-6.

⁴ Carrington Girls' School, Log Book, 1888-1903, p.362 (24 May, 1897).

⁵ The Teachers' Times, 21 August, 1914.

390/4

August 21, 1914.

THE TEACHERS' TIMES.

Garments Suitable for the Upper Standards.

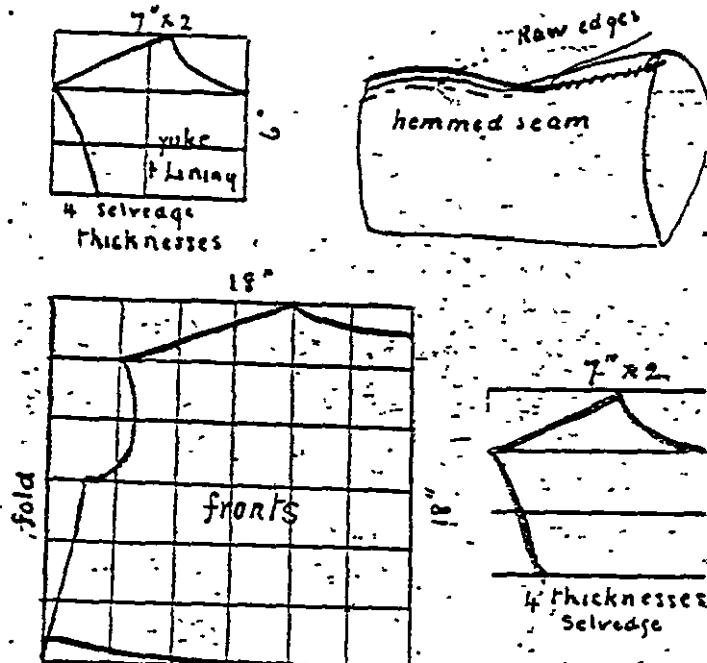
STANDARDS VI. OR VII.

SHIRT BLOUSE.

Pattern Making.—See that girls are provided with the usual cutting out requisites, including tape measures and squared drawing book.

Show the type of blouse to be made, and gain from the girls, who should measure each other, the chief necessary measurements. Plot out field on black-board according to the measurements given, getting as many directions, with reasons, as possible from the class.

Draw pattern, and let children copy into books, with notes on suitable materials, widths and prices.



Quarter and full-sized patterns can then be cut; and afterwards the actual cutting can be proceeded with.

Materials.—Zephyr, shirting or nurse cloth are all suitable, and about $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards will be required.

Making.—Join up side seams by method preferred. The best way is to run on the right side near the edge and then turn over and run and stitch on the wrong, or the seam can be hemmed up as shown in sketch. Either of these methods is also suitable for the sleeve seams.

Tack the two yokes carefully together about an inch from the edge.

Gather up the blouse fronts to fit the yoke fronts, and set in.

Mark the centre blouse back and centre yoke back, and set in plain to within one inch of centre yoke back. Tack from the other end to within an

inch of centre yoke, and then gather up the surplus, and set into the centre back.

Gather up sleeve bottoms and set into cuffs, which can be either round or open to fasten with button and button-hole.

Make a box-pleat down centre right front, and a wide hem down centre left front. These should be stitched, if there is a school machine, and a row of stitching also improves the yoke; if not, they can be hand stitched or knotted down as in sketch. Place under arm seam of sleeve about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the front of blouse seam and tack in, placing most of the fulness to the front of yoke shoulder. Stitch in and neaten with a bind of tape.

Find the centre of a strip about 1 inch by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches selvedge way and pin to centre yoke back. Tack on, starting from centre back. Gather up front neck until it fits band. Proceed in same way.



with the other side. Stitch on band, turn over and hem. Make button-holes in right front and neck band, and sew buttons on to left.

A collar of the same material can be added, but most girls possess "Peter Pan" collars, which form a pretty finish to this blouse. Baggy blouses suit growing girls best, so this is cut to allow for growing, and the bottom would be hemmed and a tape run in.

(To be continued.)

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At some schools at least, it seems as if pupils had to provide their own materials: 'the lesson and practice in cutting out was omitted this afternoon in consequence of the girls not being prepared with scissors and paper as directed.'¹

Oral sources show a greater variety in the content of Needlework offered to pupils, some claiming to have learnt a range of aspects, some being restricted to a single branch:

... we could choose either sewing or knitting and we did it for half a day a week. I did sewing and I made pinafores and later on I think I did a blouse.²

Yes, sewing one day a week and we had to buy our own thimble and we used to go to a little shop on Carrington Square an buy a ha'penny thimble . . . we made tea cloths and little things to start with ~ about four or five ~ then aprons and things as we got a bit older, then when we were a bit older ~ about ten or eleven ~ we had to go to a cookery class.³

Here we see sewing started at a very young age, but according to one respondent, this was not always the case:

Oh, yes, we did sewing, starting off with easy things like hemming dusters. I think that was the first thing I did when I started school . . . I was eight. Then, later we could take our own material and make dresses. Oh, yes, they taught us dressmaking . It was usually half a day a week, like cooking.⁴

In this case, an extensive range of Needlework appears to have been offered, albeit commencing at a relatively late age, unless this is explained by the respondent's late entry into school. Strangely, the experience of a rural resident, where one would expect a large

¹ Carlton National Mixed School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.84 (3 Jan., 1873).

² Hessie Garton.

³ Minnie Charlton.

⁴ Eva Kummer.

proportion of time to be devoted to Needlework, is just the opposite: 'Just simple things in sewing, like hemming dusters and tea cloths and practicing stitches and things . . .oh, no clothes, no.'¹

Those women who had attended Church, and especially Catholic, schools recall Needlework as being a very important aspect of school life:

The nuns were very keen on Needlework. I can remember pricking my fingers all the time. I wasn't very good at sewing . . . I'm still not (laugh). Yes, we did a lot. We had a treadle machine as well; we used to make hats for netball. Oh, we made all sorts of things . . . er, aprons, blouses, oh, all sorts.²

Almost all female respondents, however, recall doing substantial amounts of Needlework in school, whether varied or limited in content. By the late nineteenth century, we see the gradual introduction of the sewing machine, into board schools at least: 'Lessons given upon working sewing machines are taken up with great interest by the girls who are about to leave school. These lessons are limited to girls in Standard V.'³ Again, we see the more fortunate girls being privileged with such lessons, whilst those forced to leave (usually for economic reasons) at Standard IV being deprived. Even as late as 1909: 'A Singer Sewing Machine is now used in this department by the upper girls,'⁴ showing that little had changed in a decade.

By 1914 and the onset of war, all school girls were engaged in assisting the war effort by sewing and knitting items for soldiers at the front. For instance, the mistresses of Nottingham board schools met with other teachers and the Ladies Committee to discuss their fears regarding the lack of needlework in schools due to the war: 'It was decided that articles of clothing should be made in the schools. The cost of the material to be raised in

¹ Irene Argyle.

² Mabel Goode.

³ Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1898-1913, p.39 (10 Feb., 1898).

⁴ Beeston Nether Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1900-36, p.143 (25 July, 1909).

the various schools and by teachers voluntarily giving a percentage of their salaries.¹ It is unclear why there is a lack of sewing just because it is war time, or why pupils' families should be more able to contribute to school materials at this particular time. That girls made articles for soldiers is substantiated by a respondent from Bulcote who recalls sewing shirts and knitting socks, balaclavas, gloves and scarves for soldiers.²

To encourage enthusiasm for Needlework among school girls, prizes were often offered, as they were for most subjects. However, there was no equivalent for boys:

' . . . it be a recommendation to Managers to offer a special prize or prizes annually, to be awarded on examination in some special subject to be selected by them; and that it be an instruction to Managers to offer prizes in girls' schools for proficiency in plain needlework and cutting out, and for success in Practical Cookery and Domestic Economy.'³

Writers such as Dyhouse and Turnbull have shown how Needlework acquired symbolic importance, needle skills being equated with femininity and thrift, both valuable assets to the nation and empire. Almost all primary sources support this argument.

Thus, we can see the importance of Needlework not only in the curriculum but in the life of the nation, which led to its enjoying an exalted position in girls' schools, many fears being associated with its supposed inadequacy and much attention being devoted to its improvement.

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1912-30, p.35-6 (31 Aug., 1914).

² Unnamed Bulcote resident, Oral History Collection, collected by Billy Paton, A89/a-b/a, in Local Studies Library, Angel Row, Nottingham.

³ 'Regulations for the Management of Board School', 7 Feb., 1878, p.15 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.3 (pp.13-38).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Craft Subjects: Domestic Economy, Cookery and Laundry

Domestic Economy

Fears existed in many towns that girls were not being taught effectively by their mothers; this was increased in towns like Nottingham where the very nature of its industry (e.g. lace, hosiery) required a high degree of female labour. This inevitably meant less time for mothers to pass on domestic skills to their daughters. The girls themselves, however, were often likely to be absent from school, caring for younger children and running the home, and thereby gaining a 'hands on' education in the domestic arts. Most interviewees cited the importance of domestic chores in the home and some, like Hilda Littlehayes, effectively ran the home single handed. Middle class preconceptions, however, centred upon the moral ignominy of married women's employment and the supposed inevitability of daughters ignorance in domestic matters and, therefore, on the need for domestic tuition.

The first domestically orientated subject to appear on the school curriculum after needlework, Domestic Economy represented a means of inculcating values of thrift, domesticity, hard work and feminine behaviour among the female population. First introduced among upper standard girls, the popularity of Domestic Economy spread quickly especially among city schools. In rural areas, visiting demonstrators travelled the area with handcarts for their equipment, ensuring that all schoolgirls of Standard IV and above received tuition in Domestic Economy. This was the theory, at least. The school log books for the school board era show that this was not quite the case: Domestic Economy often took several years to filter through to many schools, particularly those in the suburbs or in rural districts.

We have seen already how Domestic Economy was perceived as being science for girls; the log books show that where girls are concerned the two terms are virtually interchangeable and what is called science often resembles what we would call Domestic Economy in the late twentieth century. Note this statement on a science course for girls at High Pavement School as late as 1908:

The course includes Chemistry and Physics - a differentiation being made for girls in the upper classes. In Chemistry this differentiation is very complete, the girls taking a good course of practical work in food stuffs and things of moment in domestic hygiene. In Physics apparently owing to examination requirements the work is less specially adapted: rather more experimental work specially interesting to housewives might with advantage be included.¹

The NSB took the same view with the teaching of Domestic Economy to girls: 'Domestic Economy should be taught practically, the scientific principles involved in cooking, in the choice of clothing material, in washing, and in ventilation being experimentally explained.'²

Thus, we can see both the importance of domestic subjects in the school girls' curriculum and the 'scientific' nature of its position and tuition. The log books confirm this:

The Science Demonstrator Mr. Kidson gave a lecture on "The Classification of Foods".³

Mr. Kidson's lecture: "Poultry, fish and milk: their characters and modes of preparation".⁴

¹ Board of Education, 'Report of First Inspection of High Pavement Secondary (Council) School,' Feb., 1908, in Bates, A. (ed.), High Pavement Remembered 1788-1988, Nottingham, 1988, p.21

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol.5, p.5.

³ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.336 (16 Dec., 1886).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.355 (30 June, 1887).

Other subjects for the Science/Domestic Economy lectures included wool, eggs and milk, and drainage. By September, 1899, it was no longer being called Science, but Domestic Economy. Most schools exhibit similar tendencies to describe the above lessons as Science, for a time at least, and many received tuition from a visiting male 'Science' demonstrator.

The importance of this subject to school girls (and, therefore, to the future prosperity of the nation and empire) can be seen in the offering of prizes to girls as an encouragement to them to do well in Domestic Economy, as we have seen in Needlework. Carrington Street School log book notes the visit in 1889 by a Mr. Robinson to offer a prize for a subject of the head mistress's choice; he suggests Domestic Economy as an encouragement to girls to work hard in this subject rather, presumably, than in academic subjects.¹ This can be seen again four years later: 'Mrs. Bennett visited this afternoon and promised two prizes each in Needlework and Domestic Economy.'²

The importance can further be seen in the increases in the time spent on Domestic Economy or extra classes being given, although this tends to be somewhat less of an occurrence than in Needlework: 'The 1st class extended their Domestic Economy lesson to 3:15 to allow the girls to finish the practical work - polishing furniture.'³ One has to ask two questions: what subject was missed, and was the polishing that of school furniture? Domestic Economy soon became a specific subject in girls' schools as more and more girls studied it, usually whilst boys took other subjects: 'The favourite subjects, now that English is removed to the list of class subjects, appear to be Algebra and Euclid in Boys' Schools, and Domestic Economy alone in Girls.'⁴ From this we deduce that boys are offered two specific subjects to girls single subject; the idea of a 'favourite' subject seems somewhat ironic if that subject is compulsory. The importance of Domestic Economy to the future of womanhood can be seen in this statement from 1881:

¹ Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p 68 (19 Dec., 1889).

² Ibid., p.194 (25 Jan , 1893).

³ Bath Street Girls School, Log Book, 1910-32, p.9 (29 Sept, 1910)

⁴ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.5, p.6

. . . I think it is of the utmost importance that girls should be thoroughly well taught, especially girls in rising towns like this, who enter so early into the lace warehouses and factories. I refer to cookery and domestic economy (Hear, hear) . . . I say that I have had some experience of a painful sort of thriftlessness through the ignorance of some Nottingham housewives. You cannot send a child, as you are accustomed to do in Nottingham at 8 years of age to a silk mill and from 12 or 13, when she becomes a full-timer, to some other mill until 20 years of age - at which time perhaps she marries - and give her education in these matters. What sort of domesticated wife can you expect this poor little half timer child to become - a child who has no home training beyond that which she got by assisting her mother on the Saturday afternoon or Sunday.¹

Not everyone, however, was wholly in favour of the amount of domestic subjects tuition being undertaken by girls. Some teachers were critical, mainly because of the added workload which fell on their shoulders, and there was much opposition from parents especially to the practical element of domestic subjects tuition. But criticism occasionally came from liberal middle class observers such as Ida Freund, in an article from 1911, in which she argues in favour of some domestic subjects tuition, but not at the expense of academic subjects. Of the system current in schools, she believes it will result in: ' . . . a lowering of the standards of woman's aspirations and achievements in pure science, a deterioration which is bound to react unfavourably on woman's intellectual work in general.'²

Freund argues that when science is geared solely to the domestic, it is inferior in quality to that which teaches pure science and exhibits its domestic counterpart in the course of teaching:

¹ Press cutting from Nottingham Guardian, 5 April, 1881, relating an address to the audience at the opening of new board schools by A J. Mundella, in NSB, Newspaper Reports and Adverts, 1880-88, no page numbers.

² Freund, I., 'Domestic Science: A Protest', The Englishwoman, Vol.X, 1911, pp.146-68, p.151.

When science is taught for its own sake, without any ulterior object, the selection and sequence of the subject matter are determined solely by the educational principle of progress from the simpler to the more complex, from the easier to the more difficult, the value of the facts presented and investigated being judged in the first instance by the use that can be made of them for training in scientific method. It is consistent with such a course to consider it of great importance that the chemical and physical knowledge gained inductively should be tested and fixed by deductive application and that in order to make the teaching real and vivid, the starting point as well as the applications should be occurrences of daily life, including problems encountered in household routine.¹

But this was not a common viewpoint. Most middle class observers, concerned with national efficiency, the future of the empire and high infant mortality rate (not to mention the dire need for good servants), applauded the whole range of domestic subjects, of which Domestic Science represented the link between the domestic and the academic. Several modern writers, Dyhouse paramount among them, have written extensively on the middle class preoccupation with poor housewives supposedly driving their husbands to the public house with bad food, unkempt houses and their own slovenly appearance, along with the unfitness for service of army recruits, and all of the above middle class concerns.

Cookery

Practical Cookery was seen as being of immense value to girls of the working classes by middle class educators, although many also stressed the importance of its theoretical side. Yoxall cites the beginnings of interest in Cookery tuition from 1874, following a motion proposed at a meeting of the London School Board: 'That it is desirable to promote a knowledge of plain cookery and of the household operations connected therewith as part

¹ Ibid , p.152.

of the elementary education of girls.¹ With similar reference to the education of the working classes, Fanny Calder, writing in the 1880's, observed that:

One could almost wonder that "home thrift" which is really the equivalent of the term "practical cookery" should not have been considered necessary for the girls of the working class, even before sewing. For, while ready-made clothing can be bought one way or another, and, in fact, is bought to a very large extent by the poorest of our people, no amount of money can purchase the well-ordered home, the comfortable, wholesome meal by the clean fireside, out-rivalling even the most attractive public house, which only a thrifty housewife can produce . . . (and has) a more direct effect upon the welfare of the people than any other subject in the timetable of our girls' schools.²

Nottingham was something of a pioneer in the provision of practical cookery in schools: Sheffield School Board, admittedly, initiated the subject in its schools in 1877, but using only stoves in classrooms; Nottingham School Board pioneered the use of school kitchens and cookery centres in 1878, setting off a trend throughout the country. Derby followed in 1879 and Birmingham in 1887. Not all Nottingham schools could be accommodated immediately, however, but progress, once begun, was rapid.

Just as the numbers of girls taking cookery increased, so the importance of the subject increased. From 1883, a grant of four shillings was payable 'on account of any girls over 12 years of age who has attended not less than 40 hours at a cookery class during the school year and is presented for examination in the elementary subjects in any standard.'³ From 1884, all girls from Standard IV took cookery, regardless of age, but generally being aged between nine and thirteen. Between 1883 and 1889, figures for those passing exams in cookery rose from 151 to 754. In 1886, extensions at several schools were made to

¹ Yoxall, A., History of the Teaching of Domestic Economy, London, 1913, 1965 edition, p.14.

² Calder, F.L., 'Cookery in Elementary Schools,' in Lord Brabazon (ed.), Reforms, op. cit., pp.34-43, pp.34-

³ Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.146 (from Triennial Report, 1886, p.13).

accommodate a total of 2000 children, making a total of three cookery centres and eleven schools with kitchens:

Cookery Centres

Colwick Street	Forster Street	Scotholme
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Schools with Kitchens

Colwick Street	Alfreton Road	Coventry Road
Old Basford	Queen's Walk	Forster Street
Bosworth Road	St. Ann's Well Road	Scotholme
Carlton Road	Radford ¹	

By 1895, there were a total of fifteen cookery centres in Nottingham.

The beginnings of cookery tuition are outlined in the NSB's Minute Books: on 10 January, 1878, a resolution was passed to enlarge a room at Radford School 'to be adapted as a cookery kitchen' and by 7 February of that year, applications had been made to the Education Department for the erection of a cookery kitchen at Old Radford School; at the same time alterations were made to Colwick Street School for the same: 'It is proposed to fit up each kitchen with such appliances as are suitable for an artisan's home, with the addition of a gas stove.'² From 1 May, 1878, we can see:

'That the Girls from each School in which Domestic Economy is taken as a specific subject, shall receive in the school from one of the teachers (or from the special teacher in Cookery, if her arrangements will permit) a preparatory course of at least 12 lessons on "Food and its preparation" being the first division of the first stage according to the New Code . . . The Girls who have attended the

¹ Ibid., p.146.

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol.3, p 60.

preparatory course to be required to attend a course of at least 12 demonstration and practice lessons.¹

This led to three courses of demonstration and practice lessons being run each year: January to April; May to August; September to December. At the same time, instructions were given 'That the Schools in outlying districts be supplied with a simple cooking apparatus in order that the girls may receive instruction in Cookery at their respective schools.'² Other schools enjoyed the use of cookery centres, for instance Bath Street, Huntingdon Street and Sneinton, all attended Demonstration and Practice lessons at Colwick Street Cookery Centre, which was fitted with a gallery for Demonstration purposes. At Radford, a kitchen was attached to the schoolkeeper's house, as was the case at Old Basford; Hyson Green took their lessons at Radford; New Basford had a cooking range fitted in a newly built classroom, where Carrington School also attended; Bulwell fared less well with a curtain fixed across the room to screen the fireplace, where cookery lessons took place after school hours.³

Bentinck School had a cookery centre built in 1895 over a shed in the girls playground (which was apparently still in use in 1960). The centre comprised of a gallery of three stages of benches for approximately 60 girls to watch the Demonstration, long wooden tables for 24 girls to use, and two old-type gas cookers and one large range, which the girls had to black lead each day.⁴

The rise in importance of cookery continued, with passes rising from 1,767 in 1889 to 2,153 in 1892 and to 2,730 in 1895.⁵ This led to some over zealousness on the part of some schools and a rebuff from the school board: 'that not more than four hours shall be

¹ *Ibid.*, pp 60-1.

² *Ibid.*, p 62.

³ *Ibid.*, p.62.

⁴ Zaleski, *Bentinck*, op. cit., p 6.

⁵ NSB, *Minute Books* Vol.7, p.554.

spent during any one day in the teaching of cookery.¹ In future, the hours were to be 10 - 12 noon and 2 - 4 p.m.; one wonders how much time was spent on cookery prior to this.

The Cookery Teacher's Log Book gives attendance figures month by month for each of the Nottingham schools, albeit with little difference between the months; for instance, the month of October:

<u>School</u>	<u>Number on Register</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Radford	39	33	84.6
Huntingdon Street	95	92.7	97
Coventry Road	50	48	96
Bath Street	74	74	100
Blue Bell Hill	34	32.6	95.8
Old Basford	78	75	96.2
Scotholme	48	48	100
Carrington	27	24	88.8
People's College	71	71	100
London Road	30	24.2	80.6
Bosworth Road	29	24.2	83.4
Carlton Road	24	19.5	81.2
Queen's Walk	72	64.2	89.1
St. Ann's Well Road	50	44	88
Ilkeston Road	11	11	100 ²

The NSB's Minute Books give a little more detail on attendances as follows:

<u>Section</u>	<u>Centre</u>	<u>Schools Using</u> <u>& no. Sent</u>	<u>Approx.</u> <u>Totals</u>	<u>Totals for</u> <u>Session</u>	<u>No. of Classes Required</u> <u>Practice</u> <u>Demonstration</u>
A	Bosworth Road	Bosworth Rd. (30) London Rd. (82)	112	56	2 1
	Queen's Walk	Queen's Walk (144)	144	72	3 1
	St. Ann's Well Road	St. Ann's Well Rd.	(169)	85	4 2
	Carlton Rd.	Carlton Rd.	(50)	25	1 1

¹ Old Basford Girls' School, Log Book, 1890-1915, p.192 (18 May, 1897).

² Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1880-1901, p.134.

B	Radford	Radford Ilkeston Rd.	(100) (37)	191	95	4	2
		Boulevard	(24)				
		Lenton	(30)				
Colwick		Bath St.	(112)	237	124	5	3
		Sneinton	(61)				
		Blue Bell Hill	(64)				
School of Cookery	People's College	(109)	277	139	6	2	
	Huntingdon	(170)					
	St.						
Alfreton Rd.	Alfreton Rd.	(180)	230	115	5	2	
	Scotholme	(102)					
	Berridge Rd.	(24)					
	New Basford	(32)					
	Carrington	(72)					
Old Basford	Old Basford	(114)	124	62	2	2	
	Southwark	(10)					
Coventry Rd.	Coventry Rd.	(150)	185	93	4	2	
	Quarry Rd.	(35) ¹					

Thus, we can see how extensive cookery tuition was by the mid 1880's, although Practical lessons were often more popular than Demonstration lessons, as we can see from these figures from these figures from the Cookery Teacher's Log Book:

Demonstration Lessons			
School	No. on Register	Average	Percentage
London Rd.	80	72	90.3%
Bosworth	58	49	86.2%
Queen's Walk(extra)	24	24	100%
Queen's Walk	80	70	88%
Radford Blvd.	80	72	90%
St. Ann's Well Rd.	80	63	79%

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.7, p.411.

<u>Practical Lessons</u>			
London Rd.	24	24	100%
Bosworth Rd.	24	24	100%
Queen's Walk(extra)	24	24	100%
Queen's Walk	24	24	100%
Radford Blvd.	24	24	100%
St. Ann's Well Rd.	24	24	100% ¹

Again, the figures are repeated month by month, with largely similar figures.

The extensive nature of cookery tuition illustrates the importance of this subject, as with other domestic subjects, as we can see from the following newspaper cutting, which laments that:

. . . Nottingham, a population which is not, unfortunately, generally trained to domestic habits, but only too often after leaving the schools they are taken to the warehouse and factories at a very early age, and they have no opportunity of obtaining any such instruction, nor do they show any inclination to be taught in the mere requisites of the house, which will be partly supplied by the teaching of this class.²

As the NSB gradually came around to this point of view and instruction increased, it came to be accepted that some public money be spent on cookery tuition. However, the cost of food for twenty lessons at one Guinea, seventeen shillings, was easily repaid by the sale of the food to pupils: 'There is rarely any difficulty in disposing of the food at cost price, and some schools make a profit by it. In one instance, 10 s. was made during one course of lessons.'³

¹ Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1880-1901, p.134.

² Nottingham Journal, 12 Nov., 1880.

³ Calder, F.L., 'Cookery in Elementary Schools,' op cit., p 40

CITY OF NOTTINGHAM SCHOOL BOARD.

... * * * * *

GIRLS' TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

* * * * *

CERTIFICATE OF MERIT.

..... Huntingdon St. Board School..... Midsummer 1901.



This is to Certify that Beatrice Whiting
has completed a Course of Lessons in Bookbinding
that she has been diligent and attentive; and that she has shown
special proficience, both in Theory and Practical Work.

Signed, *M. D. Macaulay*. Superintendent.

E. Shorue. Head Teacher.

Countersigned, *W. Abel*. Clerk of School Board.

Date. October 10th 1901.

Despite the importance of this subject and its economic good sense, there seem to be numerous instances of classes being cancelled or girls missing the lesson for a variety of reasons. The Cookery Teacher's Log Book notes that on 18 June, 1880, Bulwell children had to forego their cookery lessons in order to finish their sewing,¹ and several entries follow in which individuals and whole classes miss cookery lessons on the pretext of being needed by the head mistress, not being sent down to the cookery centre, no notice being given or simply without any reason given. All of this gives the impression that Cookery is not seen as being very important by other teachers. Later, in 1903, we find Cookery classes missed due to the Teachers' Bazaar, teacher's absence, rooms being needed for meetings etc., prize-givings, elections, cleaning, student teachers' lessons, exams or insufficient numbers. Yet pupils were proficient enough in Cookery to be awarded prizes: a report of the monthly school board meeting in an 1880 newspaper article gave the Cookery prize winners as Kate Bird and Nelly Yates (Huntingdon Street), Mary Walker (Radford) and Kate Heywood (Bath Street).² This begs the question: if girls were not getting the Cookery tuition at school to which they were entitled and yet were still winning awards for competence, just where was the tuition coming from? Perhaps their mothers were not such bad cooks, after all. As in other subjects, prizes helped to encourage girls to work hard and do well in Cookery, thereby inuring them to kitchen work. This would then make them into better wives and mothers (and domestic servants) and so the nation would benefit, or so middle class theory dictated. (See also the Certificate of Merit awarded to Beatrice Whiting, reproduced here).

The same attitude was evident in the wording of the Report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration, concerned as it was with the poor physical condition of army recruits from working class districts for the Boer War, and its belief that Cookery tuition in schools would create better wives and mothers, the corollary to which would be healthier cannon fodder for the nation's wars:

¹ Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1880-1901, p.9.

² Nottingham Guardian, 15 Oct., 1880.

The teaching of cookery should be directed to the selection, economy and preparation of the material best suited to the needs of the poorer classes, including the requirements of young children. It should have for its object the constant repetition of those processes most in request in cottage households, with a view to impressing them as firmly as possible on the minds of the scholars; and care should be taken to use such apparatus and utensils as, under favourable conditions, are likely to be found in the houses of the poor. The syllabus of instruction should be drawn up by some one with immediate knowledge of the wants of the class from which the children under instruction are drawn; it should vary for urban and rural schools; it should be modest in scope but thorough in application, attentive to detail but yet based on some broad principle of domestic effectiveness; and above all, it should provide as much practical work as possible, to the exclusion of mere excursions into theory and demonstrations which tire without exciting interest. Wherever practicable the material cooked should be served and eaten in the presence of those who have prepared it, and in all circumstances the greatest prominence should be given to the utility of the task on which the scholars are engaged. For this reason no scientific terminology should be introduced into lessons on the chemistry of food, but the practical value of the different articles of diet should be stated in the simplest and homeliest language.¹

Yet, Cookery tuition was not without its critics. Mary Davies, who quoted from the Physical Deterioration Committee's Report was quick to notice a lack of improvement in working class homes. She questioned just how much benefit has been derived from cookery tuition, asking if working class homes are any better, whether there was less drunkenness etc. Yet she defends the working classes themselves, believing the teaching to be at fault, and advises teachers to learn local dishes such as black pudding, salt pork, the cooking of kippers and bloaters etc. Unlike most middle class observers, Davies exhibits some genuine understanding of working class life and, especially, the constraints

¹ Davies, M.A., 'The Feeding of School Children and the Cookery Classes,' Contemporary Review, April, 1905, pp.564-9, p.569.

under which working women laboured, such as lack of time, fuel consumption and cost. She strongly criticizes the often fragmentary teaching of cookery, the tendency to teach theory without practice (for example, teaching the practice of stewing meat, but without actually doing it) as well as the baking of rock cakes and sausage rolls, which the children would buy, due to the managers' objections to making a loss on food cooked.¹ This was a popular criticism at the time but, as we shall see shortly, the NSB was not entirely guilty of this particular crime against middle class economics.

Of course most of the criticism came from the working class families of the children, such as the following: 'Lily Whiting has left the school, as her aunt objects to the girl going to the cookery centre, and especially to the cleaning she is called upon to do there.'²

It is surely significant that no clause allowed for the withdrawal of a child from Cookery classes (or any of the battery of compulsory domestic subjects) in the way in which the conscience clause worked with religious instruction.

Another criticism, albeit much less popular, was that boys did not even have the opportunity to take cookery, except in seaport towns. However, Fanny Calder, when reporting to the Cross Commission in 1887 referred to boys in a ragged school being taught cookery: 'A very poor class, almost gutter boys, have been taught cookery, and have been most successful at it . . .'³ At a more local level, the Minutes of the Cookery (Ladies) Sub-Committee has noted: 'Mrs. Lea stated that she had visited the Bulwell Defective Centre and was pleased to report upon the satisfactory work done by both boys and girls in Cookery and by girls in Laundry.'⁴ It seems that in Nottingham, at least, both deaf mutes and blind children were given cookery lessons, although it is unclear in some of the records whether this applies to both sexes or girls only. The brief mention in 1902 in

¹ Davies, M A., 'The Teaching of Cookery,' Contemporary Review, Jan., 1898, pp.106-14, p.110.

² Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p.322.

³ Fanny Calder, witness to Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, HMSO, London, pp.479-89, p.481.

⁴ Volume of Minutes of Cookery (Ladies) Sub-Committee, 1898-1903, p.108.

the Cookery Teacher's Log Book of 'Blind School at Clarendon Street Centre: Monday'¹ gives little real information, but certainly implies that blind children were being given tuition in either Cookery or Laundry or both. An earlier entry is a little more specific: 'Clarendon Street Girls Deaf Mutes, 7 in number had their first lesson in Cookery today. The lesson was successfully gone through, a teacher being present to help the girls understand the instruction given by the teachers of cookery.'² This gives a rare insight into the education of deaf children in Nottingham, made all the more difficult as Log Books for the Deaf School are closed to the public until 1999.

As with schools generally, there always seem to be a lot of visitors to cookery classes, the difference being that many of the visitors are teachers and those involved in education from other areas which, it is likely, aided the spread of ideas in this field. Constant references appear in the Cookery Teacher's Log Book to visits to training centres, attendances at various conferences, visiting schools and cookery centres in other towns; the impression is one of a considerable exchange of ideas.

One means of relating these ideas surrounding cookery teaching and its importance to the community was a public exhibition. The first mention found is 13 April, 1887 in the Cookery Teacher's Log Book:

'On Monday, Wednesday and Thursday of this week the girls of the various classes prepared and cooked several dishes, cakes, tarts etc. for the Exhibition of Children's Work at the University College on Tuesday, Wed. and Thursday. The work was much appreciated by those who visited the exhibition and was readily sold as refreshments.'³

The Exhibition was an annual event with domestic subjects well represented. We are not given an indication of how many parents attended or just who the visitors were. However,

¹ Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1901-7, p.71.

² Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1880-1901, p 286.

³ Ibid., p.151.

details of an open afternoon at Queen's Walk School are a little more specific: 'An open afternoon at Queen's Walk ~ a number of girls prepared and cooked Fish, tripe, puddings, pies and cakes, which were speedily bought by the parents and friends who visited.'¹ This gives an impression of enthusiasm on the part of parents which, as we shall see later, was not always the case.

However, much of the criticism of and advice regarding Cookery tuition centred on its relevance (or lack of it) to the homes of the children. Mary Davies advises that cookery lessons should be practical and useful:

They would have to learn to roast, boil, stew, fry, bake and broil; to make bread and plain soups, to use cold meats, to cook vegetables, plain puddings, pastry, porridge and all else included in plain cookery; and to learn these with direct reference to the wants of their own homes. Would it not be feasible, now that laundry work and housekeeping are also taught to include all these subjects in the form of a working woman's day? To devote an entire day to these three subjects would, surely, be much better than cutting up the ordinary school work into classes for instruction in them.²

She notes how cookery lessons can tend to be too theoretical or have little relevance to working class homes; she criticizes the cooking of 'toy' proportions (such as roasting a chop instead of a joint) and too many children working on one dish: 'I have seen a child have no more "cookery with its own hands" (as required by the code) than that supplied by the peeling of an apple for the dumpling, during a lesson of two hours duration.'³ She notes that girls are now deprived of the home instruction in household work by compulsory education, and thus arises the need for wholly practical and relevant domestic subjects tuition. Much of Davies' research was based on the London School Board; if she had examined the situation in Nottingham, she would have found that most of her

¹ *Ibid.*, p.176.

² Davies, 'Feeding of School Children,' *op. cit.*, p.568.

³ *Ibid.*, p.565.

requirements had been met several years earlier. The NSB Minute Books illustrate this with regard to the Colwick Street Cookery Centre, in 1879:

The lessons are composed so as to form a dinner of which a certain number of teachers partake, and by so doing the children learn how to serve and set a dinner table properly. A small charge is paid for the dinner which covers the greater part of the expenses; other things when made such as Tarts, Buns, Cakes etc. are sold to the children at cost price.¹

As well as the cooking of the food, the children also received practice at serving at table which, no doubt, would have been of use to them later if they had become servants. Following the above is a list of the lessons taught during a five month period at Colwick Street Cookery Centre, beginning on 13 Feb., 1879:

1st Lesson This lesson consisted of washing and cleaning away the several things used in Cooking, so that after every lesson each child is capable of clearing away anything she may have used.

2nd Lesson 1st Practical Lesson Roast Meat, Yorkshire Pudding, Boiled and Creamed Potatoes.

3rd Lesson Grilled Mutton Chops, Brown Bread Pudding.

4th Lesson Toad in the Hole, Tapioca Pudding.

5th Do. Stuffed Sheep's Heart, Plain Bread Pudding.

6th Do. Beef Steak Pie, Rice Pudding.

7th Do. Stewed Rabbit, Apple Pudding.

8th Do. Stuffed Do., Treacle Do.

9th Do. Fried Plaice, Roly Do.

10th Do. Peas Soup, Boiled Bread Pudding.

11th Do. Boiled Mutton and sauce, Lemon Pudding.

12th Do. Bachelor's Pie, pastry Rice buns.

13th Do. Goblet Pie, School of Cookery Hash.

14th Do. Irish Stew, pastry Rock buns.²

The above can hardly be criticized for irrelevance to the working class home; although half of the dishes are puddings rather than main meals, we must remember that this was an era

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol 3, p.321.

² Ibid., p 322.

when puddings were used extensively in the diet to fill up hungry children and working men cheaply.

By 1888, however, we note an article in the Nottingham Guardian entitled 'A Day in the Board Schools' by an un-named visitor. After a general resume, he progresses to cookery instruction at the Colwick Street Cookery Centre which he rightly claims to be in the centre of a poor district 'in which the diffusion of a knowledge of the science of good and economical cookery must be especially desirable.'¹ The writer goes on to describe his visit and the methods of teaching, the use of leftovers and lack of use of eggs and butter, with a greater emphasis on plain foods. He cites the making of oatmeal biscuits, Shrewsbury cakes, bread and butter pudding, bread and jam pudding and Yorkshire cake in his presence. From his conversation with the Principal of the Nottingham School of Cookery, Miss Thompson (who superintended the classes), he learned that:

We give them certain dishes which contain the proper amount of nourishment. Then we teach them to make lentil soup, for which no meat is necessary on account of the amount of nourishment contained in the lentils. It gives plenty of nitrogenous food without meat. If poor people would only learn the great lesson that so much nourishment is contained in pulse it would be far better for them.²

If we ignore the middle class assumptions made here regarding the working classes, we can see that much of the tuition in Nottingham's Cookery classes was strongly relevant to the homes of working class children.

Mary Davies was not alone in asking whether the cookery classes were beneficial; many people at the time and writers since have questioned whether the lives of the working classes were better for them. However, most current observers positively gushed with

¹ Nottingham Guardian, 21 Sept., 1888.

² Ibid.

admiration for everything associated with the cookery classes. HMI Capel Sewell reported favourably on his inspection in 1879:

I saw on Thursday and Friday last, upwards of 100 girls engaged on the actual duties of the kitchen ~ scouring and cleaning, preparing and cooking of simple dishes.

I directed my attention to the quickness and intelligence and general handiness with which the utensils and materials were found and used and cleaned, or laid away when done with; to the girls ability to tell me the reasons for the rules given them, not in scholastic phrase, but in the idiom of the kitchen. I watched the result of the instruction diligently for two days, and as exhibited from four of the Board Schools, and the general result of what I saw gave me the impression that an unusual branch of education was being conducted in an unusual, because unscholastic manner, and with unusual success.¹

Again, in 1880, Mr. Capel Sewell applauded the work of the Cookery classes when reporting to the monthly meeting of the NSB:

Your Board may be interested to know that I have had the opportunity, during the past three days, of observing the skill in practical cookery shown by the girls who have been under the instruction of Miss Hudson, the cooking mistress in the kitchens provided by the Board. The organization of the instruction, which last year seemed hardly systematic enough, is now complete . . . The difficulties of it are altogether different from those which beset the ordinary path of schoolmistresses. I find these difficulties intelligently appreciated, and, as much as may be, overcome . . . I should not suppose that in their own homes better cooks than themselves are to be found.²

¹ Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.143, (from Government Reports, 1879, p.7).

² Nottingham Guardian, 15 Oct., 1880.

Two years later, however, W.J. Abel (HMI and originally clerk to the NSB), was slightly less enthusiastic about the success of Cookery teaching, especially on the theoretical side: The girls who took the practical part of cookery in my examination were rather slow in their work, but did it thoroughly and well. Boiling, baking, stewing and cleaning operations, were all carried on in my presence, and included the cleansing of wooden and metal cooking utensils, and the preparation and cooking of meat, potatoes, puddings, pies and buns.¹

However, by 1889, the HMI for the North Central region, Mr. Blandford, had returned to the admiration of earlier years in his report on Nottingham schools:

The teaching of cookery is carried on with great success both in the board and voluntary schools in Nottingham, and also at Hucknall Torkard. It is a subject of great value to the girls, as they seem to like the lessons, but it is to be feared that at present the new and economical methods which the girls learn at school are treated with disregard, if not with contempt, by their mothers; the latter are, however, very partial to the lemon-cheesecakes made by their children.²

Thus, we can see just how important this subject became in a very short time and, given the beliefs and values of the time, how it came to take precedence over more academic subjects. In this light, Mary Davies' comment that '... the teaching of cookery must be more important than that of the 3 R's...' is not so surprising in that it was believed to preserve health and the comfort of home life and act as a 'prevention of that curse of civilization, drunkenness.'³ To this end she recommends compulsory continuation classes after leaving school as well as cookery tuition for middle class girls in order that they may direct their servants more accurately.

¹ NSB, 'School Management Committee General Report of the Board Inspector of Schools 1881/2', 1882, p.11 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.5 (pp.147-52).

² Committee of Council on Education, Report, 1888/9, p.278.

³ Davies, M., 'Physical Deterioration and the Teaching of Cookery,' Contemporary Review, Jan. 1905, pp.88-94, p.89.

Fanny Calder, witness to the Cross Commission in 1887, argued that Cookery lessons helped to keep girls in school for longer:

'In many voluntary schools they are willing to pay an extra fee, the mothers value it so much . . . Doctors say that it is one of the greatest boons that education has ever given in making girls understand a little sick room cooking, which is often more wanted than medicine.'¹

The Report of the Inter Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration also argues for compulsory instruction in domestic subjects for older girls 'in the last year of school life, and that room for it should be made by the omission at this stage of certain other subjects from the school curriculum' and cites the Scotch Code in which the last twelve to eighteen months of school life are spent entirely on practical cookery and Laundry.²

One means of gaining a Cookery education for many girls was to aid in the cooking of food for the poor, as advocated by Mary Davies:

I have seen close by a relief kitchen, where starving children were being fed with wholesome and satisfying meals, a cookery class where 18 children, many from similar homes, were wasting their time over little cakes and pastries. All the cookery for the relief kitchen was done by hired hands; and to no one did it seem to occur that the 18 children might be more usefully employed in preparing and cooking the food which was being distributed; the general idea being that to use the cookery class for any practical purpose was to deprive the teaching of its educational value. The cookery for relief and other kitchens would supply the practice required for the elementary operations of cooking. The girls would have plenty of practice in peeling potatoes, cutting up onions, scraping carrots,

¹ Fanny Calder, witness to the Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, London, pp 479-89, p.480.

² Physical Deterioration Committee, Report, 1904, p.62.

chopping suet etc., and would learn, under competent teachers, to do these things deftly and quickly; whilst such useful information about the foods cooked might be given in simple language by the teacher.¹

Whatever the justification may have been, young girls were still to be used as cheap labour for the making of such meals, as well as depriving adults of a paid job. Nottingham, however, was ahead of Davies: the Colwick Street Cookery Centre was providing Penny Dinners (soup and a pudding for a penny) for poor children from 1884, another being opened shortly after in Radford (Forster Street). The meals were financed by voluntary contributions, with the cooking done by school girls as a part of their Cookery course. This remained until 1906, when it became financed out of the rates.

Another aid to Cookery tuition, and one pioneered by Nottingham, was the penny Cookery Book, compiled by D. Macaulay (Cookery instructress of the NSB) and Miss G.A. Thompson (principal of the Nottingham School of Cookery) in 1885. (See a reproduction of the title page here). The book enjoyed great success, being used by school boards throughout the country and having sold 11,000 copies by 1895. It is not known for how many years the book was in use; in Nottingham at least it was still being used in 1903, after the demise of the school board. The preface to the book states its intention to be to encourage pupils to try the recipes at home, thereby introducing cheap and nutritious dishes into working class homes. The NSB Minutes argue that this was achieved, stating that the Cookery Book had 'assisted pupils in introducing the various dishes into their homes, thereby popularizing economical and tasty cookery.'² The index at the front of the book disproves the general criticism of school Cookery classes as being all rock cakes and sausage rolls: it contains 27 meat dishes, eight fish dishes, seven vegetable dishes, seven soups, ten baked items (bread, cakes, biscuits, scones), eight pastry items, fifteen puddings, nine sundry items (e.g. porridge, coffee, cocoa, Yorkshire Pudding), seven invalid cookery items, plus a list of dinners for a family for one week and

¹ Davies, 'Feeding of Schoolchildren', op. cit, pp.564-5.

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol.13, p 519.

Nottingham School Board.

COOKERY BOOK,

BEING A COLLECTION OF

RECIPES USED BY AUTHORITY OF THE

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE,

AT THE

BOARD COOKERY CLASSES.

M. D. MACAULAY, *Board School Instructress.*

G. A. THOMPSON, *Principal, Nottingham School of Cookery.*

SCHOOL BOARD OFFICES, VICTORIA STREET, NOTTINGHAM.

1890.

'dinners suitable for carrying to a place of work.'¹ The book contains general instructions as well as actual recipes: 'Make up the fire. If you are going to bake, heat up the oven; if to boil, have a saucepan of boiling water ready; if to stew, let the fire be small; if to fry, put on a few bits of wood or coke to make the fire clear.'²

That the book genuinely attempted to understand the constraints of a working class home can hardly be doubted:

Stewing is the most saving way of cooking meat. It needs little fire, and coals are dear. It needs little attention, and time is valuable. The meat does not waste so much as in roasting or broiling. A little piece of meat goes a long way if it is cooked with vegetables . . . No piece of meat is so tough that it cannot be made tender by stewing.³

Many recipes feature scraps of leftover meat, and stodgy suet puddings abound, but this was well in keeping with the eating habits of the day. The end of the book contains a week's meals beginning with a Roast on Sunday, followed by leftovers on Monday, then fresh meat again for other dishes throughout the week, and fish on Friday. In reality, many poorer families could not have afforded meat throughout the week: the Sunday joint would often have to be made to last well into the week, being made into pies, Shepherd's Pie, rissoles, curry etc. The family would then often have to go without meat again until Sunday. The book certainly takes into account the hardships of life for the working classes, such as lack of money for expensive foods or fuel, time constraints and the need for tasty food which families will eat and which will satisfy their appetites. But it does seem to be aimed at the mainstream or even artisan section of the working class, where the wife is a housewife and little else (except perhaps taking in washing, lace work or lodgers, or child minding etc.), and where a Sunday roast is affordable, as well as other meat items

¹ Macaulay, D. and Thompson, G., Cookery Book, published by NSB, Nottingham, 1885, 1890 edition, p 87.

² *Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

later in the week. It is aimed less at the household where the woman works ten hours per day in a workshop or factory and does not have time for lengthy preparation and cooking of food, and some girls would inevitably have grown up to be this kind of working women. The Cookery Book, then, deserves its place as a valuable agent in promoting cheap and nutritious cookery to working people, but must also be seen as a tool written by the middle classes, with their particular perception of working class life, and with an eye to moulding working class girls in their middle class image, that is encouraging the idea of a woman as a professional home maker, not as a worker.

That the content of the Cookery classes was at least relevant to the children's homes can be seen from the log books; an early entry for Huntingdon Street Girls School refers to girls being 'taught how to cook "A piece of roast beef, baked potatoes and a Yorkshire pudding."¹ A later entry for Carlton Girls' School notes that: 'Miss Scott's (sic) departed from the timetable, to make Christmas Puddings for the children to eat on breaking up day.'² More puddings appear to be made over the next few days during observation and reading lessons so that each girl gets a chance to make Christmas pudding. Obviously, relevance here is not the issue so much as the perceived importance of cookery over and above academic subjects. Relevance, though, is certainly the issue where this entry from High Pavement School is concerned: 'Room 12 was the girls cookery room where selected tasty morsels were prepared for the Headmaster's afternoon tea . . .'³

As for the content of school cookery classes, we can look to the cookery teacher's log book entries throughout our period. The earliest is for 1879/80:

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p 50 (28 August, 1878)

² Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1912-36, p.6 (28 Nov., 1912).

³ High Pavement School, School Magazine, Dec , 1890,p.110.

1879/80 Syllabus of Cookery Lessons

- 1) Roast Meat, Yorkshire pudding, Sago pudding
- 2) Pork Chops, Bone Soup, Ground Rice pudding
- 3) Stewed Rabbit, Bread pudding
- 4) Grilled Chops, Semolina pudding
- 5) Colllops, Rissoles, Boiled Fruit pudding
- 6) Irish Stew, Roly pudding, Potatoes
- 7) Boiled Beef Steak Pudding, Fritters
- 8) School of Cookery Hash, Goblet Pie
- 9) Boiled Mutton, Broth, Cheesecakes
- 10) Fried Fish, Vegetable Soup, Rice pudding

Cheesecakes	Buns	Soups
Rice	Corn Flour	Vegetable
Lemon	Rice	Bone
Orange	Rock	Pea soup
Bread	Tea Cakes	Broth ¹

By 1885, the course of lessons taken from January to Easter was as follows:

Meat Stew ~ Savoury Balls ~ Rice Pudding ~ Rock Cakes.

Boiled Mutton ~ Boiled Cabbage ~ Fruit Pie ~ Bread.

Potato Soup ~ Fried Fish ~ Rice Mould ~ Stewed Fruit.

Beef Steak Pie ~ Boiled Carrots ~ Pancakes ~ Plain Cake.

Lentil Soup ~ Cottage Pie ~ Treacle Pudding.

Liver and Bacon ~ Bread Pudding ~ Invalid Cookery.

Irish Stew and Hot Pot ~ Rice and Cheese ~ Cornish Pasties.²

It is not stated if each line refers to a single class, although presumably so; if this is the case, it seems rather a lot to complete in a two and a half hour session. By 1904, we find the entry:

‘Two girls from People’s College H.E. 3rd year class, taking Third course in Cookery prepared and cooked a dinner consisting of Beefsteak Pudding, potatoes and cauliflower, Sago Pudding and Stewed Fruit, for the teachers’ dinner table at Clarendon Street Centre. The table was laid and the dinner dished up by the girls,

¹ Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1880-1901, p 2

² Ibid., p 111.

who also waited at the table. The result was most satisfactory, the dinner a test of their cookery and also an opportunity of introducing a lesson in Housewifery. It is intended to continue this lesson weekly throughout the year taking the girls in turn.¹

Here we see a new dimension added to Cookery, that of Housewifery, which incorporates waiting at table, a skill useful for intending servants, but of little use in the working class home. Again, one can see middle class influence at work.

The importance of this subject can be seen in the responses of interviewees, all of whom (female, at least) recall lessons they received in Practical Cookery, although even here there are variations in content and its perceived value as compared with home teaching: several, including Hessie Garton and Minnie Charlton argue for the making of small saleable goods. For instance: ' . . . cookery, yes, one day a week. What did we make? Oh, rock cakes, scones, sausage rolls, bread ~ things like that . . . not main meals, no.'²

Mabel Goode, Eva Kummer and others had different experiences:

Yes, one day a week we went to the cookery centre . . . oh, I can't remember what it was called now: I think it was down Queen's Road way. Yes, I must have peeled thousands of potatoes there; we made rice pudding, and cooked all sorts of things. We used to go to the butcher's for the teachers to get the meat, so we'd learn how much to buy and for how many and how much it all cost, you see. Of course, we learnt all this at home as well. Mother used to send me to the shop for tuppence worth of pot herbs for a stew ~ you got different root vegetables and some herbs for tuppence. Then I'd help her make the stew.³

¹ Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1901-8, pp 182-3.

² Hessie Garton.

³ Mabel Goode.

Then, when we were a bit older, about ten, we did bakery and cookery . . . yes, it was in the school. We used to make soups and stews and things . . . it was pretty basic, though. We used to fetch a ha'porth of pot herbs and a ha'porth of lentils from the shops, whatever you could get . . . 'course when the war came you couldn't get things . . . yes, it was quite useful at home. 'Course I had to help at home as well. Being the eldest, I always had the little ones to look after . . . I was like the little mother.¹

These statements show differing experiences of Cookery tuition , which might be explained by the date of that tuition: those experiencing the kind of Cookery lessons which centred on saleable goods tended to be born around the turn of the century or earlier, whilst those experiencing a more full and comprehensive course were often born this century. Given the evidence of the Cookery Book and entries in the Minute Books, one can only assume that either these courses did not reach everyone until well into the Council School era, or that Cookery tuition deteriorated in its scope and relevance to working class homes in the early twentieth century.

Laundry Work

Practical laundry tuition followed Practical Cookery in the barrage of domestic subjects which were seen as necessary to the education of girls and future knowledge of womankind. The Code of 1890 explained that Laundry Work had been introduced because girls showed 'their general clumsiness . . . and their ignorance of good methods of carrying out simple cleaning operations.'² Laundry Work began in schools in 1889 with a grant of two shillings for each girl completing the course. Yoxall states that laundry centres should contain porcelain washing troughs, coppers, stoves heated by gas or coke, strong tables, and racks for drying:³ an attempt, at least, to recreate the conditions of the children's homes. In Nottingham, however, the first mention appears in 1891 with

¹ Eva Kummer.

² Bramwell, R D., Elementary School Work 1900-25, Durham, 1961, p.25.

³ Yoxall, Domestic Economy, op. cit., p.19.

Laundry classes being given to London Road School at Bosworth Road Centre, with figures for the three schools taking the subject appearing the following month (September):

<u>Demonstration Lessons</u>			
<u>School</u>	<u>No. on Register</u>	<u>Average Attendance</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Bosworth Rd.	43	36	84%
Queen's Walk	42	42	100%
London Rd.	42	42	100%

<u>Practical Lessons</u>			
<u>School</u>	<u>No. on Register</u>	<u>Average Attendance</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Bosworth Rd.	14	14	100%
Queen's Walk	14	14	100%
London Rd.	14	14	100% ¹

As with Cookery, practical lessons appear to be marginally more popular than demonstration, but this does not explain why more girls take demonstration lessons than practical, or who chooses those who do the practical lessons, unless more of the practical courses are run, thereby covering all children who are eligible; either way, it is unclear from the documents available. The Triennial Report of 1895, however, makes it clear that all girls in Standard IV and above are to attend Practical Cookery and Laundry classes at the fifteen Cookery and four Laundry centres,² although the Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers (1905) states that girls of eleven and over are to receive this tuition.³ Certainly, the subject was becoming ever more important as a means of training young girls to become better wives and mothers (and servants) for the future. By 1901, the schools in Nottingham taking Laundry Work had risen as follows:

Bosworth Road	Coventry Road	London Road	Southwark
Berridge Road	Forster Street	Radford Boulevard	
Carrington	Huntingdon Street	Scotholme	

¹ Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1880-1901, p 204.

² Wardle, Nottingham School Board, op. cit., p 244.

³ Suggestion for the Consideration of Teachers, London, 1905, pp.77-8.

Attendance figures for all the schools are good, with only Southwark and Forster Street falling below 100%, at 93% and 98.5% respectively.¹

Despite the perceived importance of this subject, as confirmed by writers such as Turnbull and Hunt, who note that Laundry Work was as much about training girls in habits of cleanliness and hard work as in the art of starching collars, we note from the log books a counterpart to Cookery in the continual loss of tuition due to teachers' absences. For instance: 'Miss Bush is still unable to attend, hence, Laundry and Cookery will not be taken.'² One would imagine that, with subjects as important as Cookery and Laundry, by the standards of the day, supply or locum teachers would be engaged for just such purposes, especially given the high incidence of illness among all teachers in board schools. Classes were usually half a day a week, as was Cookery, or sometimes a whole day a week was spent at a centre. The following entry from Beeston shows how the subjects were arranged:

Arranged for the Cookery and Laundry Sessions to commence. The former on Oct. 1st/ 97 and every consecutive Friday and the latter every Monday until the course is complete. Both lessons to be of two hours duration viz 10-12am and 2:5-4:5pm according to the regulations of the code.³

The entry: 'Mistress visited the Laundry Class during the afternoon. The girls were busily ironing'⁴ gives some idea as to the work done there. Oral sources elaborate on this a little:

'Then we did Cookery and Laundry once a week as well; we went to a special Cookery and Laundry Centre at the back of the school . . . In Laundry, we learnt

¹ Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery, 1901-7, p.6.

² Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1904-28, p.19 (Jan, 1905).

³ Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1881-1904, p.282 (1 Oct., 1897).

⁴ Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1904-28, p 28 (13 April, 1905).

how to wash and iron and starch collars and things . . . Yes, you could take things from home to do, yes.¹

This emphasis on Laundry tuition gives the impression that girls were totally ignorant of how to wash and iron clothes, just as we are given the impression that girls were unable to cook; this is born out by reports and observations of the day which accuse working class women of being bad housewives and cooks, needing tuition in these areas whilst children. Yet interviews with local women tell a very different story. Of accounts given, none leave any doubt that they learnt the domestic arts at home as well as at school:

Oh, yes, mam taught us cooking and washing and cleaning. Yes we had to help with all that. What? . . . which was most useful? . . . Well, a mix of both, I suppose. 'Cos we did laundry and housewifery as they called it at school as well. Yes, it all helped.²

We had to go to Queen's Walk to do that (cookery) and laundry and Housework. But I did it at home and my mother taught me a lot.³

We had to go to Clarendon Street ~ it was a special school for Cookery and Laundry . . . Yes, in Laundry we took things from home to wash. But, of course, we learned at home with our mothers and that was every day . . . oh, yes, home learning was more useful 'cos it was all the time, not one day a week.⁴

Well, with me being the eldest girl, I had to help with the younger ones. When my mother had her last child, I had to take over the household, hot meals ready, clean clothes, see everyone was washed and everything. So I missed a lot of school. I

¹ Florence Thompson.

² Theresa Barrell.

³ Dorothy Straw.

⁴ Elizabeth Radford.

mean, we did cooking and washing later, but I never did much, 'cos of being at home so much and I'd already learnt at home.¹

The above are a small sample of women who were given domestic training both in school and at home and are entirely from ordinary working families (who could not afford the luxury of a Higher Grade schooling, let alone private education for their children). It is just these people that the criticisms of middle class observers are aimed at when they cry 'national inefficiency', 'thriftless slatternly wives', 'underfed children'; yet my investigations show that working class women were doing their very best to care for their families and instruct their daughters in the domestic arts (if only out of family necessity) under constraints of poverty, large families, cramped conditions and often the need to work as well (if only taking in washing or lace-making). If anything was responsible for malnourishment or poor homes, it appears to have been poverty, as many interviewees referred to poverty in their neighbourhoods, children going hungry, free meals etc. Surely, the need for soup kitchens and free meals to the poor, which we looked at earlier, confirms this theory, rather than the laziness and ignorance of the working class woman.

¹ Hilda Littlehayes. (Mrs Littlehayes was one of eight children, who left school at the age of fourteen, working half time from the age of twelve; as this incident took place prior to her leaving school, she must have had a house, six other children, a father and a nursing mother to care for before the age of fourteen).

CHAPTER EIGHT:

Housewifery, Babycare and Manual Instruction

Housewifery

Housewifery was a natural, perhaps inevitable, progression from Domestic Economy, Cookery and Laundry tuition, given that middle class observers were becoming increasingly concerned about the condition of working class homes and the poor quality of domestic servants. Mary Headdon writes at length on the subject of training young girls to become better wives, mothers and servants for the future. She notes the National Association for the Promotion of Housewifery, whose address is given as 41 Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, London, and gives details of the executive council:

Council of Ladies ~ The Lady Louisa Egerton, the Lady Brabazon, Mrs.

Edmund Helps, Mrs. Heller, Miss Headdon.

Council of Reference of Gentlemen ~ The Earl Fortescue, Lord Brabazon, Mr.

Ruskin, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, and Dr. Roth.¹

One wonders just how much such 'Ladies' and 'Gentlemen' really knew about the realities of working class life. Headdon goes on to outline the Association's idea of a Housewifery course for school girls:

First ~ A system of Household Object Lessons called the 'Kitchen Garten' or Domestic Kindergarten, teaching in the First Course methodical daily work, taking the girls step by step through the day's work; in the Second Course teaching weekly duties or washing, ironing, and house cleaning; and in the Third Course supplementary duties, such as marketing, cooking, clothing, &c; all taught by means of small models of requisites, and accompanied by suitable drill and songs.

¹ Headdon, M, 'Industrial Training for Girls', Lord Brabazon, Reforms, op. cit., p.132.

Second ~ Advanced lessons upon the same system for older girls.

Third ~ Practical training for those who are to be teachers or who wish to qualify themselves for earning a livelihood by becoming domestic workers.¹

Headdon would like to see the work begun in kindergarten and by infant mistresses in elementary schools, the three courses classes under 'First' to spread over Standards I to III. But, where this is not possible, she suggests:

. . . there are many middle class families who would be glad to take into their homes young girls to be taught housework, if such girls were under the supervision of school boards until they have attained the age of, say, seventeen, so that there should be some guarantee that they rendered their mistresses assistance and remained with them long enough to compensate them for the trouble of teaching. A woman has a right to some return in service for the time and trouble she spends in teaching a girl, and were the girl obliged by contract to remain a certain time in one place, and her conduct be under some supervision, it would certainly be to the advantage of both parties.²

What Headdon attempts to make sound so reasonable, is, in fact, just another form of child labour, in which young girls are forced to work as unpaid servants under the pretence of being taught domestic subjects. She elaborated on this further in her evidence to the Cross Commission in 1887:

In fitting our girls for their after life, as wives, mothers and servants, we would begin with the little ones before they lose their natural womanly taste for domestic work which is always seen in very little girls . . . we would teach them by means of small models, songs and object lessons, the rudiments of housework . . . This morning I have had a letter from the Nottingham School Board saying that they

¹ Ibid., p 132-3.

² Ibid., p 133.

are thinking of taking up the same lessons and asking me to go there and help them to start.¹

She advocated washing, ironing and cleaning lessons at Cookery centres, for which 'we think that the time might be taken from the advanced arithmetic' which would lead to women becoming 'better wives, better mothers, and better servants.'²

Added to this, she claimed that Housewifery tuition made children more intelligent in other subjects; to which end 'I should like to see it made a compulsory part of every girl's education.'³

We can see how the need for domestic servants had an effect upon girls' education, despite the rules to the contrary. Yoxall also recommended a complete house for the Housewifery course, including cleaning, bed making, simple sick nursing, care of infants and young children, first aid to the injured, as well as the usual Cookery and Laundry,⁴ but ignores the domestic service theme:

Though the classes should never resolve themselves into a training for domestic service or for any other special employment, they ought to be designed to fit girls, by repeated practice, to undertake when they leave school the various duties which fall more or less to all women.⁵

It seems that most middle class observers believed in the necessity of training young girls in the domestic arts, whether to ensure a future supply of good servants or to safeguard the nation and empire via a healthy populace, even, as Dyhouse, Hunt et al have noted, at

¹ Mary Headdon, witness to the Cross Commission, Third Report, London, 1887, pp.302-4.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p.304.

⁴ Yoxall, Domestic Subjects, op. cit., p.24.

⁵ HMSO, Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers, London, 1905, p 78.

the expense of academic subjects. Thus, it was necessary to inure girls and women to housework:

The need of elevating domestic duties and dignifying home life is considered urgent, and many teachers regret that only a small number of girls enjoy the advantages of lessons in practical cookery and other housewifery occupations . . . At one school personal hygiene and the domestic arts have been cleverly and successfully made the core of the curriculum.¹

The same source makes it clear that the domestic aspect should form the main part of the curriculum:

. . . start with the home crafts as a necessary part of the curriculum, and then add such subjects of general school work as were necessarily related to these. To such a curriculum should also be added some literary or historical study, or both, so that interests outside the daily round of life should be secured and an important side of educational development provided.²

Thus, we can see that not only are academic subjects subservient to domestic subjects, but they appear to exist only to support and elevate those domestic arts. But what also seemed to be important was the character of the girl concerned. Hitching makes continual references to 'a good housewife . . .' and 'A clean girl, who means to manage every part of her home well, will show it now' in her attention to her boots and clothes etc.³ This can be seen in constant references based on middle class values: titles such as 'What kind of girl is likely to become a good home manager?'⁴ in and advice to girls to write in their

¹ Sadler, M.E., Moral Instruction and Training in Schools, Vol.1, London, 1908, p.260.

² Ibid., p.191.

³ Hitching, W., Home Management: A Three Year Course for Schools, London, 1910, 1924 edition, p.19.

⁴ Ibid., p.13.

notebooks: ' . . . nothing shows a clean housewife more than a faultless sink, dry, clean dishcloths, a clean sink brush, and clean taps.'¹

So, it is possible to discern a strong, and hardly disinterested, middle class influence in the domestic education of girls which led to its growing popularity. The Chief Woman Inspector to the Board of Education, Miss Wark, estimated that ' . . . the years from 1902-14 (had marked) the greatest expansion of domestic subject teaching in elementary schools in England and Wales.'² Its importance can be seen in the early start often made in young girls' school lives; Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers (1905) advised beginning in the Babies class (3 ~ 5 year olds) with the setting of tables and knitting on large needles. This is confirmed at local level by occasional entries in log books, for instance: 'Lessons in table setting are now occasionally given in the junior classes, to the advantage and pleasure of the children.'³ We are not told what age these children might have been, but they were presumably too young for domestic subjects tuition. As well as juniors, we find that some tuition of boys also took place in Nottingham: 'Boys as well as Girls, should be taught something of the Laws of Health, especially those relating to food, ventilation, cleanliness and clothing.'⁴ This, however, took place under the guise of Object Lessons, rather than domestic subjects, which were specifically geared to girls.

To further the ends of domestic tuition, the NSB embarked on a pioneer course in Housewifery. A meeting of the Cookery (Ladies) Sub-Committee on 25 Oct, 1899, discussed the possibility of renting a flat in Victoria Buildings, which adjoined Bath Street School, for five shillings per week as 'it was decided that a practical course in Home Training or Housewifery would be of the utmost value to the girls.'⁵ A proposal was made that the NSB should award scholarship grants to girls leaving school that they might

¹ Ibid., p.38.

² Bramwell, R. D., Elementary School Work 1900-25, Durham, 1961, p.119 (from Miss Wark's evidence to the Imperial Education Conference, in 1923).

³ Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1898-1913, p.13 (20 May, 1898).

⁴ NSB School Management Committee, 'Scheme for Systematic Object Teaching as Required by the New Code,' 1882, p.4, in Minute Books, Vol.4 (pp.279-84).

⁵ Volume of Minutes of the Cookery (Ladies) Sub-Committee, 1898-1903, p.35.

spend one month at the above Housewifery Centre; the class should be in the charge of 'a thoroughly qualified motherly, Housewifery Instructress'¹ who would live at the centre. Girls, apparently, were to sleep at the centre for one week at a time, on a rota basis in order that 'they might receive the fullest training.'² By 29 June, 1900, a meeting ended with the statement of the NSB's resolution (in December, 1899) to establish a Housewifery Centre by renting and fitting up five cottages on Mount Street in New Basford. Scholarships at the centre were tenable for one month and were to be offered to 'suitable' girls about to leave board schools, upon nomination of the head mistress. The centre was to provide accommodation for fourteen girls at a time and contain a large Cookery demonstration kitchen and scullery, five bedrooms, two sitting rooms, all furnished and fitted up in the style of a 'respectable working class home.'³ This is the last mention of the centre on Mount Street, although we learn later from Wardle that the project was never acted upon due to much disagreement over the expense, believed to be around £800-1000. By October, 1900, the plan was apparently altered to a Housecraft centre at Berridge Road School, approved by a small majority in June, 1902, but no further information seems to be available.⁴ However, Housewifery was certainly taught at a centre in West Bridgford, as a reference to girls attending there appears in the log book for Carlton Girls' School in 1913.⁵ A centre also existed on Raleigh Street as considerable detail appears in the Cookery teacher's log books; in 1908 we learn that a Miss M Evans has been away on a Housewifery course and is now qualified: 'Miss M. Evans now placed in charge of the Housewifery Centre attached to the Raleigh Street Council School.'⁶ By January of the following year: 'The Housewifery centre, Raleigh Street School was opened today for teaching . . . A class of nine girls has been formed from Huntingdon Street, All Saints and Bosworth Road Schools. Class much interested.'⁷ We are not told how the girls were selected but, as the course lasted for seven weeks throughout January and February (we are not told whether it was one day per week, full

¹ *Ibid.*, p.35-6.

² *Ibid.*, p.36.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.48-9.

⁴ Wardle, *Nottingham School Board*, op. cit., p.148.

⁵ Carlton Girls' School, *Log Book*, 1912-36, p.61 (15 Sept., 1913).

⁶ *Log Book of the Teacher of Cookery*, 1908-11, p.108-9 (14 Dec., 1908).

time or something else), presumably not all of the older girls could attend. However, a slightly later entry elaborates on the detail a little: 'The Housewifery class at the Raleigh Street centre completed a seven week's course of lessons today = 170 hours. The course has been much appreciated by the girls who attended.'¹ If this is apportioned evenly, it works out at almost twenty five hours per week, although this is not stated. By April of the same year, the second Housewifery class began with twelve girls taken from Huntingdon Street, All Saints, Sneinton Trust and Forster Street Schools; again we are given no indication of the criteria by which these girls were selected. If the seven week courses run throughout the year and accommodate the full complement of fourteen girls, only 98 girls a year would gain this supposedly essential training, and several entries refer to twelve or less girls. For instance: "Combined Domestic Subjects" course begins at the Raleigh Street Centre. 11 girls present, selected, ~ Carlton Road, Huntingdon Street, Sycamore Road, St. Ann's Well Road and London Road Schools.²

Oral sources have failed to locate any women who benefited from this specific tuition, although most recall learning household subjects at school, as was seen in the section on Laundry. Again, school teaching was merely supplementary to that gained at home: 'Yes, I had to scrub floors and black lead the grate and help with dinners and laying the table and everything. Yes, we learnt at home and at school, so as we could be useful to our mothers and know how to keep a home when we had one.'³

By late 1910, there appear to be two courses run consecutively at the Raleigh Street Centre with average attendances around the mid 80%'s; this is somewhat less than for Cookery and Laundry (even the demonstration lessons) which tend to be in the 90%'s or even 100%. Perhaps this reflects a lack of interest or is just coincidence; if the entries in the log book are to be believed, the girls loved the courses. No details are given regarding

⁷ Ibid., p.120 (18 Jan., 1909)

¹ Ibid., p.148 (12 March, 1909)

² Ibid., p.209 (27 August, 1909).

³ Hazel Wood.

the two classes, whether they are identical classes run concurrently in order to teach more children, or whether one is a beginners class and the other an advanced.

Cookery and Laundry classes still existed independently alongside Housewifery classes, Cookery being by far the most important. By 1913, far more classes are being run, thereby giving more girls the opportunity to study Housewifery and illustrating its importance.

A means of promoting Housewifery to the public was the 'At Home' or afternoon tea for local dignitaries. An entry regarding the latter can be seen in December 1912:

Afternoon tea was prepared and served by the Carrington school class at the Forest Fields Housewifery Centre, to the Mayor and Mayoress of Nottingham, the Clerk of Committee, and Mr. Webster, manager, who were visiting the Forest Fields schools on the occasion of the anniversary of the opening of the schools.¹

There appears to be an 'At Home' for each seven week course.

At a more informal level, girls gained experience in cleaning (apart from that gained at home which, as we have already seen, was quite extensive) in the schools themselves. An entry in Carlton Girls' School notes that 'I had to speak to the school cleaner again this morning about the school not being properly cleaned. I frequently have to set girls dusting the desks before the children can take their seats.'² Oral sources tend to confirm that girls often had school cleaning duties and Sarah Clegg of Arnold even recalled:

'I can always remember having to clean the teachers' bikes before we went home to us dinners. They used to pick us out: "your turn now", they'd say. Yes, I can always remember cleaning bikes.'

¹ Ibid., p.121 (2 Dec., 1912).

² Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p 172 (3 May, 1895).

Babycare

With the fears for the future of the British race which emerged in the late nineteenth century, it is perhaps inevitable that school girls were to be subject to tuition on infant care. Fears had been rising for some years about the high infant mortality rate, but it was the ignorance of mothers rather than poverty and poor housing conditions, which was blamed. Dyhouse, among others, has noted this, but also that the decline in the infant mortality rate in the early twentieth century was due more to a lack of epidemics, better housing and dried milk products than to the training of school girls in Babycare,¹ something in which almost all working class girls would have gained experience at home. As with other domestic subjects, middle class observers and educators were almost unanimous in their condemnation of what they perceived as the ignorance of working class women, and in their demand for tuition in infant care. Inevitably, their advice and criticisms are loaded with middle class assumptions and judgments. Yoxall noted that:

It is beginning to be realized that some knowledge of infant care and management should form part of the educational equipment of every girl leaving a public elementary school, and some attempts in this direction have already been made.²

Sadler and his co-writers also argue for 'A course of child study ~ combined with a housewifery course ~ among the upper classes of girls at a high school would be of benefit whether or not the girls subsequently become mothers.'³

Despite this option given to women, including middle class women (as recipients of a high school education), it is made clear in a sub-heading elsewhere what girls' aspirations should be: 'Motherhood as the Chief End,'⁴ although a more egalitarian slant is added later that 'Preparation for ordinary home life and for *parenthood* should form part of the

¹ Dyhouse, Girls Growing Up, op. cit., p 94.

² Yoxall, Domestic Subjects, op. cit., p 24

³ Sadler, Moral Instruction, op. cit., p 229.

⁴ Ibid., p 213.

curriculum of all boys' and girls' schools. The lack of this lies at the root of many social evils.¹ Yet, when quoting an un-named source on the subject of infant care tuition, we are told that "the girls are thirsty for this knowledge."²

This attitude is apparent in Hitching's home management manual in which infant care features prominently in the third and final year, where she assumes that all girls are enthralled with this work:

Get a friend to call at school with her baby . . . Notice the children's faces. There will be no need to enlist their sympathy on the little one's behalf, for its helplessness, its sweetness, and prettiness will appeal *instinctively* to them.³

This assumes not only enthusiasm on the part of girls who, no doubt, have child care duties at home, but also that every such teacher has a friend with a baby and that the friend will happily bring her offspring into school and allow the children to handle it. She goes on to give details of how and when to feed and wean the child, and information on clothing, washing and general care of infants, and advises allowing the girls to practice initially on a doll.

Inevitably, she states her belief in the necessity of such education for girls:

For the girls of the first class no subject is *more* important than the management of infants. The high mortality returns of infants and the frequent press reports of inquests on babies show the lamentable ignorance that still prevails regarding the management of infants, and the futility of leaving the instruction on this to parents. When nearly one fifth of all the children born die before their fifth birthday and nearly one seventh do not live to be a *year* old, it is time something more was done. The subject *must* be taken in our elementary schools; and if the lessons are

¹ *Ibid.*, p 233.

² *Ibid.*, p.213.

³ Hitching, Home Management, op. cit., p 146.

given by a tactful, sympathetic, *womanly* teacher who fully recognizes the *need* for them, their success is assured.¹

What follows are details of infant care pertaining to the beliefs of the day, heavily spiked with middle class values and ideals. In the feeding of infants, mother's milk is praised over and above bottle feeding, and the feeding of any 'adult' foods is deplored:

Impress most carefully on the girls that *no other food, not even a drop of gravy or the tiniest bit of the softest sponge-cake, and no 'sops', must be given until the child's teeth begin to come, which happens from the seventh to the ninth month.* Let them write this in their notebooks; also the following, which must be written on the board in red chalk: '*Any food except milk given to a baby under nine months old or until the teeth begin to come is poison . . .* It is a shocking thing in this twentieth century to read of infants' deaths caused by ignorant mothers giving them "a little bit of . . . what we were having ourselves."²

Along with considerable criticism of working class mothers, Hitching seems convinced that they are thrilled with their daughters being taught infant care: 'If the lessons are given in a pleasant, tactful way, the mothers are certain to co-operate most heartily.'³ One can imagine that the newly-taught child rushing home to criticize her mother's way of doing things, full of ideas as to the way things should be done, would not be entirely popular, nor those responsible for teaching her. Hitching seems unaware of this possibility, here and again later when preaching on the subject of smoking: 'Allow the girls to write a composition on this lesson. After marking it, let them take it home for their parents and brothers to read.'⁴ Thus, we can see the attempt to reach the homes of working class families via the girls through the teaching of domestic subjects.

¹ *Ibid*, p.146.

² *Ibid*, p.150.

³ *Ibid.*, p.155.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.207.

At local level, infant care classes were only just beginning to appear before the First World War, although Huntingdon Street Girls' School received a lecture on 'How to manage the baby' to the top three standards (V to VII) as early as 1891.¹ Other references follow, but other schools log books are devoid of similar entries until the twentieth century: Berridge Road School notes that the head mistress 'Left school at 2:45 to hear a lecture on "The Preservation of Infant Life" in 1907,² but no details follow as to how this related to the education of the girls. Bath Street School, however, received an occasional infant care lesson at this time, according to the log book: 'The Head Teacher took lesson on "The Care of the Baby" instead of the usual spelling lesson with Class 1.'³

Manual Instruction

This referred generally to the early woodwork and metalwork offered to boys but, according to the NSB's Minute Books, included both boys and girls, albeit of a different nature:

Standard I: Boys: Folding paper into squares, oblongs etc., cutting out shapes, lessons on rhomboids etc.

Girls: Paper folding and cutting out of patterns for doll's clothing
Pricking and sewing outlines of flowers, animals and maps
The artistic arrangement of flower boxes and small gardens

Standard II: Boys: as Standard I, but advanced

Wirework: bending into letters, geometrical frames and simple objects

Girls: as Standard I, but advanced
Drawing and colouring. Clay modelling

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1891-1912, p.14 (24 July, 1891).

² Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1884-97, p 286 (20 March, 1907).

³ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.422 (16 Oct., 1907).

Standard III: Boys: Standard II ~ advanced

Folding out plane geometrical shapes with knife on board

Construction of solids e.g. cubes, prism

Girls: Folding and cutting simple garments

Doll dressing; painting etc.

Standard IV: Boys: Cardboard modelling

Clay modelling

Girls: Drawing and colouring

Pricking and sewing; wirework

Standard V & VI: Boys: Woodwork and clay modelling

Girls: Same as Standards I- IV plus cookery and

laundrywork¹

For boys, the above instruction clearly led to woodwork tuition, which was seen as the main manual instruction for boys. Woodwork was initiated in Nottingham in October 1885 when a group of boys who had passed the Science and Art exams in solid geometry at the People's College began to attend Woodwork and Metalwork classes at the University College, Nottingham, for one afternoon each week. However, the cost of £2 per boy inevitably limited the numbers; as the subject was not recognized by the Education Department, no public money could be spent in this area. This led to petitioning by several school boards (including Nottingham) which referred 'the Education Department to the opinion of the Royal Commissioners on Technical Education that such manual work is very beneficial as a part of the preliminary education of boys in the country who are subsequently engaged in industrial pursuits.'²

The NSB's Minute Books record that:

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.15, pp.200-202 (1893).

² Wardle, D., 'The Nottingham School Board's Experiments in Vocational Education,' The Vocational Aspect, Spring 1965, Vol XVII, No.36, pp.28-39, p.31.

The Nottingham deputation also urged the Education Department to sanction elementary handicraft teaching in senior boys' Schools in the same way as Needlework and practical cookery are recognized subjects in Girls' Schools.¹

However, Manual Instruction for boys was not recognized for grant purposes until 1891. To alleviate much of the problem, the University College agreed to lower its fees, first to ten shillings, then to five shillings per boy, with those unable to pay being assisted by private subscription.² The NSB's Report of 1889 noted the success of Manual Instruction for boys, but expressed surprise at the Education Department's refusal to recognize such tuition, whilst pressing so strongly for its counterpart in girls' education:

The Board is nevertheless determined to continue the work, and has endeavoured to meet, by private subscriptions, the small expense involved, feeling that it would be a serious mistake to allow such an important branch of real education to be lost to the town . . . but nothing really satisfactory can be done in this most important work until the Board is allowed to give it freely to boys, as it is done in the case of needlework and cookery for girls.³

Development after 1891 was rapid with two centres being opened at Forman's Buildings and A'Court Street, followed by Leenside and Albert Street, Bulwell. The first Government exam in 1892 showed that 934 boys from twenty schools were presented; in 1893, the figure had risen to 1500. By 1895, when all boys in Standard V and above were accommodated; there were four centres and seven instructors.⁴ (Here it is possible to see the same anomaly as in girls practical work, namely that only older boys were given the opportunity to learn Manual Instruction and many would have left school before reaching Standard V). The NSB's Minute Books show older boys from the following schools enjoying Woodwork tuition as early as 1886:

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.7, p.572.

² Wardle, 'Vocational Education,' op. cit , p.31.

³ NSB, 'Report of Three Years Work 1886-9,' 1889, p.15 in NSB, Minute Books, Vol.11 (pp.156-79).

⁴ Wardle, 'Vocational Education,' op. cit , p.31.

Alfreton Road	Blue Bell Hill	Coventry Road
Arkwright Street	Bosworth Road	Forster Street
Bath Street	Carlton Road	High Pavement
Berridge Road	Carrington	Ilkeston Road
London Road	New Basford	Quarry Road
Queen's Walk	Radford Boulevard	Scotholme
Sneinton	Southchurch	St. Ann's Well Road ¹

This gives an impression of extensive tuition in this area, even given the age constraints, but some schools were still feeling restricted in their provision. Mundella Secondary School noted in 1901 that:

Under the New Code, the new regulation that boys under twelve years of age cannot have their attendances counted as a rule, at Manual Training Instruction, if attendance is enforced at once, will compel the withdrawal of 56 boys from that centre.²

This shows that the NSB was still ahead of the Education Department in its provision of Manual Instruction, even after the Department had recognized the subject for grant purposes, in terms of the ages of boys catered for.

Interviews with local residents have also provided information on Boys' Manual Instruction:

... Then at Christ Church (School) we did all of that and things like Woodwork, but for that we went to A'Court Street to a special joinery centre; we didn't do it in the school. Yes, the boys did Woodwork while the girls did sewing and cooking, I think.³

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.17, p.576.

² Mundella Secondary School, Log Book, 1895-1917, p.152 (16 April, 1901).

³ J.H. SprinThorpe (male).

Now, what I enjoyed most at school was Friday: it was Needlework for the girls and Metalwork or Woodwork for us lads . . . Well, you did some of each. You learnt how to solder and use all the tools and look after them, and all about the different woods. Yes, it was a thorough training . . . from about eight years old.¹

Other interviewees, however, are equally convinced that they never received any such tuition:

Q: Did you do crafts like Woodwork?

A: No, no, nothing like that. 'Course in the war, when they brought wool for the girls to knit balaclavas, us lads used to have to hold the wool for them. But that was in playtimes and that.²

Perhaps Mr. Hunt's memory deceived him or perhaps Woodwork tuition was not as extensive as the NSB would have liked, even as late as World War One.

Other areas of Manual Instruction mentioned occasionally are machine construction, although no details of what this actually entailed appear to exist, and gardening. Carlton National School contains a few references to plots of ground being prepared as garden by the boys, with seeds of beet, carrots, shallots, beans and peas being set.³ By 1911, the boys were planting fruit bushes, including raspberries, gooseberries, red and blackcurrants⁴ and, in 1913, 'the second year and half the first year boys spent the morning setting potatoes.'⁵ Similarly, the syllabus for 1901 at Arnold Daybrook School mentions the beginning of 'cottage gardening' for boys in Standards V to VII, if suitable land could be obtained by the NSB.⁶

¹ Ronald Nicholson.

² Thomas Hunt.

³ Carlton National Church of England School (Mixed), Log Book, 1906-41, p.15 (12 Feb., 1908).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.62 (15 Feb., 1911).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.109-10 (20 May, 1913).

⁶ Arnold Daybrook Junior Mixed School (AKA St. Albans), Log Book, 1894-1928, p.82.

From this we can see that although the NSB placed a high emphasis on Manual training for boys as well as girls, the support was not received from the Education Department who concentrated unequally on girls' practical education. The result was that this branch of education was much later in beginning for boys and was much less extensive than domestic training for girls, which began with sewing in infants school.

CHAPTER NINE

Problems of Access: Attendance, Absence, and Punishment

Attendance

As we will see later with half timers, attendance was a constant problem in elementary schools of both the voluntary and board variety. This improved slightly with the remission of fees in 1891, but not as much as one might have expected, the reasons for which we shall see shortly. Many teachers, inspectors and other observers were highly critical of the lack of enforcement used to compel attendance. HMI Capel Sewell's report on Nottingham for 1881 notes that: 'Employers walk unharmed. Rural justices doze. School authorities forbear to press for penalties . . . the attendance officer divides with the policeman the credit of being least seen where most wanted.'¹

Further, he cites the bye laws which allow such abuse:

. . . of 40 sets of bye laws in force in the district (of Nottinghamshire), 23 demand no attendance of children who have passed Standard V, and 17 demand none after Standard IV. And further still, 27 of these bye laws require no more than 150 attendances from children who have passed Standard III; nine, including the great district of Nottingham borough, are satisfied with Standard II; and four only, of which the borough and union of Newark are the most conspicuous places, enforce full attendance till Standard IV has been passed.²

The above quote may go some way to explain why teachers constantly complained of reporting absent children to the attendance officer, without effect. For instance: 'A girl in Standard V, L. Penfold, has only made 9 attendances since Christmas, she has been

¹ HMI Capel Sewell, 'Inspector's Report on Nottingham,' Committee of Council on Education, 1881/2. p.418.

² *Ibid.*, p.419.

reported every week.¹ At Carrington School, the situation was even worse: 'Two girls Elizabeth Pygott and Charlotte Scott returned to school last week after an absence from school of more than one year.'² We are not told how these girls managed to evade schooling for so long (in a city which imposed compulsory schooling from the outset), or whether plausible excuses were given for their absence. The same mistress made clear her views on where the fault lies: '... in some cases the parents seem very indifferent to the education of their children if they can keep them at home for their own convenience and evade punishment by any excuse.'³

According to the log books, excuses for absence included bad weather, illness, lack of boots or shoes, but as mistresses often noted, girls, particularly the older ones, were useful at home. Fees were also a problem: children who were sent home for their 'school wage' often did not return. Also: 'Most of the children who were in arrears in fees last week have stayed away this week.'⁴ Those who did return with their fees were invariably marked absent if they arrived late, thereby reducing the attendance figures. Even remission cases could still be a problem; the mistress of Carlton Girls' School noted 'the irregular attendance of the of the girls, especially one or two whose fees are remitted by the Board.'⁵ One might expect the attendance in such cases to be good, either out of gratitude, or fear of losing remission or simply because the main obstacle to attendance has been removed, but this ignores the economic importance of young people to the family income, as we shall see later. This is apparent from the attendance figures for Huntingdon Street School for the month of July, 1891:

Standard	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Att'ce	88.6%	85.6%	84.5%	86.3%	78%	74.5% ⁶

¹ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p.127 (19 Feb , 1892). Note, that this incident occurred well after attendance had been made compulsory.

² Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p 160 (9 Feb., 1885).

³ *Ibid.*, p.164 (27 March, 1885).

⁴ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1871-88, p 396 (2 July, 1886).

⁵ Carlton Girls' School, Log book, 1878-1912, p 71 (9 April, 1886).

⁶ Huntingdon Street School Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.11.

The figures are largely typical for this school and many others; it is immediately noticeable that attendance rates decrease in the higher Standards and this surely has some connection with the increased usefulness of older children, either in the home or workplace.

Despite generally respectable attendance figures, there was much absence, as has been noted from the log books. The mistress of Carlton Girls' School noted in 1881 that of a class of 36 (Class I) only ten were actually present.¹ Similarly, the head teacher of Arnold Daybrook Mixed School commented in 1889:

'Called Mr. Ward's attention to the attendance of Standard III Girls. With 27 on the register, this morning we registered 11 while the afternoon is even worse, only 9 being present ~ a nice specimen of compulsory attendance. There is no wonder at the class being backward.'²

A glance at the attendance registers for various schools in the county shows that attendance varied greatly and no particular pattern emerges as one might expect: some country schools have high attendance rates throughout the summer term, just when one might expect children to be absent helping with the harvest. Between the sexes, too, there is no major difference: sometimes girls are absent noticeably more than boys and at other times the situation is reversed. Often one finds girls at either end of the spectrum with regard to attendance rates and boys occupying the middle ground: this implies that the education of daughters is of great importance to some parents but of little consequence to others. At Keyworth School, for example, one girl, Mary Hatherley, was absent for the whole of the summer term in 1875 and is recorded as having left after the holiday in mid September, and another, Agnes Tomlinson made only four attendances out of a possible 100. Phoebe Mills and Mary Murden, however, made 86 and 93 attendances respectively for the same period.³ Yet, three years later, Mary Murden made only fourteen attendances in the summer term (out of a possible 100) and was absent for the whole of

¹ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p.36 (13 Sept., 1881).

² Arnold Daybrook Mixed School, Log Book, 1878-94, p.195 (29 March, 1889).

³ Keyworth School, Attendance Registers, Vols.1-64, 1872-92, Vol.2, Class 1, for year ending Oct., 1875.

the autumn term, but still somehow managed to pass Standard IV at the age of twelve.¹ This difference in attendances for the same girl argues against the previously cited theory: perhaps children are more likely to be kept away from school as they became older, certainly over the age of twelve, and this is equally true for boys and girls, at most schools other than Higher Grade (although sometimes at these, too). Difficulties arise in the examination of the registers due to a variety of factors:

- 1) Damage to all or part of the register, making it unreadable, or whole registers missing, making comparisons impossible.
- 2) Lack of information in the registers e.g. ages, Standards etc. sometimes missing.
- 3) The practice of admitting and releasing children throughout the term resulting in a constant 'coming and going' effect.
- 4) Occasionally, only surnames and initials are used, making and gender comparisons impossible.

However, certain conclusions make themselves apparent: the lower attendance figure for older children are indicative of a greater propensity for older children to be withdrawn occasionally, frequently or permanently from their school work. (This is true in both urban and rural schools). For instance, the case of William and Clara Starbuck at Cropwell Bishop School, both in Class 2 in 1878/9, despite the fact that the sister is three years senior to her brother: In the Winter term (January to March), William made 106 attendances alongside his sister's 32, and in the Spring term (April to June), made 114 compared with her 43.² This could be seen in gender terms (and this might be a contributory factor) but more likely, given the evidence elsewhere, is the fact that she is twelve years of age and he only nine.

¹ Ibid.

² Cropwell Bishop School, Attendance Register, 1878/9, Class 2, no page numbers.

Children could also be exempted from attendance for variety of reasons, such as these given in Carlton Girls' School's log book for 1913:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Reason for Exemption</u>
Lavinia Wright	PDA	II	Mental Peculiarity: could not read.
May Henson	"	III	Dull, old Carlton stock.
Nellie Harrod	"	III	Adenoids, deafness, dullness.
Annie Braybrook	PDA	IV	Neglected, fatherless.
Lucy Carter	"	IV	V. dull, old Carltonian.
Mary Britten	"	IV	Respectable but v. dull.
Rose Leaper	"	V	Consumptive ret. 30.4.12.
Nellie Pearson	PDA	V	Slow of development.
Fanny Newton	"	V	Consumptive. ¹

It is difficult to understand how a pupil can reach Standard V and yet be slow of development, and why such students or those who are orphans should be exempted from attendance; surely these are the very scholars who need schooling the most.

Some pupils, however, managed to achieve high attendance rates, even given the levels of illness prevalent at this time, and the lack of medical progress. Carlton National School's log book gives details of those pupils with high attendance rates, entitled 'Never Absent': in the first category, the years 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1893, only one pupil, Emma Seale (from Netherfield), had made full attendance for the whole five years. In the second category, 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1893, there were two pupils, Sarah Robinson and William Swinscoe. The number of names naturally increases as the number of years of continuous attendance diminishes, but girls easily comprise half of the whole.² The above figures, especially those of Emma Seale, are quite spectacular, even by late twentieth century standards, and prove that some parents (and, presumably, children) were deeply interested in the educational facilities on offer. The same can be seen in the collection of record cards for Coventry Road School pupils for the years 1895-1907, where most children are

¹ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1912-36, p.51 (May, 1914).

² Carlton National School, Log Book, p.395 (1895).

seen to make good attendances. Note the performance of Ethel Sheldon, who passed Standards I to VI (one each year) for the following six years.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Attendances</u>	<u>No. of Possible Attendances</u>
1903/4	419	419
1904/5	427	439
1905/6	419	420
1906/7	409	409
1907/8	420	420
1908/9	414	417 ¹

It is possible, even from the above limited information, to see just how much attendance rates could vary, between schools, between areas, between the sexes and, most of all, between age groups. (See also the copy of the Record Card of Mabel Follows of Berridge Road School).

Absence

We have noted how attendance varied greatly, and will now look at the reasons for inattendance in a little more detail. Some log books are better than others in the amount of detail given; many note poor attendance, but fail to give any reasons for it or make any attempt to look into the possible reasons. Others, however, give us a good insight into the constraints upon working class children, for instance the following are taken from a set of hand written set of papers, outlining the reasons for girls' absence from Sunday School:

- E. Davison: Nursing a baby.
- S.A. Wood: Kept at home.
- M. Woodward: Mother ill
- H. Whiteman: No shoes.
- S.A. Stanley: Helping Mother.
- M.A. Musson: Minding baby.²

¹ Collection of Record Cards for Coventry Road School pupil, Ethel Sheldon, 1895-1907, Nottinghamshire Archives (SBX/384/8-19).

² Set hand written papers regarding girls' absence from Sunday School, 1868, Nottinghamshire Archives (DDBW/240/12-16).

City of Nottingham School Board.

Name of Scholar

Follows a Nabel

Date of Birth

February 1893.

- Promotion to a higher Standard shall be considered as evidence that the Scholar has passed in the preceding Standard.

Wabel

The above are a cross section of the most common reasons, 'no shoes' and 'kept at home' being by far the most prolific. The same is largely true of day schools, as we have seen from the attendance figures. Government reports as well as log books give some insight into the reasons for children's absence from school, in this case working for pay: boys are employed as caddies on golf links, in agricultural work, running errands etc., whilst girls mind babies, help at home and in shops (helping at home presumably includes seaming and lace work as this takes place in the home). The report further states that '15 boys out of 37 occasionally earn wages at various agricultural tasks. 13 girls out of 22 earn money at shirt and button-hole making.'¹ From this statement alone we can see that girls are more likely to be employed than boys and this is without taking into account their domestic chores. However, the report continues to state that '... about 15 (girls) do all the home work and take care of younger children while both parents are out at work for the whole day' and that 'The result is that at least 70% of our children are in some way employed out of school hours between June and October.'² This may relate more to boys working in agriculture but for girls the work was less likely to be seasonal, as hosiery, lace work and seaming were year round occupations. The report admits that girls are likely to be employed at sewing both before and after school: 'Some have been known to work from 6am to time for coming to school, and again from school closing in the afternoon till bed-time,' and that 'All the girls in the school, excepting a few, are employed out of school hours.'³

Added to this is the amount of children who work for free either for family or friends, or whose parents are paid (either in cash or kind) for the work which they do; in the above quotes only those being paid directly for work done are included, the actual figures, then, being much higher. For instance: 'Several girls are employed by their parents at beading whenever necessary, and of course the wages earned are paid to the parents,' and 'The mistress could give a long list of children who, though not employed for profit (i.e. for

¹ Return for England and Wales of Numbers of Children Attending Elementary Schools known to be Working and Classes of Employment of Boys and Girls on Leaving School, 1899, LXXV, p.437

² Ibid., p 438.

³ Ibid., p.438.

wages) are kept constantly employed in household work, some in large lodging houses.¹ These last two examples almost exclusively refer to females, given the nature of the work, and we may deduce that girls are therefore less likely to be included in figures of child labour, implying that their numbers are smaller. We can see this in the table below for Nottingham children under the age of seven:

Boys: Standard I: 6 years: News-boy: 12 hours per week: earns 1s
 Standard I: 6 years: Lacework: helps mother

Girls: Standard II: 6 years: Housework: 6 hours per week: earns 6d
 Standard I: 6 years: Lacework: 6 - 8 hours per week: helps mother
 Standard I: 6 years: Lacework: 1 hour per week: helps mother²

The report states that 131 children under the age of seven are employed (69 boys and 62 girls) and notes three main classifications of work:

- 1) Piecework i.e. selling newspapers, hawking etc.
- 2) Timework i.e. agriculture, shop work
- 3) Domestic, including minding babies, housework, laundry, needlework etc.³

The first two, it claims, are mainly done by boys whilst the latter is an exclusively female province, and gives appropriate figures for both Nottingham and the country as a whole:

	<u>National</u>	<u>Nottingham</u>
Piecework:	26,944	313
Timework:	92,924	1255
Domestic:	24,858	496 ⁴

The above figures give the impression that far more boys are employed than girls, if it is true that piecework and timework are largely male areas; yet earlier we saw that shop work was cited as an area of female employment. I would argue that the figures for Nottingham are excessively low in all categories, that many children are simply invisible to

¹ Ibid., pp.439-40.

² Ibid., pp.50-2.

³ Ibid., p.49.

⁴ Ibid., p.454 (national figures); p.475 (Nottingham figures).

observers, either through parents' and employers' reticence or through the aforementioned lack of wages. As we have seen, very few girls were not engaged in work of some kind, if only within the home (always an invisible area) and other sources, oral and log book, support this notion. The likelihood, then of only 496 girls being engaged in some sort of work, paid or not, in the whole of the city (bearing in mind that the Borough Extension Act of 1877 had included the suburbs of Radford, Lenton, Sneinton and Hyson Green in the city) is most unlikely. This is especially so in Nottingham, a city with a high female population and large female workforce, largely employed in the lace trade; given the home based nature of much of the lace finishing trade, surely it is inevitable that daughters would have been expected to help their mothers and learn the trade themselves. Hence, the unreliability of figures which do take into account the invisible nature of female employment. This can also be seen in the school board's estimation of child labour for the same year:

<u>School</u>	<u>Child</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Std.</u>	<u>Whole/Half Time</u>	<u>Nature of Emp't</u>	<u>Average No. of Hours Per Day</u>
Alfreton Rd.	Ernest	12	VI	H	Grocer's Errand Boy	6½
"	William	12	VI	H	Fruiterer's Boy	6½
Bath St.	John	12	IV	W	Wheeling out coal	7
"	Herbert	12	IV	H	Barber's Assistant	7
Blue Bell Hill	John	12	V	W	Butcher's Boy	5¾
Bosworth Rd.	Benjamin	12	VI	W	Taking out coal	5½
"	Elizabeth	11	IV	W	Domestic duties	7
Coventry Rd.	Alice	12	V	W	Domestic duties	6½
"	Bertha	11	V	W	Domestic duties	6
Ilkeston Rd.	Robert	13	II	W	Paper boy	5
"	Clara	11	IV	W	Nursing	5
Leenside	Lizzie	11	III	W	House	6
Lenton	Albert	12	III	H	Newspaper boy	7½
"	William	12	V	H	Delivering milk	5½
Radford Blvd.	Ernest	12	VI	H	Coal dealer, &c.	8
Scotholme	James	13	IV	H	Delivering Papers	8½
"	Ada	12	III	W	Lace Drawing	8
Sneinton	Herbert	12	V	H	Newspaper boy	8
Southwark	John	12	V	H	Greengrocer	9
Sycamore Rd.	George	12	II	H	Cleaning boots etc.	7½ ¹

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.20, p.176.

It is interesting to note that only six girls are mentioned, despite the evidence from log books as to girls absence from school; perhaps girls just did not see baby minding, helping with washing and cleaning etc. and doing seaming and lace work for their mothers as 'work', which would account for the unrealistically low figures. More likely is the following quote from Bath Street Girls School's log book from 1907:

45 girls carry lace work - often in school time. 11 girls earn 1/-, 1/6 or 2/- pw after school hours. These girls clean ~ mind babies ~ go errands ~ one sweeps out shop before school. 14 girls or more earn 2d at 6d out of school. The above do not include the 23 half timers:

- 9 stay at home, help with lace work, clean etc.
- 5 help in cigar making
- 1 does stripping in tobacco industry
- 2 lace joiners
- 1 lace finisher
- 1 clipper and scalloper
- 1 slipper maker
- 1 errand girl
- 1 goes out to clean
- 1 takes work to warehouse for grandmother¹

These figures are somewhat different from those of the NSB, where only six girls in the whole of the city were doing any form of work (see table on the previous page). As the mistress is corroborated by other teachers and by oral sources, we may suppose her account to be the more accurate. For instance, the log book of Carlton National School contains these comments:

The girls in the upper standards have attended very badly or not at all this week owing to a special briskness in the seaming.²

¹ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.147 (11 July, 1907)

² Carlton National Mixed School (AKA St. Paul's), Log Book, 1869-1905, p.76 (16 Aug., 1872).

Many children who are not under the Factory Act come only what they term half days: generally being employed at home seaming.¹

This predilection for the employment of young girls is further corroborated by Arnold Front Street School's head teacher: 'Thursday. Many of the girls away in the afternoon assisting to get work ready for the weekend (seaming stockings).'²

The above entries continue in this vein almost weekly with girls being absent towards the end of the week due to 'seaming' needing to be finished. Later, after the school has been transferred from the British Society to the NSB in July of 1882, reasons are given for absence on a particular afternoon, a cross section of which are reproduced below:

Hannah Culley ~ helping mother
 Sarah Butterworth ~ nursing
 Harry Hackman ~ sent home for school fees
 James Gretton ~ at work
 Arthur Fox ~ at work
 Harry Ellis ~ helping his brother
 William Kirk ~ helping his mother to wash³

We can see from this the nature of child labour as well as the fact that boys, too, sometimes had to help in the house. This is where the nature of boys' and girls' employment differs: girls are much more likely to be employed within the home, whereas boys are perhaps more likely to be employed outside and, therefore, to be paid a wage and be visible. Yet both were employed in a variety of jobs during the summer: '... children either being sent to work full time, or fruit picking and pea pulling.'⁴ In rural districts, where field work was more prevalent, this tendency was increased: an entry in Lowdham National School's log book states that of 32 girls absent: eight were nursing, five haymaking, four singling turnips, three washing, three had 'no money', two had 'bad feet',

¹ *Ibid.*, p.117 (11 Sept., 1874).

² Arnold Front Street School, Log Book, 1869-82, p.1 (7 Jan., 1869).

³ *Ibid.*, pp.23-33.

⁴ Carlton National School, Log Book, 1869-82, p.353 28 June, 1888 (and throughout the summer).

two a 'bad hand' and one was doing general work.¹ In Keyworth, the local board school frequently closed during the first week in July as so many children were absent haymaking, as well as potato picking, pulling turnips, gathering blackberries, and 'kedlock pulling'.² The master notes the poverty of the neighbourhood and need for child labour in his statement: 'Attendance is still bad ~ a great many are admitted free, but many must work or beg for bread.'³ This goes to the heart of child labour: Brown notes that few warnings were issued by the board as it was pointless to prosecute poor families, and states that the effects of trade recession were more noticeable on girls' education than boys, especially in the winter when little farmwork was available and girls' wages were a major source of income.⁴ The work these girls would have done would almost certainly have been seaming; this is corroborated by an entry in the Lambley National School Log Book for 1901:

'On making enquiries this morning on the absence of two girls I was informed that they were 'seaming'. There is a great deal of this sort of thing in the village. Many girls have to sit long hours at night after they leave school.'⁵

Yet some head teachers, like the master at Keyworth, understood the reasons for children having to work, as with this entry from Carlton National School's Log Book:

The earnings of the children at work that requires very little skill and no education, coupled with the desperate poverty of the parents, which makes the children's earning so acceptable (in some cases, absolutely necessary) is the great cause of the apathy of the parents.⁶

¹ Weir, C., Women's History 1550-1950, Nottingham, 1989, p.39.

² Brown, G.T., Keyworth School Board 1871-1903, M.Ed. Thesis, Nottingham University, 1972, pp.23-33.

³ Ibid., p.35 (from Keyworth School, Log Book, 19 March, 1889).

⁴ Ibid., p.35.

⁵ Weir, Women's History, op. cit., p.39.

⁶ Carlton National School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.74 (12 July, 1872)

In the rural district of Radcliffe on Trent, child labour was mainly agricultural, according to Priestland's work on the village; she cites the areas of work likely to be done by local children:

February ~ bird tending
 March ~ bean dropping
 April ~ gardening, field operations, stone picking, ozier picking
 May ~ rod peeling, setting potatoes, gathering violets
 June ~ hay making, pea pulling, weeding in wheat fields
 July ~ hay making, pea pulling, weeding in wheat fields, fruit picking, harvesting
 August ~ harvesting, gleaning
 September ~ gleaning
 October ~ gleaning, walnut peeling, potato picking¹

As well as involvement in the above, girls would also have been engaged in domestic duties, beading, lace work and seaming.² With reference to urban Nottingham, Wardle gives much detail on child labour, as taken from the Children's Employment Commission of 1862. In New Radford:

Seven little girls with their mistress and her daughter clip all day in a small bedroom, up very steep and narrow stairs. In the room is a bed, apparently in use, but not made up since the morning, and very untidy with clothes hanging about it, and there are heaps of old rubbish from the lace clipping huddled into corners. The whole place looks very squalid.³

According to witnesses to the Commission, the normal age at which girls began in a workshop was eight years, although in warehouses this age was nearer eleven years. However, many began well before the age of eight: ten consecutive witnesses gave evidence to the Commission of beginning work at between four and seven years of age, with odd cases even younger than this. By 1862, a twelve hour working day was still the

¹ Priestland, P., Radcliffe on Trent 1837-1920, Nottingham, 1989, p.304

² Ibid , p.304.

³ Wardle, D , 'Working Class Children in Nottingham from the Blue Books 1842-62,' Transactions of the Thoroton Society, Vol.70, 1966, pp.105-114, p.112.

norm for many working class children.¹ This is corroborated by the essays in Llewellyn Davies' (ed.) Life as we have Known it by Co-operative Working Women: the late Mrs. Burrows describes her childhood in The Fens in the 1850's: 'In the very short schooling that I obtained I learnt neither grammar nor writing. On the day I was eight years old, I left school, and began to work fourteen hours a day in the fields.'²

By the time school boards were enforcing compulsory attendance, young children were rarely working such long hours, but in Nottingham at least, and presumably elsewhere, there was the problem of a clash of interests between school board members who were also local employers, as we can see in the following two quotes, both from rural Lambley:

The attendance officer called. His last call was on October 25th 1894. His efforts are no use as he is not backed up by the Board. The Guardians are often large employers of child labour.³

The District-Councillor (a member of the Schools Attendance Committee) is employing children in his potato fields.⁴

Further comments are made that 'No employer of child labour is ever prosecuted.'⁵ It is impossible not to feel some sympathy with teachers who are desperately trying to improve attendance figures and standards of education, whilst faced with apathy from parents and obstacles from local employers and those school board officials who should be supporting the teachers, but instead consult only their own self interest and need for cheap labour.

¹ Ibid., p.112.

² Llewellyn Davies, M. (ed.), Life as We Have Known It by Co-operative Working Women, London, 1931, 1984 edition, p.109.

³ Weir, C. (ed.), Lambley: A Village Study, Nottingham, no date, pp.65-6.

⁴ Ibid., p.67.

⁵ Ibid., p.67.

As well as working for the benefit of their parents, girls in particular could be set to work for the benefit of the school: we have seen how girls missed lessons in order to get Needlework items finished for the sale of work; girls could also spend their cookery lessons preparing delicacies for the head teacher's tea or they could lose a day's schooling as in the following extract: 'Seven girls from Standard V at Cookery School for the day, to help prepare luncheon for the School Board.'¹ This, no doubt, was cheaper than hiring adult labour, thereby saving the NSB money.

Yet, where girls were concerned, by far the biggest employer of child labour was the girls' own parents, especially their mothers, who invariably saw schooling as being less important than their daughters being of some use to them in the home. The Reverend Wodehouse's report for Huntingdon Street Girls' School notes that 'The mistress complains of the irregular attendance of the girls, owing to the Parents keeping them at home for household work during the hour appointed for Religious teaching,'² although perhaps this is a statement of protest against religious indoctrination on the part of parents. An interesting case of girls' absence is that of Carrie Pringle at Carlton Girls' School; note the following two entries in the log book, four days apart:

18 October, 1897: Carrie Pringle has returned to school this morning. This is her first attendance since 22 December, 1896.

22 October, 1897: Carrie Pringle has only made two attendances during the week, and when she has been at school Annie (her sister) has been kept at home.³

This reads as if one girl in the family is always kept at home, presumably for child care or domestic duties.

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log book, 1876-91, p 336 (15 Dec., 1880).

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol 4, p.34 (1880/1)

³ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p.218.

Other chores included 'to get fruit, assist with the hay harvest, nurse, and take fathers' or other relatives' meals', even 'to carry flowers down to the horticultural show.'¹ Further, some children, S. Comery, Sarah Young, Annie Hooper and Harriet Ogle, were only allowed to attend school on the condition that they 'leave at 11:30 every day to take dinners for relatives at work.'² This appears to have been sanctioned by the teacher. Girls were also kept away to help at home at holiday times, such as Christmas:

... I think the bigger ones (girls) are staying at home to help their mothers as it is the week before Christmas.³

The girls in the upper classes have been kept at home for household duties, preparing for the Whitsuntide.⁴

Girls were also kept at home to care for others during illness or incapacity; for instance: 'A considerable falling off of the attendance in Standard I, Class 3 principally among the girls, owing in great measure to Whooping Cough amongst younger brothers and sisters which they are kept at home to nurse.'⁵

This, and keeping house during a mother's confinement, as interviewee Hilda Littlehayes was compelled to do until leaving school at the age of fourteen, are common occurrences, as in the case of Mary Askew of Annesley County School: 'Mother been confined and the doctor ordered Mary to be kept at home to see to her.'⁶

A similar comment is repeated a year later; these confinements appear to be annual events. Note also the case of Harriett Beet, also of Annesley County School who, at the beginning of January 1881, is removed from school due to her mother's confinement; by 11 February

¹ Carlton National School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.99 (18 and 28 July, 1873).

² Ibid., p.94 (1 May, 1873).

³ Arnold Church Drive School, Log Book, 1896-1902, p 197 (18 Dec, 1899).

⁴ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1871-88, p 323 (23 May, 1884).

⁵ Carlton National School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.73 (28 June, 1872).

⁶ Annesley County School, Report Book, 1881/2, p 1

she is still absent due to her mother's illness and will be returned to school 'as soon as she can be spared.' By 18 March, she is absent again, helping her mother to wash and on 13 May absent as her 'Mother been poorly and Harriett had to do the housework.'¹ Such references continue throughout the year, yet Harriett's brother, Frank, has been absent only twice throughout the year, each time for illness.

Other references illustrate the importance of girls within the household; note these two explanations for the absence of Ruth Charles:

Mother had to go out once and Ruth staid (sic) away once to wash.

Had to seam socks to earn school fee.²

The log books are full of similar references and their truth is borne out by oral evidence: all female interviewees stated that they had domestic chores at home, although few cited paid labour outside the home during school hours, and most boys helped their fathers on allotments, chopping wood, getting in coal etc. Interviewee Irene Argyle recalls her child care duties in the rural area of Gunthorpe: 'We never had any homework, but we had lots of chores in the home, like sewing and looking after babies and things. I know I was only allowed to go out to play if I took the baby with me.'

Leonora Lambert remembered errands which interfered with her schooling, but which the poverty of her family rendered necessary:

Well, we often had to do errands and go to the pawn shop, like. Mother'd say "You an' Elsie run down and save me a place." The she'd come and we'd run back to school. 'Course sometimes it made us late and then we'd be in trouble . . . yes, we'd get the strap for being late.

¹ Ibid., p.2.

² Ibid., p.3 (7 Jan., and 19 Aug., 1881).

In the case of Florence Haywood, her chores largely centred on her mother's work and taking meals: 'I missed a lot of school 'cos I had to take nets back to the factory and I had to take me dad's dinner to him at work . . . and had to help with mending the nets, too.'

In rural areas, domestic chores added to those of seasonal employment, as in this extract from Keyworth:

Once the railway had been opened Wednesday afternoon became a thin time when many girls were absent being kept at home to look after the house whilst their mothers went to market on the train. Such domestic matters also kept the girls away in the week before Whitsuntide so that they could help with the Spring Cleaning.¹

Most of the blame, according to teachers' entries in log books, rests with the parents; although a few exhibit sympathy for parents' position, most are overtly hostile, as in this quote from William Hugh, long time master of High Pavement School; this press cutting ends with Hugh stating the importance of good attendance to the grant:

He wished the parents of the scholars understood that if the children were not at school their absence tended to diminish the grant. He thought if they knew this they would not keep them away for such trivial pretexts as they continually heard from the children.²

The log books give an impression of constant war between teachers and parents, with the teachers making frequent acerbic remarks about the homes and families of their pupils. The mistress of Carrington Girls' and Infants' School refers to a family called Boyington who had been a constant source of worry since admission, due to their irregularity; the Inspector for the Prevention of Cruelty had visited their home and found:

¹ Brown, Keyworth School Board, op cit, p.36.

² Press cutting dated 1 Feb, 1868, on the subject of prize distribution.

. . . that the mother is living apart from the father, and is leading both an intemperate and immoral life. There has I fear, in spite of this, been no great amount of effort used to force the children to school altho' (sic) it is the only place where they come under good influence.¹

The weather, good as well as bad, appears to be a reason for not sending children to school, as the master of this school observes: 'I wonder what kind of weather would suit parents. When it is wet they must stay at home, when it is sunny they must play.'² Sometimes, teachers use the log book to have a moan, as in this case from the rural school of Barton in Fabis:

This morning the ridiculously low number of 31 were present. This means one-half of the scholars absent. I understand the reason is that the people have permission to enter certain woods to gather firewood etc. and for today, and 2 following days the children are sent to do this, being of far greater importance than the education they receive, or the general welfare of the school. Such is the state with regard to 'what is good' in this enlightened spot or hole. It is sheer waste of breath and time to try and improve this school. As it always was, in the beginning, the managers and parents always intend it shall be.³

This implies that not only are the parents indifferent to the education of their children, but also the school's managers, although no reason is given for this; perhaps they are also local employers who have a vested interest in keeping children out of school, as we noted at Keyworth. It also gives an accurate picture of a frustrated teacher battling against the odds.

¹ Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p.129 (14 May, 1891).

² Arnold Daybrook Mixed School, Log Book, 1878-94, p.250 (1 April, 1892).

³ Barton in Fabis Church of England School, Log Book, 1903-34, p.20 (14 May 1903).

All of this ignores the reasons why parents kept children away from school: the poverty, lack of boots, need for children's wages, the usefulness of (particularly) girls in the home. Among the criticisms of teachers, appear numerous instances of parental opposition to the educational system; for example the following two cases from Carlton National School:

Charles Stretch: Standard V: expelled as his mother would not allow him to be punished. Worst behaviour in the school.

Harriet Godfrey: Standard IV: expelled when mother came to school and tore her 'home lesson' book up and threw the pieces in the master's face in front of the children.¹

At Huntingdon Street School 'Repeated complaints have been made to the mistress by parents who object to their children attending the cookery class on account of the distance.'²

Despite the statement of teachers, it is likely that poverty was the cause of most absence among elementary school children. This is seen in the statement of Freda Smith of Arnold, who has argued against the availability of free meals:

And some of the poorer children, like the miners' children, were half starved. I've known children go potato picking, especially in the poorer families, 'cos there was a lot of poor people in Arnold in them days. A lot of the miners, you know, they were often off work and you didn't get a lot. So the children would help any way they could. 'Course you got the school board man 'round, but even if they fined them it didn't matter 'cos they couldn't pay and it was worth getting into trouble for a few extra shillings.

¹ Carlton National School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p 267 (6 July, 1883).

² Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p 185 (3 Nov., 1882).

An article in The Schoolmaster from 1884 corroborates this by noting the lack of food among children in the poorer districts. Boys, the author states, are more likely to admit to having had no breakfast than girls who are affected by peer group pressure. The author believes the children to be less intelligent as a result of their hunger and more susceptible to disease. He notes: 'I have seen a girl doing duty as a monitress in a class who was actually spitting blood in my presence.'¹

Another problem among poor families was 'bad boots', which caused a lot of inattendance at Nottingham schools; Eva Kummer recalls her schooldays at St. Ann's Well Road School:

I remember children staying away 'cos they had no boots, 'cos, you see, if your father fell out of work there was nothing, no money. You had to use the pawn shop. 'Course you had to be careful of the school board man: they were 'round if you missed a few days. But I think they turned a blind eye to those poor souls who hadn't got no boots . . .

This is corroborated by entries in the log books of most schools, especially in winter but occasionally during an exceptionally wet summer; this can be seen in several entries in Bath Street School's log book:

. . . many children are away because of fees, and a few are absent for want of proper shoes and clothing.²

The girls whose boots may let in wet, were not allowed to go down to drill.³

¹ Untitled article by un-named author in The Schoolmaster, 20 Sept., 1884.

² Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.3 (11 Oct., 1889).

³ *Ibid.*, p.427 (4 dec., 1907).

The state of poor children's clothing and boots led to a certain amount of charity on the part of middle class visitors and wealthy patrons: 'Through the kindness of Mrs. Gothorp many children are wearing the cast-off shoes of the children attending Clarendon Street School. This is a real boon ~ but at the same time in wet weather they are not very effectual.'¹

The teachers, too, could exhibit kindness and charity on occasion, as this comment from Bath Street School shows: 'Through the kindness of Miss Hutchinson * who supplied the material, the teachers have made dresses for six very poor children, but there are still some who are very poorly clad.'²

Acts of charity occur sporadically throughout the various log books, with cast-off clothes and boots being given to the very poorest. Also in existence was a Poor Girls' Camp at Skegness which, according to the log books, was also responsible for some inattendance, although the only two interviewees to visit the camp, school friends Maud Strickland and Kate Jeffrey, recall visits as taking place during the summer holidays:

Oh, we had a wonderful time there. I think we used to go every summer for the holidays ~ it'd be about four weeks, you know. And it didn't cost us a penny, I'm sure. We used to play on the beach nearly all day, if it was nice. Yes, it was lovely.

Maud Strickland's memories, however, include having chores to do, which her friend did not mention.

¹ People's College Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1904-34, p 55 (27 Nov., 1907)

² a 'lady' visitor

² Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.37 (16 Jan., 1891).

I can remember going to the Poor Girls' Camp at Skegness. I think it was just for orphans and the like . . . can't remember if it was free or not, and I think it lasted all the holiday. We used to have games in the afternoons on the sand and in the mornings we had to peel potatoes and do washing and that.

Holidays of various kinds account for many of the absences noted in log books. Many relate to odd days and half days throughout the year for treats, parties and outings, often relating to local Sunday Schools, although why these have to be held on week days, thereby causing children to miss lessons, is never stated. Other reasons for holidays to be granted were coronations and monarchs' birthdays, the funerals of local dignitaries, military parades (for instance when troops were leaving for South Africa during the Boer War), cavalry reviews, peace demonstrations (as in 1902 when the Boer War had ended), royal visits, Empire Day, concert practice, drill practice (often for celebrations which also entailed school time being lost), elections (including school board elections, for which schools were used), agricultural and flower shows, Goose Fair, even the opening of the University College building. Most schools had one and a half days holiday for Goose Fair, although some log books state that the school had been closed each afternoon during fair week. At many schools, attendance for the rest of the week was a problem as parents objected to paying the full fee for only three and a half days, as in this extract from Huntingdon Street School: 'Many girls have anticipated the 2 days holidays and have remained at home all the week;' when enquiries are made: 'they are required by their mother.'¹

From the above, it is possible to understand how little attendance children could get away with. Much inattendance may well have been due to the economic circumstances of their homes and in part perhaps to the apathy of their parents, but much also resulted from the absences allowed by the school and Education Department.

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.203 (6 Oct., 1897).

Punishment

This was very much an area of contention between teachers who, generally, insisted on the use of punishment as a means of maintaining order, and the pupils themselves and their parents who naturally objected to its use. There is also something of a dichotomy between the government and Education Department's rule on punishment and the reality in elementary schools.

We have noted earlier the government position as outlined by Musgrave in his work on corporal punishment, but it is worth quoting again here:

In no case should infants be punished by the infliction of bodily pain, nor should girls be subjected to corporal punishment unless in exceptional cases, and then if possible at the hands of a woman teacher.¹

The words 'exceptional cases' and 'if possible' act as an opt out clause for teachers and allow for the wholesale caning of girls in elementary schools. According to this document, all such punishments were to be entered in a punishment book, containing the date, the name of the child, its class or age, the amount of punishment administered, the nature of the offence, and a signature. No such punishment books have been found for Nottinghamshire, although some details are contained in log books, but details such as the child's age and specific offence are often omitted; very often, too, the entry simply refers to punishment, without giving any details of the form this takes or the amount given. Musgrave has noted that the use of the cane and strap varied (and this is borne out by local sources); both could be inflicted upon the hand or seat, depending on the child's age, 'crime' and previous offences; infants could be given two straps on either the arms or legs, despite the stricture of the above quote. The NSB Minute Books seem to support the Education Department line in that:

¹ Musgrave, P.W., 'Corporal Punishment,' op. cit , p.2.

Every occurrence of corporal punishment shall be recorded in the log book. Assistant teachers and pupil teachers are absolutely prohibited from inflicting such punishment. The Head Teacher shall be directly responsible for every punishment of the kind.¹

Also:

Teachers must exercise the utmost caution in inflicting corporal punishment, never to strike a child on any part of the head, either with the hand, or with any instrument whatsoever. Great care must also be taken to prevent striking a child on the back, or over any of its joints ~ e.g. knuckles, &c. A child should never be punished for any fault of which it is not clearly guilty, as the gravest injury may otherwise result, not only to the moral nature of the child, but also to the influence of the teacher.²

As we shall see, most of these rules were broken in elementary schools in Nottingham, although a few more enlightened schools were opposed to wholesale physical punishment. The log book of the People's College Girls' and Infants' School states that it has no case of corporal punishment to record: 'Every effort is being made to make the administration of such a very rare occurrence.'³ Note also this extract on discipline in Catholic schools:

Let not the mistresses be too hasty in punishing nor too eager in seeing faults, but let them dissimulate when they can do so without injury to anyone, and not only must they never use corporal punishment, but they must abstain from any abusive word or actions, neither may they ever call a pupil by any other name than her Christian name or full name, nor by her surname only. For slight faults let them add something to the usual exercises, or give a portion to be transcribed neatly, or

¹ NSB, 'Regulations for the Management of Board Schools,' 7 Feb , 1878, p.17 in Minute Books, Vol 3, (pp 13-38).

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol 12, p 265

³ People's College Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1904-34, p 10 (23 Dec., 1904).

let them separate those at fault from the class, putting them in a place apart to learn by rote or transcribe a page, or make the culprit forfeit her good points, or kneel down for a few minutes.¹

However, this again was theory: the reality in most Roman Catholic schools was harsh discipline, the more so if run by nuns, as we will see in excerpts from interviews. But some teachers actually sought to protect pupils from violence either by classmates, pupil teachers or, in this case, from the caretaker who '... ran some of the girls out of the playground and struck at them with pieces of leather used for cleaning windows. This is not the first time I have seen him assume a threatening attitude towards the children.'²

It is far more likely, however, for log books to relate instances of bad behaviour by pupils and record details of the punishment meted out which, all too often, failed to include the type of punishment given. For instance, this reference to twelve year old Annie Davis of Bosworth Road School who had been caught thieving for the third time: 'She has been punished severely each time and again today.'³ The word 'severely' indicates that it was a physical punishment and quite possibly justified, but surely the details should have been fully recorded. Several schools refer to punishing girls for laziness, disobedience, being late etc., but again omit the nature of the punishment administered:

Punished an infant of six for disobedience.⁴

Punished Annie Goddard for gross disobedience and stupidity.⁵

The new girl in Standard IV had to be able to sew on a patch before leaving. She was very idle and was punished accordingly.⁶

¹ Bastow, Catholic Elementary Education, op. cit., p.168 (from Connelly, Order of Studies, op. cit., p.85).

² Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.14 (25 Aug, 1876).

³ Bosworth Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1908-29, p 17 (13 May, 1909)

⁴ Colwick National School, Log Book, 1888-1911, p.70 (11 May, 1894).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p 8 (22 May, 1888)

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.15 (13 Nov., 1888).

We sometimes see references to keeping girls in for 'laziness', although many of these terms are highly ambiguous: laziness or stupidity could simply indicate a child's lack of understanding or inability to perform a given task. It would be interesting to hear the child's version of these incidences. Interviews show that ' . . . sometimes you could get kept in after school if you didn't learn fast enough.'¹

Log books and oral sources alike show a diversity of punishment used in elementary schools. There seems to be little evidence of any pattern in types of punishment used for particular offences and for boys and girls: some schools used the cane for both sexes, some used the strap for girls and cane for boys. Mabel Goode, who attended Our Lady of St. Patrick Roman Catholic School, attests to the use of the strap:

The teachers were nuns and they were very strict, even with the infants. You'd be punished for the slightest little thing, usually with a slap on the face. You could also be sent to the head mistress for the strap . . . Sometimes, though, if they'd been too harsh, they'd have the mothers up at school to complain.

Yet it was the administration of the cane which caused most consternation among parents and children, although teachers insisted that it was necessary for the maintenance of discipline. Brown's work on Keyworth shows the village school head master, Mr. Neale, to be a firm disciplinarian, ' . . . caning the truants and the impudent and "thrashing" the insubordinate, showing no favour to the girls.'² This is confirmed by the log book of Carlton National School where children were punished and caned for arriving late, despite the master laying the blame for lateness solely on the parents. Girls certainly received the cane in this school, too, as can be seen in this entry: 'Elizabeth Prior has left because I gave her a stripe with the cane last week.'³

¹ Kate Jeffrey.

² Brown, Keyworth School Board, op. cit., pp.56-7.

³ Carlton National School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.94 (1 May, 1873).

At Carrington School, like so many others, references to caning seem to appear every few days and every page or so of the log book for offences such as arriving late, 'disobedience', 'rudeness', 'careless work', truancy, talking, even for not having a pencil; also recorded, occasionally, are mothers' visits to complain about caning for lateness, such as the instance of Mrs. Lovelock in February of 1883.¹ We also learn that the head teacher ' . . . caned Walter Daykin for repeatedly coming late,'² although no examination is ever made as to why this boy is continually late; it may be supposed that Walter is an infant (who should not be 'punished by the infliction of bodily pain) as this is a girls' and infants' school. Other references make clear that girls were not immune from caning:

Caned Mary Shelton for repeated disobedience.³

Caned four girls for lateness, and two for rudeness to the infants mistress (the former one stroke, the latter two strokes).⁴

Caned Elizabeth Staniforth for carelessness in general work and in examination.⁵

Oral sources confirm teachers' predilection for the use of the cane; Thomas Hunt recalls:

If you were late, you got the cane. And if it was cold and your hands were numb, they'd make you go and wash them and that made it sting all the more. It was ever so thin ~ almost wrapped around your hand when they brought it down.

His testimony implies a certain amount of sadism of the part of teachers; this propensity can also be seen in the evidence of Theresa Barrell:

¹ Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p 96 (16 Feb , 1883).

² Ibid., p.129 (4 March, 1884).

³ Ibid , p.130 (18 March, 1884)

⁴ Ibid., p.138 (11 June, 1884)

⁵ Ibid , p 177 (28 Aug , 1884)

We got the cane and strap ~ or tawse as they called it. And if you were talking in class you had to stand in this big waste paper basket till the end of class and not move a muscle ~ an' if you did, then you got the cane. Well, you could be there a couple of hours, and it was impossible not to move for all that time . . . yes, boys and girls got it. I know my friend Amy had got to have it one afternoon, so when she went home at dinner time, she rubbed some raw onion on her hand to take the sting out of it. Miss West got to know and she hit the other hand.

That the cane was used equally for boys and girls is confirmed by several interviewees (although not all), as can be seen from this comment:

Yes, you got the cane if you were naughty or late or anything . . . yes, boys and girls alike. I never got it but I know lots who did.¹

This is also seen in local literature and the life of a local writer, D.H. Lawrence. Himself a school teacher, Lawrence recorded his impressions of education both in memoirs and in some of his books, particularly The Rainbow. His first post after qualification was at Davidson Road School in Croydon where he described the head master as:

' . . . a weak kneed windy fool ~ he shifts every grain of responsibility off his own shoulders ~ he will not punish anybody; yourself when you punish, you must send for the regulation cane and enter the minutest details of the punishment in the Pun book ~ if you do. Discipline is consequently very slack and teaching is a struggle.²

Yet, he also believes this situation to be unusual, most male teachers having their own cane. This is in direct contradiction of the government's policy that only the head teacher may use a cane. Lawrence used this subject in The Rainbow as Ursula, young and

¹ Irene Argyle.

² Revell, J , 'The Cruelest and Most Humiliating Sport,' Education, Vol 166, No.9, Aug. 1985, pp.189-90, p.189.

inexperienced, is initiated into the harsh world of a board school in Lawrence's native Eastwood in north east Nottinghamshire, as can be seen from the following extract:

She knew if she let go the boy he would dash to the door. Already he had run home once out of her class. So she snatched her cane from the desk, and brought it down on him. He was writhing and kicking. She saw his face beneath her, white, with eyes like the eyes of a fish, stony, yet full of hate and horrible fear. And she loathed him, the hideous writhing thing that was nearly too much for her. In her horror lest he should overcome her, and yet at the heart quite calm, she brought down the cane again and again, whilst he struggled making inarticulate noises, and lunging vicious kicks at her. With one hand she managed to hold him, and now and then the cane came down on him. He writhed, like a made thing. But the pain of the strokes cut through his writhing, vicious, coward's courage, bit deeper, till at last, with a long whimper that became a yell, he went limp. She let him go, and he rushed at her, his teeth and eyes glinting. There was a second of agonized terror in her heart: he was a beast thing. Then she caught him, and the cane came down on him. A few times, madly, in a frenzy, he lunged and writhed, to kick her. But again the cane broke him, he sank with a howling yell on the floor, and like a beaten beast lay there yelling.¹

We have established that in many schools at least, girls as well as boys received corporal punishment and often at the hands of a male teacher. That many parents objected to their children (boys and girls) being punished in this way, is also evident from the log books of some schools, such as this reference to a father called Ross who visited the school with regard to his daughter, Rachel, who had been slapped for 'wasting a quarter of an hour from taking her brother to the infants room to coming to her own'; she subsequently ran home. The teacher complained that the father came to the school and 'He denied my right to punish altho' (sic) I pointed out to him the unpunctuality and disobedience of this child

¹ Lawrence, D.H., The Rainbow, Middlesex, 1915, 1985 edition, pp.398-9.

... he said the child did quite right in going home and ought to have struck me if I dared to touch her.¹

At an Arnold school, the parents' objection to punishment was taken further with a formal complaint about beating: 'This morning a girl Annie Shelton was sent out by (James) Cawthorn PT, for punishment, the master gave her one stroke with the cane whereupon she used "sauce" he then boxed her ears twice with his hand.'² Again, we see a female pupil being caned by a male teacher who also struck her around the head area, also forbidden by the Education Department. The entry goes on to state that the child's mother came to school in the afternoon to complain: 'The master explained the cause of the girl's punishment and added that she had not had enough.'³ However, on 7 April, the master received a summons for 'beating and assaulting' the girl. On the tenth of that month, the Parents' Committee met with Mrs. Shelton and her daughter; the master, Mr. Ellis, and pupil teacher, James Cawthorn were also present. The latter testified to the fact that he had sent Annie Shelton out for punishment 'in consequence of her unruly conduct ... and her refusal to learn her lessons.'⁴ Not surprisingly, the case was dismissed by the magistrates. That courts were more likely to support teachers and unlikely to uphold a parent's grievance can be seen in other incidents in the log books and oral evidence, as shown here by Cecily Ann Rogers, who attended the village school in Bramcote:

A boy who sat next to me ~ of course, they called them dunces in those days: you were sent away from the class to stand facing the wall. But this boy . . . the head master used to punish him a lot. I remember him because he used to sit next to me. His name was Herbert Clifford. He had been punished in the morning and the head master said: "You'll have some more in the afternoon". Anyway, he went home ~ they were a poor family, his father was a miner ~ and he rubbed some raw onion on his hand and when the cane came down it slipped off and hit the master's

¹ Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p.166.

² Arnold Calverton Road Junior Mixed School, Log Book, 1883-1912, p.4 (4 April, 1883).

³ *Ibid.*, p 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p 8 (10 April, 1883).

leg (Laugh). I always remember that. But he really punished him then . . . anyway, he rushed out of the school and his father was just coming home from the pit and he rushed in and hit the head master.(Pause) 'Course he had to go to court and it cost him five shillings. But he never hit the boy again.

This goes to show that some parents were prepared to defy the law in order to protect their children, as well as the partial attitude of the courts which invariably found in favour of the school. We can see from log book entries and personal testimony that teachers did not abide by government regulations regarding corporal punishment and that far from its 'exceptional' use, physical punishment, generally involving the cane or strap, was an everyday part of school life and was used for the most trivial offences.

CHAPTER TEN

Further Aspects of Elementary Education

School Conditions

The conditions in several schools, such as overcrowding and inadequate heating, aided the germs which caused many of the illnesses from which children and teachers alike suffered.

Several mistresses complain of overcrowding, such as that at Carlton Girls' School which, in January of 1913, states that there are *still* too many children per room (implying that this is an ongoing problem) and cites figures of 70 - 80 children in one room with seating for fifty, and 54 girls occupying 18 dual desks in another.¹ By February the situation is no better, although the mistress insists that the boys' school is less crowded, and cites the following figures:

Girls: Standards I and II (in the same room): 114

Boys: Standards I and II (in the same room): 79
(both in the same size room with accom. for 76)²

Linking the issues of overcrowding and illness, the following extract is from Huntingdon Street Girls' School and centres on complaints from parents that children have caught colds from being taught in the lavatory:

'In the present overcrowded state of the school, it is absolutely necessary to sometimes use the lavatory for a Reading Lesson. The children never stay in longer than half an hour and during that time are always made to put on their hats.³

¹ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1912-36, p.8 (6 Jan., 1913).

² *Ibid.*, p.16 (13 Feb., 1913).

³ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.124 (17 Nov., 1880).

Overcrowded conditions would inevitably lead to an increased rate of infection of common ailments, many of them highly dangerous. Cold conditions would also lead to a lack of ventilation which would also help to spread germs.

The mistress of Carlton Girls' School, Mary Kirsop, complains long and hard regarding the lack of heating in her school, with temperatures of 50° and 52° in the February of 1913¹ and, in a letter to the managers, requests better heating for the school which 'takes place when needed, instead of according to date.'² Obviously, nothing is done as, by October of that year and with another winter approaching, she complains of there being nowhere to dry wet clothes and of teachers being 'purple with cold.'³ By September of 1914, Kirsop is still complaining that: 'Someone usually breaks down through chill before we have any heat (artificial) in our school,'⁴ also that the heat lessens throughout the day, and 'that the temperature should be such that my health can be maintained. Each attack of cold from which I suffer, owes its origin to the underheating of our department.'⁵

If this is so for the teachers, how much more must it be true for those ill-clad, under-nourished children from poor homes? At another school 'The ink in the ink wells is frozen and the girls W/C's are blocked with frost'⁶ and at yet another the 'Children can scarcely hold their pens to write.'⁷

Having noted the conditions of schools for the children of the working classes, a word needs to be said about their home life. Homes varied enormously from the comfortable homes of the lower middle class and upper working class or artisan families, who enjoyed good wages and secure jobs, to the near hovels of those at the very bottom of the social scale. Despite criticism from middle class observers as to the laziness and dirtiness of the

¹ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1912-36, p.16.

² Ibid., p.31 (19 Sept., 1913).

³ Ibid., p.33 (7 Oct., 1913).

⁴ Ibid., p.70 (27 Sept., 1914).

⁵ Ibid., p.75 (23 Nov., 1914).

⁶ Carlton Netherfield Higher Standard School, Log Book, 1910-35, p.47 (27 Jan., 1912).

⁷ Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1884-97, p.88 (10 Dec., 1887).

lower orders, many homes were difficult to keep clean, given the state of disrepair in which these houses were often kept by landlords, and problems with vermin such as cockroaches. Added to this is the fact that all cleaning materials cost money and in the poorest homes this was better spent on bread. We might also remember that Nottingham had a high instance of female labour, both in factories and workshops and in the home: if a woman is working for ten or twelve hours a day as well as caring for a family, there is very little time left for cleaning. Most middle class observers had little genuine understanding of working class lives or the constraints placed upon working class working women. This can be seen in the works of women like Wilena Hitching, whose book we have looked at under Housewifery and will look at again in Middle Class Influence. A good alternative to this type of book is that written by Pember Reeves: Round About a Pound a Week; although compiled with reference to London, it could well apply to any city in Britain. She cites the details recorded by visitors to working class homes:

Man, wife, and four children; two basement rooms; one bed, one baby's cot, one sofa. One bed for four with baby's cot by it, in one room; sofa for child of nine in the other. In front room the police will not allow the window open at night.¹

This room presumably houses the nine year old on the sofa; we will note later how Hitching advises against taking basement rooms and espouses the need for windows to be open at night, showing her to be totally out of touch with reality. She similarly condemns the working class practice of putting a baby in the family bed with the parents due to the expense of even a banana crate cot which, including a mattress and blankets, could total two shillings and eight pence,² without examining the reasons for it.

This dichotomy between middle class advice and working class reality can be seen in other areas such as clothing, advising against flammable but warm soft fabrics like flannelette in favour of Cashmere, which wore well but was far too expensive for most ordinary people.

¹ Pember Reeves, M., Round About a Pound a Week, London, 1913, 1978 edition, p 49.

² Ibid., p 51.

Working class homes largely mirrored the schools which their children attended, all of which conspired to increase the chances of illness and absence from school.

Backwardness

It is hardly surprising, given the poverty of many of the children's homes, that backwardness was a perennial problem in elementary schools. After outlining the problems of overcrowding, this teacher stated:

Considering the drawbacks, the meagre brainpower of the ill-nourished and impoverished children, of whom there is a considerable number in this school, also the previous shortened educational year (of 28 working weeks) the standard reached is (in my opinion) creditable to all concerned.¹

Yet the log book for this school makes constant references to the dullness of some children holding back the others and, in 1905, states: 'The children of this school, as a whole, are dull and unintelligent, and a great effort is required to raise them to the standard of excellence easily attained in some of the more fortunate schools.'²

Many teachers make no attempt to ascertain why pupils are so dull or appear to be so. An entry in Carrington Girls' and Infants' School lists exemptions from exams and reasons why:

E. Garratt: half time ~ backward and dull

S. Wood: idiot

G. Wild: very dull and backward³

¹ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1912-36, p.8 (6 Jan., 1913).

² Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p.343 (5 Feb., 1905).

³ Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p.260 (21 Nov., 1887).

We can see, then, how the supposed backwardness of children in inner city schools was perceived as a check on brighter pupils and remained uninvestigated as to the reasons for this backwardness.

Illnesses

Epidemics of the most common diseases prevailed in working class districts and poor homes and inevitably in elementary schools, the more so for the overcrowded conditions we have seen earlier. Interviewee Sarah Clegg recalls illness in her childhood:

... me and my sister got scarlet fever ... you used to catch it by sleeping in the same bedroom and I remember the doctor he said 'If I catch you like this again I shall send you away.' But with eight children, what could my mother and dad do?

References in the log books cite a constant stream of illnesses which affected attendance and could even close the school for weeks on end: Measles, Scarlet Fever, Whooping Cough, Diphtheria, Mumps, Influenza, Smallpox, Chickenpox, Typhoid. These could affect the teachers just as much as the children. In Hucknall, epidemics often closed the local church school:

- 1900: Measles epidemic ~ Mixed school shut.
- 1903: Smallpox epidemic ~ school shut: 10 weeks
- 1907: Measles in the head masters house
- 1908: Measles epidemic ~ infant school shut: 5 weeks
- 1908: Smallpox epidemic ~ infant school shut: 6 weeks
- 1909: Measles epidemic ~ school shut several weeks¹

In addition, other epidemics inevitably affected attendance:

¹ Foster, P.L., The Gentle Revolution: 200 Years of Church Education in Hucknall, Nottingham, no date circa 1988, p 60.

Diphtheria: 1881,1882
 Smallpox: 1881,1882
 Measles: 1885,1886,1887,1893, 1894
 Scarlet Fever: 1893
 Influenza: 1893
 Typhoid: 1894
 Whooping Cough: 1899¹

With a lack of free health care and doctors out of the price range of much of the working class, many remedies were home made and of dubious validity; however, Ron Nicholson is certain of the effectiveness of this cure:

I can remember having Whooping Cough just after I'd started school and my mother took me to Basford Gas Works and they used to have huge vats of tar ~ gas tar ~ and they used to take us to breathe over this liquid tar ~ it was boiling ~ to breathe in the fumes. And it cured me of Whooping Cough.

The NSB Minute Books have little to say on the subject of illness except this on female maladies: 'Hysteria (largely confined to females) is distinguished from Epilepsy by the patient's sobs, &c . . .'² It recommends firmness to prevent and cut short such attacks, yet log books give no instances of attacks of hysteria among female pupils, although references to various illnesses and injuries abound throughout these documents.

Inevitably, such diseases had an adverse effect on attendance and, therefore, the efficacy of the education of the children who fell victim to them.

¹ Ibid.

² NSB, 'Regulations for the Transaction of Business Including the Management of Schools,' 1896, p.129, Minute Books, Vol.17 (p.260).

Medicals Etc.

Interviewees argue against any medicals taking place during their schooldays, and none could recall any specifically, although a few could remember a doctor coming around to have 'a quick look' at them. The NSB Minute Books along with the log books mention medicals, particularly parental objection to them. Perhaps the problem lies in one's definition of the term 'medical'.

What certainly did take place were eyesight tests and visits from the 'nit nurse,' as she is still called today. Very often it was the same children who were repeatedly being excluded for having 'dirty heads' and, as may be supposed, children from the same families; this inevitably related to girls, due to the length of female hair: no references occur to boys being examined or excluded. Figures for infection (below) are given by the Chief School Medical Officer as follows:

1911: 53.6%
 1912: 47.3%
 1913: 47.6%¹

In the field of eyesight testing, the report cites the following figures:

No. examined: 833
 No. requiring glasses: 520
 No. not requiring glasses: 313
 No. obtained glasses: 445
 No. failed to obtain glasses: 75²

It is unclear whether these glasses were free and no reason is given as to why the final 75 children had not obtained glasses. Also unclear is the rate of weak eyesight among elementary school children: 520 out of 833 seems to be extremely high (well over 50%),

¹ Nottinghamshire County Council, Annual Report of the Chief School Medical Officer to the Education Committee for the Year 1913, Nottingham, 1914, p 25.

² *Ibid.*, p.29.

yet more than 833 must have been examined throughout the county. Log books also give occasional details about weak eyesight such as Old Basford Girls' School which has noted the following rates of defective eyesight:

October, 1901: 36 out of 200
 September, 1903: 40 out of 211
 October, 1904: 22 out of 196
 January, 1905: 32 out of 201¹

One can only question just what the needlework requirements were and if they changed during these years; that subject must have been taken into account given the following entry: 'Received notice that Rebecca Fenton has been examined by Dr. Kingdon who certifies she is to attend school, but is not to sew.'² At Berridge Road Girls' School, we learn of another reason for weak eyesight: 'The light in Standard I room is not of a good quality, the children frequently having to strain their eyes to observe lines upon paper or slate.'³

We can end by seeing the very beginnings of an interest in the physical welfare of children in state schools, but obviously there was a long way to go prior to 1914.

Prizes and Scholarships

Methods of inducing good conduct, attendance and punctuality, and industriousness included the giving of prizes, such as books and certificates, and scholarships to reward as well as encourage good work (again showing middle class practices transferred to working class education). An early entry in the NSB Minute Books notes that each child who makes 400 attendances (morning and afternoon counting separately) and passes the inspector's exams in the three R's as well as displaying good behaviour, received the following embossed card with their name printed on: bronze for the first year, silver for

¹ Old Basford Girls' School, Log Book, 1890-1915, pp.289, 320, 336, 365.

² Ibid., p.365.

³ Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1898-1913, p.189 (20 Nov., 1903).

the second and gold for the third; for the fourth consecutive year the child received a parchment certificate. There was also a prize for plain needlework.¹

The log books of the High Pavement School contain several news cuttings regarding prize givings, showing some gender differences in this area. An early cutting, from 1877, begins with boys and girls equally, progressing to continual references to 'the boys'; for instance: 'His Worship' gave prizes and a 'bit of good advice to the boys' and quoted from a speech by Gladstone which he 'advised all the boys to read', ending with a reference to 'education which was provided for boys when he was young'.² The prizes included three Science Scholarships valued at £10 plus a book, all of which were awarded to boys; it is unclear whether these were available only to boys or whether girls were just inferior in Science. A few girls, however, received prizes and certificates in drawing.³

In 1881, the prize distribution was presided over by the Reverend Mark Wilks who referred to '... books for infants, and then for children above that age; prizes for various boys for science and then books of a larger size for children of a larger growth'.⁴ The 1886 prize giving refers to the University extension movement and scholarships for boys; no equivalent reference appears for girls.⁵ Similarly, by 1888, we can read that 'A quick boy sometimes wins a prize, where a plodding boy ... might fail ... (but) the best men were not always the most successful'.⁶ One prize of £50 and others of £12 and £9 were all awarded to boys; no mention appears of any prize being given to a girl.⁷ Eight years later, the main prize, the Derbyshire Medal for Business Arithmetic, was won by Frederick William Anthony (of High Pavement School), but several girls won dressmaking prizes and 'The girls wore the dresses which were cut out and made by themselves at school'⁸ at the prize distribution.

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.2, p.556.

² High Pavement Boys' School, Log Book, 1878-92, p.1 (news cutting dated 25 Sept., 1878)

³ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.9 (regarding the 1881 prize distribution).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.9 (regarding the 1886 prize distribution).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.9 (regarding the 1888 prize distribution).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.9.

⁸ High Pavement Boys' School, Log Book, 1892-99, p.321.

We can see that prizes were either not distributed equally between the sexes or boys were sufficiently superior at those areas which attracted prizes (except needlework) that they obtained the lion's share; if this is the case, we still need to question why girls were so inferior in academic subjects, and might look to the vast amount of compulsory domestic subjects for our answer.

In the field of scholarships, however, girls gradually came to hold their own, showing, at least, that NSB took some interest in the brighter girls. Scholarships could be to a Higher Grade elementary school or occasionally to the NGHS, and could be county council or school board scholarships or those funded by charities. In the case of scholarships to Higher Grade schools:

The Nottingham School Board grants Free Scholarships to meritorious scholars who have passed the Fifth or Higher standard, and whose parents need assistance to enable them to continue their education. Such scholars must remain in regular attendance and sit at the special examinations for which they are prepared, unless a satisfactory reason to the contrary is accepted by the Board. In case of removal in a manner not considered satisfactory the parents agree to pay the full fees and cost of books and material during the time of attendance.¹

School log books and the NSB's own Minute Books give detailed information on successful scholarship candidates. As early as 1886, we note the availability of Science and Art Scholarships to 'deserving' candidates, tenable for two years and valued at £5 each per annum. There were 42 successful candidates, eight of whom were female.²

The same report gives details of other scholarships and exhibitions (Lenton, Leaver, People's College and Bulwell), sixteen in all, of which three were awarded to girls:

¹ NSB, High Pavement Higher Grade School, Stanley Road, Prospectus 1895-6-7, 1895, p.15.

² NSB, 'Report of Three Years Work 1883-6,' 1886, p.17 in Minute Books, Vol.17, (p.484).

<u>Name of Scholarship</u>	<u>Tenure</u>	<u>Value (p.a.)</u>	<u>Scholar</u>	<u>Previous School</u>	<u>Higher Grade School</u>	<u>Termination of Scholarship</u>
Leaver	2 yrs.	£3.15s	Mary E. Smith	Forster St. Radford	People's College	Oct., 1885
Bulwell	2 yrs.	£5	Miss Woodward	Quarry Rd.	People's College	May, 1886
Bulwell	2 yrs.	£5	Eliza A. Stanley	Coventry Rd.	People's College ¹	May, 1886

The situation prevailed for some years: in 1889, of nineteen general scholarships, four were awarded to girls and of thirty Science and Art Scholarships, only three were won by girls;² in 1890 only three out of twenty Science and Art Scholarships were awarded to girls, although girls commanded four out of thirteen general scholarships in that year;³ of exhibitions and scholarships awarded by the Board during 1891, thirty were awarded to boys and twenty to girls;⁴ during 1892, two out of five general board scholarships went to girls, but four out of five Science and Art Scholarships, six out of seventeen NSB Prize Scholarships, whilst all others (Lenton, Leavers etc.) were awarded to boys;⁵ in 1893, six girls and eleven boys received People's College Scholarships and three girls and ten boys NSB Scholarships;⁶ in 1895, two out of five girls won NSB Scholarships and two out of eight girls won High Pavement Scholarships.⁷

At the Cambridge Locals of 1896 'Marie Innocent Groves was the only girl candidate in England from a Board School whose name appeared in the Cambridge List,'⁸ whilst at the following year's London Matriculation Exam: 'At this examination Marie Innocent Groves

¹ *Ibid.*, p.17.

² NSB, 'Report of Three Years Work 1886-9,' 1889, p.17 in *Minute Books*, Vol.10. (pp.156-79).

³ NSB, 'Report of 2nd Years Tenure of Scholarships 1889-90,' 1890, p.7 in *Minute Books*, Vol.12 (pp.21-6).

⁴ NSB, *Minute Books*, Vol.12, pp 608-11.

⁵ NSB, *Minute Books*, Vol 13, pp 205-6.

⁶ NSB, 'Scholarships Report and Statement of Accounts,' 1893, pp.674-5 in *Minute Books*, Vol.14 (pp.564-672).

⁷ NSB, 'Scholarships Report and Statement of Accounts,' 1896, pp.33-4 in *Minute Books*, Vol.16 (pp.32-41).

⁸ High Pavement School, *Prospectus 1895-1900*, 1895, p.21.

and Samuel Rendell Thomlinson passed successfully. These are the first candidates that have ever passed this advanced examination from a Nottingham Board School.¹

By now we can see girls beginning to equal boys and even claim a greater number of scholarships: ten scholarships awarded in the school year 1899-1900 were divided equally between the sexes.² The following year, only one boy received a scholarship alongside seven girls.³

From this point onwards, scholarships are roughly equal between the sexes with occasional unequal divides, sometimes in favour of girls, as in the NSB Scholarships of 1899 in which eight out of twelve were taken by girls, and those of 1900, in which sixteen out of nineteen were taken by girls.⁴

Occasional references occur for scholarships to the High School, although these were awarded by the NSB, as the NGHS refused to award scholarships to girls from board schools; for instance:

Lizzie Richmond sat for the County Council Scholarship Examination; she has been successful and the scholarship is tenable at the "Girls High School", Nottingham. She will commence there Sept. 22, 1896.⁵

Ethel Robertson has been awarded a £15 scholarship tenable at the High School.⁶

¹ Ibid , p 22. (M I. Groves was a scholarship holder at High Pavement School in 1896 and 1897).

² Ibid., p.31.

³ Ibid., p.31.

⁴ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.19, pp.712-13 and Vol.21, pp.741-2.

⁵ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p.198.

⁶ Queen's Walk Girls' School, Log Book, 1895-1900, p 80 (14 July, 1896).

The NSB Minute Books also contain details of a scholarship awarded from the Parker Charity to Ada Haines from Huntingdon Street School to the NGHS for three years, terminating at Christmas, 1886, and valued at £13 p.a.¹

One of the noticeable differences between the sexes can be seen in a printed sheet entitled 'Time Table Queen's Scholarship Examination, 1899' with the name Sarah A. Keywood written in pencil at the bottom and a letter printed on the reverse from George Kekewich. The time table gives the exams taken by both male and female candidates (on different days); all are the same with the following exceptions: where males take Euclid, females take Domestic Economy and where males take Algebra and Mensuration, females take Needlework, showing the lower academic standards taught to, and expected of, girls. Lastly stated is the comment that: 'On Friday morning Women must come provided with needles (No. 8), cotton, (No. 60), marking cotton, fine crochet cotton, thimble and scissors, as well as with pens etc.'² Obviously, these items would have to be provided by the candidates; it is interesting that female teachers and pupil teachers were not only paid less than their male counterparts, but also had greater expenses.

¹ NSB, 'Report of Three Years Work 1883-6,' 1886, p 20 in Minute Books, Vol.7 (p 487).

² Printed sheet entitled 'Time Table: Queen's Scholarship Examination, 1899,' for Sarah A. Keywood. Nottinghamshire Archives (SBX 144/20)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Half Timers, School Leavers, Industrial Schools, the Workhouse and Ragged Schools

Half Timers

At the other end of the scale from the prize winners and scholarship recipients were those children, generally from poor families, who had to leave school and go to work at the earliest opportunity; this meant working part time alongside part time schooling which, with homework and duties in the home as well, placed a heavy burden on these youngsters. This inevitably led to a problem with the attendance of half timers, as commented upon frequently in the log books, such as that of Carrington Street School which claims eleven of the 26 girls in Standard V to be half timers: ' . . . today I have taught a new rule in arithmetic of the eleven half timers, and four were absent all day ~ this is a fair specimen of the attendance we get of half timer girls.'¹ The mistress of this school, like many others, constantly complains of the irregularity of half timers:

If the parents are spoken with they tell us that five attendances are all that are required and they will consult their convenience as to their arrangement. Can we not insist on the half time being made to suit our work, and so as to interfere as little as possible with the progress and benefit of the whole timers as well as that of the half timers? We have only 14 half timers but they are the cause of more worry than all the rest of the school in the matter of attendance and work.²

This quote illustrates where the emphasis was placed in a half timer's life: work and earning money had to take priority over education. The log books place most of the blame squarely on the parents, as can be seen from this entry regarding Annie Sanday, a half timer who had been absent for nine weeks through 'illness and unsatisfactory work;'

¹ Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1877-88, p.207 (6 Sept., 1886).

² Ibid., p.210 (28 Sept., 1886).

the mother was described as 'insolent', 'flatly refusing to allow the girl to make her attendances in regular order but only so as to suit her own convenience.'¹

This was obviously a cause for concern for the teachers as it made teaching very difficult; the log books abound with entries showing their annoyance. Most teachers also stood firm upon the rules regarding attendance and called for assistance in enforcing those rules:

Friday. Half time girls wished to work all day, they came during the dinner hour to ask my permission. I told them I could not grant it and wrote to Miss Powley (manager) to say that I thought it would be contrary to law: they were sent to school.²

The fault here must lie largely with the employer who must have been aware of the law regarding the employment of half timers, but openly flouted it for his own convenience. Carlton National School's log book contains references relating to visits by the Factory Inspector and his unsuccessful attempts to force employers to send in the half time books. However, the head teacher also notes: 'The attendance of nearly all the half timers too is very irregular; and there appears to be no interference with the employer and parents from the Factory Inspector.'³

The seeming dichotomy here could possibly be explained by this statement from Henry Ashwell, Chairman of NSB's School Management and Bye Laws Committee, regarding half timers:

There is still considerable irregularity to be corrected. The principle causes of absenteeism may be summarized as follows:- Truancy, want of school wage, late attendance, illness, and employer's neglect. With regard to the latter cause,

¹ Ibid., p.228 (3 March, 1887)

² Arnold Front Street School, Log Book, 1869-82, p.23 (10 July, 1869).

³ Carlton National Mixed School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.98 (11 July, 1873).

reference is made more particularly to Shopkeepers, Milksellers and others who do not come under the "Factory and Workshops Act".¹

This may explain the Factory Inspector's inability to act regarding abuses of the half time system: if children are working outside workshops and factories and are therefore invisible, there is perhaps little he can do.

Alongside this problem is the issuing of half time certificates in the first place, often contrary to teachers' wishes, such as the complaints made by two National schools regarding half time certificates given for two girls, Harriet Scrimshaw and Louisa Granger, who had not passed a single standard and were aged eleven and twelve respectively.² Teachers, too, took up this point as can be seen from this entry in Carlton Girls' School's log book: 'Last evening I wrote to the Board asking them if something cannot be done to prevent so many children being half timers. I find many of the girls simply have a certificate because their mothers find it convenient to have their help.'³

The mistress advises educating parents about how half time education was damaging to their children, but this ignores the poverty which caused children to have to work part time. HMIs often showed a keener insight and greater degree of sympathy towards the children than did teachers; this un-named inspector noted the ignorance of half timers as well as their inattendance to homework and the long hours worked:

¹ NSB, 'Report of the School Management and Bye Laws Committee,' No.2, 5 July, 1883, p.7 in Minute Books, Vol 4 (pp.447-54).

² NSB, 'Report of the School Management Committee Setting Forth the Government Reports on Board Schools,' for the period ending 31 Aug , 1880, 3 Feb , 1881, p.24 in Minute Books, Vol.4 (pp 277-92).

³ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p 160 (2 Oct., 1894).

I have been told that they have been employed (particularly in the lace-mending) both before breakfast and after tea in the Evening. If these complaints be well grounded, as there seems good reason to believe, it is not to be wondered that the poor little slaves are dull at their learning and shirk their homework.¹

The above must necessarily apply to girls, as boys were not employed in the lace finishing trades, which usually took place within the home and was, therefore, unseen by the Factory Inspector. Despite this being a widespread practice, the head teacher of Carlton National Mixed School showed sympathy only for male half timers: ' . . . the poor lads have to go to work (winding) at 7am: breakfast at 8am. Work again 8:30 - 1pm: then dinner and getting to school: leave school 4:30pm: work again 5 till 9pm.'²

The position of half timers is further explored in the story of Eliza from The School Guardian, who is forced to miss an exam due to her work: during the exam, Eliza gets up and walks out of the room, followed by the teacher who brings the girl back, giving her two strokes of the cane on her hand. Then a voice is heard at the door: "Lizer! 'Lizer! You come here!" The teacher approached the woman who was, apparently, Eliza's mother who had come to fetch the girl as she was late for work. (Eliza worked a seven and a half hour day as a part timer for one shilling five pence per week).³

It should not be surprising that half timers, as well as being inattentive to work and homework, were often accused of bad behaviour: 'During the week the half timers have been very troublesome especially in the 1st and 2nd standards' as they refused to submit to the authority of a third year pupil teacher who was actually younger than themselves.⁴

¹ NSB, 'School Management Committee Report of the Board Inspector of Schools,' 1882/3, p.5 in Minute Books, Vol 4.

² Carlton National Mixed School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.183 (19 July, 1878).

³ The School Guardian, 30 Aug., 1884, p.603.

⁴ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1871-88, p.144 (13 Sept., 1873).

One of the most frequent complaints against half timers is their tendency to bring down overall pass rates at exam and inspection times. This attitude towards half timers is seen in many log books, both in remarks by the head teacher and in copies of inspectors' reports. Rarely do we see any attempt to examine the position of these children or to ascertain why they appear to be so 'dull'. Little credit seems to be given for the hours which they had to work: if late, they were simply marked absent and lost a half day's mark, which might help to explain the low attendance rates for half timers.

School Leavers

As might be supposed among working class people where money was often in short supply, the perennial problem for elementary schools was that of attempting to persuade parents to keep their children in school after compulsory schooling had ended. Log books abound with references to pupils leaving because they are 'over age', although the actual reason is likely to be the economic necessity of sending them to work or (particularly in the case of girls) utilizing their help with housework and/or child care; for instance: 'A Standard VII girl from Bingham left today, as she is wanted at home.'¹ The problem was exacerbated for schools by the loss of income when children left too soon, as can be seen in this extract from Berridge Road Girls' School log book:

The number of girls who reach the age of 13 and leave school before Examination time comes round is very serious. In nearly every case it happens too that the girl has attended full time at the cookery kitchen thereby learning grant which cannot be paid unless the girl be presented for Examination in March.²

Similar references regarding the difficulty of keeping girls at school after the age of thirteen continue throughout. At Queen's Walk Girls' School an open afternoon at which a number of parents were present contained the following ' . . . Reverend Principal

¹ Queen's Walk Girls' School, Log Book, 1895-1909, p.205 (24 June, 1901).

² Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1884-97, p.374 (1 Dec., 1891).

Mitchell addressed them on the Importance of keeping their girls longer at school.¹ Again, complaints continue to occur regarding girls leaving at thirteen.

As with half timers, the problem is generally one of poverty: even the few shillings which a youngster could earn made a difference to the family economy. Most interviewees responded along the lines of having to go to work at the earliest opportunity, often to work in the city's lace or tobacco industries. Hence, Hessie Garton: '... I'd got a job at Player's straining tobacco for cigars, so I left school in the August as I was fourteen in the September.'

Wardle gives us more detailed information on the occupation of school leavers for this period. It is noteworthy that over one third of the girls (328) are described simply as 'At home'; it seems unlikely that these girls are not working at all even if it is only aiding their mothers in lace finishing etc., housework and child care duties.²

Admission Registers also give details of pupils when they leave school, such as the following from two different schools: Carlton (Board) School in an urban area and St. Johns National School in Stapleford, a more rural district:

<u>CARLTON GIRLS' SCHOOL</u>						
<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>D.O.B.*</u>	<u>D.O.A.†</u>	<u>D.O.L.‡</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Emma Bailey	Jackson's Row	9/1/82	9/12/89	21/12/93	I	Hosiery seaming
Sarah Rockley	Curzon St.	26/6/80	17/3/90	23/6/93	II	Factory
Kate Shield	London Tce.	1/6/81	25/5/90	6/12/93	III	Lace work ³

¹ Queen's Walk Girls' School, Log Book, 1895-1909, p.177 (12 July, 1900).

² Wardle, The Work of the Nottingham School Board, op. cit., pp.192-4 (1894) (from NSB, Minute Books, Vol.16).

³ Carlton Girls' School, Admission Register, 1878-1910, no page numbers.

* Date of Birth

† Date of Admission.

‡ Date of Leaving.

SCHEDULE III.

School District of

Carlton

LABOUR CERTIFICATE.

AGE AND EMPLOYMENT.

I certify that Annie Colver,
 residing at Carlton,
 was, on the 26 day of May 1886, not
 less than 10 years of age, as appears by the registrar's certificate [~~or the
 statutory declaration~~] now produced to me, (1) and has been shown to
 the satisfaction of the local authority for this district to be beneficially
 and necessarily employed.

(Signed)

L. B. Brown,
 (2) Clerk to the (3) School Board

PROFICIENCY.

I certify that Annie Colver,
 residing at Carlton,
 has received a certificate from The Rev. C. Sewell,
 one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, that he (or she) has
 (4) reached the 1¹/₂ Standard.

(Signed)

L. B. Brown

Principal Teacher of the

School.

or (2) Clerk to the (3)

(1) "reached" means
 power to read, write,
 and arithmetic,
 to the standard men-
 tional or a higher
 standard.

The above entries are typical of many, with several references to 'Factory', 'Hosiery', 'Seaming', 'Nursing', 'Lace work', 'at home' predominating as reasons for leaving.

STAPLEFORD ST. JOHNS

<u>Name</u>	<u>D.O.B /Age</u>	<u>D.O.A</u>	<u>D.O.L.</u>	<u>Age*</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Reason</u>
Wm. Coates	8	5/3/82	15/3/86	12/8	III	Gone to work. Never passed any standard
Eliza Ann Brown	10	6/7/86	27/5/87	10		Staying at home ~ mother ill
James Randall	10	22/9/90	8/7/92	12	III	Gone to work
Mary Storer	22/8/80	7/1/89	29/7/92	11/11		Staying at home
Ellen Fletcher	22/9/80	1/11/87	29/7/92	11/10	V	Gone to service. ¹

We can see from the above just how young some children were, even towards the end of the nineteenth century, when they left school. This is especially so in the case of girls, as we can see from the above extract, where it is not clear whether Eliza and Mary had passed any standards; the blank indicates that they had not even reached Standard I. It is also unclear how William managed to be in the third standard on leaving, without having passed Standards I and II. (See also the copy of the leaving certificate for Annie Colver of Carlton, dated 1884).

Industrial Schools

This was a means of punishing children for a variety of offences including those children guilty of crimes which, if they had been adults, would have resulted in a prison sentence, truants, beggars, those without proper guardianship, children of criminal mothers, refractory workhouse children and those who were just uncontrollable. All these types of children were placed together irrespective of character and offence in Industrial Schools where, in theory, a trade was learnt such as tailoring, shoe making, brush making, firewood cutting and box making; however, these tended to apply to boys only, girls being put to housework and a variety of domestic chores.² The boys' trades elicited a

* In years and months, where available.

¹ Stapleford (St John's) National School, Admission Register, 1867-91, no page numbers.

² Wardle, The Work of the Nottingham School Board, op. cit., p.310.

considerable amount of criticism on the grounds that these were overcrowded trades and required very little skill; nothing was ever said regarding girls' work in Industrial Schools.

The NSB Minute Books give some idea of crimes committed by children which resulted in their being sent to Industrial Schools:

- 1) Francis Mottishaw: 12 years old charged before a magistrate with sleeping out at night and ordered to York Industrial School.
- 2) Albert Walker: also sent to York Industrial School for the same offence.
- 3) Eliza Smith: 10 years old: child a pickpocket, an orphan, destitute, is sent to Broomfields Industrial School.¹

By 1878, fourteen Industrial Schools were used to house Nottingham children. The NSB Minute Books contain extensive details of children sent away to industrial schools. In 1871, the numbers of Nottingham children in Industrial Schools totalled 52, as follows:

York: 28	Hull Ragged and Industrial School: 9
Hull: 14	St. George's: 1 ²

At York this is further broken down into 22 boys and six girls, listed below:

Name	Age	Date of Admission	Time to be Served
Ada Wright	11	24 June, 1867	5 years
Annie Hemsley	12	19 Oct., 1867	5 years
Mary Clayton	13	17 Feb., 1868	5 years
Sarah Ann Cooke	10	28 Feb., 1868	5 years
Ellen Parnell	12	8 Aug., 1868	3 years
Annie Murfin	11	10 April, 1869	3 years ³

No details are given of the girls' offences, only that they are liable under the Industrial Schools Act of 1866; later, however, the section of the Act under which the children are committed is also given, usually Section 14 or 15, but occasionally 16, as in this entry for

¹ NSB, Minutes of Committee Meetings, Vol.1, Dec. 1870 - Dec., 1877, pp.97-100.

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol.1, p.98.

³ Ibid., p.98.

children sent to Industrial Schools in 1902: three boys and three girls, the latter of which are listed below:

<u>Date Committed</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Industrial School</u>	<u>Section</u>
18 Oct., 1902	Fanny Cooper	Thorparch	15
17 Nov., 1902	Eliz. Silvers	York	16
12 Dec., 1902	Mgt. Fowler	St. Joseph's	14 ¹

The offences relating to the aforementioned sections are given as follows:

Section 14: children found begging, or wandering, not having proper guardianship, or children of criminal mothers, or destitute, or with thieves.

Section 15: children under 12 charged with offences punishable by imprisonment in adults.

Section 16: uncontrollable children.²

Section 14 is by far the most common reason for committal given in the Minute Books.

The numbers of boys and girls committed to Industrial Schools varied greatly; as we noted with regard to York Industrial School in 1871, 22 boys alongside six girls, yet the 1902 (Autumn) committals were equal: three boys and three girls. Generally speaking, the numbers for both sexes declined throughout the period, although this may be due to the existence of an Industrial School in Nottingham, which we will look at shortly. Also a generalization is the preponderance of male committals against female: only occasionally are more girls committed than boys, as in this instance from 1897, when two girls were committed but no boys:

<u>Date Committed</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Industrial School</u>	<u>Section</u>
June 5, 1897	Kate O'Brien	St. Joseph's	14
June 5, 1897	Nancy O'Brien	St. Joseph's	14 ³

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.22, p 259.

² NSB, Minutes of Committee Meetings, Vol.1, op. cit., p.153.

³ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.17, p.394.

The Minute Books also give an insight into the schools themselves through the eyes of visiting HMI's, as in this one at Leeds in 1885: the premises contained a 'basement (containing a winter playroom), lavatories, bath, kitchen, scullery, larder, wash-house, dining room, schoolroom, sewing room and dormitories . . . '¹ HMI J.E. Ellis noted that the girls do 'baking, washing, sewing, and other household work' as well as household economy.²

It is evident from some of these entries that girls were being groomed for domestic service, as we can see from this excerpt also relating to Leeds, which separates its inmates into two categories, that of truants or criminals, and those who need to be separated from their family (in the case of, say, criminal parents): 'The time for properly placing out girls of this class if they behave well must depend in the very large majority of cases upon their age, intelligence, health, strength, and general fitness to be domestic servants.'³ Also, at St. Ann's Industrial School in Liverpool, only two Nottingham girls were under detention, one of which was 'too childish to be sent into service.'⁴ At York, we can see both the ultimate goal of domestic service and the automatic categorization of 'dull' children:

From the Boys' School I walked to the Girls' where I found that Hawkins had left on the 16th July (1891) for a situation in Leeds, where, after a trial, her mistress decided to keep her. Bee is a dull, backward girl, and has evidently outgrown her strength; the Matron, however, assured me she was improving.⁵

That girls seemed to be engaged only in domestic work in the school not only encourages them to accept posts as domestic servants, but almost prohibits them from entering any other profession.

¹ NSB, 'Report of the School Management and Bye Laws Committee,' No.2, 5 Jan., 1888, p.9 in Minute Books, Vol.5 (pp.13-18).

² *Ibid.*, p.9.

³ NSB, 'Report of School Management and Bye Laws Committee,' No.1, 6 Jan., 1881, p.9 in Minute Books, Vol.2 (pp.237-42).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.9.

⁵ NSB, 'Quarterly Report of the Bye Laws Committee,' 30 Sept., 1891, p.12 in Minute Books, Vol.10 (pp.484-99).

That parents were often less than happy at their offspring being incarcerated thus, for whatever reason, is evident from entries in the Minute Books such as this from 1892:

The parents of Ragsdale have followed her to Leeds, with the intention of bringing her back to Nottingham when her period of detention ends. As they are constantly in the hands of the police for drunkenness, theft, or brawling, it seems most undesirable that the girl should return to them, as it is almost inevitable that in such a home the good effects of the training she has received which has fitted her to be a respectable member of Society, would be entirely lost, as the girl, though well conducted, has not much strength of character ¹

It is notable that, although these institutions are referred to as schools or homes, girls are referred to by their surnames only as in this instance, as occurs in prisons.

What is never stated is why children were being sent away to Industrial Schools, when provision existed in their home town. In October of 1875, reference is made to Rutland Street Industrial School,² although no details are given; this transpires to be the Girls School of Industry located on Rutland Street whose principal (A. Wordsworth) refused to take any children, for whom fees were not paid, due to lack of viability.³ After this, no more is heard of Rutland Street Industrial School.

By November, 1878, the NSB was discussing the possibility of establishing a certified Industrial School in Nottingham,⁴ although nothing more is heard until November of 1885 when a 'labour master' and his wife (as cook) are appointed.⁵ This is later known as George Street Industrial School or the Nottingham Day Industrial School. Details of the

¹ NSB, 'Quarterly Report of the Bye Laws Committee,' 5 Oct., 1892, p.11 in Minute Books, Vol.13 (pp.476-87).

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol.2, p.337.

³ *Ibid.*, p.417.

⁴ NSB, 'Report of the School Management and Bye Laws Committee,' No.1, 2 July, 1880, p.10 in Minute Books, Vol.4 (pp.83-88).

⁵ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.7, p.40.

School are given in 'Rules, Dietry and Timetable', which states it as being open to both sexes, day rather than boarding, open to all religions, for children between the ages of five and fourteen, numbers not to exceed 100. Hours are given as 8 am to 6 pm Monday to Friday and 8 am to 2:30 pm on Saturday. Religion occupies the timetable between 9 am and 9:30 and 5:50 and 6 pm; other subjects are reading, writing, dictation, arithmetic, vocal music, drill and 'as far as practicable' elements of grammar, geography and English History.¹ Industrial training is given as:

Boys: Of such industrial occupations, including simple joinery, wood chopping, sack making, mat making &c., as the Board or managers may from time to time consider practicable and desirable.'

Girls: Of plain sewing, washing, cleaning, and other domestic work.²

Punishment in the school falls into three categories:

- 1) Forfeiture of privileges e.g. recreation
- 2) Confinement in a separate room
- 3) Corporal punishment: Moderate personal correction by whipping with a common school rod or cane, and not to exceed at any one time five strokes in the case of a child under nine years of age, or nine in the case of a child above that age.³

It is not entirely clear whether this relates to boys only or both boys and girls; in the absence of specific information, we must assume that it relates to both. The specific timetable is given as follows (male and female):

¹ NSB, 'Rules, Dietry and Timetable,' 12 Nov., 1885, p.6 in Minute Books, Vol.7 (pp 41-62).

² NSB, Minute Books, Vol.7, p 624.

³ Ibid., p 624.

MONDAY TO FRIDAY

8.00 ~ Roll call
 8-8:30 ~ Wash, singing
 8:30-9 ~ Breakfast
 9-9:30 ~ Religion
 9:30-12:30 ~ School Work
 12:30-2 ~ Dinner, play
 2-5 ~ Industrial Work
 5-5:50 ~ Tea
 5:50-6 ~ Prayers, dismiss

SATURDAY

As Monday to Friday until 12:30
 12:30-1 ~ Dinner
 1-2:20 ~ Industrial Work
 2:20-2:30 ~ Dismiss, prayers¹

The school formally opened on 11 January, 1886. Until 30 September, of that year, the numbers admitted were as follows:

	BOYS	GIRLS
Numbers admitted	83	5
Numbers left	1	1
Numbers on licence at Public Elementary Schools	45	3
Removed to other schools	1	0
Remaining in school at 30/9/86 (boys and girls).	37 ²	

The aforementioned figures are reasonably typical in terms of gender relationship, far more boys being admitted than girls. It is also possible to see something of the backgrounds of Nottingham Day Industrial School inmates. For instance:

<u>Parent</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>No. Children</u>		<u>Remarks</u>
		<u>under 16</u>	<u>Four</u>	
(Gaffney) Mo.	Very small income.			
Indifferent Fa.	A boy 15 carries			
In America	parcels at station.			
(Mitchell) Mo. Spinster.	Lives with parents			
Very bad character.	and does lace work			
Has 5 children by 3	at home 3/- or 4/-			
different fathers	a week.			
		Five. One at the 'Clio' & two at the Day Ind. Sch.		The father of the eldest child deserted the woman and the other two fathers are dead A terrible case. ³

¹ Ibid., p 624.

² NSB, 'Quarterly Report of the Bye Laws Committee,' 30 June, 1886, p.9 in Minute Books, Vol.7 (pp.382-98).

³ NSB, Bye Laws Committee Meeting Minutes, Dec.1883-Nov.1889, p.160.

We can also see the degree of poverty of families in Nottingham, including those in the Industrial School: the return of irrecoverable arrears shows constant remarks such as 'poverty', 'absolute poverty', 'father and mother dead', 'father deserted', 'poor widow', 'no trace of family', 'now in union' (the workhouse).¹

The log book for the Nottingham Day Industrial School is somewhat sparse of details, especially of content of work, concentrating more on attendance which is unusually high, often 100%. Yet most seemed to leave automatically at fourteen, as in this reference from 1886: 'Discharged Clara Corbett, having attained her 14 years of age.'² Obviously, any chance of further education was somewhat remote. Punishments are all recorded, but all appear to be for boys, which is unsurprising given the disparity in numbers admitted, such as this reference to the birching of two boys (detained for theft) for the theft of a 'pony and trap and six mackerels.'³

References to girls, however, make clear a lack of recreation facilities for girls: 'The two girls in the school helped in the house and kitchen, and also did a little plain sewing . . . There was no separate playground for girls, and consequently the school could not receive more than the merest handful.'⁴ Further, we can see how girls were disadvantaged by the lack of facilities from the NSB Minute Books: 'The play yard is cramped, and there is no covered play shed. There is no proper provision for the girls, and they consequently have no play or drill. The boys have dumb-bell exercise and drill.'⁵

It has been impossible to locate any detailed information on Industrial Schools and their pupils or to trace the careers of any individual children, but we have established that girls were not sent to Industrial Schools, in Nottingham and elsewhere, in anything like the same numbers as boys. Further, that whilst in Industrial Schools, girls' education mirrored

¹ NSB, Bye Laws Committee Meeting Minutes, 1889-1898, p.200.

² Nottingham Day Industrial School (George Street), Log Book, 1886-1905, p.9 (2 April, 1886).

³ *Ibid.*, p.11 (30 April, 1886).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.228 (taken from an undated news cutting).

⁵ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.17, p.624.

the domestic element of elementary schools and, if anything, exceeded it, this being the only vocational training given to girls, as explicitly stated of York Girls' Industrial School that 'Girls are trained for service.'¹ That said, what was offered to boys was little better.

Workhouse and Ragged Schools

Elementary education for the lowest scholars of the working class was often provided in either ragged schools, due to children's ragged appearance which excluded them from mainstream schools, or in the workhouse, which often provided a better education than was available outside, due to the children being resident and, therefore, unable to abscond.

The Nottingham Workhouse was situated on York Street in the city centre and always had children in residence: 256 in 1844, falling to 124 in 1871.² Yet, despite a better education in the three R's at least (according to a mid century HMI, Mr. Bowyer), workhouse schools offered little more than industrial schools in terms of industrial training. In Nottingham Workhouse, this was mainly shoe making and tailoring for boys, an unsatisfactory arrangement because of the sedentary nature of the work and the danger of over stocking the trade.³ Nottingham, however, was unusual in that it offered industrial training at all; it seems that nothing was given to girls, other than 'the making and mending of the clothing of the house afforded them a constant and appropriate occupation. They are always employed for 2 hours of the afternoon in sewing and knitting, and become, in some places, accomplished needlewomen.'⁴ Girls also had other domestic chores and thereby gained an effective domestic education that, presumably, was meant to provide for all their future needs. Not all children in the workhouse were educated in the workhouse, however; some were boarded out with local families and sent to local schools.

¹ NSB, Bye Laws Committee Meeting Minutes, Dec 1883-1889, p.108.

² Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., pp.432-3.

³ Ibid., p.438.

⁴ Ibid., p.439.

The Ragged Schools catered for the city's poorest children as can be seen from this description, albeit not specific to Nottingham:

Who is this pressing his little wistful face through the iron railings beneath the stone portico with 'Infants' carved on it in large letters?

"This child must come to school, too; he must be more than six years old?" I ask of the attentive janitor, who is directing me on my way.

"He'll be at the school in B_____ Street; there's none of that class here. There's a school in B_____ Street, over there, for the likes of him."

"Do you go to school?" I ask the little boy, speaking as pleasantly as I could.

The child was sucking on an empty lobster tin; he was very dirty, and his feet were bare. Looking up into my face, he shook his head; he did not look exactly like a waif or stray child; his clothes were more grimy than ragged.¹

As we noted in Chapter 1, the various churches established ragged schools around the middle of the nineteenth century, but few documents have survived. The Church of England-run Nottingham Ragged School on Newcastle Street in the city has left us some information, however, and we can see that the children attending the school were not noted for their high achievement: of 93 children aged between seven and thirteen in 1879, only seven had reached Standard IV (the highest in the school): two were eleven year olds, four twelve year olds, and one aged thirteen. Many of the nine, ten and eleven year olds and six twelve year olds were still in Standard I.² The Inspector's Report of 1886 complains of the low standards achieved: 'Considering how little is attempted, there seems to be no reason why at least fair results should not be obtained.'³ A memo from the Education Department regarding the above report makes clear just how poor the standards were:

¹ R.L., 'A Plea for Industrial Training for Girls,' Lord Brabazon (ed.), Reforms, op. cit., pp.122-9, p.127.

² Examination Schedule for Nottingham Ragged School, Newcastle Street, 1879. Nottinghamshire Archives (DDBW/241/2)

³ Nottingham Ragged School, Inspection Report, 8 July, 1886. Nottinghamshire Archives (DDBW/241/68).

It is idle in the face of the results obtained in the mixed school to say that the children were far more advanced than they have ever been before. The school has never done well, but this year the writing and arithmetic were, in the words of my assistant, who revised the papers, 'beyond description wretched.' Every allowance is made for the character of the school, and it is owing to that allowance, that no deduction, in spite of bad results, has hitherto been recommended.'¹

Needlework for girls, however, was not as bad as everything else: 'Very simple Sewing and Knitting are very fairly done. The girls might easily and in larger numbers be pushed forward more rapidly to do higher work,' which illustrates the importance of this subject.

Yet the Ragged School's work reached beyond just the children to the parents and older brothers and sisters of pupils. The needlework class was important here, too: 'The Girls' Sewing Class has been greatly affected by the continued depression in trade, it is hoped that another year a revival in this very useful class will take place.'² Religion was also important and still considered to be necessary even in the days of board schools as 'various other important labours carried on for the spiritual and temporal good of both adults and children.'³ The school also held Mothers' Meetings as 'a means of affording much temporal and spiritual good to those attending . . . An allowance of 2d in the shilling is made to the women on all goods they purchase, the fund for providing which is obtained from the contributions of friends.'⁴ The meetings took place every Monday evening throughout the year and were conducted by 'ladies'. This charitable aspect is evident throughout the school from the 'Supper of Bread and Butter and Coffee is given to the Children, and it is, especially in these hard times, much appreciated, and satisfies many an empty stomach,'⁵ after the night schools which take place during the winter months. Also a charitable concern was the Dorcas Society which sold clothes cheaply and donated cast

¹ Memo. from Education Department, 24 July, 1886. Nottinghamshire Archives (DDBW/241/69).

² 39th Annual Report of the Nottingham Ragged School, Nottingham, 1886, p.9.

³ Ibid., p 8.

⁴ Ibid., p.9.

⁵ Ibid., p 9.

off clothing to parents, as well as the Blanket Loan Society (which loaned blankets cheaply to the poor during winter) and the Soup Kitchen, which provided 'a wholesome and satisfying meal to the half starving recipients.'¹ Whether this was done out of pure charity or a desire to protect themselves and their property from rebellious destruction, or a combination of both, will never be known. But middle class influence can also be seen in the Penny Banks for both adults and children, which 'have been found to encourage thrift and to have been productive of much good,'² and in the treats for children and Food Fund (both supplied by collections from 'friends') for Winter Evenings Suppers.³ (See the list of meetings and classes reproduced here).

¹ *Ibid.*, p.10.

² *Ibid.*, p.10.

³ *Ibid.*, p.10

LIST OF MEETINGS, CLASSES,

And other Operations of the Institution

BOYS

FREE DAY SCHOOL	9 to 12 a.m., 2 to 4 15 p.m.
SUNDAY SCHOOL	9 15 a.m., 2 p.m.
NIGHT SCHOOL	Tuesday, 7 to 9 p.m.

GIRLS.

FREE DAY SCHOOL	9 to 12 a.m., 2 to 4 15 p.m.
SUNDAY SCHOOL	9 15 a.m., 2 p.m.
INDO-CHINIAN SWING CLASS AND NIGHT SCHOOL	Thursday, 7 to 9 p.m.

INFANTS.

FREE DAY SCHOOL	9 to 12 a.m., 2 to 4 15 p.m.
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WOMEN.

MOTHERS' MEETING	Monday Evening, 6 30 to 8 30
COAL CLUB	
FLAGSHIP CLUB	In connection with ditto

MISCELLANEOUS OPERATIONS

SPECIAL SERVICES for SCHOLARS	Sunday Morning, 10 to 11
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SPECIAL SERVICES for PARENTS, ADULT SCHOLARS, and others	Sunday Evening, 6 30
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DORCAS SOCIETY	for supplying Ready Made Clothing
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BLANKET LOAN CHARITY	
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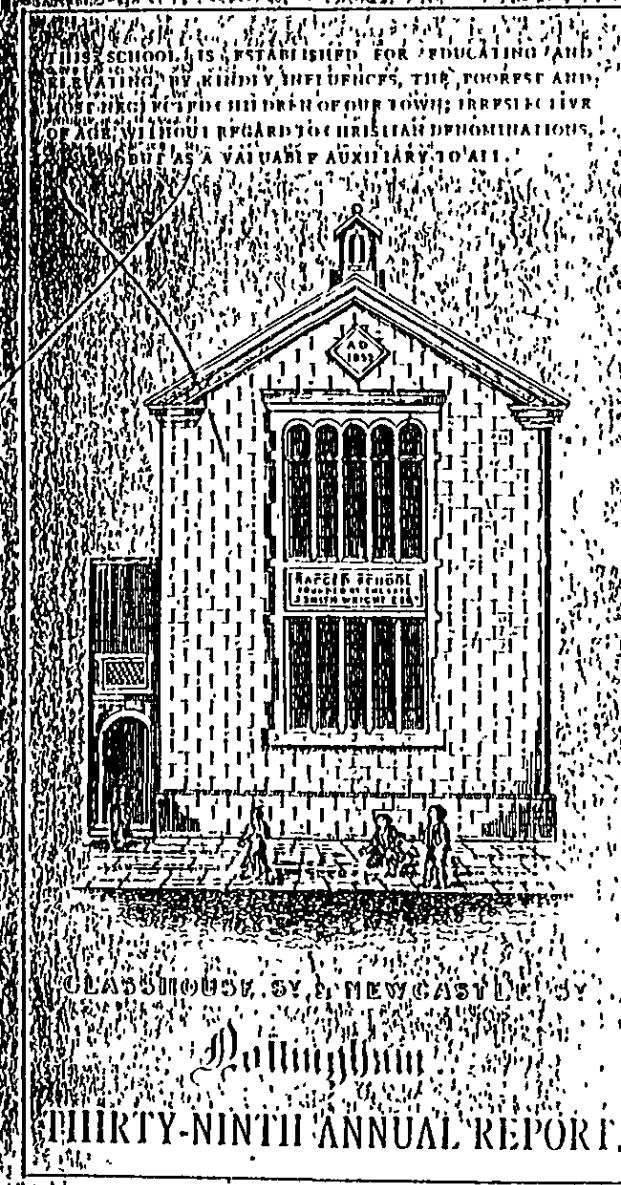
CHILDREN'S PLAYING BANK	Monday 12 to 1 p.m., Saturday Evening, 8 to 9 o'clock
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ADULT'S PLAYING BANK	Saturday Evening, 8 to 9 o'clock.
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SCHOOL TREATS	
SOUP KITCHEN, &c.	In Report

MISSIONARY LABOURS amongst the Children and Parents and in the surrounding neighbourhood	Attend at the School house from 9 to 9 15 a.m., and from 2 to 2 15 p.m. to receive instructions from person willing to be visited in sickness or otherwise
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DDB 00230



CHAPTER TWELVE

Higher Grade Schools

Higher Grade, Higher Standard or Higher Elementary schools were designed for those children bright enough (and from sufficiently comfortable families) to remain at school for advanced work after compulsory attendance ended at the age of fourteen and Standard IV. The advanced level of work allowed some children from elementary schools, even some from working class families, to make the transition from state school to university, and many others to enjoy a higher level of education than ever before. However, before the demise of the NSB, the legitimacy of the Higher Grade School was brought into question, resulting in the infamous Cockerton Judgment. We can see this brewing from the NSB Minute Books:

These schools, which are the natural outgrowth of the Elementary schools, have been in operation more than twenty years. Their establishment by the School Boards was encouraged and fostered by the Education Department. The buildings were sanctioned and loans granted for their erection by the exercise of the statutory authority of the Education Department controlling School Boards. The schools were recognized for grant purposes by the Education Department and by the Science and Art Department. Recently, however, the Boards have been prevented from developing this part of primary education, and some schools actually built for the purpose of higher grade instruction have been refused grants by South Kensington. The Boards are now told by the Board of Education that there is no authority in law for School Boards to carry on Higher Grade Schools.¹

¹ Memo. of the Executive Committee of the Association of School Boards (England and Wales) in Minute Books, Vol.22, p 498 (1900).

From this we may deduce that the Education Department is being somewhat fickle: having formerly endorsed the Higher Grade Schools, it later accuses them of operating illegally. This latter point can be seen in the statement of Sir John Gorst to the House of Commons on 3 May, 1900: 'The School Boards are now supporting these schools in an illegal manner from the school funds.'¹ This statement, however, is somewhat at odds with another which quotes Sir John Gorst from exactly the same date:

In the spring of the present year, when the New Code was before the House of Commons, a Minute was passed by the Board of Education ostensibly to promote the objects of these Higher Grade schools, and Sir John Gorst, speaking of the Minute and the Code, said they were "conceived with the desire to advance the elementary education of the country" and, further, that "the Minute afforded the opportunity of placing these schools on a legal and legitimate footing."²

It is ironic that Gorst seems to contradict himself with regard to Higher Grade Schools; again he switches sides with regard to advanced work for bright children:

When you have Secondary schools established ~ as I have every hope they soon will be ~ you will find in them the legitimate place for those clever children of the working classes whose parents will make sacrifices for their education.³

It is not surprising that School Boards found these contradictions confusing and disheartening, enough to say that: 'It is now found that the Board of Education is unwilling to encourage such schools.'⁴ Even science schools now had to be 'schools of science of an elementary character.'⁵

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.22, p.498.

² Ibid., p.498.

³ Ibid., p 499.

⁴ Ibid., p.498.

⁵ Ibid., p.498.

Thus, we may suppose that when School Boards throughout the country were building higher grade schools and encouraging advanced work they did so with the backing of the Education Department and in the belief of their continued support.

The People's College was established in 1846 by public subscription as a superior grade school for the working classes; in 1880, the college was transferred to the NSB as Nottingham's first Higher Grade School for 480 boys and 300 girls:

It should be a school in which boys and girls of ability, and whose parents desire it, may have the opportunity of pursuing effectually the study of specific subjects of instruction laid down in the Fourth Schedule of the New Code, or such other subjects as the Board may determine with reference to the requirements of local industries.¹

Admission was by examination only at Standard IV, at a fee of 9d per week (with reductions in the case of poverty). By 1886, the numbers of scholars were as follows:

Standard IV: Boys: 63 Girls: 71	Standard VI: Boys: 71 Girls: 62
Standard V: Boys: 70 Girls: 52	Standard VII: Boys: 104 Girls: 65 ²

The general course, with a bias towards Science and Art Directory subjects, included history, geography, maths, French and German, music, grammar, Latin, with Needlework and Domestic Economy for girls and chemistry, practical geometry and machine construction for boys. For those children who had passed Standard VII and still wished to remain in school, a Standard VIII was created with a curriculum aimed at Oxford and Cambridge Locals.

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.4, p 121 (Aug., 1880).

² NSB, 'Report of Three Years Work 1883-6,' 1886, p.21 in Minute Books Vol.7 (p.488).

HIGH PAVEMENT STANLEY ROAD BOARD SCHOOL.
Higher Grade Syllabus of Co-Education extending over Five Years.

Scripture	Literary	Commercial	Science, Mathematics, &c	Art	Technical Training.	Music	Spec'd to Girls	Physical
Scripture and Moral Instruction	English Language Elementary notions of Logic English History French German Latin	Book keeping Shorthand Typewriting Commercial Correspondence French Correspondence German Correspondence Geography Map Drawing	Mathematics (First notions of Logic preparatory to Geometry) Mechanics Physics, Theoretical " Practical Sound, Light, & Heat Magnetism and Electricity Chemistry, Theoretical Practical Human Physiology	Freehand Drawing Model Geometry Perspective Light and Shade from Crusts Blackboard	Manual Instruc- tion in Wood work Cardboard Work Clay Modelling Making and setting up of Apparatus Physical and Chemical	Vocal Music Old Notation Tonic Sol fa	Needlework Cookery Laundry Work Household Management Dressmaking	Drill Gymnasium Practice Swimming Girls Calisthenics Free Games
					Pencil sketching from Nature	Taximetric and Intuitive, or Natural Geometry		Boys, Cricket Football Rounders Girls, Lawn Tennis

NOTE.—The Nottingham Corporation have kindly promised to repay certain examination fees or portions of them in the case of scholars who pass well in the College of Preceptors or other higher examinations (see page 24).
 Discretionary

By 1889, a commercial department was added at the People's College and, in May, two new Higher Grade Schools were established: Queen's Walk and Huntingdon Street. In 1892, High Pavement was transferred to the School Board. In this year the schools were reorganized into science and commercial schools as follows:

<u>Science Schools</u>	<u>Commercial Schools</u>
People's College Boys	High Pavement Boys and Girls
Queen's Walk Boys	People's College Girls
Huntingdon Street Boys	Queen's Walk Girls ¹

We can see from this that no provision existed for girls to study science. (See also the copy of the Syllabus for High Pavement School for 1896).²

According to the NSB Minute Books, draft plans were made for another Higher Grade School at Clifton Estate, The Meadows, in 1896 with accommodation for 502 boys and 402 girls, plus:

<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
1 Chemistry Laboratory	1 Cookery Room
1 Physical Laboratory	1 Laundry Room
1 Lecture Room ³	

By the end of the nineteenth century, the basis existed for secondary education for the working classes in Nottingham; Wardle cites the early successes as follows:

One London M.A.
 First prize in honours chemistry at Victoria University
 Final examination in R.I.C.
 Two first classes in Part I of the National Science Tripos at Cambridge
 Four assorted scholarships to Universities
 One student who had already completed a two year course at Zurich
 and was employed by Siemens & Co.⁴

¹ Wardle, 'Experiments in Vocational Education,' op. cit., p.33.

² High Pavement, Stanley Road Board School, Higher Grade Syllabus, p.11.

³ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.17, p 302.

⁴ Wardle, 'Experiments in Vocational Education,' op. cit., p.34.

Wardle then, however, notes that all of the above were 'ex-board school boys' who had worked their way up through the scholarship system, implying that girls did not make the same achievements which, as we shall see later, was not true. We must also remember that the middle classes used the board schools quite extensively, so it is difficult to determine the class status of Higher Grade School and Secondary School pupils.

However, Higher Grade Schools continued to flourish and, even after the end of the School Board era and formation of the County Council, the number of Higher Standard Schools increased: head teacher Thomas Parks noted the opening of Carlton Netherfield Higher Standard School in the log book: the school opened at 9am on the 5 April, 1910 with 57 boys and 35 girls, including 21 boys and 12 girls in Standard VII. Pupils were taken from Carlton Boys' and Girls' Schools, Chandos Street School and Ashwell Street School.¹ A Higher Standard School also existed at West Bridgford.

All of the above suggests that advanced level work was available to the whole of the working classes in Nottingham, which is not entirely the case. Carlton Netherfield School notes the difficulties of pursuing advanced work when the girls spend a whole day (9:30 - 4:30) every week at the cookery centre: 'It is very awkward to have breaks like this at the beginning of the year when the new work is being taught.'² This makes it apparent that even in Higher Grade Schools, domestic subjects took precedence over academic subjects. Yet Beatrice Whiting managed to achieve good results in academic subjects as well as domestic at Huntingdon Street Higher Grade School. (See the copy of her certificate of merit reproduced here). It is worth noting that Beatrice not only took Algebra but Euclid as well, not noted as being a female subject, and did very well at both, actually earning her only 'Excellent' for Euclid.

¹ Carlton Netherfield Higher Standard School, Log Book, 1910-35, p.1.

² *Ibid.*, p.41 (6 Sept., 1911).



Gift of Nottingham School Board.

Certificate of Merit.

— HONOURS GRADE. —

Girls DEPARTMENT. Nottingham St SCHOOL.

This is to Certify that Beatrice F. Whiting

has satisfactorily passed a Special Examination equal to the University Local Junior Stage in the following subjects:—

Subject.	Character of Results obtained.
Reading	Good
Dictation	Very Good
Penmanship	Good
Composition	Good
English	Very Fair
Geography	Good
History	Very Fair
Euclid	Excellent
Algebra	Fair
French	Fair
Needlework	Fair

Signed F. Hatchney Board Inspector.

Date March 1912

Countersigned J. J. J. Clerk of Board.

But the main problem with the Higher Grade Schools was the cost. Queen's Walk School's log book notes that 91 children had passed the secondary school exam, but that not all would be attending: some, it seems, did not want to 'or their parents are unable to keep them till 16.'¹

This really goes to the heart of the matter: even if a scholarship was available, it did not cover the cost of a uniform and did not take into account lost wages. For girls there was the extra significance of their value in the home, caring for younger children, helping with cooking and housework, and assisting in lace work etc. This is supported by oral sources, taken at random, without any reference to class or background; none, however, had attended a Higher Grade School, and many had never heard of them:

... I was good at reading, and I was good at reckoning, which I still am. And it was arithmetic as got me through the exam for Mundella, but we had to go down to the education office ~ 'cos she couldn't afford the fees and the uniform and everything ~ and they pay a bit, but it was still too much and really, you see, she needed me to go to work 'cos I was the eldest.

Q: Couldn't you get a scholarship to cover the fees and the uniform?

A: No . . . they allow you so much, but you have to find the rest yourself. I never heard of them giving anything towards a uniform, and they were expensive, you know. So I had to leave school at fourteen and go to work.²

Thomas Hunt confirms the difficulties of getting a scholarship to a Higher Grade or Secondary School and the attendant financial problems:

¹ Queen's Walk School, Log Book, 1895-1909, p.410 (14 July, 1907). Queen's Walk became Mundella Secondary School, named after the local businessman and councillor, A J Mundella.

² Leonora Lambert.

Q: Was there any possibility of going on to a secondary school or college, like Mundella?

A: Well, you could, but you 'ad to apply to the council and they made you grovel and you still had to pay some, like, and then the uniforms as well, you didn't get any help with that. Well, mother and father couldn't afford to pay and when I started work I was bringing in four and six a week, so it all helped.

Lily Morris was, if anything, more resolute in her opinion on the possibility of scholarships etc.: 'No, there wasn't nothin' . . . You had your schooling till fourteen, then you left and went to work, and that was it.'

We can see then that Sir John Gorst's estimation that clever children whose parents were prepared to make sacrifices should be allowed a secondary education, does not take into account the poverty that prohibited many children from having a chance at this level of education.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Pupil Teachers and Teachers

Pupil Teachers

These were generally the brighter children, looking towards a career in teaching in elementary schools, either board or church, who engaged on a five year pupil teacher training course between the ages of thirteen and eighteen, prior to attending a training college. In Nottingham, the People's College was the first Pupil Teacher Centre; indeed it had been involved in the training of teachers since its establishment in 1847. Life was hard for Pupil Teachers, as they were committed to a full week's teaching with their own tuition by the head teacher before and after school and homework for the evenings and weekends. As well as academic proficiency, prospective Pupil Teachers had to prove themselves to be of good character, morally pure and church goers; indeed, this latter trio of qualities often seemed to be more important than the former. Pupil Teacher agreements show that youngsters were liable to dismissal without notice for idleness, disobedience or immoral conduct.¹

This may, at least, have been the theory, but comments in the log books indicate that Pupil Teachers were able to indulge in constant bad behaviour without even the threat of dismissal. Carlton National School appears to have had the worst problem with badly behaved male Pupil Teachers: there are frequent references to bad work and rudeness to teachers, as well as violence towards the children, such as hitting a girl with a stick and 'Wm. Brettle "chucked" a pointer at a child and struck her on the breast. The parents in consequence have threatened to send her to the Board School. The teacher has been severely reprobated.'²

¹ See Dent, H. C., The Training of Teachers in England and Wales 1800-1975, Kent, 1975 for a full discussion of Pupil Teachers.

² Carlton National School, Log Book, 1869-1905, p.215 (23 April, 1880).

The Pupil Teacher, however, was not dismissed, despite the illegality of his behaviour in assaulting a child. Constant criticism appears of a Pupil Teacher known only as Randles: 'He is constantly hitting some of the children.'¹ Nothing appears to be done and the youth later leaves of his own accord. Also recorded are numerous complaints from parents regarding the punishment of their children by Pupil Teachers. The school log books and NSB Minute Books give some idea of the subject matter of Pupil Teachers' lives, such as this entry from High Pavement Girls' School's log book, which gives the weekly lessons throughout August of 1884:

Monday: Arithmetic ~ Theory and Practice
 Tuesday: Grammar and School Management
 Wednesday: Geography and Memory
 Thursday: History and Reading
 Friday: Instruction in miscellaneous subjects²

How far this scheme differs for boys is unclear as no comparable details exist, but in the field of arithmetic there were some differences:

	<u>MALES</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>
<u>Candidates</u>	Work prescribed for Standards V and VI. New Code	Work required in Standard V. New Code and Vulgar Fractions
<u>1st Year</u>	Work of previous year to be thoroughly known	Work required by the Code with the addition of Vulgar and Decimal Fractions
<u>2nd Year</u>	Simple and Compound proportion and interest, square root, and Stocks and shares	More advanced knowledge of previous year, with Simple Proportion.
<u>3rd Year</u>	Work required by the Code with Mensuration of surfaces bounded by straight lines	Previous work to be more thoroughly known with the addition of Compound Proportion
<u>4th Year</u>	More advanced problems in work of previous years, with the Mensuration of plane surfaces and some of the simpler solids ³	More advanced problems in work of previous years, with Simple and Compound interest, and stocks and shares

¹ Ibid., p.273 (19 Oct , 1883).

² High Pavement Girls' School, Log Book, 1863-92, no page numbers.

³ NSB, 'Scheme for Collective Instruction of Pupil Teachers,' 10 Aug., 1882, p.189a in Minute Books, Vol.4 (189-90).

We can see from the above, not only the areas of arithmetic never attempted by girls, but also the areas in which boys were permanently ahead of the girls i.e. Simple and Compound Interest. Yet it is in the field of domestic subjects where the main gender differences appear with Pupil Teachers, as with other pupils. Note this early entry from High Pavement School's log book:

Superintended a domestic Economy Lesson given by Laura Mason. The lesson showed increased power on the part of the teacher in recapitulation (sic) the results were very satisfactory as to particular facts and general intelligence. Also recapitulated a lesson in Domestic Economy by H. Baker (sic) subject "Lighting by candles and oil lamps". The lesson had been thoroughly done on the part of the teacher but the girls require to be made to give answers in sentences.¹

We are not told what male Pupil Teachers were doing whilst their female counterparts are engaged on lessons such as these; even if manual work is being done it cannot account for the whole of the time spent on domestic subjects, especially given the importance of Needlework. The NSB Minute Books show what is expected of female Pupil Teachers in this subject:

Exercise for First Year: Cut out in calico a doll's pinafore (cottage shape). Fix and make it up as far as time will allow.

Cutting out is not definitely mentioned in the Code. The term "cottage shape" is almost obsolete and much confusion seems to have been caused by teachers not understanding the same.

Exercise for Second Year: Herring-bone a square of flannel (6 inches square), darn as for a thin place (12 rows).

The Code requires the Teacher to take the following materials for the above exercise:

¹ High Pavement Girls' School, Log Book, 1863-92, no page numbers (28 Dec., 1878).

Piece of calico, 19 inches square
 Piece of tape, 2½ inches long
 1 linen button, unpierced
 Piece of flannel, 6 inches square
 suitable needles and sewing cotton¹

The same document continues with more detailed information on material used and Pupil Teachers' performances:

The girl who obtained the highest marks (55) was Ada Sharley, London Road School, but she, feeling the exercise could not be well done on flannel worked it on a piece of stocking web ~ which the teachers were not supposed to have. Three teachers however had such pieces. The next on the list, Bessie Bond, People's College (50 marks) used stocking web and so also did Maggie Bastow who obtained 35 marks ~ 5 marks above the average. Whence the conclusion that additional marks may be obtained by departing from the instructions for examination.

The Committee have given the matters their consideration and they feel that the uncertainty of the Needlework requirement and the extremely high standard apparently taken discourage students and tend to repress the efforts of both the Pupil Teachers and their Needlework Instructors.

The Committee accordingly recommend that a communication be sent to the Education Department asking that steps be taken to remove these causes of complaint ~ which appears to be almost universal against the present system of Needlework examination.²

¹ NSB, 'Science and Art Time Table for Session 1889/9,' pp.519-20 in Minute Books, Vol.9 (227-8).

² *Ibid.*, p 520-1.

From this we can see the constraints under which female Pupil Teachers laboured, as well as the difficulties of their (female) tutors, caused by inferior materials.

We can also see from the general knowledge component, the differences between the sexes in terms of requirements:

In order more accurately to compare the work of the Boy and Girl Pupil Teachers in the subjects taken by all, a separate list is presented, shewing (sic) the marks obtained by the boys in Euclid, Algebra and Mensuration, the girls not having been examined in these subjects.¹

We might also add that the boys were not examined in the plethora of domestic subjects with which the girls were bombarded, Needlework being the chief one. The Inspectress, Mrs. Roadknight, advises students to practice at home as much as possible, as it is impossible to prepare for exams in the one hour allowed at school: 'Needlework is an art; it is a failing subject.'² She also laments the poor quality of materials supplied by the Board with which the girls had to work. By looking at the results of the same girls in both the General Knowledge and Needlework exams for the year of 1893, we can begin to assess the relative importance of both subjects: Ethel Adkin of Southwark School and Gertrude Cross of Sneinton School both received 'Good' passes in General Knowledge, but 'Fail' in Needlework, whilst Dora Soar received one of three 'Excellent' passes in General Knowledge, but only 'Fair' in Needlework.

This phenomenon of failing in Needlework yet passing as a whole, is repeated year after year, with different Pupil Teachers. It seems ironic that Needlework is such an important subject in school and to Needlework inspectresses like Mrs. Roadknight, yet failing it seems unimportant for Pupil Teachers as long as other subjects are passed.

¹ NSB, 'School Management Committee Results of Pupil Teachers Examination in General Knowledge,' 18 July, 1893, p.485 in Minute Books, Vol.14 (pp.481-500).

² NSB, 'School Management Committee Results of Pupil Teachers Examination in Needlework,' 18 July, 1893, p 505 in Minute Books, Vol.14 (pp.501-16).

This, however, is hardly borne out by the statement of HMI Frederick Chasteney regarding the Needlework exam for Pupil Teachers:

The specimens of Sewing were in almost all cases remarkably well done, but in the cutting-out exercises there was a want of knowledge of proportion and of the quantity of material required.

The marks obtainable for this subject have been considerably increased for three reasons:

- 1) On account of the importance of the subject.
- 2) Because the exercises in both Sewing and Cutting-out had to be performed in order to obtain full marks.
- 3) So that the maximum number of marks obtainable for all subjects might be the same for both males and females.¹

The reports for the following year elaborate on this theme further: to make it easier, the exam is divided into two parts: the boys being examined in Maths, the girls in Needlework. This is to leave the evening of Thursday 16 and the whole of Saturday the 18 July (1891) free for the remaining subjects, taken by both sexes: Arithmetic, Composition, Grammar, Geography, History, Teaching Practice, Penmanship and Music; unsurprisingly, girls were inferior to boys in Arithmetic. Needlework, however:

... is very satisfactory as a whole and the cutting out has greatly improved, but the knowledge of preparation, and the size of garments, is not by any means perfect. For instance, some of the bodice patterns would only fit a large doll, while a night-shirt sixty six inches long, with sleeves thirty six inches in length would be rather large for an ordinary man . . . A large number of the Third Year teachers either omitted the "hedge tear" darn or worked it incorrectly; while others, in darning an

¹ NSB, 'School Management Committee Results of the Pupil Teachers Examination in Needlework,' 16 and 18 July, 1890, p.198 in Minute Books, Vol.11 (pp.195-204).

ordinary tear, surrounded it by beautiful stitches, but left the edges of the hole loose and ragged.¹

It is apparent, then, that Needlework is still of the highest importance, although failing it at least some of the time, does not entail disqualification. However, I have not located anyone who consistently failed Needlework throughout her term as a Pupil Teacher. Perhaps, its importance was such that its being passed was sufficiently strongly impressed upon girls that they eventually made the grade.

Away from the content of Pupil Teachers' school work, we can see a lively intelligence exhibited in the content of Pupil Teachers' magazines, as seen here in this article entitled 'One type of the Modern Man' by 'Dame Disdain' in The Utmost for the Highest Society Magazine, in which early feminist tendencies are illustrated:

During his infancy he is the centre of an admiring group which is at first composed of aunts, but which widens out until it includes ladies from far and near; and here let me state the significant fact that it is chiefly ladies who waste their affections on him.

During these "tender years" he is waited upon hand and foot until school rescues him for a short period. Strange to say, this is the only part of his life when he is not "tied to apron strings"; and instead of being "the little darling" he is not "that horrid boy".

But he finally emerges from this stage and is launched out upon life. He again assumes his rights as a despot, and again the women folk bow down to him. He is often attached to the ballroom, for it is there that he can exert his fascinations to his heart's content. Mark him well! The suffocating, all enshrouding collar, the

¹ NSB, School Management Committee Results of the Pupil Teachers Examination in General Knowledge, 16 and 18 July, 1891, p.419 in Minute Books, Vol.11 (pp.408-29).

perfumed handkerchief, the dainty flower in his coat, and above all the well-dressed head! He speaks! The ladies press around to hear. "Aw, aw," he murmurs, "room awfully hot doncherknow." They applaud. He inwardly pats himself on the back for this sage remark and condescends to be affable.

But there are times when he is seen in another light. He can wax eloquent ~ upon ties! He displays perfect taste as his tailor knows, when discussing the latest style in headgear. He knows to a nicety how to carry his gloves ~ and this is one of the "Lords of Creation"! and we must bow down to him therefore! But shall we? ~ No! Decidedly No!!!¹

Teachers

Despite this being a thesis on education, a chapter on teaching owes its relevancy to the importance of the teacher in the lives of school children, especially in the transmission of middle class values. Teaching was also the main profession open to women of both middle and working class and was a major factor in the provision of higher education to women. In 1885, NSB made arrangements with University College Nottingham for teachers to attend evening classes, leading to a joint college and board certificate being awarded to those who completed a three year course and passed exams at the end.² Yet, this cramming process led to ill health on the part of the teachers and, ultimately, to the formation of the Day Training College. For the main part, teachers in elementary schools, largely intended for the working classes, were themselves from working class backgrounds. Occasionally, girls from lower middle class backgrounds, also using elementary schools, would enter such teaching, but most middle class girls would have aimed for higher things, if paid work featured at all in their prospects. Even until late in our period, the middle class ideal of keeping a non-working wife and, often, daughters was

¹ The Utmost for the Highest Society Magazine, No.2, Vol.I, no date (handwritten) in Hucknall Pupil Teacher Scrapbook, 1906-12. Nottinghamshire Archives (SBX 90/1).

² Thomas, J.B., 'Amos Henderson and the Nottingham Day Training College,' Journal of Educational Administration and History, No.18, Vol.2, 1986, pp.24-33, p.25.

important to many men, including those in the upper echelons of the working class. This and other aspects of the life of a young teacher can be seen in Lawrence's The Rainbow as Ursula, from a lower middle class background, gains an education at the Nottingham Girls' High School (NGHS) and becomes qualified to a teach by passing her matriculation, yet is opposed by her father who has a little money and for whom 'His daughters might by ladies'.¹ Yet, for Ursula, the salary of £50 per annum would be sufficient to live independently. Full of optimism in expectation of a place at Kingston Upon Thames, she is forced by her father to accept a place at Brinsley Street Board School in a poor district of Ilkeston, just over the border of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Even then, she dreamed of how 'She would make the little, ugly children love her,'² but soon became disillusioned by the reality and by hostility from both pupils and teachers: 'This is the big room ~ Standard 5 ~ 6 ~ 7 ~ Here's your place ~ Five,'³ she is told by fellow teacher Miss Harby, and finds herself teaching a class of fifty children in a room with two other classes, without any training and at the age of seventeen. As the head master, further down the room, took his class in mental arithmetic, Ursula realized that she was expected to do the same:

Down the room she heard the rapid firing of questions. She stood before her class not knowing what to do. She waited painfully. Her block of children, 50 unknown faces, watched her, hostile, ready to jeer. She felt as if she were in torture over a fire of faces On every side she was naked to them. Of unutterable length and torture the seconds went by . . . The day passed incredibly slowly. She never knew what to do, there came horrible gaps, when she was merely exposed to the children; and when, relying on some pert little girl for information, she had started a lesson, she did not know how to go on with it properly.⁴

Further, she felt intimidated by the head master, Mr. Harby:

¹ Lawrence, The Rainbow, op. cit., p.359.

² *Ibid.*, p.370.

³ *Ibid.*, p.372

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.376.

She did not know how to teach, and she felt she never would know. Mr. Harby came down every now and then to her class, to see what she was doing. She felt so incompetent as he stood by, bullying and threatening, so unreal, that she wavered, became neutral and non existent.¹

She learned to hate the head master, but received criticism from other teachers, too, one of whom tells her to get a tighter grip on her class or:

... they'll get you down if you don't tackle 'em pretty quick. They'll pull you down, and worry you, till Harby gets you shifted ~ that's how it'll be. You won't be here in another six weeks ... Harby'll not help you. This is what he'll do ~ he'll let you go on, getting worse and worse, till you either clear out or he clears you out.²

We can see how the odds were stacked against a young inexperienced teacher in a hostile environment, with little or no help from her colleagues. The Rainbow is a work of fiction, but mirrors Lawrence's own experiences as a pupil teacher at Brinsley Street School in Ilkeston. Thus, what we read of Ursula's experiences we can accept as Lawrence's and, therefore, as a genuine representation of teaching in the early twentieth century. We learn that Ursula developed a dread of her work and that all the other teachers (Mr. Brunt, Miss Harby, and Miss Schofield) worked 'drudgingly, unwillingly at the graceless task of compelling many children into one disciplined, mechanical set, reducing the whole set to an automatic state of obedience and attention, and then of commanding their acceptance of various pieces of knowlege.'³

¹ Ibid., p.377.

² Ibid., p 379.

³ Ibid., p.382.

Hence, she felt inferior to Miss Harby, who 'could keep order and inflict knowledge on a class with remarkable efficiency.'¹ No wonder elementary teaching was criticized as being mechanical and uninteresting, and Ursula lost her high ideals regarding teaching: 'So her face grew more and more shut, and over her flayed, exposed soul of a young girl who had gone open and warm to give herself to the children, there set a hard, insentient thing, that worked mechanically according to a system imposed.'²

When she conceded defeat to the system and punished the boy Williams (see Chapter 9, the section on Punishment), the other teachers offer their fellowship: they accepted her once she had been 'broken in.'³

This view of teachers versus children is opposed by Mr. A.W. Black (MP and chairman of the Nottingham Education Committee) who spoke at the Assistant Teachers Federation Conference, held in Nottingham in 1906, when he stated that when he was a boy, children saw the teacher as 'their natural enemy', but all that had since changed.⁴ It is doubtful whether the children would agree, given the amounts of corporal punishment meted out in elementary schools.

On the subject of class size, Councillor Sands (Vice Chairman of the Nottingham Education Committee) insisted that he was opposed to large classes of sixty or seventy children!⁵ There was certainly a shortage of teachers in many schools, if entries in the log books are reliable. Like most schools, Carlton Girls' School could just cope if all teachers were present, but if just one was absent, the others had to combine classes, and at least one teacher was almost always away ill. Cookery lessons (ostensibly so important to female education) were continually cancelled due to the illness and absence of the cookery teacher, Miss Chappell. Added to this we see a relatively quick turnover of head teachers:

¹ Ibid., p 385.

² Ibid., p.395.

³ Ibid., p.407.

⁴ News cutting, The Guardian, Sat., 29 Sept., 1906.

⁵ Ibid.

28 February, 1901: Emma Griffin resigned
 4 March, 1901: Elizabeth Bailey appointed
 23 December, 1903: Elizabeth Bailey resigned
 11 January, 1904: Florence Davy appointed
 31 March, 1904: Florence Davy resigned
 4 April, 1904: Mary Kirsop appointed¹

At Carrington School, it is noticeable that whenever a teacher was absent all week, the pupil teachers lost their half day off for study as it was impossible to manage the school without them.² When Arnold Church Drive School noted the absence of 'another' teacher, one cannot help but suspect a pattern of absence; other references confirm this: 'This is very awkward as it is cookery day and cookery requires the whole of my attention so that I am obliged to leave the other classes.'³ References to the acute shortage of teachers continue over several years, with teachers having to take two classes simultaneously, and classes having to be rearranged or postponed, due to illness and absence for a variety of reasons. (One could speculate as to the reasons for the amounts of illness among teachers; it could possibly be due to the pressure of work, hours and the stress of the Government Inspection). This culminates in a letter from the head mistress to the Education Department:

Gentlemen,

May I again call your attention to the inadequacy of my present staff to carry on the work of the school efficiently. For a month now I have had the 5th Standard on my hands with no teacher for it. I cannot commence cookery until you give me another teacher nor can I supervise or examine any other class, and my clerical work must be done after school hours.

Some time ago the teacher's desk for the present 5th Standard room was removed to High Street Girls' School. I now wish to make application for one in its place.

¹ Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, various pages.

² Carrington Girls' and Infants' School, 1877-88, various pages.

³ Arnold Church Drive Girls' and Infants' School, Log Book, 1896-1902, p 23 (2 June, 1897).

Miss Stevenson informs me she is sending in her resignation tonight. I shall be glad if you will kindly consider providing a teacher in her place also that there may not be a continuation of the present state of affairs.¹

It is possible to see from this an acute teacher shortage in Nottingham's elementary schools, which can also be seen in the overcrowding of classrooms as seen earlier.

The log books also give us an indication of the background and qualifications of Nottingham teachers. A Beeston school log book notes some details of its teachers at the beginning before log book entries begin; for instance:

Miss Edith Bush. Born: 1875.

1st Class Diploma in Cookery and Laundry (both 1892) at the Nottingham Technical School for Women.

Commenced at this school: 1902

Left: 1909; reappointed: 1912

Miss Dorothy Florence Fletcher: Born: 1886

Pupil Teacher at Scotholme School, then Day Training College: 1906-8.

1st Class Certificate in Music and Singing.

Commenced duties as supply teacher: 1910

Miss Fanny Freckingham. Born: 1879

Pupil Teacher at Clay Cross Board School: 1895-9, then Nottingham University.

Exam: 1902. Not trained

No date of commencement. Left: 1916

Miss Helen Maguire. Born: 1890

Matriculation exam: 1909 (2nd Class)

Oxford and Cambridge Higher Certificate

Commenced this school: 1910

Miss Jessie Marsden. Born: 1883

Matriculation exam: 1901 (1st Class)

Commenced this school: 1904

Left: 1910

¹ Arnold Church Drive Girls' School, Log Book, 1902-19, p.78 (28 Nov., 1904).

Miss Annie Marie Suzanne Small. Born: 1883
 Matriculation exam: 1904 (2nd Class)
 Nottingham University: 2 years. Certificate exam: 1906. Trained
 Commenced this school: 1906¹

From the above we can see a variety of educational backgrounds, from untrained teachers who have been Pupil Teachers only to those with a University education. Despite this relatively high level occasional references occur such as this from Berridge Road Girls' School, that a particular pupil teacher has 'no aptitude' for teaching, but cannot be released until a replacement has been found.² Those who were lucky enough to attend the Day Training College at the University College Nottingham also had live pupils on which to practice: several log book references show pupils being taken to the college for criticism lessons, in this instance, from Huntingdon Street Girls' School, on such diverse topics as 'The Isle of Wight' and 'A tea cup'.³ At Queen's Walk, too, '72 girls from Standards IV and V were taken to the University College this afternoon to form "practice lessons" for students of the Day Training College,' in 1908.⁴ Whether all pupils used in this way were older (i.e. Standard IV and V) pupils or whether younger pupils and/or infants were used is unclear, as most references fail to state ages or standards. It is debatable just what, if anything, the children derived from these lessons: the main benefit appears to be for the students.

As to the content of teaching, much emphasis appears to have been given to the yearly Government Inspection, possibly as this had such an effect upon teachers' salaries. The log book for Huntingdon Street Girls' School refers to removing the slates from the whole school except Standard I as the children were 'to work entirely on paper until after the Government Inspection'.⁵ An even greater sense of apprehension pervades this statement from a later log book of the same school:

¹ Beeston Church Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1904-28, details prior to start of page numbering.

² Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1884-97, p 8 (4 July, 1884).

³ Huntingdon street Girl's School, Log Book, 1891-1912, p.133 (25 April, 1895).

⁴ Queen's Walk Girls' School, Log Book, 1899-1926, p.165 (25 March, 1908).

⁵ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.68 (2 July, 1879).

The mother of a girl (E. Dixon) in the 7th Standard came to tell the mistress that owing to domestic affairs she would be obliged to remove Edith from school. After some talk with the mistress she agreed to allow her to continue at school until after the Examination in Hygiene and Physiology provided she might be kept away on busy days.¹

This extract shows the importance of the grant to school life, and that teachers were not above horse trading where children's education was concerned in order to get the best for the school and themselves.

Given the importance of cookery in the school girls' curriculum, it should not be surprising to find the same subject to be of some consequence in the training of teachers. As John Thomas has noted, early women teachers were compelled to support the prevailing Victorian ideology which turned school girls into good wives and mothers.² Davies details at length the qualities needed in the cookery teacher as well as her responsibilities, insisting that a cookery teacher must be '... a gentlewoman. She must be educated, that she may be able to invest her subject with interest; sympathetic, that she may win confidence; tactful, that she may not offend prejudice.'³ Unusual among her contemporaries, Davies espouses some understanding of the realities of working class life, arguing that the course for intending teachers should be relevant to the lives of the children they teach.

In Nottingham, the NSB Minute Books give us some idea of the exact contents of the teachers' cookery course; note the following from the Colwick Street Cookery Centre from the late 1870's, where dishes made included:

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1891-1912, p.39 (11 Feb., 1892).

² Thomas, 'University College Bristol', *op. cit.*, p.66.

³ Davies, M., 'The Teaching of Cookery,' Contemporary Review, Jan. 1898, pp.106-14, p.107.

Roast meat	Grilled Mutton Chop	Stewed Steak
Mince Meat	Rabbit: stewed, stuffed and boiled	
Goblet Pie	School of Cookery Hash	
potatoes	Fried potatoes	potato macaroni
Spanish onions	Yorkshire pudding	pastry
peas soup	Onion soup	plain vegetable soup
Cabinet pudding	Tapioca pudding	tapioca jelly
Friar's Omelet	Corn flour mould	West Riding pudding
Roly pudding	Lemon pudding	Brown Bread pudding
Bread pudding	Apple Custard pudding	Prince Albert pudding
Excellent pudding	Cheesecakes	Lemon Cheesecakes
Seed Cake	Rock buns	Tea buns ¹

The above were taught in nine practical lessons, and show clearly the relevance to working class life. This is followed by a series of practical lessons given by the six intending teachers:

Gascon Soup ~ Miss Hodges
 Carrot Pudding ~ Miss Abbott
 Moulded Lentils ~ Mrs. Dickens
 Beef Olives ~ Miss Curtis
 Irish Stew ~ Miss Clark
 Macaroni Divine ~ Miss Wyld²

It is unclear whether this is the only practical teaching given by the teachers as a part of their course, but the exam consisted of a theoretical and a practical component: the theoretical side (the time allowed for which was two and a half hours), consisted of a choice of questions such as 'What are the principle nutritive properties of the following:- beef, fish, eggs, milk, fresh fruit and vegetables?'³

The training given to cookery teachers had keen relevance to working class homes and, if we recall the syllabus for school girls' cookery lessons, was mirrored in the teaching of their pupils.

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.3, p.323.

² Ibid ; teachers cookery class of 1878/9.

³ Ibid., p.388; theory exam date: 22/5/79.

If teachers seemed preoccupied with the inspection and earning of the Government grant, they can perhaps be forgiven in the light of their salaries, especially those of female teachers. The NSB Minute Books give us some detailed information with regard to the pay of both head and assistant teachers, and pupil teachers:

HEAD TEACHERS

<u>Boys' Department</u>	<u>Girls' Department</u>	<u>Infants</u>
a) £110 p.a. rising by £5 annually to £130 subject to satisfactory reports	£75 p.a. rising by £5 annually to £90 subject to satisfactory reports	£70 p.a. rising by £5 annually to £85 (as for girls)
b) one third gross grant from Education and Science Dept.	one quarter gross grant (as for boys)	(as for girls)
c) new code payment for pupil teachers	(as for boys)	(as for boys)

ASSISTANT TEACHERS

<u>Boys' Department</u> (Certificated)	<u>Girls' Department</u> (Certificated)
£80 p.a. rising by £5 p.a. to £90 subject to favourable reports from managers	£65 p.a. rising by £5 p.a. to £75 subject to favourable reports from managers
(Uncertificated) £52 to £70 p.a. according to special arrangement in each case	(Uncertificated) £40 to £60 p.a. according to special arrangement in each case

PUPIL TEACHERS

<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
£2.10s for first year increasing by £2.10s annually	£10 for first year increasing £2.10s annually ¹

We can see from the above that females, from pupil teachers through to head teachers, were habitually paid around three quarters of the male wage for doing the same job. Yet even these figures were variable: teachers in small rural schools were paid a much lower rate than those in urban schools. Wardle has noted that masters in urban schools were paid £110 plus a third of the gross grant, whilst mistresses were paid £75 plus a quarter of the grant, in 1870, which is in keeping with the NSB figures, yet the master of Ruddington

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol 1, p 91 (1875).

School in south Nottinghamshire, was paid £70 and one twentieth of the grant.¹ In Derbyshire, the salaries at South Normanton School in 1895 were lower than Nottingham's figures for 1875: the master was paid £90 p.a. plus three fifths of the grant and a house, the mistress £50 p.a. plus three fifths of the grant and the infant mistress £50 p.a. plus two fifths of the grant, whilst male pupil teachers received £10 p.a. (with an annual increment of £2.10s) and female pupil teachers received £7.10s p.a. (with an annual increment of £2); all monitors (obviously still in use) earned one shilling per week.² (Just how the grant was made to stretch to eight fifths is unclear). No figures are given, but Bath Street Girls' School notes a teacher leaving in 1872 for a better paid post at a National School.³ Whether this was an attempt by the church to rival the school board or simply that church schools did pay teachers a higher salary, is unclear. At Berridge Road Schools, we are given more specific information on teachers' salaries:

Mr. F. Chastenay: Head teacher: £110 p.a. guaranteed (£180 for the first year)
 Miss A.N. Stone: Girls' mistress: £75 p.a. guaranteed (100 for the first year)
 Miss Thorley: Infant mistress: as for Girls' mistress
 Sunter Place: Certificated Assistant: £80 p.a.
 C.E. Rees: Uncertificated Assistant: £65 p.a.
 Miss S.E. Twyer: Certificated Girls' Assistant: £65 p.a.
 Miss A.E. Burden: Uncertificated Assistant: £45 p.a.
 Miss H.J. Twiner: Certificated Assistant (Infants): £65 p.a.
 Miss E. Dingle: Uncertificated Assistant: £40 p.a.⁴

The blatant inequality of salaries is all to evident here, where Miss Twyer, a certificated teacher, earns the same salary as C.E. Rees, an uncertificated teacher.

The discrimination against women in the teaching profession did not end with salaries: unmarried women teachers were invariably referred to as girls, regardless of their age and, as late as 1910, women were liable to dismissal when married. A news cutting headed 'Married Teachers: Nottingham Committee's Decision' in The Guardian noted the

¹ Wardle, D., Education and Society in Nineteenth Century Nottingham, London, 1971, p.64.

² Johnson, M., Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century, Newton Abbott, 1970, p.142.

³ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1871-88, pp.10-11 (29 Jan, 1872).

⁴ Zaleski, Berridge, op. cit., p.5.

Committee's motion 'that all married women in the employ of the Committee shall be given 12 months notice to terminate their employment' unless it could be proven that her husband's income was too low to keep her.¹ The local Head Teachers' Association and Nottingham branch of the National Union of Teachers opposed the motion, but Nottingham councillor Pendleton gave it his support:

His one and only reason for submitting it was that they had so many certificated teachers who could not find employment in the profession for which they had been specially trained . . . It was wrong for a man to send his wife out to work if he could keep her. There were 3000 *girls** in the country who could not find their way into the schools. It involved very grave moral and social considerations, and while it might be a seeming hardship to ask the husbands of these married teachers to keep them it was nothing less than a tragedy at the other end to train these *girls** and keep them out of schools by employing married women.²

Yet, the number of teachers thus affected in Nottingham totalled just twelve and some of these were nearing retirement; only three teachers in the city were facing unemployment. One can only ask if female unemployment in the teaching profession was the real reason for sacking women teachers on marriage, or if this was a policy based more on middle class ideals and values centred on the woman and the home.

The result was that an alternative motion was proposed that: 'No married women having a husband living shall be appointed as a teacher, and that any mistress already in the service of the Committee, who may intend to marry, shall send in her resignation at least two months before marriage.'³ Thus, existing married women teachers were, at least, allowed to keep their jobs; the reason given by Alderman J.T. McCaith, arguing for the revised

¹ The Guardian, 24 Nov., 1910, p 67.

* my italics.

my italics.

² Ibid., p.67.

³ Ibid., p.67.

motion, was that: 'The ladies in the first case were married. They could not get out if it. (Laughter) The other ladies had a chance of choosing between the school or the husband.'¹ Thus, no more married women were employed as teachers in council schools and existing teachers lost their jobs on marriage. This may have been peculiar to Nottingham, as Oram insists that no marriage bar existed for women teachers until the 1920's.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p.67.

² Oram, A., Women Teachers and Feminist Politics 1900-39, Manchester, 1996, p.24.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Adult Education

This section includes all education beyond that of compulsory elementary education of children, with the exceptions of colleges and universities and those areas already examined. Wardle has noted that the national decline in evening or continuation classes between 1871 and 1884 was followed by an effort to induce school leavers to return to education. The Recreative Evening Schools Association of the 1880's attempted to persuade school board to hold classes, as shown in its report of 1889:

If we can win our young people from the corners of the streets and from the byways and alleyways into our schools and they can learn there not to forget what the country has paid so much for them to learn, we shall have accomplished a great and good work. Our aim is not so much to gain government grant as to win our young people to a better and nobler life, and so . . . the moral advantages to the individual student and the community at large are more than we can measure.¹

Appeals were sent to all school leavers, emphasizing the recreational side of evening schools, the singing, drawing, drill and crafts.²

The NSB Minute Books show the following schools as being centres for continuation for male and female students:

Alfreton Road (Male and Female)
 Bath Street (Male and Female)
 Coventry Road (Male)
 Huntingdon Street (Male and Female)³

New Basford (Male)
 Queen's Walk (Male)
 St. Ann's Well Road (Male)

¹ Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.929.

² Ibid., p.929.

³ NSB, 'Report of the School Management Committee,' No 2, 20 July, 1887 in Minute Books, Vol.8, p.274.

The preponderance towards the male was righted the following year when Coventry Road, New Basford, Queen's Walk and St. Ann's Well Road all opened girls departments.¹

By 1891, evening classes were divided in two: elementary and advanced. At this time 21 centres existed for elementary education which consisted of English (reading and literature), composition, arithmetic, geography, experimental science, cookery, laundry, needlework (including dressmaking and millinery), ambulance work (boys only), sick nursing (girls only), singing and musical drill. Advanced classes included conversational French, music and various handicrafts.²

In 1890, two Higher Grade evening schools were opened. These were joined by four others during the next few years and, by 1896, were offering advanced work in a range of subjects for those who had passed Standard VI:

Ambulance Work	Hygiene	Writing
Arithmetic	Languages	Machine Construction
Social Economy	Laundry Work	Typewriting
Commercial Correspondence	Clay modelling	Sick Nursing
Book keeping	Shorthand	History
Carving	Geography	Cookery
Cardboard Modelling	Mensuration	Life Saving
Dressmaking	Vocal Music	Solid Geometry
Gymnastics	Woodwork	Musical Drill
Building Construction	Home Reading ³	

However, the Prospectus for 1898/9 shows the different range of subjects offered to boys and girls:

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.9, p 221.

² Wardle, Education and Society, op. cit., p.150

³ Wardle, 'Vocational Education,' op. cit., p.37.

<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
Commercial Arithmetic	Reading
Book keeping	Needlework
Reading from Standard Authors	Domestic Economy
Mensuration	Cookery
Reading and Recitation	Dressmaking
Commercial Geography	Writing and Composition
Writing and Composition	Musical Drill
Hygiene	Geography
Vocal Music	History
Woodwork	Vocal Music
Swimming	
Gymnastics ¹	

Few specific details of evening classes appear to have survived, but Priestland's work on the village of Radcliffe on Trent notes the survival of a log book relating to the years 1893 to 1902 (before and after is unknown territory); the source of finance for the classes is of unknown origin as there is no record of any contributions by students. The classes operated every Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings from 7pm to 9pm, between October and March, and were divided into upper, middle and lower sections, each studying two different subjects each evening. Numbers varied from 54 in 1893 to 122 in 1900, but with average attendance figures of 25 to 30 in 1902. Subjects in the upper section are given as freehand and geometrical drawing, agriculture, mensuration, life and duties of the citizen; those of the middle and lower sections centred on the three R's, physiography and the life and duties of the citizen. With time others were added such as Science, French, Shorthand, commercial correspondence, magnetism and electricity. Many of the aforementioned subjects are specific to male students, however, girls not even being mentioned until 1897, when needlework and housewifery are noted, hygiene being added to the lower sections choice of subjects the following year. The enthusiasm for these subjects has to be questioned when, three weeks after opening, the log book notes that 'the attendance at the sewing and housewifery class is gradually falling off.'²

¹ NSB, 'Evening Class Prospectus for 1898/9,' 1898, p 6 in Minute Books, Vol.17 (pp.429-72).

² Priestland, P, Radcliffe on Trent 1837-1920, Nottingham, 1989, p.309.

That domestic subjects were an important part of evening classes can be seen from a variety of sources. Queen's Walk Evening School log book notes the Domestic and Industrial courses for girls and boys respectively:

'Industrial' contains: 1st Year: Mon: 7:30-8:30: Technical Drawing
8:30-9:30: English (reading)
Tue: 7:30-9:30: Practical Maths
Thurs: 7:30-8:30: Technical Drawing
8:30-9:30: English (written)
2nd & 3rd Year: Mon: 7:30-9:30: Practical Applied Mechanics
and English (2nd years: 1 hr.)
Tue: 7:30-9:30: Practical Maths & Drawing
Thurs: 7:30-9:30: Machine Drawing

'Domestic' contains: Mon: 7:30-9:30: Dressmaking (Elementary)
Tues: 7:30-9:30: Dressmaking (Advanced)
Tues: 7:30-9:30: Cookery (Elementary)
Thurs: 7:30-9:30: Cookery (Advanced)
Thurs: 7:30-9:30: Needlework
Mon: 7:30-9:30: Sick Nursing¹

From the above we can see that girls were excluded from English and Maths. The distinction is enhanced by the statement, relating to the Dressmaking and Needlework classes, that 'Students are admitted to these Classes only on condition of their purchasing the special apparatus, &c., needed.'² Boys, on higher wages, do not need to purchase anything for their classes. Yet we can see the relative importance of domestic subjects, especially cookery, if we look at the rate of grant paid for each subject:

<u>Division</u>	<u>No. of hours recognized</u>	<u>Rate of grant per 20 hrs.</u>
I Literary & Commercial Subjects	5,620	3/6d
Music	920	2/6d
Other subjects	3,520	3/6d
II Art	520	3/6d
III Manual Instruction	420	4/-
IV Science	860	5/-

¹ Queen's Walk Evening School, Log Book, 1906-21, p.55 (1911/12).

² Ibid, p.55.

V Home occupations and industries:	760	3/6d
Dressmaking	780	4/-
Cookery	280	5/-
Ambulance	280	4/-
VI Physical Training	220	1/6d ¹

It is possible to see from the above just how important cookery, in particular, was and why school boards were so keen to offer it, but the number of hours recognized may indicate a certain lack of enthusiasm among students. The Cookery Instructors (Evening School) log book illustrates this with regard to laundry lessons: 'Alfreton Rd. Laundry Lesson given at Rad. Blvd. centre, only 4 pupils presented themselves out of 10 who gave in their names,' and at the Queen's Walk the 'Laundry class discontinued on account of small attendance.'² At Carlton Road Evening School we note the number on the register as being 105 with an average attendance of 39.1, the highest being 50 (in November).³ The NSB Minute books give more detailed information on domestic subjects evening classes, as follows:

<u>School</u>	<u>Chemistry & D/E</u>	<u>Cookery</u>	<u>Laundry</u>	<u>Instructress</u>
Bath Street	Mon.	Tue. & Thur.		Miss Burrows
Carrington	Tue.	Thur.	Mon.	Miss Smith & Miss Staveley
Coventry Road	Thur.	Mon.	Tue.	
Lenton	Tue.	Thur.		Miss Wells
Scotholme	Thur.	Tue.	Mon.	Miss Rodgers
Rad. Blvd.	Tue.	Tue.	Mon.	Miss Popham
Southwark	Thur.	Tue.		Miss Bush
St. Ann's Well Rd.	Mon.	Tue & Thur.		Miss Oakley ⁴

The Minute Books also contain a prospectus which gives details on classes in cookery, laundry work, needlework, dressmaking and millinery. The information on needlework includes some details of classes at the Singer Sewing Machine Centre, affiliated with the

¹ Ibid., p.2.

² Log Book of the Cookery Instructor (Evening Schools), 1894-6, no page numbers (11 Oct., 1894 and 23 June, 1896).

³ Carlton Road Evening School (formerly known as St. Mark's National), Log Book, 1896-1904, p.17

⁴ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.17, p.656 (1896)

NSB, with a view to employment there after completion. Classes apparently had been in operation since October 1899 with an average weekly attendance of over 200:¹

The Singer Sewing Machine Company's classes for giving practical instruction in the various departments of sewing machine work, have been affiliated with the Board's Evening Continuation Classes. They received free instruction in the subjects taught, embracing the use of all the usual sewing machine attachments for tucking, ruffling, quilting, braiding, binding, hemming, felling, &c., and also the use of special machines employed in large dressmaking establishments for over-seaming, bone-casing, button-sewing, button holing, &c. Moreover, such students as desired a further knowledge of manufacturing machining were taken through a wide range of machines, such as are used in local warehouses and factories, whereby during the season many girls were enabled to obtain good situations. 910 students were admitted during the session.²

This shows a certain amount of foresight on the part of the NSB to provide vocational education with good prospects for employments at the end. In the realm of cookery, too, attempts were made to ensure relevance and practicality by appointing experienced 'practical housewives' who are also cookery teachers, rather than young college trained women, although three of these bear the title 'Miss'.³

Thus far we have looked at continuation schools for school leavers, but evening schools had long existed in Nottingham for adults, as far back as 1798 (as noted in the opening chapter). Pioneered by Quakers, the Adult School Movement grew outwards from Nottingham, although this still centred mainly on reading the Bible, but did include some writing and arithmetic; the Women's School at Derby (1811) held writing lessons two

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol 21, p.19.

² NSB, 'Annual Report of the Evening Schools Committee,' 12 Oct., 1900, p.17 in Minute Books, Vol.21 (pp.626-668).

³ 'Report of the Ladies Sub-Committee respecting the appointment of Evening School Cookery Instructress,' Volume of Minutes of Cookery (Ladies) Sub-Committee, 1898-1903, p.101 (3 Oct., 1902).

evenings per week and held a library of religious books and a savings bank. Schools were held in Nottinghamshire in the city, at Bulwell, Arnold, Mansfield and Sutton in Ashfield. The adult school in Nottingham burgeoned in the 1880's, patronized by Dr. Paton who recruited students for an early morning school from Sneinton market on a Sunday morning: 'the idea being to teach men who had no early education to read and write . . . We wanted to announce our project from the platforms to the men who gathered round them, who were of the class that needed our modest educational help.'¹ It is interesting to note how the early schools seemed to be aimed at women whilst those of the 1880's always refer to men. Perhaps, as is so often the case, women were included but under the male prerogative. At the turn of the twentieth century there were more men's schools than women's and attempts were made to found women's schools where men's already existed. However, according to Currie Martin, three main obstacles existed to thwart women's education:

- 1) Women were less likely to take part in discussion than men.
- 2) The double work load of work and domestic chores meant less time was available, and less inclination, for serious study.
- 3) Possible opposition from family members, especially fathers and husbands.²

The pressure for women's education, especially from Non Conformists, continued partly as it was believed that women made better missionaries than men for the adult schools, encouraging their friends to join, and partly due to the perceived need for moral education especially of young women, whom it was believed the adult schools helped to save from intemperance 'and other evils'.³

In Nottingham, classes continued to be offered to adult women, as noted by the Education Committee's Annual Report of 1903/4, although it admits that attendance at its technical instruction classes (for women) was lower due to a fee now being charged which kept the

¹ Currie Martin, G., The Adult School Movement, London, 1924, p.116 (from J.T. Makepeace All I Could Never Be, 1924)

² Ibid., p 238

³ Ibid., p.238

younger ones away. (However, the following year's Annual Report notes that for 1903/4 this fee was returnable on completion of the full course). The subjects offered for this year were Health, Sick Nursing, First Aid, Cookery, Laundry Work, Invalid Cookery, Dressmaking and Renovation. These lectures, generally given at outlying centres, rather than in the city, such as Kimberley, Beauvale, Selston, Worksop and Bramcote, were open to both men and women.

The following year's Annual Report argues that the demand for domestic subjects was high: despite the fact that the fee (2d per class) was no longer returnable, in order to deter the non-serious student, £60 was taken in entrance fees.¹ A little more detail is given here on numbers of students attending the Women's Technical Instruction classes:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>No. of classes</u> (made available)	<u>Average Attendance</u>
Health	15	25
Sick Nursing	25	29.1
First Aid	20	34.3
Maternity	3	25
Cookery	166	25.9
Laundry	24	10.8
Dressmaking	84	14.9
Renovations	48	19.7
Total	385	19.7 ²

The Scheme of Higher Education for 1906/7 reiterates most of the previous year's Annual Report, but gives some details of two new subjects: Simple Household Cookery and High Class Cookery (instead of just Cookery), the latter presumably aimed at existing or intending servants. The former involves demonstrations and practical classes over twelve weeks per course, the dishes cooked being sold to the students at cost price and the fee being two pence per lesson or 1/6d for the course. For High Class Cookery, however, we are told that for one or two of the demonstration classes offered the full expense would be borne by the local centre. Is this an inducement to women to train for domestic service?

¹ NCC Education Committee, Annual Report 1904/5, Nottingham, 1905, p 31.

² *Ibid.*, p.31.

Laundry work is also offered in a course of twelve lessons of two hours duration each, the first hour of which to be demonstration, the second hour practical; with a maximum of twelve students the fee is the same as for the Simple Household Cookery course. Dressmaking, too, consists of two hour long classes over twelve weeks with a maximum of eighteen students, the cost as previously plus 1/6d for drafting materials. Of the Renovation course we are told 'This course is intended especially to promote thrift'; here students are allowed to bring old, 'clean' garments to renovate into others.¹

The lectures on Laws of Health took place weekly over five weeks and covered Fresh Air, Food, Clothing, Recreation and Household Sanitation, with fees of two pence per lesson or six pence for the course. Sick Nursing took the same format but each lecture was followed by half an hours practical instruction in the use of roller bandages, bed making for the sick etc., and was open to both sexes at the same rate as for Health. The Maternity lectures were strictly for women only, with no unmarried women under eighteen being admitted, and took place weekly for three weeks at a fee of two pence per lesson; simple instruction was given on care of mothers health before and after childbirth, and on the feeding and nursing of infants. The First Aid lectures, weekly for five weeks, were open to men and women, each being followed by a practical class at two pence per lesson or six pence for the course. Also available, subject to demand, was a course combining Health, Sick Nursing and First Aid spread over ten, twelve or twenty lessons.²

That evening school work had a bias against women can be seen in the five groups into which students were obliged to fit themselves:

- 1) Clerks, shopkeepers and warehousemen
- 2) Engineers and electrical works employees
- 3) Builders and allied trades
- 4) Railway employees, policemen, etc.
- 5) Domestic courses for women students³

¹ NCC, Scheme of Higher Education, Nottingham, 1906/7, p.36.

² *Ibid.*, p.36.

³ Wardle, 'Vocational Education,' p.38.

The domestic courses may have been open to men (except Maternity), but it appears that the other courses were not available to women.

Also geared to enhance the domestic education of women, albeit at a more professional level, was the Nottingham School of Cookery and Housewifery (also known as the Women's Technical School), situated on Long Row in the city centre. The courses include Plain Household Cookery and High Class Cookery, being patronized by existing servants whose mistresses required a higher degree of proficiency, intending servants and cookery teachers. Teachers were also supplied to give lessons in elementary schools. (See also copies of courses relating to the school, circa 1904, at the end of this chapter). The University College Nottingham Calendar for 1895/6 gives extensive details on a range of courses offered at the school including Course of Study for Artisan Diploma; Course of Study for High Class Diploma; Sanitation, Hygiene and Home Nursing; Laundry Work; Domestic Economy; Dresscutting and Making; Millinery.

At a lower level, but still aimed strictly at women, were the Mothers' Meetings run by the Nottingham Ragged School. Few details survive, but an account book for 1869 gives names, addresses and what appear to be attendance marks (albeit without a date); addresses are all city areas and generally poor areas such as Castle Court, Malt Court, Cross Court, Lees Yard, Clare Street etc.¹ A later account book and attendance register (1885) fails to give addresses but each page contains details of deposits made under headings such as 'coal', 'flannel', 'apron', 'sheet', 'curtain', 'Linen', etc., although most references by far are to coal. These are followed by a date (date of subscription?) and a figure (amount of subscription?); for instance:

Carter	Jan.				Feb.		March			April
Coal	5	12	19	25	9	16	2	16	23	19
5 Sept.	10½	3	4		3½		-----p-a-i-d----- ²			

¹ Nottingham Ragged School, Mothers' Meeting Account Book, 1869, no page numbers. Nottinghamshire Archives (DDBW/235/1).

² Nottingham Ragged School, Mothers Meeting Account Book and Attendance Register, 1885, p.6.

It appears that the initial figure (10½) represents a downpayment, followed by a payment made each week (or not) until fully paid up. Many entries, however, remain blank, showing that payments were not made. This gives us some idea of what took place at the meetings and shows the importance of this 'coal club', but also illustrates the poverty of these families through the small subscriptions paid (2d, 3d, even 2½d and 2¾d) and the weeks which were missed and payments abandoned.

The very last page contains 'Subscriptions for 1886' with various names (fourteen in total), prefixed by Miss or Mrs. and followed by a surname and their donation ranging from £1.1s to £5. It is interesting to note that these women are referred to as Miss or Mrs. whilst the 'mothers' are called only by their surname, as in 'Carter' above.

Again, it may be possible to see how middle class women attempted to impose their own values on the working classes, this time through the influence of adult women and mothers. This same influence can be seen in the Girls' Evening Homes of which NCC ran five and High Pavement School one; whether other schools had their own is unknown. Chris Weir has noted that Evening Homes and Clubs date back to the late nineteenth century specifically for working class girls and included recreation and instruction in sewing, cookery etc. as well as moral and religious guidance.¹ The intention of these Evening Homes is clear from this extract relating to High Pavement Girls' Evening Home:

... we rejoice to say that in every way the girls have much improved. They are more industrious, quieter, and altogether more manageable. If the congregation only realized what good it is possible to do with such girls, we should not have to ask for more help from some of the younger ladies ...²

¹ Weir, C., Women's History 1550-1950, Nottingham, 1989, p 45.

² High Pavement Chronicle, Feb., 1890, Vol X, No.109, p.8.

This attitude is reminiscent of Joseph Chamberlain's question: 'What price will property pay for the security which it enjoys?'; quite clearly much of the reasoning behind the Girls' Evening Home was social control. Whether the girls attending the Home were scholars at High Pavement School or from other schools is unclear, but, as High Pavement was a higher grade school with attendant fees, it seems unlikely that such scholars would require such improvement.

The five homes belonging to NCC were situated at Talbot Street, Cross Street, Chelsea Street, Hyson Green and Ruddington, although the General Report of 1906/7 refers to various Girls' Clubs and to a higher grade home established by Miss Marion Rothera, the daughter of Nottingham solicitor and NSB member. The Report for this year proceeds to give details of each home. St. Matthew's Home on Talbot Street held Bible Classes, temperance lectures, a Girls' Realm Guild, whilst Mrs. Bousfield and Mrs. Hamilton 'invited our "pledged" members to a delightful garden party at East Dene.'¹ The full time table is given as follows:

Seniors: Mon 7:00-9:30: Plain sewing, Penny Bank, Fancy Work

Wed 7:00-9:30: Fancy Work, Basket Making, Singing

Juniors: Thurs 7:00-9:30: Sewing, Patchwork, Singing

Seniors: Sat 7:30-9:30: Games, Cocoa Supper, Clothing Club

Juniors: Sat 6:00-7:30: As for Seniors²

Cross Street and Chelsea Street Homes are fairly similar in their range of activities, including drill, knitting, reading and ' . . . a very fair amount of needlework has been accomplished, three of the children gaining prizes for the same at the annual Exhibition' at Cross Street and Dressmaking, Millinery, Ambulance and Dancing at Chelsea Street, both showing how important it was to inculcate young minds with domestic ideology. (that is the importance of domestic skills and the value of the concept of the woman in the home). The Ruddington Home offered similar activities plus Bible classes and temperance lectures

¹ Report for the Year 1906/7 of the Girls' Evening Homes, p.7.

² Ibid., p 8.

often by members of the BWTA (British Women's Temperance Association?) such as Mrs. Black and Mrs. Bunny who 'each gave a very stirring Temperance Address to the Members and their friends.'¹

Yet it is the Hyson Green Home, situated at Court Street Mission Room and opened at the beginning of October, 1906 with thirteen members, which provides the richest seam of information: the statement 'At first we tried having 1d Suppers one night a week, but so few girls took advantage of them, that we were obliged to stop them,'² gives us a keen insight into the kind of area Hyson Green was. Perhaps the reason girls failed to take advantage of the penny suppers was one of poverty, given that Hyson Green was a poor district, although this does not appear to have occurred to its organizers. The time table was typically geared towards domestic pursuits to the point that ' . . . we were able to get a lot of needlework done. Fourteen girls made themselves blouses, and the rest made various articles for the Sale of Work,'³ thereby giving an insight as to how the home was funded. Interestingly, no mention is made of either Bible classes or temperance lectures; this could indicate either a total absence of both or that such items were so automatic as to not require mention.

Information is also available for a Girls' Evening Home at Beaconsfield Street Board School on Radford Road (a little way up from Court Street), via a log book dating from 1889-1916; presumably this is different from the Court Street Mission Home, although the venue could have changed in 1906. We are told that the first teachers meeting took place on Wednesday 9 October, 1886, followed by the formal opening of the home, including a tea at 7pm and music and games: forty girls attended the opening tea of sausage rolls, sandwiches and cake. The plan of work for the winter of 1889/90 is given as follows:

¹ Ibid , p.16.

² Ibid , p.19.

³ Ibid., p.19.

Mon: Library, Clothing Club
 Tue: Drill, Drawing
 Wed: Writing, Hearth-rug making, Dressmaking
 Thurs: Sewing
 Fri: Games, singing
 Sun: Bible Class (3-4pm)¹

The plan of work varies slightly each year, but remains essentially the same, additions including painting, wool-work, fancy work and, by 1895-6, cookery. Needlework was, arguably, of paramount importance and 'In order to interest the girls in Needlework, it was decided that they should work for a small sale on similar lines to the one held last year.'² Temperance also appeared to be important, judging by the frequency of references to it: a Snowdrop Band existed and temperance lectures look to be roughly monthly, with numbers given for both attendance and those who signed the pledge. Mrs. Black appears again, giving a temperance lecture to the girls: 'The six who signed for the first time she invited to her house to tea when she gave them further advice.'³ The same elements of bribery can be noted in the 1895 reference to giving cocoa and cake on temperance evenings. It is debatable as to just how successful this strategy was: the annual party in January 1894 attracted 36 girls, the March temperance meeting only 14.⁴ One thing which has been unclear so far has been the source of funding of these homes: the sale of needlework would, perhaps, only cover materials. The only mention made of fees appears here in the log book in the statement: 'the girls to be more strongly urged to bring the weekly penny.'⁵ Thus, we can see how these girls paid a penny a week to work on articles to sell for the home and to be indoctrinated with middle class notions of religion and temperance.

Other areas of adult education are the Mechanics Institute, the Working Men's Institute and the Artisans' Library, but these were aimed almost exclusively at men and boys. The

¹ Hyson Green Girls Home, Beaconsfield Street Board School, Radford Road, Log Book, 1889-1916, no page numbers (28 Sept, 1889)

² Ibid. (22 Sept, 1894)

³ Ibid. (15 Nov, 1894)

⁴ Ibid. (20 Jan. and 8 March, 1894).

⁵ Ibid. (22 Sept, 1894).

contemporary history of the Mechanics Institute in Nottingham makes no mention of women at all, although whether this is because women were not admitted at the time of writing or because they were not considered worth mentioning is unclear.¹ Briscoe's article in the 1950's also makes no mention of women, but when the University College took over most of the classes, he notes the Mechanics Institution was left with shorthand, cookery, needlework, dressmaking and French, some of which, at least, must have been taken by women.²

Adult Education, then, was of a varied nature in Nottingham, designed to cater for a diverse population, but followed traditional gender lines, with women being channelled into domestic subjects and denied equal access to more academic subjects just as happened in elementary schools.

¹ Green, J.A.H, History of the Nottingham Mechanics Institution 1837-1887, Nottingham, 1887.

² Briscoe, H K, 'Notts Mechanics Institutes in the Nineteenth Century,' The Vocational Aspect, No.13, VolVI, Autumn, 1954, pp 151-62, p.161.

Dartington School of Cookery.

Scholarships I.

Plain and Household Cookery.

Time 300 hours = 12 weeks.

Fee £5. 5..0.

Syllabus.

1. Stocks and plain soups.
2. Rendered and clarified fat.
3. Cooking and choosing meat and fish.—
Roasting; baking, boiling; stewing, frying,
steaming; broiling, grilling.
4. Re-cooking meals etc.
5. Economical dishes and substitutes
for meat.
6. Vegetables.
7. Sauces.
8. Pastry—Short-, flaky, suet.
9. Bread and cake-making.
10. Puddings.—Dish, custard, suet, batter
cakelike, bread, omelettes, pancakes,
blancmange, steamed fruit—.
11. Cookery for invalids and young
children.
12. Beverages—Tea, coffee, cocoa, etc.
13. Scullery work and cleaning of
kitchen furniture.

Scholarships II.

Household and High Class Cookery.

Time 600 hours = 24 weeks.

Fee £ 10. 10. 0

Syllabus.

Same as No I. with the following addition.

Theoretical and practical knowledge of stocks, clear and thick soups; dressed fish, dressed vegetables, sauces, seasonings, jellies, creams, liaison, bouquets, paupades, pastry, sick-room cookery, truchafis, boning, filleting; carding, trussing.

A knowledge of the meanings of the ordinary French terms used in cookery. Dreams.

Pupils for this course should be above the age of 16.

Pupils may dine at the school at a charge of 6² each.

Catherine G. Smith

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Higher Education

As the education of middle class girls improved during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, so the opportunities for higher education increased, although this remained an almost exclusively middle and upper class preserve. Dyhouse quotes from The Poor Student and the University by G.S.M. Ellis that, at the turn of the twentieth century, 'practically no path existed by which girls of working class parentage could reach the University.'¹ Yet it was harder even for middle class girls to gain a university education than for their male counterparts; Dyhouse notes the lower subsidy given to female students in recognized accommodation: £25 in comparison with £35 to male students (from 1911 onwards).² It was also harder for women to win scholarships, credence being given to this by the difference in the exams for the sexes: in the year 1911/12, of 464 university scholarships made by LEA's in England, 373 were awarded to men, only 91 to women.³ Dyhouse argues for the lower take up rate of university places by women being due to male hostility (the need to protect position), cost and expectations: 'women's higher education (was) especially dependent on the fluctuations in the demand for teachers.'⁴ It was as trainee teachers that most women entered university, with day training colleges being established at Nottingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Birmingham, Cardiff and London (King's College) in 1880, other cities following thereafter. Originally, teacher training took place over two years, plus an extra year if taking a degree; after 1911, this became three years, plus one for teacher training.⁵ The very term Higher Education is something of a misnomer for the period prior to 1914, given our understanding of the term today, as very few women were actually taking a degree.

¹ Dyhouse, C, 'Signing the Pledge? women's investment in university education and teacher training before 1939,' History of Education, Vol.26, No.2, June, 1997, pp.207-23, p 210 (from G.S.M. Ellis, The Poor Student and the University, London, 1925).

² Ibid., p 209.

³ Ibid., p.210.

⁴ Ibid., p.208.

⁵ Ibid., p.208 and Thomas, J. B, British Universities and Teacher Education: a Century of Change, London, 1990, p.14.

University College Nottingham

In Nottingham, the University charter of 1888 allowed working class men and women, in theory at least, the opportunity to gain a university level education, either to attend the day training college as trainee teachers, to read for a degree or simply to attend evening classes and lectures.

The evening students register for 1912/13 gives some idea of the gender, age, occupation and address (which gives some indication of social status) of the students. Most entries give ages, although some are simply marked 'A', presumably for adult. It is immediately noticeable that males outweigh females by a ratio of roughly 10-1, and that males are more likely to take vocational courses in connection with their trade, and be more overtly working class. The females, many of whom appear to be without an occupation, tend more towards the middle class, are more likely to be educated to secondary level (and sometimes privately) and to be professional women; for example:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Previous Education</u>	<u>Courses</u>
Beatrice Armstrong	29	Teacher	Gedling	NGHS + University	Latin
Mrs. Mary A. Anderson	A	~	Beeston	Private	British Constitution
Violet Anderson	17	Clerk	Peveril St.	All Saints	Shorthand
Dorothy Appleby	17	Typist	Hartley Rd.	Old Radford Trust	Shorthand
Agnes Atkinson	23	Teacher	Deabill St.	High School, Boston	Hygiene Economics Physiology

Occupations for males vary from miner, plumber's apprentice and joiner to teacher, clerk, solicitor; education is mainly at board schools such as Berridge Road, Sneinton Trust, Queen's Walk, Huntingdon Street, People's College etc., with a few High School and occasional 'private' entries; subjects studied range from Chemistry to Principles of Mining, Plumbing, Book keeping; for example:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Previous Education</u>	<u>Courses</u>
George Brookes	20	Plumber	Wilford St.	Sneinton Trust	Plumbing
Sydney Billing	21	Wood Machinist	Osborne St., Sherwood	Carrington (Board Sch.)	Technical Drawing Woodwork
Charles Baldock	22	Colliery Clerk	Sutton in Ashfield	High School	Industrial History

Added to this are a few teachers taking Maths, Languages etc., and clerks taking book keeping, commercial correspondence etc.

Females, then, *tend* to be middle class, as far as one can tell from their occupation (or lack of it) and address, such as teachers learning new subjects, young girls and older married women, often without an occupation. The prevalence of terms such as NGHS, 'secondary' and 'private' under Previous Education is a reasonable indicator of class basis. Very occasionally, a clerk or typist appears, but nothing lower: there are no entries for hosiery, lace, warehouse, or shop girls. Males *tend* to be working class, obviously learning subjects connected with their trade, but a fair number of teachers and clerks appear (although fewer teachers than in female entries), some educated at the High School. Few males are without an occupation. Females are more likely to be adult students, whilst males dominate the late teens/early twenties age group. These are generalizations and there are exceptions, but the rule of male predominance and class differentiation remains strong. Students at evening classes could also be prepared for any of the following:

- 1) University of London exams:
 - a) Matriculation
 - b) Intermediate Arts, Science, Economics, Engineering
 - c) Final B Sc.
 - d) B.Sc. Economics
 - e) B.Sc. Engineering
- 2) Diploma in Commerce of University College Nottingham
- 3) Evening Diploma in Engineering of University College Nottingham
- 4) University of St. Andrew's LLA exams
- 5) Pharmaceutical Society and Society of Apothecaries exams
- 6) Royal Sanitary Institute exams
- 7) Royal Society of Arts exams
- 8) Board of Education exams in science subjects
- 9) East Midlands Educational Union exams
- 10) City and Guilds of London Institute exams in Technical Subjects
- 11) Colliery Managers Certificate exams
- 12) Mine Deputy's Certificate exams¹

As for day students, it is noticeable from the University College Nottingham Day Training College Certificate List (1908) that men were much more likely to opt for a degree course than women. In this year, fourteen men took Inter Science and Inter Arts degrees, whilst only one woman took an Inter Science and one a B.Sc. (all London). John Thomas has noted with reference to Bristol, that women outnumbered men four to one from 1896 and that female students were much more likely to take a two year (non-degree) course instead of the three year degree favoured by male students.² In the same year the Day Training College had 71 students: forty female, 31 male; of these, 22 men and 31 women obtained first class certificates, whilst nine men and nine women obtained second class certificates. We can also see a fair distribution with regard to subjects:

- 4 men gained distinctions in Music (compulsory)
- 1 man gained distinction in Teaching (compulsory)
- 1 man gained distinction in Maths, History and Geography (compulsory)
- 6 women gained distinctions in Maths (compulsory)
- 3 women gained distinctions in History and Geography (compulsory)
- 3 women gained distinctions in Teaching (compulsory)

¹ University College of Nottingham, Souvenir 1913/14, Nottingham, 1914, no page numbers.

² Thomas, 1988, p.27.

2 women gained distinctions in English (compulsory)
 5 women gained distinctions in Music (compulsory)¹

Details of academic success were carried by the official college magazine, The Gong; as early as 1895, it noted:

3rd year 1st Division ~ Annie M. Goddard
 3rd year 2nd Division ~ Harrison Clough²

In the second year, thirteen men and six women achieved first division, and thirteen women and three men second division, and just one woman gained third division. In the first year, eleven men and fifteen women gained first division, seven men and six women second division and one man third division.³

This shows a reasonable attainment for women, although perhaps less so in the second year. The same issue also contains details of Annie R. Chamberlain, who entered the Day Training College in 1891, gained a first class in the London Matriculation in 1892, a first class in the Inter Arts (1893) and a full degree in 1894: 'On leaving college last June, she entered the service of the Nottingham School Board . . . Miss Chamberlain is the first and only BA in the ranks of their women teachers.'⁴ Yet the domestic element featured strongly in the lives of female students: Miss Bird (a diplomate of St. Andrew's University and former head mistress of High Pavement Girls' School) was the normal mistress in charge of the women students from 1892 and taught courses in domestic economy, including food, clothing, washing, the home, house construction, fuel and heating, drainage, lighting, water supply, ventilation, physiology, cooking, diet, household

¹ University College Nottingham Day Training College, Certificate List, 1908, no page numbers. (This is the year in which D.H. Lawrence gained distinctions in compulsory Maths, History and Geography, and in the optional subjects of French and Botany).

² The Gong, Feb., 1895, Vol.1, No.1, pp.1-16, p.16.

³ Ibid., p.16.

⁴ Ibid., p.15.

management, ailments, diseases and home nursing. Edith Beckett was the assistant mistress.¹

The Prize List in The Gong shows the History prize (Cambridge Extension) being won by Edith Beckett and E. Lilian Jackson; the Classics by Eliza M. Williams, Violet M. Keeley and William H. Robson; whilst Kate Knowles took Practical Biology, Harriet J. Hutchinson and Ellen Lewis Botany, and Annie Howland and Sophie A. Bucknall Human Physiology; Eliza M. Williams took a prize in Maths, the only woman in five in the Maths and Physics category. Likewise, Beckett was the only female to gain a prize in Chemistry (Non-Metals), the other four candidates in the Chemistry and Metallurgy category being men.² Far more typical, however, is the entry in the Annual Report for 1914: 'A new scheme for a Women's Diploma in Secretarial and Librarian's Work was drawn up last winter with a view to attracting a better class of women as students to a business career of a higher grade.'³ As early as 1895, though, other options besides 'women's' subjects were being offered to female students: 'Women (first year) before whose names the letter (E) appears, are released from their obligation to take up Domestic Economy in their second year. They may substitute a language or a science for it if they desire to do so.'⁴

Women lecturers tended to predominate in the arts departments, according to the Souvenir of 1913/14. The Education Department contained four women: the Misses Beckett, Bird, Reintjes and Ward, although only three appear in the photograph of that department. One woman is present in both the Departments of Biology, and Geology and Geography. According to the photographs, both the Arts Department and Science Department each contain one woman (in Arts, this is Beckett again). The result is a slightly confusing picture, especially if the same woman is counted more than once, but

¹ Thomas, J.B., 'Amos Henderson and the Nottingham Day Training College,' Journal of Educational Administration and History, (1986), No.18, Vol.2, pp.24-33, p 28.

² The Gong, Dec., 1895, Vol.1, No.1, pp.16-36, p.26.

³ University College Nottingham, Annual Report, 'Economics and Commerce ~ Departmental Notes,' p.24.

⁴ The Gong, Feb , 1895, Vol.1, No.1, pp.1-16, p 16

does not detract from the original premise that women found greater expression in arts and education than in scientific subjects.

The backgrounds of women students also show an insight into gender differences or, in some cases, similarities. The University College Nottingham's Record of Students (Day Classes) begins around 1901; unfortunately, most of the early entries do not contain details of schools attended. These details begin to appear around 1910/12, where there is a strong preponderance of NGHS, with a fair number of Mundella, High Pavement and a few similar schools outside Nottingham (e.g. Loughborough High School). Several references occur of simply 'privately' or 'at home' under previous education.

It is interesting to note that female students are far more likely to be local than male, due to a complete lack of residential accommodation for women and a ruling than females must not either live in lodgings or travel too far (a distance which is unspecified). It seems it was not until around 1911 that any need for women's accommodation was noticed. The University College Annual Report for 1911 notes an increase in the number of students reading for a degree, the majority of which are male, and attributes much of the importance for this to the opening of Mapperley Hall (a men's hall of residence), five years previously:

A women's hostel is now an urgent need and would undoubtedly lead to a similar result in the case of women students. Further, owing to the Board's restriction as to travelling, the area from which women students can be drawn is not more than 12-16 miles radius from Nottingham, and this is already having a serious effect on our admissions. In October last 6 vacancies for women students were unfilled.¹

Similarly, the Board of Education's Report of an Inspection of University College Nottingham (1911) stated:

¹ University College of Nottingham, Annual Report, 1911, p.28.

It is satisfactory to report that arrangements have now been made to place all the women students under the charge of responsible women tutors. But a most important part of the organization of the Women's Department is still lacking, as there is no hall of residence. This want has already sensibly lessened the supply of students for the Secondary Training Department, as they are no longer allowed to live in lodgings and are moreover only allowed to travel a short distance each day. The choice of students for the Secondary Training Department is therefore restricted to those living in or near Nottingham. The same rules do not apply in the case of other women students, but there can be no doubt that the prospect of having to live in lodgings or to travel long distances in all weathers would discourage promising students to whom a choice of University education was open.¹

The same document gives the numbers of students for 1911/12 as follows:

	<u>1st Year</u>	<u>2nd Year</u>	<u>3rd Year</u>
Men: University students in training:	29	22	7
Non-Univ. students in training:	0	12	0
Women: University students in training:	2	2	1
Non-Univ. students in training:	32	38	0 ²

The reasons given for the above disparity are also given in the Report:

The men's side has a very marked advantage over the women's side in the calibre of the students which it admits. The advantage is in great measure due to the existence of an excellent hostel, which accommodates men who live far beyond the Nottingham radius, whilst there is no corresponding institution for women. At the present time 36 men live in the hostel, four are in lodgings, and 30 live at home.

¹ Board of Education, Report of an Inspection of University College Nottingham, 1911, p 15.

² Ibid., p.13. (Non-University seems to refer to those students who had failed at the end of the first year and had to sit a final examination of the Board instead).

In the case of women it is very different. The rules of the Board forbid the recognition of women students living in lodgings, and the College authorities have very properly refused admittance to candidates whose daily journey between the College and home would be of undue length.¹

The Annual Report of 1912 continues the theme:

It is most desirable that there should be a University Hall for women along the lines of those already existing at Birmingham, Bristol, Reading &c. The Hall should be open to both private students and to those in the Elementary Training Department, so that all women students may feel themselves to be a part of the corporate life of the College. Even for those who are not in residence the Hall makes a centre of intellectual activity, the value of which cannot be overestimated.²

Later, the Report notes that the council had located a house on Raleigh Street which would be suitable as a temporary establishment, which it proposed to take on a three year lease. The need for a women's hostel is made clear under 'Departmental Notes: Education,' in the Annual Report of 1912:

The need for a Women's Hostel is as great as ever. Applications from Derby, Chesterfield, Mansfield, Newark, Grantham, Lincoln and Grimsby, show from how wide an area the College may draw women students when the Hostel is established . . . The establishment of a Hostel would increase considerably the number of women students taking University Degree Courses . . .³

¹ Ibid., p.13.

² Ibid., p.14.

³ University College Nottingham, Annual Report, 1912, p 34.

By the time the 1913 Report was issued, the hostel had been established, with a three year lease taken on Hylton House on Raleigh Street in the city of Nottingham, furnished and equipped, and with accommodation for sixteen students. The hostel opened on 29 September 1913 with twelve students in residence, applications having been received from all parts of the East Midlands and other parts of the country, but with preference being given to women from Nottinghamshire and neighbouring counties: 'Departmental Notes: Education' notes that 'The women students in Hylton House are drawn from Grimsby, Grantham, Derby and Chesterfield.'¹

Yet, by 1914, the limited accommodation at Hylton House was being felt. The Annual Report for that year notes that several women candidates were refused admission due to insufficient space at the hostel. As several men had enlisted in the army, numbers of students were reduced and at least a dozen or more could have been accepted had accommodation been available.² It would be interesting to know if Mapperley Hall was full at this time, but no figures appear to be available; in 1906, however, accommodation was for 39 whilst, even by 1914, Hylton House could only accommodate sixteen, thereby illustrating the perceived relative importance of education for the two sexes.

Until 1913, the only accommodation for women students was at the Midland Dairy Institute, a Dairy College, teaching various agricultural principles, which was attached to the University College Nottingham and situated at Kingston upon Soar. The Gong carried an article in 1895 which gives some details of accommodation as well as subject matter: 'The right wing is devoted chiefly to the lady students, for here in addition to kitchens and a common dining room, are their dormitories and private sitting room.'³ Men, it seems, had to lodge outside the Institute. The two dormitories each consisted of ten cubicles with wooden partitions and curtain in between to screen them off from each other. Each contained an iron bedstead, a looking glass and drawers, and a shoe box and seat

¹ University College Nottingham, Annual Report, 1913, p.16.

² University College Nottingham, Annual Report, 1914, p 17.

³ The Gong, Oct , 1895, Vol 1, No.5, pp 61-76, p 69

combined.¹ Rules were strictly enforced: lights had to be out by 10:30 and 'No social intercourse whatever is allowed between the men and women students.'² The full course (presumably the same for both sexes) included dairy work, poultry management, horticulture, veterinary surgery, book keeping and principles of agriculture, and consisted of both lectures and practical work and was run co-educationally. A full teacher's diploma course lasted for six months, although a shortened six week course was also available.

Socially, the University College Nottingham provided several clubs and societies through which students could take recreational activities, although sports figure heavily (and are recorded profusely throughout the pages of The Gong) and are quite clearly intended for men, though this fact is implied rather than explicitly stated. The Tea Club appears to epitomize women students life in the college: originally started for women students with evening lectures who lived too far away to get home and back, the club provided tea and bread and butter for two pence.³

Throughout the pages of The Gong and various University College Nottingham publications it is possible to note male bias and a tendency to macho-centric attitudes, as well as outright opposition to women. Such bias can be seen as early as 1871 when, at a meeting at the Mechanics Institution, a request was formally submitted for 'the instruction of working *men*' in those subjects most important to them as workmen, as fathers of families, and as citizens . . . ⁴ The Gong also contains numerous articles by and interviews with men who then describe their own experiences as if they were universal, thereby causing the magazine to assume a male perspective. For instance, an 'Interview with Mr. N H. Marshall BA' gives the subject matter as Baptist students who have their own college on Forest Road where they also reside: 'Each man has a study to himself.'⁵

¹ Ibid., p.70.

² Ibid., p.71.

³ The Gong, Oct , 1896, Vol 2, No.1, pp.1-16, p.7.

⁴ University College Nottingham, Souvenir, 1913/14, p 2.

⁵ The Gong, May, 1897, Vol.2, No 5, pp 65-80, p 65

Similarly, the article 'Life in a Residential College' assumes that all students are male, without actually saying so, and the 'Interview with a Distinguished Striker' is quite obviously male.¹ No comparable female interest story is to be found among surviving copies of The Gong, with the exception of an 'Interview with Mrs. Symes', which claims to be the first interview with a lady in the magazine, but which sees her not as a person in her own right, but simply as the wife of the Principal.²

Attitudes to women can be seen in the records of college debates, preserved for posterity in The Gong under 'Reports of the Students' Association.' For instance, on Saturday 23 January 1897, the Association held the following debate: 'That this meeting would approve of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women.' The motion was put forward by a Mr. Gray who argued that as women counted among landowners and employers, they should be entitled to the vote. This was vigorously opposed:

Mr. Wigley maintained that neither the family nor the nation could afford the absence ~ consequent upon her entrance into the political arena ~ of woman from her home. If an active competition with man will fit woman for the exercise of home duties; if her power over the ballot box, now exercised by her influence over the voter and by her shaping the moral tone of her family, can be rendered more efficacious by giving her a share in political strife, then grant her the suffrage. But familiarity with political intrigue is not calculated to elevate, and thus decreases her benevolent influence in the home, which suffers additionally by her absence from it.

A natural intellectual superiority on the part of man and the absence of the judicial mind in woman forbade voting on equal terms.³

¹ The Gong, Nov., 1897, Vol 3, No.1, pp.1-16, pp 6-8.

² The Gong, Dec., 1898, Vol 4, No 2, pp.17-36, p.17.

³ My italics

³ The Gong, Feb., 1897, Vol 2, No.3, pp.33-48, p.39.

A New Fashioned Girl.

She'd a great and varied knowledge,
 Picked up at a women's college,
 Of quadratics, hydrostatics, and
 Pneumatics, very vast.

She was stuffed with erudition
 As you stuff a leather cushion,
 All the -ologies of the colleges,
 And the knowledge of the past.

She had studied the old lexicons
 Of Peruvians and Mexicans,
 Their theology, anthropology,
 And geology, o'er and o'er.

She knew all the forms and features
 Of the prehistoric creatures—
 Ichthyosaurus, plesiosaurus,
 Megalosaurus, and many more.

She'd describe the ancient Tuscans
 And the Basques and the Etruscans,
 Their griddles and their kettles,
 And the victuals that they gnawed.

She discussed the learned charmer,
 The theology of Brahma ;
 All the scandals of the Vandals,
 And the sandals that they trod.

She knew all the mighty giants
 And the master minds of science ;
 And the learning that was turning
 In the burning mind of man.

But she couldn't prepare a dinner
 For a gaunt and hungry sinner,
 Nor get a decent supper
 For her poor voracious papa,
 For she never was constructed
 On the old domestic plan.

A Mr. Rushbrooke, supporting the motion, argued conversely that 'woman's moral influence so potent in the home would have a purifying effect upon our legislation.'¹ The motion was carried by a majority of eight, with about sixty voting. The stance taken by Mr. Wigley directly mirrors the attitudes and fears of the government with regard to women, but note the views espoused by Mr. Gray (previously) and Mr. Rushbrooke (above) who advocate female suffrage, not for the benefit of womankind, but for society and the nation.

Yet, interestingly, three years later, another debate on women's suffrage took place, the motion being: 'That Parliamentary Franchise be extended to women.' It was opposed by a Mr. Moore who claimed that there was no demand for it and "Franchise" he said, "is a privilege and not a right, and therefore, woman cannot demand it."² A Mr. Syson espoused concern for family unity and a Mr. Christopher thought that most women would vote for the best looking candidate, and considered the majority of women to be very deficient in knowledge of logic. The result was that the motion was defeated 42 to 27.³

Hostile attitudes to women can also be seen in the poem on the preceding page.⁴

Lincoln Diocesan Training College

As we have noted, the University College Nottingham housed a day training college for trainee teachers, but independent colleges also existed which undertook this training, especially for teachers in church schools. The British Society college was situated at Borough Road in London, but the much larger National Society had colleges throughout the country. For female Church of England teachers in Nottingham the nearest college was the Lincoln Diocesan Training College which certainly took Nottingham students during our period.

¹ Ibid., p.40.

² The Gong, Nov , 1900, Vol.6, No.1, pp.1-16, p.14.

³ Ibid., p.15.

⁴ The Gong, October, 1895, Vol.1, No.5, pp 61-76, p.71.

The college opened in 1862 with a male principal, two governesses and seventeen students; by 1863, there were forty students, a figure which remained static for the next thirty years.¹ The trainee teachers in this and other similar colleges were almost exclusively from working class homes, and made to remember it, the intention being to produce teachers of conviction and character who would pass on these qualities to their pupils. Zebedee's work on the Lincoln college quotes Kay-Shuttleworth's comment on the education of the poor as being relevant to Lincoln:

They have to be taught to stand upright ~ to walk without a slouching gait ~ to sit without crouching like a sheepdog. They have to learn some decency in their skin, hair and dress. They are commonly either cowed or sullen, or wild, fierce and obstinate. In the street they are often in a state of rude agitation . . . A different kind of brutishness is shown by a large class of scholars in the most degraded parts of our great cities. A London child living in a street of brothels and thieves dens, with parents leading abandoned lives spends his days in the kennel among sharp-witted, restless little creatures like himself . . . He learns a great deal of evil.²

These were the children that newly qualified teachers from Lincoln would have to teach, and it is for this that the regime at the college prepared them. Conditions in the college were austere, the whole being 'sparsely and cheaply furnished' and the rooms (except the lecture hall and classrooms) were all unheated. The College in 1862, had no Students Common Room, no easy chairs and no heating in the dormitories. Washing facilities were of the period ~ ewers and basins and cold water. Every Friday evening each student received a jug of hot water from the College laundry. There was no bathroom. Discipline was rigid and the schedule busy: Zebedee quotes the Secretary of the British Society, a Mr. Dunn, as being relevant to Lincoln in the last quarter of the nineteenth century: 'Our object is to keep them incessantly employed from five in the morning until nine or ten at

¹ Zebedee, D H J., Lincoln Diocesan Training college 1862-1962, Lincoln, 1962, p 2.

² Ibid., p.4 (from Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth, Four Periods of Public Education, 1862).

night.¹ Much of this would have included work in the laundry and kitchens and in domestic work in the college:

Work in the college laundry at Lincoln consisted of turning the mangle for about an hour at a time. This was usually done from about midday, during what was known as "recreation hour", and some students seem to have carried out this duty three times a week. Writing about the work years afterwards some said they could still remember their blistered hands and the back-aches. The students were also given the duties of laying tables for meals, waiting at tables, sweeping and dusting the Dining Hall with its floor of bare boards, and of washing up breakfast and tea things.²

This level of domestic work was approved of by some, but criticized by others; note the differing opinions of HMI Canon Warburton (in 1884) who was pleased that the amount of domestic work done by the students had increased, but thought 'it might be further increased with advantage,' and his successor Dr. Fitch (1890) who regretted the fact that cookery was not taught, but was pleased that 'The Industrial and Manual Work required of the students has been reduced reasonably.'³ There was also much dispute on the need for physical education.

The two year teacher training course was originally free on a scholarship basis but, by 1880, candidates had to pay one guinea on entrance; by 1888, this had increased to three guineas, to £5 by 1893 and a year later to ten guineas.⁴ Grants were also important for college finances and any actions by students which reduced the college's grants were frowned upon. In particular, this meant early marriage: after two years in a teachers first

¹ Ibid , p.7.

² Ibid , p 6 .

³ Ibid , p 18 (both from the College Minute Book).

⁴ Ibid., p.24.

post, the college received £75 over a five year period; this was lost if she left during the first two years. In 1865, eighteen students were forced to sign a document promising to remain in college for the two year duration of the course, a breach of which incurred loss of their certificate, a point of doubtful legality. As in other areas of Victorian life, morality and financial advantage were made to coincide.¹

As for subject matter in the college, religious instruction was inevitably high on the agenda; as it was a women's college, music and needlework were also important. English consisted of reading, recitation and grammar (along with spelling, writing and dictation); arithmetic and mental arithmetic (rather than maths), geography (consisting of lists of facts), history (consisting of lists of kings and battles) and 'school management' followed. Much of the learning was by rote; for instance, learning by heart the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion which students could be called upon to recite without warning, and an Epistle.² By the 1860's, Domestic Economy was gaining in popularity: Zebedee notes the student who, on being asked how she would provide a dinner for six people for six pence, replied that she would give them a penny each and tell them to buy what they liked.³

Teacher training consisted of both the study of school management and actual teaching. As almost all students had been pupil teachers, they already had five years teaching experience. Practical work centred on Model Lessons, given by the governess once a week, and Criticism Lessons, given by the students three times a week in the presence of the Mistress of Method and discussed by the other students afterwards. Students also did four weeks teaching practice in Lincoln schools from 1897 (prior to this at a special practice school) and from 1900 also at schools in Nottingham and Sheffield, and Grimsby from 1910.⁴

¹ Ibid , p 25.

² Ibid , p.10.

³ Ibid , p.11.

⁴ Ibid., p. 82

The academic year at Lincoln began in January, when students entered college, until December, when certificates were taken and exams marked. Entrance exams were also taken in December and included examination in religious knowledge and Anglican doctrine, failure in either of which meant immediate rejection.¹ The certificate was awarded by the Department of Education on the results of two exams, one at the end of each year at the college, candidates being placed in four divisions according to their total marks obtained. Subjects taken in the exam, all of which were compulsory, for 1862 are as follows:

Religious Knowledge (The Bible and Liturgy)

Arithmetic	History
Grammar	Geography
Composition	Sewing and cutting out
School Management	Domestic Economy
Reading	Music
Spelling	Drawing
Penmanship	

(Also included was a report on Class Teaching)²

The academic routine and regime in the dormitories was probably little different to that at University College Nottingham and in its hostel. Restrictions placed on them as female students were little different to the insistence on keeping women in a hostel rather than allowing them to live in lodgings. For instance:

¹ Ibid., p.5.

² Ibid., pp.140-1.

APPENDIX B

College Rules and Requirements, 1912

The following rules which had remained substantially unchanged for fifty years are printed through the kindness of Mrs. Willcock (Edith Mellor, 1912-14) who sent me the sheet of rules she received on admission to Lincoln Training College.

1. No new acquaintance must be made in Lincoln.
2. The names and addresses of relations or friends living in Lincoln, are to be given to the Head Governess. No visit must ever be paid without leave having been previously given by the Principal or Head Governess.
3. Any Student receiving a visitor must at once inform the Principal or Head Governess. Permission must be asked before the College is shewn or visitors invited to meals. Students will not be permitted to see visitors during lecture hours.
4. No Student may walk out alone without special leave
5. Absence from chapel, lecture or meals, from illness or any other cause, must be at once reported to the Head Governess. Absence from lecture should also be reported to the special lecturer.
6. Students are permitted to attend the four o'clock Cathedral service on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. They are requested to be there at five minutes to four.
7. Students may go downhill on Tuesday and Saturday afternoons; at other times only by special leave.
8. Out door exercise must be taken every day unless illness or weather prevent. The time for this should never be less than one and a half hours.
9. Students may go upstairs at 9 p.m., and must be in their own rooms at 9-30. There must be no talking after the Silence Bell has rung at 9-45.

It is earnestly hoped that all Students will endeavour, by the loyal observance of these Rules, to sustain the honour and high reputation

of the College, and will remember that the perfect confidence and trust with which they have always been treated, must necessarily depend upon their earnest endeavour to shew themselves worthy of it.

A. W. ROWE,
Principal.

From Mrs. Willcock also come these details of the clothes and equipment which students were required to bring to the College. Clothing included flannel vests ("the climate of Lincoln is bracing"), a pair of black shoes ("Black shoes must be worn on Sundays"), and the College Drill Costume. Equipment comprised towels, sheets and pillow cases, a looking glass, a strip of carpet, a folding chair and six small dusters. In addition, students had to bring two plated forks and a dessert spoon—"not poorer than B quality electro-plate").



THE DIOCESAN TRAINING SCHOOL.
From "The Stranger's Guide to Lincoln" (1846)

By courtesy of the Librarian, Lincoln City Library

Freedom to go outside the college, was however, limited by the firmly held academic conviction that young women cannot be trusted. The daily walk was taken on a class basis, with the students walking two by two in a sedate procession with the governesses at the rear.¹

As in common with University College Nottingham, the Debating Society (established in 1895) rejected the motion that 'Women should have votes for the election of MPs' on the grounds that the franchise would cause them to neglect their homes,² and this from an all female college, showing just how successful the indoctrination of middle class values and manners had been. (See the copy of College Rules and Regulations for 1912).³

Inspectors' reports on teacher training establishments show an unambiguous preference for the residential college such as that at Lincoln, against the universities, where young women were perceived as having much greater freedom. HMI Fitch's report for 1891 notes the contrast 'between the guarded domestic discipline, which I am accustomed to see and admire in the residential colleges, and the greater freedom which is accorded to the girls under the new conditions.'⁴ He asserts the rule that no 'girl' should be admitted as a day student unless living with either her parents or a school mistress well known to the committee; women students were not to be allowed to lodge or stay at the YWCA. Further, he urges a 'most watchful supervision in regard to the conduct and associations, especially of the female students, during the period of their training.'⁵ This blatant discrimination can be seen further in the perception of women's lesser intellectual abilities when we learn that in a mixed college it is necessary for a mistress who devotes all her time to lessons on Domestic Economy, Needlework and infant training to remove 'any

¹ Ibid , p.9.

² Ibid , p 49 (from the college magazine, April, 1898).

³ Ibid , pp.142-3.

⁴ Committee of Council on Education, Report, 1891/2, p.471.

⁵ Ibid., 471.

difficulties which the girls may have in following the lectures of the college professors.¹ Interestingly, but not surprisingly, there is no comparable sentiment for men. This also shows the differences in subjects taken by male and female trainees, for where women are forced to take Domestic Economy and Needlework as compulsory subjects, male students take Algebra, Euclid, Geometry and Sciences, and no mention is made of any craft subject such as Woodwork, and, as one examiner confirmed: 'It was not expected that the girls would know Euclid . . .².

Nottingham School of Art

The Nottingham School of Art could also be deemed as being a higher branch of education, although, like the University College, it encompassed a wide variety of students.

Founded in 1843 as the Government School of Design and renamed the Nottingham School of Art in 1852, the college was taken over by Nottingham Corporation in 1888 (and became known as the College of Art in 1934). An early volume of 'Recommendations' of applicants, contains forms giving the name, occupation, proposed occupation and a moral character reference given by the student's proposer. Fees are listed as follows:

Morning class: 4s per month

Evening class: 2s per month

¹ Ibid, p 472.

² Ibid., p.476.

(Students of the morning class receive free tuition at the evening class)¹

The above presumably applies to males as, beneath it on each form appears the statement: 'The female class, 2s per month, opens every morning (except Saturday) at Seven o'clock and closes at Nine o'clock.'²

A later admission register shows a high proportion of female names, possibly a third of the whole, and reveals something of students' backgrounds by giving their, or their father's, occupation, their age and address. Occupations of students range from joiner, plumber, bricklayer, warehouseman, engineer, machinist, stonemason to teacher, pupil teacher, designer, photographer; whilst fathers' occupations centre largely (although not exclusively) upon business and the professions: lace maker, clergyman, solicitor, publican, brush manufacturer, auctioneer, pawnbroker, wine merchant and (several) lace workers. It is possible to determine, then, that most, although by no means all, students appear to belong either to middle class or artisan families, with ages ranging from ten years to mid twenties, but rarely older; for example:

Sarah Adams. 24. Father: Clergyman. 6 Pelham Crescent, The Park

Sarah J. Attenborough. 17. Pupil Teacher. 17 Bilbie Street

Frederick Anderson. 13. Warehouse Boy. Arkwright Street, The Meadows

Zillah A. Burton. 19. Governess. 106 Portland Road³

¹ Nottingham School of Art, Recommendations, 1854, no page numbers.

² *Ibid.*

³ Nottingham School of Art, Admission Register, 1871/2, no page numbers.

Thus, it is possible to see the Nottingham School of Art as being similar in construction and student life as the higher grade schools, in that backgrounds are more likely to be artisan or lower middle class rather than labouring class due to fees and the evidence of students' (or their parents') occupations.

Higher Education, then, was not what we consider it to be today; it was only partially geared towards the taking of degrees, whilst teacher training played a great part, especially for women students. Much of the work, however, was undertaken by working people to enhance their career prospects, and by existing teachers wishing to expand their repertoire of subjects. It is true to say that universities and colleges of all kinds were within the reach of all but the very lowest working class man or woman, girl or boy, but this masks the issue of working class entrance to university: as far as degree courses were concerned, these were out of the reach of most working people, due to the expense, and, as we have seen, women were greatly outnumbered by men on all but (non degree) teacher training courses. For most working people, university meant attending classes and lectures in the evening after work, and for most women it meant attending evening or day classes to aid a teaching or secretarial career or to gain accomplishments.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Middle Class Influence in Education

The influence of those elements of the middle class who were interested in the education of working class children can be seen quite clearly in several areas of state schooling, but none more so than the domestic education of girls. We have previously noted the stand taken by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration which entirely blamed women for the high infant mortality rate, ill health of young men and ignorance of daughters as to home making and food preparation skills.

This theme is taken up locally by Robert Mellors in his numerous works on Nottinghamshire. He, too, believed strongly in the domestic education of girls, even to the point of girls being kept at home for part of the school day in order to help with household chores and child care.¹ He later applauds an un-named Sneinton School for being fortunate enough to have good teachers who adapted the instruction to the 'capacities, surroundings and future lives of the children,' teaching boys handicrafts and 'national training for the defence of their homes' and training girls 'to become good women, self-helpful, happy, prosperous, capable of keeping good homes and of bringing up good children.'² This, of course, ignores the grinding poverty in which many of these families existed, thereby showing the total lack of understanding of the real issues of working class life, as exhibited by most middle class observers. We can also see the separation of the spheres of work as exemplified in various aspects of Victorian life. Far more attention is lavished upon the need to educate girls in the arts of the home as we can

¹ Mellors, R., Elementary Education in Nottinghamshire Day Schools, Nottingham, 1905 (various pages).

² Mellors, R., 'Sneinton', Then and Now Series, Nottingham, 1912/14, No.3, 1913, p.122.

see from the entry on page 8 entitled 'Our Girls' (no counterpart of which exists for boys) and in the story of 'Happy Paul':

Our Girls. The old boarding school idea must vanish, and be superseded by that of the young woman who is self reliant, has knowledge of how best to discharge her ultimate duties as house-wife, and to aid her husband in his work, in training children, understanding something of the laws of health, of food and drink, of clothing, of ventilation, of physical exercises, of restraints of passions, of the discharge of social duties, as well as of duty to God.

Girls must learn how to mend their clothes, to keep their rooms tidy, to conduct correspondence, to carry out mental arithmetic as applied to household purchases, to know how to do domestic washing and ironing, and every other branch of knowledge necessary to make comfortable homes.

They must learn plain sewing, cutting-out, patching and darning, knitting for socks, gloves, articles of clothing, scarves, &c.

A knowledge of what is called "Domestic Economy" is of great importance to nearly every girl. She must learn how to buy meat, fish and all other articles; their qualities and prices. How to get the food best adapted to her requirements and position, and the due proportions of outlay. Thus, with 30/- a week to spend, what will be the right amount to allocate to each item of provisions, groceries, vegetables, meat, clothing and household goods, rent, coal, gas, &c., club,

charities, and to bank? The sums will of course vary according to circumstances, as well the household work, and the knowledge and skill of how best to do it.¹

The story of Happy Paul' tells of a widower with six young children who marries the virtuous and self sacrificing Sarah, who continues to care for the children after Paul's death, thereby showing an exemplary female character for others to emulate:

- . What could Sarah do? She must look after those children . . . and if it was necessary to marry the father in order to save the girls she must do it. "Her duty", she said, " was plain, she had not sought it, she would not shrink from it. God would sustain her in it."²

Here, we see the middle class ideal of womanhood: pious, modest, industrious, self sacrificing, above all a home maker, offering young girls an image of what they should aspire to become. Gareth Evans, too, has noted the separate spheres in education prior to the 1889 Act in Wales, and the middle class ideal of the angel in the home, that girls were educated for their role in life as wife and mother with education being less important for girls than for boys.³ Home Management, written by Hitching in 1910, may be said to typify the middle class ideal of womanhood, pious, modest, industrious, self sacrificing, above all a homemaker, offering young girls an image as to what they should aspire to.⁴ The book, for which we have no direct evidence of its use in Nottingham, is full of middle class assumptions and values, and reveals an ignorance of the realities of working class life. The nature of working class housing, the overcrowding in Nottingham, as in other cities, would have indicated a level of poverty which would have made impossible the

¹ Ibid , pp 8-9.

² Ibid., pp.10-11.

³ Evans, W G., 'The Welsh Intermediate and Technical Education Act', op. cit., various pages

⁴ Hitching, Home Management, op. cit., p.16.

implementation of many of the recommendations of middle class writers like Hitching. She does not seem to realize that working class women worked during the day and were not available to provide the good, nourishing dinner for their families (although many oral sources cite that this was managed).¹ Similarly, the working class woman was unable to provide for old age, but was regarded by Hitching as thriftless.² The economic reality of working class life prevented the good parenting of newborn children as Hitching recommends, and they would certainly not have been able to bring up their children in accordance with middle class standards which permeate Hitching's text.³ The working class woman was seen as important only in relation to her husband, children and country. Similar uninformed writing can be seen in the work of Caroline Leigh in 1886:

If a woman has a small house, has she not the least to look after; and if she is the wife of a working man, has she not at least nine hours in the day during which she can clean her house and make every domestic arrangement? Why, then, with so many daily available hours, is the work of cleaning and of providing good wholesome food never finished?⁴

Like other middle class writers, she accuses women of forcing men to the public house, thereby causing them to indulge in that other middle class sin, drunkenness. No credit is given for the women who also worked at least nine hours a day.

¹ Ibid., p.54.

² Ibid., p 97.

³ Ibid., p.213.

⁴ Leigh, C.A , 'For Lack of Knowledge,' in Brabazon Reforms, op. cit., pp.120-2, p.120.

At a local level, for which information is available, Robert Mellors laments the fact that babies' classes in some schools accepted children as young as three years:¹ Again, we see women blamed for supposedly putting their children at risk by working all day, without any question of the economic forces which required them to do so. As we saw with Hitching, this was aimed as much at the families as the children whose future he sought to shape.

Another reason, along with national efficiency, for the fervour surrounding the domestic education of girls was the need for good servants. Although the Education Department was adamant that girls should not be trained for domestic service, this view was not shared by everyone. We noted anomalies in Hitching's book in terms of recommending fabrics outside the average working class pocket, but much of this (such as recommendations for washing silk) would apply to girls going into service. The information on the laying of tables stresses the importance of serviettes and serviette rings to save on damage to suits and dresses and illustrates the uses of various items of cutlery such as fish knives and how to eat soup correctly.² This is surely inappropriate to working class life, but highly appropriate to the training of girls as future servants. Mary Headdon goes further, lamenting the fact that girls leave school untrained in domestic work which they then find 'repugnant . . . while to the girl who has been *taught to work*, who has *some knowledge and method to guide her*, it is a pleasant exercise.'³ She cites this lack of training as the 'main cause of incapacity of our domestic servants,'⁴ whereas with proper domestic education ' . . . the life of domestic servants would be looked upon less as a life of drudgery and degradation.'⁵ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the shortage of good servants began to be felt (and this was naturally

¹ Mellors, R., Some Aspects of Elementary Education in the Day Schools of Nottinghamshire, Nottingham, 1905, p.5.

² Hitching, Home Management, op. cit., p 42

³ Headdon, M., 'Industrial Training for Girls,' in Brabazon Reforms, op. cit., p.131.

⁴ *Ibid*, p.131.

⁵ *Ibid*, p.132.

accentuated during and after World War I) and this was manifested in the education of girls as the fervour over domestic subjects was continually whipped up. Hence, the suggestion by Headdon that young girls be taken into middle class homes to be 'taught housework'; (see Chapter 8, the section on Housewifery). She further asserts that:

Such a system would form a strong bond of union and sympathy between mistress and maid, and a girl fresh from the discipline of school, and accustomed to prompt obedience, *and looking on her work as a trade to be learnt*, not as a service to be evaded as far as possible, would put heart and energy into her work.¹

On the surface, this appears to be an overtly cynical exploitation of school girls as slave labour, under the guise of training, solely in order to alleviate the shortage of servants in middle class homes. Almost as unequivocally insistent on the same theme is Samuel Smith MP, who stated:

Multitudes of poor women are pinching themselves to live on 5 shillings a week at slopwork, while mistresses cannot get cooks and housemaids at 20 or 30 guineas per annum, with their food! . . . I can only account for it by the want of any system for transforming the slatternly girl of the slums into the neat and tidy domestic servant.²

He goes on to lament the few 'benevolent' institutions which train girls for service, and calls for night schools to take over this role. Better still:

¹ Ibid , pp 133-4

² Smith, S., 'The Industrial Training of Destitute Children,' in Brabazon, Reforms, op. cit., p.50.

Why could not cookery and housework form an essential part of a school girl's education? How much more important for the starving girlhood in the London slums to be fitted for domestic service than to know the heights of the Himalayas or the names of the Plantagenets.¹

Despite his concern for the welfare of young girls, his attitude is not entirely benevolent; his equally great, perhaps greater, concern for the shortage of servants in the homes of his fellow middle class countrymen is only too evident. It seems ironic today that just as large employers of child labour were allowed to sit as Guardians on School Attendance Committees, so the middle class observers were allowed to shape the education of young girls in order to relieve their own servant shortage.

In Nottingham, we have seen how important domestic subjects were in school girls' curriculum and how they relate to the need for domestic servants. Earlier in the century the Female Home and Industrial Institution was founded (1855) for:

. . . young females, who having spent years in their schools and being without qualifications for domestic service, find it impossible to obtain suitable situations, and are, in consequence, exposed to the most serious temptations to an evil mode of life, an exposure to which more than one or two have already fallen victim.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p 50.

² Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op. cit., p.430 (from Nottingham Review, 18/5/55).

Thirty girls were soon enrolled and by 1900, forty girls were taking a three year course of domestic subject with the accent on the duties of a maid.¹ Dyhouse goes further on the schooling of girls in this area by quoting from Domestic Economy (a handbook for Domestic Science teachers):

Teachers should when possible, advise mothers to encourage their daughters to become domestic servants in preference to entering upon indifferent callings which frequently entail late hours, injury to health and exposure to temptation.²

Middle class influence also centred on the training of character and good manners in children, as Hitching frequently notes in Home Management, cautioning against vulgar talk and laughing in the street as '... nothing more beseems girls and women than quiet, gentle, modest manners.'³ She further places the responsibility upon mothers to raise children to be polite and considerate for 'A home is meant to be a little heaven,'⁴ and in a refined home there are no loud voices, sulks or bad temper. Hitching advises the reading of 'Home Sweet Home' and the episode at Bob Cratchit's home from A Christmas Carol, showing the kindness and unselfishness that can exist even in a poor man's home.⁵ The training of courtesy includes saying 'please', 'thank you' and other niceties to everyone, even 'to the servant should there be one.'⁶ Again, we see the lack of relevance to working class life and middle class assumptions regarding home life. To this end a Guild of Courtesy, was formed whose magazine the School Management Committee in Nottingham recommended the NSB to subscribe to.⁷ The Minute Books note that the National Children's Guild of Courtesy was introduced into Nottingham schools in January

¹ Ibid., p 430

² Dyhouse, Girls Growing Up, op. cit., p.83 (from Domestic Economy, p.252).

³ Hitching, Home Management, op. cit., p.23.

⁴ Ibid., p.95.

⁵ Ibid., p.25.

⁶ Ibid., p 21.

⁷ NSB, Minute Books, vol.15, various pages.

1895 in order to promote cleanliness, neatness and purity in speech and action. Branches were formed in several schools.¹ Frequent references appear in the log books relating to the establishment of a branch of the Guild, such as the comment from Bath Street School that at the Guild of Courtesy meeting, 176 received cards and badges from standards III, IV, V and VI. Lessons appear to be fortnightly, often followed by a half day holiday.² Only at High Pavement School are we given any specific information:

Boys ~ to be taken separately: 1) Courtesy

- 2) Modesty
- 3) Self-respect
- 4) Propriety of speech and language

Girls ~ to be taken separately: 1) Kindness or consideration for others

- 2) Courtesy and good manners
- 3) Order and method
- 4) Modesty³

It is interesting that different areas of courtesy training are seen as being suitable for boys and girls, appropriate presumably to the different spheres of life to which they belong. Hitching's statement that 'A good wash, a pretty arrangement of the hair, and the dressing of one's self in one's nicest, daintiest clothes is often an excellent cure for "low spirits" in a woman'⁴ shows this difference in both behaviour and expectations.

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol.16, p.566.

² Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.180

³ Bates, A, High Pavement Remembered, op. cit., p 14 (from Log Book, 18 July, 1894).

⁴ Hitching, Home Management, op. cit., p 22.

As we noted earlier, saving for a rainy day was one of the duties of the housewife, and a perceived lack of thrift among working class women led to concern among the middle classes which eventually filtered through to the elementary school classroom. At the opening of a new board school, local businessman A.J. Mundella addressed the audience on his hopes: '... that the girls will be trained so that not only the working man's home will be made comfortable, but that every shilling which he earns may be made to go as far as possible,'¹ and went on to applaud savings banks as encouraging thrift and as a panacea for all working class ills, thereby playing on 'respectable' working class fears of the workhouse, applying to the Board of Guardians for remission of school fees and the pauper's funeral. This may have been the idea behind the introduction of savings banks into schools. Note the article on this very theme from The Scotsman, of 1876:

As the concept of the function of the school widens, room is more freely accorded to the notion that as much as possible should be attempted in the direction not only of making good scholars ~ good readers, writers, and counters ~ but also of training up good men and women, good fathers and mothers, good and useful citizens. It is on this ground that the teaching of cookery is advocated in the case of girls, with the view to making them thoughtful and thrifty housewives . . . The plea for the institution of savings banks rests on similar grounds. It is important no doubt to make boys and girls capitalists in a small way . . . just as it is important that girls should be enabled to begin life with some knowledge of the technicalities of the kitchen, as this will cultivate habits of 'providence, economy, and thrift.'²

¹ Nottingham Guardian, 5 April, 1881.

² The Scotsman, Thurs , 19 Oct., 1876, p 3.

In some schools at least this was put into practice as we can see from this quote from Bath Street Girls' School: 'Lesson on "Thrift" to the whole school in connection with the Nottingham Schools' Savings Bank.'¹

Thrift was often closely linked with temperance in middle class minds, convinced as they were that much of the poverty of the working classes stemmed from their intemperate habits, without making any attempt to understand the harshness of working class life (long hours, poor working and housing conditions etc.) and the temporary escape that alcohol could provide. The middle class attitude is evident in the same article previously quoted from The Scotsman, which condemns the wasting of small amounts of money on alcohol as not worth saving, which in turn leads to crime:

:

But the unthriftiness thus engendered has much wider bearings. It has a deteriorating effect on character. It leads to insobriety and intemperance in all its bad forms, and is thus a prolific source of personal degradation and domestic dispeace. It encourages untruthfulness, shiftiness, and petty dishonesty; and often ends, as our police reports show, in dishonesty which is not petty.²

Hitching, too, bangs the temperance drum when she advises the reckoning up of how much a man spends on alcohol when drinking a pint of beer per day: 'Let the girls think what the deducting of this money means to the wife and children of a working man whose weekly earnings are small. Lead the girls to suggest on what this money might have been better spent.'³ She goes on to compare two men, one of whom arrives home 'drunk to a poor, half-starved, and insufficiently clothed wife and children' and the other who never

¹ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.350 (16 Sept, 1904).

² The Scotsman, op. cit., p 3.

³ Hitching, Home Management, op. cit., p 208.

drinks and whose 'home is comfortable; he and his wife are well clothed, and can afford a little holiday at the seaside every year;'¹ the children are to be asked which would be more likely to obtain work or be kept on, which is smarter and more trustworthy. The questions are naturally structured so as to lead the children to the required answers, thereby seeing all indulgence in alcohol as degenerate and evil. She continues with information as to the damage done to the heart, stomach, liver, kidneys, nervous system and brain, but never makes the distinction between moderate consumption and drunkenness. As it is a book intended for girls, it is inevitable that gender specific references be made:

Next speak of *women* and *drink*. If it is bad in men, it is ten times worse in women. Their bodies are more delicate; their minds are more highly strung. Nothing is worse or more unwomanly than a drunken woman! Think of such a one's home! Dwell on the almost hopelessness of reformation where women are concerned.²

Hitching suggests that after a lesson on this subject the girls be set an essay to write which, after being marked, they are to take home for their parents to read. This advice is repeated on other themes, making quite clear the middle class intention to reach and influence parents through their children's education.

In Nottingham, we can see from log book entries that temperance lectures were an important and frequent (usually fortnightly or monthly) part of the curriculum. For instance, Huntingdon Street Girls' School was visited by the Reverend F. Woods on 15 November 1893 to give a lesson on alcohol; whether this was a one-off or a part of a

¹ Ibid., p.208.

² Ibid., pp 209-10.

series of temperance lectures is unclear but, according to the log book, lessons during a single fortnight included:

Alcohol ~ Its production in beverages

The compositions and manufacture of alcoholic beverages

Proofs that it is no food

Its effect when taken in moderation and in excess¹

The reason given for the amount of lectures was to assist girls with their Band of Hope exams later that month. Exams are not mentioned elsewhere, but the writing of essays following lectures earned pupils certificates at several schools. For instance, Bath Street Girls' School which 'Received 27 certificates of merit from the "UK Band of Hope Union" for excellence in Reporting a Lecture on "Alcohol and the Human Body."'² At Carrington School we learn of temperance lectures by a Mr. Staunton of Birmingham and a Miss Jervis of the BWTA (British/Birmingham Women's Temperance Association?) Obviously, the dangers of indulgence in alcohol were very real to middle class observers, who felt that they had a moral duty to influence the minds of working class youth who knew no better.

Also considered necessary was the indoctrination of patriotism and a sense of duty to the nation and empire, which manifested itself in the teaching of history (as noted earlier) and lessons which inculcated a love of the royal family. This can be seen in criticism lessons on 'The Chinese', 'The Growth of Our Colonies', 'The Reasons for England's Greatness', 'The Boer War', 'Our King and Queen' etc.³ at Huntingdon Street Girls' School and even in this from Berridge Road Girls' School: 'Wool was purchased, and caps have been

¹ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, various dates and pages.

² Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p.287 (24 May, 1901).

³ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, various dates and pages.

knitted by the girls and forwarded to South Africa.¹ At Hucknall National School, children were taught to appreciate Britain's position in the world through lessons such as those on the Armada 'to show how love of country united a brave people in defence of hearth and home.'² Most schools gave holidays for patriotic events, from a half day for a military function in the city by the 4th battalion Derbyshire Regiment of the Sherwood Foresters, about to embark for South Africa in 1900,³ and similar holidays for the Relief of Mafeking and of Ladysmith (both also in 1900) to whole day holidays for the current monarch's birthday and a full week for the coronation of a new monarch: Old Basford Girls' School, in common with others, noted that a week's holiday was given for the coronation of Edward VII in 1901 (an almost identical entry appearing for his funeral service in 1910), the same being repeated in 1911 for the coronation of George V. This latter event was marked by a children's demonstration on the Forest Recreation Ground (near the city centre) during one day of the holiday, to celebrate with the singing of patriotic songs and waving of flags; Presley notes that 373 girls from Trent Bridge School attended along with 20,000 children from sixty schools in the city and county.⁴

Teas, treats or parties and the distribution of cakes, buns, sweets, nuts and fruit, as well as robbing the children of valuable and much needed schooling, served to instill in them a love of country and royalty and the celebrations which surrounded them; just how successful these attempts were can never be fully known, although log books and other sources indicate children's acceptance: 'A solemn funeral service in memory of our late lamented Sovereign Queen Victoria was held in this school, by request of the School Board. The children were most attentive and appeared most impressed.'⁵

¹ Berridge Road Girls' School, Log Book, 1898-1913, p 68 (23 Feb., 1900).

² Foster, Gentle Revolution, op. cit., p.58 (1896).

³ Huntingdon Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1876-91, p.286 (10 Jan., 1900).

⁴ Presley, H., The Story of Trent Bridge School for Girls, Nottingham, 1986, p.4.

⁵ Old Basford Girls' School, Log Book, 1890-1915, p 274 (1 Feb., 1901).

Similarly, Presley's account of the visit to Nottingham by King George and Queen Mary in 1914 describes children wearing commemorative medals and being taken to the Forest Recreation Ground to see the coach drive past in which: 'The Queen wore an ankle length white dress and an enormous ostrich feather trimmed hat . . . (and) . . . the cheering and waving of coloured handkerchiefs provided an outlet for loyal enthusiasm . . .'¹ All of this implies an enthusiasm on the part of working class children for King (or Queen) and country but, as we have only the word of writers and educators, we cannot be sure what the children themselves really felt.

The theme of patriotism was extended still further by the creation of Empire Day, as noted by the Nottinghamshire Education Committee:

The Committee have received a communication from the Earl of Meath, as to the observance of a day to be known as "Empire Day", and have decided in common with various other authorities throughout the British Empire to allow the Managers, should they so desire, to close their schools on the afternoon of 24 May of each year. The instruction in the morning should have relation to the Empire, and the association of the day with the late Queen Victoria. The day should be known as Empire Day.²

That Empire Day was observed in Nottingham schools is evident from the school log books. We can see from Carlton National School the special course of history not only for Empire Day, but for the entire month of May, including:

¹ Presley, Trent Bridge School, op. cit., p 4.

² NCC Education Committee, Regulations for the Management of Council and Voluntary Schools, Nottingham, 1904, p.9.

Men (who by conquest or by physical strength have overcome natural difficulties in discovering new lands) of whom the Empire may be proud:

America ~ Talks on Wolfe, Raleigh, Franklin, Drake

Africa ~ Mungo Park, Livingston, Stanley

India ~ Clive

Australia ~ Cook, Flinders, Stuart, Sturt, Burke and Willis¹

What is obvious from this is not only the inculcation of patriotism and loyalty, but the image of men as makers of history, with women simply as observers.

At Carlton Girls' School, the day was celebrated in the following fashion:

Empire Day. The children enjoyed the morning of "Empire Day" very much. We were able to borrow a print shewing (sic) portraits of statesmen, poets, philanthropists, inventors and explorers of Victoria's reign. The parts of the British Empire were printed out on a map of the world. Rule Britannia was played for marching, lessons were given on "Queen Victoria's Times," and before concluding with a prayer, a verse of the National Anthem was sung.²

At Bath Street School, no mention is made of marching, but classes were allowed to take turns at time in the park and, at 11:30, assembled for patriotic songs and special Empire

¹ Carlton National Mixed School, Log Book, 1906-41, p.20 (8 May, 1908).

² Carlton Girls' School, Log Book, 1878-1912, p.347 (24 May, 1904).

lessons.¹ Only at Beeston Nether Street Girls' School did I locate any specific references to women:

Empire Day. The morning was spent in giving the girls lessons on the extent and power of our Empire, and on the duties of citizens, and the virtues which must be practised by our girls and women, that they do their part in keeping up the honour of this nation.²

It is possible to see strong similarities in all of these excerpts, designed as they were to foster a sense of loyalty and duty to one's country and its monarch. For boys this involved working hard and if necessary fighting and dying for Britain; for girls it meant growing into strong child-bearing women, raising healthy stock (to work and fight for Britain) and training future generations to be good, loyal and patriotic Britons. These aspects and other middle class values such as thrift, temperance and resignation to one's lot in life, were all systematically included in the education of working class children in elementary schools in order to foster the spread of middle class ideology. (See also the excerpts taken from Echoes [Monthly Notes: The Queen and Her Soldiers] and Mellors' Elementary Education [For King and Country]).³

¹ Bath Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1889-1910, p 437 (25 May, 1908).

² Beeston Nether Street Girls' School, Log Book, 1900-36, p.124 (24 May, 1909).

³ 'Monthly Notes,' Echoes, Vol II, 1898, p.79 and Mellors, Elementary Education, op. cit., No.10.

MONTHLY NOTES.

THE QUEEN AND HER SOLDIERS.

An active and ready sympathy with even the poorest of her subjects upon whom misfortune may have fallen, has always been a most powerful factor in the formation of that strong bond of affection which unites England's Queen and her people.

By her recent visit to Netley Hospital, her Majesty has again demonstrated in a very practical manner that the interest she takes in the welfare of those who serve her is genuine and sincere. She has throughout the war on the Indian frontier carefully followed the fortunes of her soldiers, and has now shown her appreciation of their loyal service by personally visiting those who have been sent home, either wounded or invalided, as a result of the campaign.

The visit was by no means a perfunctory one. During her tour through the hospital the Queen visited about thirty different wards, and spoke to some four hundred men, many of whom she questioned closely as to the nature of their illness or injuries, and invariably concluding with the kindly remark, "I hope you may soon recover."

Although the visit was mainly on account of those inmates who had recently returned from India the other inmates of the hospital were not entirely neglected. A number of them, indeed, were honoured by being made the subjects of special attention and inquiry on the part of her Majesty. In fact, there was really a kind word and a smile for every patient who was unable to rise from his bed.

The visit which involved two rather long and tedious railway journeys, occupied an hour and a half and afforded the utmost pleasure and gratification to all those who were thus brought into contact with their Sovereign.

No. 10.

For King and Country.

We heartily sing—

"God save our gracious King,
Long live our noble King,
God save the King."

and in this, our fellow subjects over the sea, in all parts of the British Empire, join; while our American cousins sing to the same tune—

"My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty;
Of thee I sing."

and we can apply the words to our own country, which is the best, and the best governed, and the freest country in the world, for here a man has the right to do as he likes, if he only likes to do right. In the government of this country you children will soon have to take part. You boys may have to go to sea, and serve in the finest fleet the world has, or has ever seen, whether in the Royal Navy, or in the Mercantile Marine. You may join the Army or the Volunteers for the protection of our homes and country, always hating war, for war is hell on earth. You may have to vote at elections, always voting for the best man. You may have to serve on Juries, and to give a verdict according to evidence, or to serve in some other capacity, or fill some office. You are pretty sure to have to pay Rates and Taxes. You must therefore fit yourselves by reading, drill, learning, thinking, self-denial, energy, for whatever state or station you may be called to. Meanwhile learn your country's history; for the past will often enable you the better to understand the present, and be a guide to the future.

If you have the opportunity to spend your holidays or spare time in getting on to the land, or in travelling over the country, and seeing the grand old oaks, and the fine birch trees; the grasses, flowers, and fruits; the fine old buildings and modern works; the hills and valleys; the rivers and brooks; the cattle and sheep; the birds and insects; and the people with all their work and pleasures; their joys and sorrows; and the children singing and playing; then you will exclaim— "England, with all thy faults, I love thee still."

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Informal Education

A variety of books, magazines and other potential sources of education, in its broadest sense, was available to adults and children of all classes during this period, from the Penny Dreadfuls, so despised by the middle classes, to the morally uplifting tales, so applauded by them, and the array of theatres and music halls which had the potential to influence, along with libraries and reading rooms of varying expense. The Penny Dreadfuls can hardly be expected to contribute towards the education of the masses, but the morally uplifting tales were certainly intended to influence the lives and character of the reader to mould them into good citizens, by middle class standards.

Examples of overt social influence can be seen in the works of Maria Edgeworth: The Parent's Assistant contains sixteen stories with a moral theme. 'The Orphans' relates the story of four children in Ireland, orphaned whilst young, who show themselves to have good honest characters by immediately paying off their mother's debts. When short of money, the boy runs errands and chops wood, whilst his sisters spin and obtain knitting and sewing from two kind ladies, thereby reinforcing gender roles and sex-specific activities. The children are rewarded later when they find treasure in the garden of a castle: 'Mary, though nothing would have pleased her better than to be able to pay for the house, observed that they could not honestly touch any of this treasure, as it belonged to the owner of the castle.'¹ As a reward for their honesty, the children get a new house. Other stories in the book also show middle class values of thrift, honesty, hard work, resignation, respect for one's betters etc. Children who embody the former virtues are

¹ Edgeworth, M., The Parent's Assistant or Stories for Children, London, 1897, p.17.

'rewarded' with money, situations or other forms of benevolence, whilst those who embody opposing traits invariably lose jobs, friends, money, reputation etc. In this way, children are being 'educated' to a particular way of thinking and, therefore, living which happens to coincide with middle class values.

Children in Nottingham schools and in temperance lectures would have been subjected to The Band of Hope Companion, with chapter headings such as 'Our Duty to preserve our bodies', 'How the drinking of intoxicating drinks injures our country' and 'Does the Bible favour total abstinence', which illustrate the general atmosphere of the book in its attitude to religion, temperance and patriotism.

There were also a number of libraries in Nottingham during this period, most of which were subscription libraries and therefore out of the financial reach of most ordinary working people, such as the Bromley House Library, situated on Long Row in the city. A circulating library was also run by Boots the Chemists, instigated by Jesse's wife, Florence, as a means of enticing customers into the shops, but with a subscription fee of 10/6d in 1899, it was well beyond the means of the working and lower middle classes.¹

Working Men's Associations often had a library, as did the Mechanics Institution, but these establishments were geared largely to the needs of male users, often with restrictions placed on females, such as being refused admission to certain areas or only being admitted with a male relative. The exception here was the Nottingham Free Library (opened in 1868 on Thurland Street in the city) which was open to all, male and female, adults and children (after the opening of the Children's Library on Shakespeare Street in 1882). The library had taken over from the defunct Artisan's Library (originally formed in 1837 in

¹ Boots Booklovers Library, leaflet from Boots own archives.

Stapleford) having acquired their stock of books, and moving in 1877 to the University College Nottingham building, where the library proposed to comprise of 'two commodious reading rooms, and to set aside one of those rooms for the exclusive use of women.'¹ At this point the library was open only to those over the age of fifteen; this remained in force after the move to Sherwood Street in 1881. As we have noted, a Children's Library was opened in 1882, with a donation of £500 by local businessman Samuel Morley, who was greatly concerned about the reading matter available to young people: 'Everywhere in our large towns the working classes are deluged and poisoned with cheap, noxious fiction of the most objectionable kind. I should be thankful to help to do something to counteract this mischievous influence.'²

From 1883, branches of the Nottingham Free Library opened in the suburbs, bringing suitable material to increasing numbers of the working classes. Books included the works of Dickens, Shakespeare, the Brontes and other classics, popular works like those of Wilkie Collins and Charlotte Yonge (whose characters and stories embodied middle class values, as we have seen in Chapter 2), and books on travel, science, military history, geography, adventure, morality and religion. However, several titles appear which would seem specifically to target women and girls, such as Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, Girls' Own Treasury, Girlhood and the works of the aforementioned Charlotte Yonge. More female orientated still are Mother at Home, Model Women, Women's Work: Essays, Women's Work and Culture, First Duty of Women and others which seem to be geared to conditioning women and girls to their domestic and maternal role in life. However, J.S. Mill's The Subjection of Women also appears, but interestingly not Wolstencraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman. The works of Maria Edgeworth feature prominently.³

¹ Nottingham Public Libraries, Fifty Years 1868-1918, Nottingham, 1918, p.18.

² Ibid , p 27.

³ Catalogue of the Books of the Lending Department of the Nottingham Free Library, Nottingham, 1873, various pages.

Magazines for children and young people experienced a boom in the late nineteenth century for both sexes and for both the middle and working classes, although papers for working class girls really came into their own in the early years of the twentieth century. The most popular magazines by the 1880's were the Boys' and Girls' Own Papers, both published by the Religious Tracts Society and espousing the morality of that Society, but whose profits were used to support Ragged Schools and missionary work. The Boys' Own Paper consisted of stories containing acts of heroism and daredevilry, with foreigners portrayed as being ridiculous or belligerent, promoting patriotism, loyalty to the empire and imperialism.¹ Girls were always subservient to boys in such stories, especially during the colonial era (1880's to 1914). Girls' Own Paper was intended not only for the leisured class but also for girls who received instruction in 'economical cookery, plain needlework, home education and health.'²

However, the introduction of compulsory education from 1870 onwards which led to an increase in literacy, also heralded the beginning of a genuine attempt to capture the working class market. This was the era of the onset of mass produced goods such as clothes, footwear, bicycles, consumer durables of all kinds; young shop assistants and factory workers had more money and often more time. Publishers were quick to react, bringing out a train of halfpenny and penny weeklies, also known as mill girl papers, such as the Girls' Weekly (1912-22), Girl's Best Friend (1898-1931 and called the Girl's Friend from 1899), the Girl's Reader (1908-15) and Girl's Home (1910-15). The morals of the day were still preserved: schemers and liars always met their downfall, whilst the self sacrificing heroine always got her man.³ So, the average working class girl was still being 'educated' according to middle class ideals. As the elementary school curriculum widened in the 1880's in accordance with middle class demands, so the sexual division of labour was reinforced (at school girl level at least) by the demands of cleanliness and domestic

¹ Drotner, English Children and their Magazines, op. cit., p 127.

² Ibid , p.115-6 (from Girls Own Paper, 2, no 40, 20 Oct., 1880, p 15).

³ Ibid , p.128.

competence, which meant more work for sisters, daughters, mothers and wives. The magazines for young women and girls all, to varying degrees and in varying ways, attempted to reconcile the young female mind to the changing order.

By looking at books and magazines provided for the working classes by the middle classes, we can see how much the minds of such girls could be moulded, and induced to accept middle class values of thrift, honesty, hard work, resignation etc., all the ideals of the Protestant Work Ethic. How much of this indoctrination was achieved is debatable; no doubt many girls preferred the halfpenny magazines full of fashion and beauty hints and lurid stories to the more expensive magazines and books. But we must consider the possibility of mothers bringing home second hand copies of magazines of the Girls' Own Paper type for their daughters to read, from houses in which they worked as cleaners etc. Added to this is the influence of domestic subjects, temperance and morality teaching in school and, additionally, the fact that many such books as the works of Maria Edgeworth, Maria Charlesworth (Ministering Children, England's Yeomen, The Cottage and Its Visitor), Charlotte Tucker (The Crown of Success, The Story of a Needle, Fairy Frisket), Hesba Stretton (Jessica's First Prayer, Jessica's Mother, Little Meg's Children etc.) were awarded as prizes at both school and Sunday school. It is interesting to note that copies of Maria Edgeworth's books were on the shelves of the library when I was researching at NGHS in the summer of 1996.

Informal elements of education could also have come from visits to the theatre and music hall, for which Nottingham was well provided. The old Theatre Royal or Nottingham Theatre opened around 1760 on the west side of St. Mary's Gate and was unchanged a century later. It catered for 'low' patrons with an appropriate bill of fare and prices of 3d in the gallery, 6d in the pit, 1/6d for a box. The theatre closed in 1865 and reopened as the Alhambra Music Hall in 1867, finally closing in 1883. The later Theatre Royal or New

Theatre opened in 1865 in its present position on Theatre Square.¹ Playbills and scrapbooks show that a wide variety of plays were performed from 'highbrow' works, such as a host of Shakespearean plays (Hamlet, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet etc.), School for Scandal (Sheridan), She Stoops to Conquer (Goldsmith) to plays of a more entertaining nature, such as Love Knot (a comedy), Meg's Diversion (a domestic drama), Rough Diamond (a comic drama), even classics like Charley's Aunt, Robinson Crusoe and The Prisoner of Zenda.²

A series of school exercise books written along the lines of a theatre goers diary (kept by an adult, judging by the writing and a well educated person judging by the grammar, vocabulary, punctuation etc.) gives further insight into the cultural life of Nottingham in our period. References to 'seeing the Lyceum Company and Ellen Terry in a series of plays between 28 November and 3 December, 1898: 'To see Fred. Terry and Julia Neilson in The Scarlet Pimpernel' (September, 1907), 'To see Edward Compton in "The Rivals" Saturday Matinee Theatre Royal 25th May 1907' illustrate the level of acting talent which Nottingham was able to attract. 'Was it Shakespeare? Mr. Wilson Bassett in Othello. Feb. 28. 1899,' followed by a highly critical account of the play, shows that not all plays were well received.³

The other main theatre in Nottingham at this time was the Grand in Hyson Green (Radford Road). Theatre programmes indicate that a play was followed by other acts, such as singers, dancers etc. The plays were similar to those performed at the Theatre Royal and included The Three Musketeers, Richard III, Julius Caesar, and several visits by D'Oyly

¹ Herring, P., 'Old Nottingham Theatres and Music Halls', Weekly Guardian, 4 June, 1921 in Doubleday, Scrapbook IV, pp.189-90. (Local Studies Library, Nottinghamshire County Library, Angel Row, Nottingham).

² Playbills 1868-1908 and Theatre Royal Scrapbook. (Local Studies Library).

³ Exercise Books. Nottinghamshire Archives: DD 921/3/1-3.

Carte; pantomime performances of Puss in Boots, Cinderella, Humpty Dumpty etc. appear to have been popular early in the year.¹

Among the music halls, the Empire Hippodrome or Theatre of Varieties on South Sherwood Street was one of the largest and most popular. Acts included Houdini, Marie Lloyd, George Robey, Arab acrobats, dancers, singers, ventriloquists, Vernon's Bioscope, plays, pantomime and sketches and appear to have been purely entertainment.² Details are also given of a grand concert on Sundays, an open air concert in the gardens daily at three o'clock and a special dance programme on wet afternoons, also at three o'clock. The price structure shows the Gallery to be free, the pit at 3d, the circle and stalls both at 6d and boxes at 5 shillings.³ Other music halls included the Royal Colosseum, situated in the old National School in High Cross Street, which purported to offer free admission; in actual fact the entrance fee of 6d (box), 4d (front gallery) and 2d (body of hall and back gallery) was returned in beer and tobacco. The audience consisted mainly of youngsters aged twelve to twenty and had a rough reputation; several arrests were made in the theatre for thefts elsewhere. The Palace of Varieties opened in 1876 on Market Street, closed in 1898 and reopened in 1899 as the Gaiety Music Hall; it was the first music hall to show films, among its earliest being 'Sweeny Todd, the Demon Barber' at the turn of the twentieth century. The Gaiety became the Scala Cinema in 1913.⁴ Other minor music halls included the Crown and Cushion (also known as Varney's Varieties) on Market Street, The Assembly Rooms on Low (sic) Parliament Street and the Malt Cross on St. James' Street, although little information remains of their acts, prices etc. As noted in connection with the Royal Colosseum, most music halls were licensed and most public houses had a music hall licence. In fact: 'More women than men Frequent the gin

¹ Grand Theatre, Programmes, 1895. (Local Studies Library).

² Empire Hippodrome, Scrapbooks, 1902-8, 1907-9, 1909-10.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Swann Scrapbook, pp 382-3 several press cuttings. (Local Studies Library).

palace saloons. In these there would be an orchestra, usually consisting of a harp, fiddle and piano, and the vocalists were either engaged, or volunteers from the patrons.¹

How much either the theatre or music hall affected the education of local people is debatable. The fees of the theatres with their fare of Shakespeare and other 'serious' plays, would have been beyond the means of most working class families, although it would obviously have been beneficial to those who could have afforded it. The music hall acts were almost exclusively entertainment, but even here it is possible to glean instances of influence, especially in the content of pantomimes, still popular today. If one had time to deconstruct the inner meanings of works such as Cinderella, one would surely discern images of idealized female behaviour and warnings against unfeminine activities.

It has been possible to see how books, magazines and theatre productions may well have had an influence on girls and women in Nottingham, as well as other cities. As to whether such methods were successful in influencing female minds is debatable and we can never fully know the answer, but that the attempt was there to some degree is undeniable.

¹ 'Music Hall is Back in the Local,' in Swann Scrapbook, p383.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Private Education

By the middle of the nineteenth century, with the beginnings of the emancipation movement and Florence Nightingale's attempts to raise the status of nursing as a profession for middle class women, came the need for improved education for middle class girls. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, girls' private middle class education had been largely at the hands of governesses and visiting tutors in the home, and this consisted mainly of the acquisition of certain accomplishments deemed to make girls into decorative wives for future husbands; for instance: dancing, singing drawing, languages and, of course, needlework. A very few girls were sent away to boarding schools, often for daughters of the clergy, such as Jane Eyre experiences in Bronte's novel of the same name, where the teaching was of a deplorably low calibre. The founding of the Governesses Benevolent Association in 1843 showed how poor the standards were in the profession, as few were able to pass its exams. Two early pupils were Miss Buss, later to become head mistress of the North London Collegiate School (1850), and Miss Beale, who became Head mistress of Cheltenham Ladies College (1858); their schools catered for the growing demand for an academic education for girls, equal to that of their brothers, but including music, dancing and needlework. Out of this growing need the Girls' Public Day School Trust (GPDST) was born. Gareth Evans has noted the changing educational climate for middle class girls in Wales, from the ideal of the angel in the home, to the foundation of the Association for Promoting the Education of Girls in Wales (1886-1901). Its leaders, Doctor Sophie Bryant, Dilys Glynne Jones and Elizabeth P. Hughes, operated on the same level as Buss and Beale in England, and sought to promote the academic education of middle class girls. As we noted from the comments of Olive wheeler, the 1889 Welsh Intermediate and Technical Education Act greatly aided

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such education.¹ By the late nineteenth century, the most common profession for middle class girls was that of school mistress, albeit in private or high schools, rather than elementary schools. Oram², among others, has noted that middle class girls tended to favour secondary teaching, whilst working class girls had to be content with teaching in an elementary school. In 1885, Cambridge University established a hall of residence for intending women secondary school teachers only, it being deemed important to keep secondary and elementary teachers apart, the training college also being seen as unsuitable for trainee secondary teachers.³ Even at this level, opinions differed with regard to female education; the attitude of Newnham College, Oxford (among others) was one of compromise, incorporating domestic subjects along with academic, thereby placating middle class fears that education would make women too masculine, whilst Girton College, Cambridge made no concessions to such fears, favouring a more blue stocking approach and purely academic subjects. Such attitudes inevitably filtered down to middle class school girls who set their sights on a university education.

The extent of private education in Nottingham is far more difficult to examine and evaluate than that of state education, due to a dearth of reliable information. State schools had to be inspected, were subject to the rules of the Education Department, School Boards and, later, LEAs, and had to keep records in the form of Admission and Attendance Registers, Log Books, Punishment Books etc., and were subjected to a constant stream of visitors. Church and charity schools fared much the same and received, if anything, even more visitors. But private schools aroused relatively little official interest. It is true that in Nottingham inspectors attempted to gain entry and examine the records of private schools, and found many to be inadequate, but how many more small or dame schools remained unknown to and therefore unvisited by the state's inspectors is an unknowable factor. This is where the major difficulty lies for the historian: small dame

¹ Evans, W.G., 'The Welsh Intermediate and Technical Education Act,' *op. cit.*, various pages.

² Oram, A., Women Teachers and Feminist Politics 1900-1939, Manchester, 1997.

³ Musgrave, P.W., Society and Education in England Since 1800, London, 1968, p.16.

schools held in the front room of a terraced house for the benefit of a few local children and known only to local residents become invisible and therefore impossible to evaluate. It is also more than likely that many such schools, and even some larger establishments, had a very short life.

R.J. Smith estimates that there were 100 private day schools in the city of Nottingham in the mid nineteenth century, plus a further 43 in Radford and 32 in the village of Bingham (the three areas of his study). These, he has argued, tended to be small establishments, averaging around 25 pupils, with equal numbers of boys and girls and used by the upper echelons of the working classes, such as highly skilled lace workers earning up to £2 per week, who could afford the fees; this was especially so in Radford where a number of lace workers lived.¹

One way of attempting to highlight such schools is to examine the street lists of a given city for a given period. Wright's Directory for Nottingham, published throughout the 1870-1914 period, gives some insight into the phenomena of dame schools. But there are difficulties: not everyone who was running a small school from home necessarily referred to themselves as a teacher or their address as that of a school, especially if taking in only a few scholars. If this is the case, we are given a disproportionate picture of private education in the city. Also, what is referred to as a school one year, may not be another year. For instance, Wright's Directory of 1891 lists a Mrs. Belton of 13 Church Drive, Carrington under the heading of 'Private Schools'; however, by 1905 the address is occupied by the same woman, but there is no mention of a school. Also, several houses appear to be without an occupation, although listed under a female name. It is possible that such women took in pupils, possibly on a part time basis and, therefore, did not perceive themselves as teachers. Either way, it is virtually impossible to ascertain any

¹ Smith, R.J., 'Education, Society and Literacy: Nottingham in the mid-nineteenth century,' University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Vol 12, No.1, 1969, pp.42-56, p 46.

information about such schools but that they did exist is apparent from the directories such as Wright's. Schools such as these suffered a gradual decline after the abolition of fees in state schools in 1891.

Some details can also be found in local books and newspapers, such as the school in Bilbie Street run by the Misses Morris for the purpose of imparting a 'thorough and superior education,'¹ presumably to 'girls from the middle classes, possibly using it as a finishing school. Wood in his book on the University College Nottingham notes that a Miss Talbot of London Road aimed 'to fit her young friends for the various duties of life by stimulating them to become virtuous, rational and accomplished women; and it is a source of real pleasure to her to be able to state that her efforts have been distinctly marked by success.'²

The quotation sounds as if it belongs to an advertisement, singing the praises of a particular school, but without giving any concrete details such as subjects studied, exams prepared for, teachers names and qualifications, colleges aimed for etc. Even the pages of the admission registers of schools often list previous schools simply as 'private', whereas state or church schools are generally named.

However, the admission register for Kimberley Parochial School gives some details of some schools previously attended. Most are church schools, board schools or a few are simply 'private', but occasionally references appear for Miss Hedley's Miss Healy's and Miss Eley's Private School.³ It seems improbable that these are all separate schools: Hedley and Healy are not dissimilar when written and Healy and Eley are similar when

¹ Nottingham Journal, 27 May, 1870.

² Wood, A.C., A History of University College Nottingham, Nottingham, 1953, p.26.

³ Kimberley Parochial School, Admission Register, 1878-98, various pages.

spoken; it seems likely, then, that they are in fact the same school. No further details are to be found and the references begin to fade after the first few years, into the early 1880's. This is in keeping with the general premise that small private schools began to die out as the School Board era progressed. The Minute Books of the NSB confirm this with the following figures:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of private schools</u>
1890	724
1891	670
1892	479
1893	420
1894	357
1895	290 ¹

The same is not true, however, of the attendance register for West Bridgford Musters Road Junior Mixed and Infants School, where 'private' references abound, some of which are actually named, such as Miss Jackson's, Miss Turner's, Miss Durse's, Miss Neale's, Mrs. Carter's, Mrs. Munroe's, Mrs. Jepson's, Miss Bissell's Miss Mayer's and Forest Road Private School. Not all were local to West Bridgford; some were situated in Beeston, Sherwood Rise and Forest Road, showing some degree of travel, possibly including a train journey (from Beeston, for instance). Three schools in particular, namely Miss Turner's, Mrs. Jepson's and Miss Bissell's, represent several year's worth of references, thereby showing that these three schools, at least, were long term establishments. Notably, a few remarks show that pupils leave for private schools, particularly the Boys' and Girls' High Schools, which we shall look at shortly. Although this school appears to contradict the general premise of private school decline, we must

¹ NSB, Minute Books, Vol 17, p 109.

acknowledge that West Bridgford is a very different area to Kimberley. In the latter most families would have been working class, with fathers' occupations being in mining or local factories; West Bridgford, on the other hand, would have had a far greater proportion of professional people who would be more likely to send their children to a private school, if only for a part of their childhood. This, then, supports rather than detracts from the general argument.

We can also look to the records of the NSB for some details of private schools. The Minute Books note the numbers of children in 'private adventure schools':

Numbers in schools where fees above 9d per week: 842

Numbers in schools where fees below 9d per week: 841*

Total: - - - - - 1683¹

The same report also notes the inefficient state and poor condition of most of the schools under 9d per week. For example, over twenty children huddled into small house rooms which were badly ventilated and contained poor apparatus. No specific details regarding names or addresses, however, are given. Another volume gives us a few more details (although, again, unspecific) regarding fees, conditions, number on the roll and numbers attending, and assessment. Subjects generally consist of the three R's, with occasional references to geography, grammar or drawing; interestingly, needlework is not mentioned. Many, however, refused entry to the inspectors; many more were dirty or cramped or both, but a few were deemed to be suitable.²

¹ NSB, 'Report of the Bye Laws Committee,' 6 Jan., 1886, p 7 in Minute Books, Vol 5 (pp 83-99).

² NSB, Minute Books Vol 12, pp 49-52

* This is broken down further into 276 under five years of age and 565 over the age of five.

Wardle, too, has noted the condition of dame schools in the nineteenth century and the difficulty of examining them due to their small size and insignificance, making them easy to escape detection. He notes one school of 27 children cramped into 130 square feet of space, another in Canal Street containing 36 children in a room 14 feet by ten feet, and another in Welbeck Street accommodating 27 children in an even smaller room.¹ Also:

Almost without exception the smaller schools were held in badly ventilated rooms ~ twenty children and upwards in several cases being huddled together in little rooms. The furniture and apparatus in the poorest schools consisted of two or three low forms and a few damaged reading cards, in addition to the slates brought by the scholars.²

Yet many working class parents preferred these schools to the state or church schools, as dame schools placed less emphasis on punctuality and very few even kept a register. Wardle, too, however, notes the decline of such schools after the abolition of fees in state schools: by 1891, dame schools in Nottingham had reduced in number to 43 with around 1000 pupils; by 1895, this was further reduced to 24 and 483 pupils; and by 1898, there remained only thirteen schools with 270 pupils (a figure which was maintained somewhat as thirteen schools still remained in 1903).³

The two largest and most prestigious private girls' schools in Nottingham were undoubtedly Hollygirt and the NGHS, a GPDST school.

¹ Wardle, The History of Education in Nottingham, op cit, p 684.

² Ibid, p 685

³ Ibid., pp.696-7.

Hollygirt began life as Miss Stevenson's Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies on the corner of Shakespeare Street and Bilbie Street, the earliest reference for which is 1862, later moving to 57 Bilbie Street, later still to 82 Addison Street, and finally to the corner of Addison Street and Forest Road. The school was initially a small affair run by the Misses Elizabeth and Emily Stevenson, with Miss Emily as the teacher of music and singing. At an unknown date the sisters separated, leaving the school in the name of Miss Elizabeth Stevenson. (Miss Emily had her own school at 27 Broad Street over a tobacconist's shop; with 23 pupils to 252 square feet it was classed by the 1871 report of the NSB as 'not supplying efficient education, and not capable of being made to do so.')¹

According to the official Hollygirt School History, there were many small schools in Nottingham after 1870, the most fashionable to be found in the Waverley Street/Forest Road/Mansfield Road area. The Statistical Committee listed 33 schools in the city, accommodating 853 children for fees of 8d per week or less. By 1879, the figure had risen to 82, of which 69 were run by women, giving rise to the assertion by Margaret Baker in the Hollygirt history that three quarters of private schools in Nottingham were for girls. Hollygirt, at this time, was situated at 29 Dryden Street (originally 57 Bilbie Street, but whose northern part had been renamed, thereby changing the address of its occupants). The school continued to prosper after 1891 when fees in board schools were abolished and when many private schools went into a decline. By 1898, only thirteen private schools were listed in the directory, one of which was Hollygirt, the first time the name actually appears, chosen for the holly trees surrounding the school house in Addison Street. In 1895, the adjoining property of 45 Forest Road was purchased and the school remained in this joint corner house until 1913.

¹ Baker, M., Hollygirt: the Story of a School, Nottingham, 1988, p.3.

Miss Stevenson was succeeded as headmistress by the maths teacher, Miss Kate Stafford, a former pupil. Subjects taught were Maths and English, French, Music, History, Nature and Art, 'general subjects', Kindergarten (which included boys) and sewing. Games included hockey and tennis. Lessons covered six days of the week, with Wednesday and Saturday afternoons off. In 1913, the school moved to 42 Elm Avenue, its present address. Little information is available on specific subjects, pupils and case studies etc. as registers and other records do not appear to have survived but, as a prestigious fee paying school, it would certainly have been the preserve of the middle classes, although details regarding fees and scholarships remain unavailable.¹

Conversely, the Nottingham Girls' High School (NGHS) has a considerable archive of material, some of it relating back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Concern had been mounting for some time regarding the content of middle class girls education. In 1871, Maria Grey perceptively commented: 'They are not educated to be wives, but to get husbands' whereas girls should have 'their reason trained to form opinions upon their circumstances and surroundings.'² Out of this demand grew the Women's Educational Union and later the Girls' Public Day School Company, later, Trust, a commercial profit making organization with shareholders. The NGHS was founded under the auspices of the GPDST in 1875, as a school for daughters of professional men who were prepared to pay a considerable fee to have their daughters educated privately and (at least, theoretically) to a level concordant with their fathers' professional status.

The admission registers give us some insight into the type of pupils and their achievements at and after NGHS. Some, indeed, did very well after school:

¹ Ibid.

² Nottingham High School for Girls (GPDST) 1875-1954, no date or place of publication, p.5.

1) Nora Bolton (Father: Joseph; MD/Surgeon)

Born: 3/1/98

Educated previously at Clarendon Street Municipal Preparatory School

Admitted to NGHS: 1908. Left: 1916

Went on to St. Hugh's, Oxford; obtained Honours in English: 1919¹

2) Edith Mary Pruden (Father: Samuel [Dec.]; Retail Grocer)

Born: 5/8/91

Educated previously at Hollygirt School for four years

Admitted to NGHS: 1904. Left: 1910

Went on to University College Nottingham; obtained BA in Law²

3) Phyllis M. Wright (Father: S.F.; Lace Warehouse Manager)

Born: 28/8/91

Educated previously at Hollygirt for six years

Admitted to NGHS: 1903. Left: 1910

Went on to Newnham College, Cambridge: obtained Dip.Ed. and Modern Languages Tripos³

4) Clara Dillon (Father: Arthur; Sub-postmaster and retail shopkeeper)

Born: 5/3/93

Educated previously at Trent Bridge and Musters Road Elementary School for six years

Admitted to NGHS: 1906. Left: 1912

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¹ NGHS, Admission Register, 1905-9, p 6.

² Ibid., p.32.

³ Ibid., p 36.

(Partial exemption granted by the trustees of the Hart Collingham Exhibition under chairman Joseph Bright for three years (1906-9) at £10 per annum, then total exemption from 1909 for an undecided term).

Went on to University College Nottingham, then teaching at Mundella Higher Grade Elementary School

Remarks: 'Scholarship renewed till 1912'¹

5) Althea Josephine Bolton (Father: Joseph; MD/Surgeon)

Born: 28/8/92

Educated previously at Miss Wyllies Private School in Nottingham

Admitted to NGHS: 1898. Left: 1910

Went on to School of Medicine for Women at Birmingham University

'Occupation after leaving' states: 'Foreign Travel'²

The above case studies represent some of the pupils, mainly from comfortable middle class homes, who went on to do well, having spent several years in the school. There were exceptions where elementary school girls attended and did well (and we will look at this aspect of the school a little later) such as Clara Dillon who enjoyed a scholarship for several years.

According to the registers, most girls seemed to use the NGHS as a finishing school, spending one, two or three years there before leaving school aged around sixteen years. It is noticeable that there is a fairly high number of ex-council scholars spending a year or two there, as well as those from smaller private schools of, presumably, lower prestige and quality than NGHS. For instance:

¹ Ibid., p.52.

² Ibid., p.37.

1) Ray MacKenzie (Father: William; Wholesale and Retail Draper)

Born: 2/5/94

Admitted to NGHS: 1908. Left: 1911

No exams passed; no further education mentioned

'Occupation after leaving' states: 'Living at home'¹

2) Gladys Lilian Marriott (Father: John; Retail Ironmonger)

Born: 10/4/96

Admitted to NGHS: 1908. Left: 1912

No exams passed; no mention of further education

'Occupation' states: 'None'²

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3) Annie May Wagner (Father: George; Retail Pork Butcher)

Born: 19/6/94

Admitted to NGHS: 1908. Left: 1909

No exams passed; no mention of further education

'Occupation' states: 'None'³

The above case studies are typical of many, most recorded as having no occupation on leaving school, often with the word 'Married' inserted at a (presumably) later date. Such girls must surely have come from a middle class or at least comfortable artisan home to have been kept after school and before marriage without the need to work. None of these entries mention scholarships, although several attended elementary schools of the Higher

¹ Ibid , p.11.

² Ibid., p.12.

³ Ibid , p.22

Grade type, such as Huntingdon Street and High Pavement Schools, or even Clarendon which was not Higher Grade. We know that the middle classes used state schools, perhaps increasingly after the abolition of fees, when schools were being supported on the rates, the brunt of which was borne by the middle classes, so it is not surprising to see girls from state schools finishing their education at NGHS for a year or two. Nor is it impossible to find girls from humble, lower middle class or artisan, backgrounds in the NGHS: abolition of fees and limitation of family size allowed a few such families to put their sons and daughters through a year or two of private education even without a scholarship, although it is possible that parents were more likely to send their sons to private schools and their daughters to state schools, as suggested by Branca.¹

Scholarships, however, did exist (although not funded by the school itself) and enabled the few girls who were fortunate enough to obtain them to gain a private education. Admittedly, most scholarships at NGHS were for academic achievement and available only to existing scholars (which were funded by the school), but a few were awarded by the County Council and by local charities; the NGHS itself refused to award scholarships due, it claimed, to a lack of funds. The Inspector's Report for 1908 shows a total of twelve scholarships, three of which were internal and for merit only, whilst nine were entry scholarships awarded by the County Council and local charities.² The same report was somewhat critical of the scholarship situation at the school:

The number of those who hold scholarships (= 12 or less than 4% of the number in the School) can hardly be considered adequate when the proportion of children who have received their previous education in state aided schools is considered. It is to be regretted that the School, while drawing so many children from the Public Schools, has so little means of securing the able children from these schools. The

¹ Branca, P, Silent Sisterhood, Pittsburgh, 1975.

² Inspector's Report of Nottingham Girls' High School, 1908, p 5.

Municipal Secondary Schools of the town with their very large supply of Scholarships draw all the clever children from the Elementary Schools, and if, as sometimes happens, a girl passes from one of those schools to this School, she does so when she is too old to benefit from the change and further, the change is in some cases at any rate made because she is not progressing well in these Schools. Girls of either of these types do not add much to the intellectual strength of this School.¹

In examining the records and documents in the archive of the school, nothing appears to support the lack of funds theory or indicate that the original foundation of the school forbade such scholarships.

Messenger, in her work on the school, admits that there were very few working class pupils with scholarships, but argues for there being a good social mix of professional, business and trades people.² She cites the scholarships to the University College Nottingham, but fails to give any indication of how they were funded; nothing else in the archive elaborates upon this issue. She also cites the small number of scholarships for working class girls: in 1873, the National Union for the Higher Education of Women offered the first scholarship for a girl from an elementary school to attend a GPDST school. Added to this were the Parker Scholarships, Strelley Scholarships (both charities) and Scholarships from the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891 (although most of these went to boys) and from NCC. The four Strelley Scholarships, each valued at £15 per annum and valid for three or four years, and tenable at the Boys' or Girls' High Schools, all went to working class pupils. In the 1880's and 1890's, three girls gained Strelley Scholarships: Selina Barrett, a coal miner's daughter and Elizabeth Liney, a plumber's daughter, both from Bulwell, walked to school as the tram fare was too high to

¹ Ibid, p.5.

² Messenger, P A., Nottingham High School for Girls 1875-1900, no date or place of publication, p.59.

ride there. Both scholarships were for five years and both girls left at sixteen when the scholarship expired. The third scholarship was awarded to Jeannie Deverill, whose father was a labourer; she left at thirteen, when compulsory education ended, because she was needed at home, thereby illustrating both the difficulties of keeping children from working class homes at school even with a scholarship, and the importance of women within the home.¹ The scholarship, of course, takes no account of the cost of a uniform, stationary and any field trips, all of which would have constituted a huge amount of outlay to a poor family. The first girls to receive Parker Scholarships to NGHS (in 1889) were Ada Bitterling, the daughter of a skin dealer, and Catherine Thompson, who lived with her widowed mother; both were from High Pavement School and neither went on to further or higher education.

The Admission Register for 1905-9 also gives some information regarding scholarships and the girls who received them. We have already noted Clara Dillon who received partial exemption for three years and full exemption for a further three years. Also:

1) Sadie Wilkinson (Father: Francis; Pupil Teacher Instructor)

Born: 2/9/93

Educated previously at Quarry Road Council School (Bulwell) for seven years

Admitted to NGHS: 1904. Left: 1909

Partial exemption under Strelley Charity from 1904 at £15 per annum for '3 years at least, possibly 5'

Went on to become a pupil teacher²

¹ Ibid., p.64.

² NGHS, Admission Register, 1905-9, p.94

2) Dorothy Bradbury (Father: Oswald; Card and Paper Manufacturer)

Born: 16/7/96

Educated previously at Clarendon Street Municipal Preparatory School

Admitted to NGHS: 1908. Left: 1912

Partial exemption from Sept., 1908 for 3 years at £12 per annum (Peverill Exhibition). 'Renewed for school year 1911/12'¹

3) Mabel Courtenay Thorne (Guardian: Mrs. Emma Thorne [aunt])

Head Mistress at Huntingdon Street School; Father [dec.]; Chemist)

Born: 24/6/93

Educated previously at Huntingdon Street School

Admitted to NGHS. 1908. Left: 1911

Partial exemption from 1908 for 3 years (Lenton Exhibition) at £15 per annum

Went on to the Nottingham School of Art

'Occupation' states: 'dress designer'²

It is immediately noticeable from the above examples that the girls who have only partial exemption are hardly from working class homes. The fees would also have been an insurmountable barrier to most working class girls; according to the Inspector's Report of 1908, the fees at NGHS ran as follows:

¹ Ibid., p.6.

² Ibid., p.21.

Tuition: 1) if under 10 years on entering: £10.0 0

2) if 10-12 years on entering: £13.10.0

3) if over 12 years on entering: £16.10.0

Preparatory Department (4-7 years): £6.6.0

Pupils to provide own books etc.

Extra subject fees: piano: range £3.3.0 - £6.6.0

violin: £6.6.0

violin class: range £1.11.6 - £3.3.0

painting: £3.3.0

French and German Conversation: £1.11.16¹

Despite the above fees, Messenger insists that the school was open to all classes and creeds and that undenominational religion was taught. She cites fees at £12-15 per annum with a wide education being taught, incorporating the three R's, languages, humanities, book keeping, sciences, drawing, singing and calisthenics.² As can be seen from the above, not all of this 'wide education' was included in the tuition fees, and would not have been within the capabilities of most working class families.

The Inspector's Report of 1908 shows the previous year's accounts to have a balance of over £1000, yielding a net profit of £553; he noted is the expenditure per head to be £11, as compared to £13-14 in municipal schools and £20 in the Boys' High School.³

¹ Inspector's Report, op. cit., p.2.

² Messenger, Nottingham High School for Girls, op. cit., p 63.

³ Inspector's Report, op. cit., p.21.

The same report shows state secondary and Higher Grade schools to be strong rivals of the High Schools: 'The children in these schools are of picked ability, recruited annually from the best material of the elementary schools, and subjected to a searching test on admission . . . and further the school hours are half as long again as those of the High School.'¹

Of the few girls from humble backgrounds who did manage to gain an education at Nottingham Girls High School, only a tiny number were fortunate enough to get to university. One such scholar was 'Annie Trout, a council scholar who obtained a degree in Maths and subsequently became a lecturer in Engineering at the University of Southampton, having worked on the development of aeroplane structures during the First World War.'²

Despite Annie being a council scholar, she was not necessarily a working class girl, and it is debatable what kind of experience schooling at NGHS would have been for poor girls. Messenger argues that council scholars were 'accepted without any trace of snobbery or distinction' in Nottingham, as opposed to London where some schools had had pupils withdrawn due to the working class element.³ Yet at the same time she admits that the school had 'to be careful of the number of girls from poorer backgrounds who were admitted.'⁴ This hardly seems to be in keeping with a spirit of egalitarianism and acceptance; one can imagine that ex-council scholars with fathers in manual trades and comparatively coarse speech and manners, might have suffered at the hands of their middle class school fellows. Perhaps this last quote of Messenger's also provides the real reason why the NGHS refused scholarships to elementary school girls.

¹ *Ibid*, p.21.

² Messenger, Nottingham High School for Girls, op. cit., p 42-3 (from NGHS, Magazine, 1951-2, p.47).

³ *Ibid*, p.68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p 68.

The background of pupils is also discernible from the school's records and Messenger's history of the school. The latter gives the trades and professions of pupils' parents for 1880-89 as:

Gentlemen:	6	Professor at University	80
Lace Manufacturers	70	Governor of Nottingham	
Bleachers	10	Prison	1
Manager of Dyeworks	1	Jailer	1
Other merchants/manufacturers	60	Shopkeepers	257
Professional men (including ministers, bankers, teachers, architects)			80
Total	-----		487¹

The Inspector's Report of 1908 similarly breaks down the classes as follows:

Professional/Independent	67
Merchants/Manufacturers	106
Retail traders	34
Farmers	6
Commercial managers	47
Service, postmen, artisans etc.	1 ²

¹ Ibid , p.58.

² Inspector's Report, op cit , p 22.

The admission registers covering the 1885-1914 period supports the above designations: lace and hosiery manufacturers abound as 'father's occupation'; there are several 'gentleman' and 'no occupation', a fair number of doctors and surgeons, commercial travellers, grocers, ironmongers, architects and surveyors; a few solicitors, land agents, bankers and ministers; at least one farmer, one builder, one decorator, one bleacher and one widow. The effect is overwhelmingly middle class, and with a bias towards business rather than the professions, which reflects Nottingham's position as a manufacturing centre, especially in the lace and hosiery trades.

Addresses, also taken from the same admission register, support the above contention: Sherwood Rise, Bulwell Hall, The Park and Mapperley feature strongly; several references appear for Arboretum Street, Waverley Street, Noel Street, Clarendon Street, Pelham Street, Chaucer Street, Talbot Street, Shakespeare Street, Long Row and Castle Gate; Ruddington, Grantham, Beeston, Northampton, Daybrook, West Bridgford, Burton Joyce and Lenton also appear. A large majority came from the city areas which are now a series of office blocks and shops, but which formed residential areas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The same register gives details of pupils' previous education, depending upon their age of entry. Obviously, those entering aged five or six had no previous school, but others entering later might equally have 'None' written under 'Previous Education,' although this could indicate home tuition with a parent, governess or visiting tutor. Others give details of previous schools, some obviously private. For instance:

Miss Hall, 68 Addison Street
 Miss Lewin, Balmoral Road
 Miss Carr, Wellington Square
 Miss Gyles, Waterloo Crescent
 Miss Stevenson, Dryden Street (later to become Hollygirt)
 Mrs. Gilbert, Arthur Street
 Miss Hastings, Forest Road¹

Despite the preponderance of small private schools, board and later council schools also feature fairly frequently, particularly the Higher Grade and Secondary Schools.

The staff register similarly gives appropriate details of teachers, such as dates of birth, dates of appointment, exams passed, previous posts and pay. For instance, Cecily Cerise Clark who became head mistress of NGHS: 'Educated at home. Then in the classes of the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women by professors of the University of Edinburgh.'² Clark's exams included a 'Pass Certificate in Arts for Women, University of Edinburgh, in Latin, Maths and Botany, 1882 (and) Honours Certificate in Latin, Certificate in Arts for Women, University of Edinburgh, 1883.'³ Her previous posts included assistant mistress at the following: St. Leonard's School and St. Andrew's High School, Ashford; and head mistress at York High School. Her special subjects were Scripture and Latin; she was appointed in 1898 at a salary of £250 per annum.

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¹ NGHS, Admission Register, 1905-9, various pages

² NGHS, Staff Register, no dates, p 1.

³ *Ibid*, p 1.

Until page 31 of the staff register, all teachers are from GPDST, private or High Schools or have been educated at home, and all are from outside Nottingham, some from abroad, thereby showing mobility not to be a problem for female teachers at this time. Then appears the entry for Miss Ethel Mary Greenall:

Born: 4/3/85

Appointed: 14/6/10 - 28/7/10 (one term only)

Educated at: Clarendon Street Board School 1891-96

Miss Wilson's Private School 1896-99

NGHS 1899-1905

Royal Holloway College (for Women) 1905-9¹

In terms of exams, Greenall held a London Matriculation (1904), London Inter B.Sc. (1907), London B Sc. (Internal: 909), her special subjects were Science and Maths. This is her first post at a salary of £1.1s per week. More typical are the following teachers; all of these are Nottingham women:

1) Emily Garrett Rosebeade

Born: 22/11/79

Appointed: September, 1911 (no leaving date)

Educated at: Private school, Beeston on Trent

NGHS: 1893-99²

¹ Ibid., p.31.

² Ibid., p.39.

2) Dorothy Rawson

Born: 26/6/90

Appointed: December, 1909 to February, 1917

Educated at: High Pavement School: 1899-1905

NGHS: 1905-9¹

3) Annie Kathleen Wootton

Born: 18/4/89

Appointed: 249/13 - July, 1915

Educated at: Private school, Nottingham: 1895-1904

NGHS: 1904-10

Special subjects are English, French and German, Needlework and Scripture; she is engaged at a salary of £100 per annum.²

It is noticeable that a very few teachers have, like Ethel Greenall, attended board schools in early childhood, prior to attending NGHS, but none have completed their education in a state school. Messenger gives some insight into this:

The women who staffed the company schools were of course all from middle class backgrounds; it would not have been possible for a women without a family to give her some financial support to take a position in one of the Company's schools knowing that she would receive no salary until the end of her first term.³

¹ Ibid., p.41.

² Ibid., p.43.

³ Messenger, Nottingham High School for Girls, op. cit., p.34.

This goes some way to explaining the educational backgrounds of NGHS teachers: we know that middle class girls often attended board schools, frequently using NGHS as a sort of finishing school. We know that even if a working class girl won a scholarship, she could never hope to become a teacher there due to the way salaries were paid. (One could cynically argue that the salary payment system could have evolved in order to dissuade working class applicants from applying for posts as teachers at the school). We know that the teachers quoted who had, at some stage, attended a board school were indeed middle class and of comfortable means. It would be interesting to know if the company gave any preference to 'old girls', or if there was any discrimination against even middle class girls with the means to be kept for their first term, who had only ever attended a board school, albeit of the Higher Grade variety, as many did. Occasionally, we see even an NGHS girl becoming an elementary school teacher:

Evelyn H. Maguire (Father: Michael; army officer)

Born: 26/2/90

Educated previously at Convent School, Mock, Holland

Admitted to NGHS: 1905. Left: 1909

'Occupation' states: 'Preparing to be an Elementary School teacher'¹

It is possible to see why NGHS girls might favour teaching in an elementary school if we consider a statement in the Inspector's Report of 1908: 'The salaries of the senior mistresses of the Municipal Schools are considerably higher' than those of the NGHS,² although the prestige would inevitably have been much greater in the NGHS than in a state elementary school.

¹ NGHS, Admission Register, 1905-9, p.29.

² Inspector's Report, op. cit., p 7.

Returning to the pupils, the Inspector's Report of 1908 notes the increase in numbers entering NGHS from state schools:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No's from state schools</u>	<u>No's from private schools</u> (or educated at home)
1901	35	228
1908	117	144 ¹

The length of school life varied between those who joined the kindergarten and stayed on through to sixteen or even older, and those who join for the last two to four years of school life. The numbers of girls in the school in 1908 are as follows:

Under 12 years: 72 (30%) (excluding kindergarten)

12 ~ 16 years: 150 (63.5%)

Over 16 years: 16 (6.5%)²

The above figures corroborate the theory that NGHS acted as a finishing school for many young girls, perhaps especially those entering from state schools with or without a scholarship. The figures are elaborated on in another table, giving the ages at the time of the inspection in 1908:

¹ Ibid , p.3.

² Ibid , p 3.

<u>Age in Years:</u>	Under 9	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
<u>No's:</u>	23	11	13	22	27	36	48	35	30	14	2	261 ¹

Again, we can see the highest concentration of pupils in the fourteen years of age bracket and a substantial falling off after sixteen years. This resulted in very small classes in the upper forms, leading to stagnation and a lack of development in the education of older pupils. The Inspector's Report states of those who had left the previous year: 'Nearly half of those who left last year seem to have gone on to other schools, in some cases abroad, nearly half remained at home, two went on to Training Colleges, 3 into business and 3 entered local Universities.'²

We are not given an actual figure for the numbers leaving school, or any indication of their ages, but clearly only a very small number went on to higher education, training or work. Nearly half the number leaving only to remain at home seems to be extremely high, and is a good indication of middle class background; we must also remember that not all of those leaving would have been sixteen or older, as is generally the case today; girls could have been withdrawn at any age to go to other schools or for a variety of reasons:

1) Mary Addyman (Father: Reverend Thomas): 17 Tennyson Street

Born: 1871

Admitted to NGHS: age 14

Left: age 16 due to father's death³

2) Alice Coldson (Father: art worker): Brant Broughton, Newark

Born: 1870

¹ Ibid., p.2.

² Ibid., pp 3-4.

³ NGHS, Admission Register, 1905-9, p.1.

Admitted to NGHS: aged 14

Left: aged 16: 'Required at home. Scholarship ended from Board's authorities Brant Broughton.'¹

3) Josephine Adelaide Woods (Father: clergyman)

Born: 1881

Admitted to NGHS: aged 5½

Left: aged 14 due to 'Father's Death'

Remarks: 'Very satisfactory. Good abilities'²

4) Charlotte Alice Bales (Guardian: Mrs. M Butler): 27 Magdalla (sic) Road

Born: 1870

Admitted to NGHS: aged 10

Left: aged 13 'To go to a school of lower fees'³

5) Hesper Marion Browne (Father: Michael; Lace manufacturer): 16 Gregory Street, Lenton

Born: 1870

Admitted to NGHS: aged 7

Left: aged 17 'To manage the household. Mother is dead'⁴

Ages of leaving vary, generally from ten years upwards; reasons include illness, going to boarding school, being educated at home, going into teaching, going abroad, going to

¹ Ibid., p.2.

² Ibid., p.17.

³ Ibid., p 14

⁴ Ibid., p 29

work, helping at home, 'want of means', or (mostly) 'end of school work'. Several appear to have left due to the death of their father and loss of financial means. Such girls would have had to find work as a means of supplementing the family income.

The Inspector's Report of 1908 is highly critical of the very small number passing Matriculation exams for a high school; it seems those who did pass, received a great deal of extra tuition. The Report is also critical of the unpreparedness of many girls entering the school to finish their education, and the complete lack of any form of entrance exam.¹ This may have resulted from a fear of overworking girls, given the attitudes of the day. Messenger quotes from contemporary sources which contradict such fears: Mrs. Henry Sedgewick in a pamphlet entitled 'Health Statistics of Women Students of Cambridge and Oxford and of their Sisters' gives evidence that there was no conflict between serious study and a healthy life.² Messenger also quotes Dr. Mary Scharlieb, giving a lecture to parents of Oxford High School pupils in 1889, to the effect that if girls are delicate it is due to lack of fresh air and exercise rather than study, and recommends gymnastics and open air activities.³

Such advice seems to have fallen on proverbially deaf ears according to the Inspector's Report which criticizes parents for trying to exempt their daughters from part of the curriculum: 'A large number are claimed on the grounds of physical disability and parents seem to be more than unusually anxious to secure light school labours for their daughters.'⁴

In the case of physical exercise this might have been justified for very delicate children. Sports played at NGHS included hockey, tennis and cricket with tournaments between

¹ Inspector's Report, op. cit , p 8

² Messenger, Nottingham High School for Girls, op. cit , p 34 (from J Fitch, Educational Aims and Methods, 1900, p.45)

³ Ibid , p.34.

⁴ Inspector's Report, op. cit , p 8.

GPDST schools in Nottingham, Loughborough, Mansfield and Lincoln. Physical Education centred on the 'Swedish System' and consisted of half an hour per week with an optional extra session on Friday afternoon, which about two thirds of the girls attended: 'The girls wear a suitable and becoming dress, but they are not by any means uniformly smart either in appearance or their work.'¹ The amounts of physical activity hardly seem excessive by our standards, and the difficulties of trying to remain 'smart' whilst exercising (if only to please visiting inspectors) no doubt detracted from the original intention.

Other subjects included languages although, according to the Fee Schedule, these were extra subjects, to be paid for separately. French was taught throughout the school with Latin and German as alternatives to French from the third form. Sciences were listed as 'Gardening, Aquaria. Observational lessons on shrubs, trees and birds. Recognition of leaves and common flowers and fruits,' for form I through to 'The Bunsen burner . . . Expansion of solids, liquids and air . . . Ventilation. Conduction. convection,' for form upper III and to Elementary Physics and Chemistry for forms upper V and VI.² Manual instruction is given as Clay Modelling, Brushwork and Drawing, with Knitting and Sewing in the Kindergarten (for both boys and girls).³ Domestic subjects, namely cookery and needlework, were also an integral part of the curriculum. The Whetstone of Wit (the original name of the NGHS magazine) stated at Christmas, 1885:

A new voluntary subject has been introduced into the school, that of Cooking. High School girls in the future will therefore be thoroughly domesticated, for now on Thursday afternoons a lesson on Cookery of one and a half hours takes place in the School kitchen, and the class has heartily enjoyed it. The best 'cook' has not

¹ Inspector's Report, op cit, p 18

² Ibid., p.11.

³ Ibid., p 14.

yet been determined, the exam in theory and practice of cookery will decide this, when the first girl will receive the cooking prize.¹

Friends of the girls were invited to see 'this useful class' at work.² Messenger admits that the school's attempts at cookery were modest when compared with the board schools, but argues that NGHS was ahead of the GPDST in this subject. In 1906, the Board of Education asked the GPDST to introduce practical and theoretical cookery into their schools. The GPDST were not amused: '... the schools were designed ... to form educated members of society or preparing pupils for work ... requiring culture and systemised training.³ It was opposed, however, by Sir Philip Magnus, among others, who wanted all women to have a thorough domestic training.

It was the subject of needlework which formed the core of domestic subjects, as was the case in state schools. Yet the Inspector's Report of 1908 states that needlework 'taught in the afternoons' is optional, and 'only about a third of the pupils take advantage of the lessons.'⁴ Attendance is also irregular; the Report advises that needlework should be a class subject. Of the one third who take needlework '... judging by the early attempts of those who do so, it is evident that there is much to be learnt.'⁵ Despite this less than ecstatic praise, prizes were given to both younger and older girls, and exams were taken at the London Institute for the Advancement of Plain Needlework. In the years 1890-2, 96 out of 108 candidates were successful and received certificates.⁶ The needlework, then, could hardly have been quite as poor as the Inspector indicated, but this only serves to highlight the importance of this subject. Interestingly, for a High School for middle class girls, the emphasis appeared to be on plain rather than fancy needlework; this was

¹ Whetstone of Wit, Christmas, 1885, p 39.

² Ibid , p 39.

³ Messenger, Nottingham High School for Girls, op. cit., p 39.

⁴ Inspector's Report, op. cit., p.17

⁵ Ibid., p.17.

⁶ Messenger, Nottingham High School for Girls, op. cit , p.40.

frequently linked with charitable activity: 'A large parcel of useful clothing, the work of the Afternoon Sewing Class is now ready for the Children's Hospital. 61 certificates were gained on the work sent in July to be examined by the London Institute of Plain Needlework.'¹ The Inspector's Report makes reference to the various clubs and societies, including the Afternoon Sewing Class: 'A pleasant feature is the support rendered by the girls to the Children's Hospital; such an institution as the Sewing Guild is invaluable in teaching young people the "luxury of doing good."²' A club was also formed for old girls 'and one feature of this is a guild formed to visit the sick in hospitals.'³ Again, one sees middle class ethics of charity and laissez-faire economics at work here, along with the attempts to mould soup kitchen organizers and charity workers of the future. All this points toward the duty and obligation of a middle class woman. This is accentuated by the Address given by the head mistress, Miss M.E. Skeel at the Prize Distribution of Friday 21 December, 1888:

¹ NGHS, School Magazine, Spring, 1886, No.3, p.17. (A similar entry appears in each magazine).

² Inspector's Report, op. cit., p 20

³ Ibid., p 20.

Every girl, while adding fresh stores to her knowledge, should feel it her duty and privilege to bring her trained faculties to bear on her home, to be a real help to her mother, to take her share in all that tends to make the word 'home' a centre of harmonious effort, rest and peace.¹

She goes on to quote Ruskin:

'The woman's personal duty lies in her home', says Ruskin, 'and it is her work to secure its order, comfort and loveliness, and her public work and duty are the expansion of this.' There comes the test of a true woman's life, whether she can care greatly for the little duties, meet readily and cheerfully all the demands made upon her time and energies (and temper, perhaps too) in home life, and yet not allow her intellectual life to wither for lack of new thoughts and the reading of helpful books.

'I own, I like a woman to be womanly.

Knowledge is a steep which some may *climb*,
While Duty is a path which all may *tread*.²

Obviously, the notion of the Angel in the Home was not yet dead. The above seems to sum up the ethos of education at NGHS: intellectual and domestic education to make a girl into a good home maker and partner to a middle class man.

¹ Address given by head mistress to NGHS pupils at Prize Distribution on Friday, 21 Dec., 1888.

² *Ibid.*

It is impossible to obtain an accurate picture of private education in Nottingham before the First World War due to the dearth of accurate and reliable information. Any such history is therefore inevitably unsatisfactory. Oral sources do not help us much as only one interviewee, Phyllis Legg, whose father was a master baker and confectioner with four shops around Nottingham ('Leggs the Bakers') had actually attended a private school after leaving Haydn Road (council) School. Phyllis recalled starting school at the age of six and leaving at fifteen: 'Then I left to go to Miss Miller's School on Private Road (Mapperley), where I learnt singing and languages: French, German and Italian. I left there when I was nineteen and started work in one of the shops.'

Her testimony supports the theory that many middle class girls were sent to state schools before (often) spending a few years at a private school to 'finish off' their education, in this case, it seems, to gain a stock of accomplishments rather than knowledge or qualifications.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Conclusion

One has to state immediately that the account here is necessarily an unsatisfactory history of girls' and women's education in Nottingham: the difficulties of obtaining accurate and reliable original source material have resulted in a patchy coverage of the subject, adequate in some areas, totally absent in others. Most problematic has been private education at the lower end of the scale, that is, dame schools, for which virtually no information appears to exist, and the schools of industry, so prevalent in the nineteenth century in the mill towns of the north and the South Wales iron towns.¹ Perhaps Nottingham did not experience this phenomena or, more likely, records were not kept or have not survived. Added to this are the gaps in records such as school log books and registers, School Board Minute Books etc., (many of which were lost or destroyed during World War II), which result in a disjointed flow of information.

However, it has been possible to trace much of the education of girls and women, especially in the state sector, church schools and in the NGHS, and note certain differences and some similarities both in the education of males and females and in the schooling of working class and middle class girls during the same era.

Among the working classes the most noticeable difference is that of manual and domestic education and the resultant gender dichotomy in academic subjects: girls spent so much time doing domestic subjects that the time remaining for (particularly) maths and sciences

¹ Evans, L.W., Education in Industrial Wales, Cardiff, 1971.

was reduced, whilst boys commenced manual instruction later and for shorter periods of time. This led to an inevitable disparity in the academic abilities of boys and girls and, therefore, of male and female teachers and led, as we have seen, to the accepted notion of female inferiority in academic subjects and in intellect, and thereby to lower salaries and status. However, these differences were not universal. We have noted how Beatrice Whiting not only managed to study but excel at Euclid, a traditional male preserve, and how many girls achieved success at scholarship level and in the Higher Grade Schools, despite the demands on their time at home. The performance of women at day training schools and at university shows that despite lower aspirations, more domestic duties and institutionalized discrimination, women actually achieved high levels of success. We can see, then, that the picture of female inferiority and the inequality of teaching did not prevent the cream of the female crop from attaining the same academic heights as their male counterparts. Similarities also occur in the middle class influence on working class children: if girls were educated to be good servants, then good wives and mothers, rearing healthy and obedient future generations, then boys were educated to be good workmen, industrious husbands and fathers, and healthy canon fodder for the wars of the middle and upper classes. Although the duties of boys and girls as adults might be different, they bear similarities in that those duties are predestined by the middle classes who intentionally geared their education towards those ends, as a means of securing their own well being, whether it was the need for docile domestic servants or a hard working and labour force.

Differences and similarities also occur if we look at working class and middle class girls' education. Most of the similarities occur in the field of domestic education, where both classes of girls were trained to be wives and mothers of future generations and good citizens; in working class girls this would be obedient to their 'betters', hard working, thrifty, modest and chaste whilst middle class girls would be expected to be charitable and benevolent, accomplished *and* modest and chaste. The emphasis might be different, but the essence was still the same: girls were to be educated to be domesticated and useful to their future husbands in whatever sphere he might be situated. The main difference in the

education of the two classes was the disproportionate amount of domestic subjects and academic subjects: working class girls were largely denied the choice of academic subjects such as maths, sciences and languages, whilst middle class girls did not have to suffer the barrage of domestic subjects which came to include housewifery and laundry, presumably because they would never have to engage in such duties in adult life. One could also argue that working class girls who were fortunate enough to attend the Higher Grade Schools often received a better education than that at private schools where accomplishments were still important (if we recall Phyllis Legg in the chapter on Private Education) and where, if the Inspector's Report on NGHS of 1908 is to be relied upon, the education was of dubious quality.

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn is the dual idea that:

- 1) Nottingham (School Board and Local Education Authority) fully embraced the notion of different education for males and for females, including the importance of and need for domestic education for girls and women (this notion was soon embraced by the NGHS, thereby increasing the disparity between middle class girls and boys education), but that the differences included a predestined future moulded in a middle class image, by and for middle class benefit.
- 2) Nottingham (especially under the School Board) was something of a pioneer in the provision of practical education, especially of domestic education for females but, to a lesser extent, also of manual education for males. In the area of adult education (practical and otherwise) Nottingham was also a pioneer town. NGHS was also ahead of the GPDST in its provision of domestic subjects (at least,

cookery) for its pupils, thereby causing Nottingham to be a pioneer in such education for middle class girls.

What remains to be done now is more detailed work on the content of girls education, and also on the blurred lines between working class and middle class education. We know that state elementary schools were not the preserve of the working classes, as middle class girls habitually used, often, but not exclusively, the Higher Grade Schools, often, but again not exclusively, as a precursor to a few years at a High School. Similarly, private schools were not the preserve of the middle classes, as working class parents, in the earlier part of our period, habitually sent their children to the cheaper or dame schools with their lack of middle class ethics (i.e. punctuality, submissive behaviour, regimentation etc.), and children from working class families *did* succeed to the High Schools, either with a scholarship or by the sacrifices of their artisan parents. Thus, we cannot make any glib statements about which class used which type of school, because the evidence defies such categorization.

This really goes to the heart of the thesis: hard and fast rules do not apply. The NSB *was* a pioneer board, but it conformed to the prevailing mood of the times regarding female education; girls *did* receive an inferior education to that of boys, but many succeeded in further and higher education; working and middle class girls *both* received domestic training, but of vastly unequal amounts, and *both* were geared to a purely domestic future, albeit of a very different kind. Thus, we can see, in the education of girls and women in Nottingham prior to the First World War, an education centred around the future home, husband and children which were perceived by the providers of that education to be her only or, at least, her main focus in life, thereby encouraging girls in that very direction.

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Oral Evidence

Compilation by Billy Paton housed at Nottingham Local Studies Library, Angel Row, Nottingham.

My own interviews with local residents:

The Herons Old People's Home, Calverton Lane, Toton, Notts.

Florence Thompson

D.O.B.:* 15/10/1910

Place: Alfreton Road, Nottingham

Father's occupation: Twisthand

School attended:# Bentinck Road

Hessie Garton

D.O.B.: 16/9/1893

Place: Radford Bridge Road, Radford

Father's occupation: Miner

Schools attended: Wollaton Road and Radford Boulevard

Irene Argyle

D.O.B.: 2/12/1903

Place: Gunthorpe

Father's occupation: Farm Labourer

Schools attended: Gunthorpe Church of England (St. John's) and Burton Joyce

Phyllis Legg

D.O.B.: 1906

Place: Woodfield Road, Nottingham

Father's occupation: master baker and confectioner with four shops around Nottingham

Schools attended: Haydn Road and Miss Miller's private school on Private Road, Mapperley

* Date of Birth.

This is a board or council school unless otherwise stated.

The Hassocks Old People's Home, Hassocks Lane, Beeston, Nottingham

Cecily Ann Rogers

D.O.B.: 1892

Place: Bramcote

Father's occupation: Miner

School attended: Bramcote village school (interviewee could not remember whether state or church)

Sheila Russell Day Care Centre, Bilborough Community Centre, Bilborough, Nottingham

Hazel Wood

D.O.B.: 26/2/1907

Place: Annesley, moving to Forest Fields

Father's occupation: Policeman

School attended: Bradgate Road School

Mabel Goode

D.O.B.: 1909

Place: Carrington Street, Nottingham

Father's occupation: Labourer on a building site

School attended: Our Lady of St. Patrick's Roman Catholic, London Road, Nottingham

Thomas Hunt

D.O.B.: 1904

Place: Alfred Street North, Nottingham

Father's occupation: worked on the cattle docks on London Road

School attended: Standhill Road

Lily Morris

D.O.B.: 28/8/1904

Place: Hyson Green, moving to Cinderhill

Father's occupation: Miner

School attended: Cinderhill (interviewee could not remember whether state or church)

Leonora Lambert

D.O.B.: 8/8/1910

Place: Leicester, moving to just off Mount Street, Nottingham

Father's occupation: Master Tailor

School attended: Ropewalk

Phoenix Day Care Centre, St. Margaret's Church Hall, Aspley Lane, Aspley, Nottingham

J.H. SprinThorpe (male)

D.O.B.: 1906

Place: West Hallam, Derbyshire, moving to Denman Street, Radford

Father's occupation: Locomotive driver at Cinderhill Colliery

Schools attended: Scargill Boys (West Hallam) and Christ Church (Church of England)

School, Ronald Street, Radford

Theresa Barrell

D.O.B.: 26/11/1908

Place: Radford, moving to Lenton

Father's occupation: delivered coal

Schools attended: Forster Street, Radford and Douglas Road, off Ilkeston Road

Dorothy Straw

D.O.B.: 1904

Place: Bathley Street, The Meadows

Father's occupation: engine driver at Midland Railway (died when interviewee was two years old)

Mother's occupation: Machining at home

School attended: St. John's Church of England School, The Meadows

Silver Birches Day Care Centre, Zulu Road, Basford, Nottingham

Ronald Nicholson

D.O.B.: 1909

Place: Vernon Road, Old Basford

Father's occupation: Wheelwright and Turner for Midland Railways

School attended: Southwark Street, Old Basford

Freda Smith

D.O.B.: 19/4/1911

Place: Arnold

Father's occupation: Dyer and Bleacher

School attended: Arnold Daybrook

Long Meadow Day Care Centre, The Meadows, Nottingham

Maud Strickland

D.O.B.: 1911

Place: Narrow Marsh, Nottingham

Mother's occupation: Overlocker in hosiery factory (father died when interviewee was four years old)

School attended: Our Lady of St. Patrick Roman Catholic, The Meadows

Hilda Littlehayes
D.O.B.: 1905
Place: The Meadows
Father's occupation: Railwayman
School attended: Trent Bridge School, The Meadows

Kate Jeffrey
D.O.B.: 1910
Place: Sneinton, moving to the Meadows
Mother's (unmarried) occupation: winder in hosiery factory
School attended: Our Lady of St. Patrick Roman Catholic, The Meadows

Marie Williams
D.O.B.: 1909
Place: Alfred Street North, Nottingham
Father's occupation:
Coach builder
Sycamore Road

Doris Harrison
D.O.B.: 1908
Place: The Meadows
Father's occupation: Railwayman
School attended: Trent Bridge School, The Meadows

Elizabeth Radford
D.O.B.: 1900
Place: The Meadows, moving into the city centre
Father's occupation: delivered coal
School attended: Ropewalk

Fraser Square Day Care Centre, Fraser Square, Carlton, Nottingham

Minnie Charlton
D.O.B.: 1900
Place: Carrington
Father's occupation: Bricklayer
School attended: Carlton Girls and Infants

Eva Kummer
D.O.B.: 1903
Place: Burton on Trent, moving to St. Ann's
Father's occupation: Worked in a tailor's shop
School attended: St. Ann's Well Road

Sarah Clegg

D.O.B.: 1900

Place: Calverton Road, Arnold

Father's occupation: hosiery trade

Schools attended: Arnold Calverton Road and Arnold Church Drive

