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Mildred M. Cullen.

THE GROWTH OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC TRAINING COLLEGES FOR WOMEN
IN ENGLAND DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

Master of Education Thesis 1964.

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FOREWORD

This account of the establishment and growth of the Catholic Women's Training Colleges in England has been written to illustrate the efforts of the small and poor Catholic community, beset by innumerable and apparently unsurmountable problems, to provide women teachers for the schools, which after the establishment of the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1847, they struggled to establish and maintain. The earlier years have been treated in more detail because it was an heroic age of experiment in unfamiliar circumstances, when it was vital for the Catholic Colleges to establish their reputation in the eyes, not only of the Catholic community, but still more in those of the Committee of Council from whom so much of their income came. For the very existence of the Catholic schools depended on the supply of well trained and devoted teachers.

There is also for the nineteenth century much first hand material, not hitherto published, in the Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee, in the Reports of the Committee of Councils and at Mount Pleasant Training College, Liverpool and for the short lived college at the Holy Child Convent, Mayfield, Sussex.

The developments of the present century are covered in less detail since by the end of the nineteenth century, the colleges had become part of the established provision for teacher training in this country and the pattern, once laid down was followed in great measure by succeeding foundations, though the history of each college has of course its special fascination and its distinctive features.

With the coming of the Three Year Course and the opening of new colleges planned for the early sixties, we may be on the eve of a new heroic age, but that is another story.

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CHAPTER 1.

THE BEGINNINGS 1847-55

The year 1847 is the most suitable point at which to begin the story of the Catholic Women's Training Colleges because it was in that year that the Catholics first became entitled to share in the Privy Council's grants for education and the provision of properly qualified teachers became a matter of great urgency.¹ It was only eighteen years since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act, but already large churches, ministering to crowded congregations, many of whom were of Irish descent, had grown up in London and in the manufacturing towns. Though some of the parishes had Poor Schools,² staffed either by unqualified lay teachers or by members of teaching congregations, in the majority of cases women, but sometimes by men from one of the teaching brotherhoods, there were still thousands of children without any schooling at all. In the 1848 Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee,³ it was ascertained that 1/15 i.e. 1,400,000 of the population was Catholic and of this number 160,000 were between the ages of 5 and 15, yet only 34,750 of them were in school - 15,000 boys and 19,750 girls. The Protestants, the report continued, tried to have one in eight of the population in school; to reach this proportion the Catholics would need schools to accommodate 100,000 children. They had in fact only one child out of every twenty-three in any kind of school. Information from
the early

1. Minutes of the C. of Council December 18th 1847. p xlviil vol.1.
2. Lists of these schools are to be found in the Catholic Directories.
3. The Catholic Poor School Committee was a committee of laymen appointed by the Bishops with the following objects: 1) To contribute to the erection of Poor Schools. 2) To assist local efforts in raising money requisite to obtain grants from the Committee of Council. 3) To provide a class of trained and efficient teachers. 4) To improve books and apparatus in the Catholic Schools.
4. The Committee administered funds obtained from private donations and diocesan collections and made occasional grants for building and "support" grants to Catholic schools.

Inspector's reports and from the requests for building and support grants sent to the C.P.S.C.¹ in the first few years of its existence, indicate the presence of schools on the estates of the Catholic gentry, like the Mostyns of Talacre, in some coastal and industrial towns, e.g. Sunderland² and in London, where there were a number of schools maintained by the Associated Catholic Charities.³ An interesting school was that begun by the Abbé Carron, an emigré priest in 1796, continued by Father Nerincx and finally taken over in 1830 by Madame D'Houet, Foundress of the congregation of the Faithful Companions of Jesus. This school was in Clarendon Square, Somerstown, London,⁴ and must have been of considerable size for it had eight teachers in addition to Miss Nerincx, when Madame D'Houet took it over.

In the "Tablet" of January 30th, 1847, there is an extract from a letter written by a novice in the convent at Northampton, describing the work done by the small congregation of "The Infant Jesus", later absorbed by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. The Sisters apparently had three day schools for different classes of children, an interesting sidelight on contemporary social conditions, a Sunday School, an afternoon Sunday School, perhaps for teaching the three Rs, evening classes for religious instruction, a circulating library & finally various confraternities for young girls. She goes on to remark that the nuns hoped to have

1. First Report 1848. 138 localities appealed for aid to the C.P.S.C. 123 grants, amounting to £4,942 promised.
2. Commenting on a school at Blackburn in the same report Mr. Marshall, the first Catholic Inspector, appointed in 1848, said, "May every school be like it and like the schools at Sunderland, Durham and Darlington".
3. The Catholic Directories published in the 1840s contain lists of these schools.
4. "The Life of the Viscountess de Bonnault D'Houet. 1781-1858". by Rev. Father Stanishaus. (Translated from the French) Longmans Green & Co. 1913.

"a school for training country school-mistresses according to our method which is very similar to that of the Christian Brothers. What immense good would be effected in different parts of England could we send such young women to those country places which cannot have the advantage of a religious community". The Sisters also hoped to open a boarding school and an orphanage. The writer of the letter had only been in the convent six months but felt that the Institute had great possibilities for the education of Catholics in England.

But others were giving serious consideration to the need for teachers who would satisfy the demands of the Privy Council's inspectors, because a condition of receiving grants was a suitable teacher in charge of the school and, after 1855,¹ all apprentices had to be instructed by certificated teachers. To increase the number of qualified teachers in the schools, the government had instituted ~~is~~ an examination for a Certificate of Merit,² open to practising teachers, a pass in which entitled them to an augmentation grant of from £10 to £20 a year, with extra payment for the instruction of apprentices. The pupil teachers themselves received stipends from the Privy Council,³ beginning with £10 for their first year of apprenticeship and increasing to £20 in the fifth year.

1. Circular letter to Inspectors of Schools. May 10th, 1855.
2. Explanatory letter to Inspectors in C. of C. Minutes 1846. July 4th
p. 44.
3. Minutes of the C. of Council August 25th, 1846. p.9.

There were also available building grants and grants for books and apparatus. Once the agreement between the C.P.S.C. and the Committee of Council had been signed,¹ the schools began to apply for inspection, in the hope that they would obtain a share of the grant. In February, 1848, the Bishops sent a circular letter to priests, explaining that masters in Poor Schools would in the course of the summer be able to sit for an examination for the Certificate of Merit.² At that point there was no mention of mistresses, though there was no intention to exclude them. A Catholic Inspector - Mr. Marshall,³ was to be appointed and prospective candidates were enjoined to present themselves only to this inspector. Whatever their views on the question of lay or religious teachers, the C.P.S.C. were at that time only too anxious that as many Catholic teachers as possible should obtain their certificates and their schools be admitted to the grant list. The resources of the Committee were never large since they relied mainly on diocesan collections, and the number of Catholics able to afford large contributions was small. From this time onwards, the Committee brought continual pressure to bear on the managers of Catholic schools to encourage their teachers to

1. December 18th, 1847. C. of Council Reports. Minute relating to conditions of aid to Roman Catholic Schools. p.xlvii.
2. A copy of the letter was contained in the 1848 Report of the C.P.S.C.
3. Appointed 1848.
C. of Council Minutes 1849. Mr. Marshall - p. 516, writes that so far only two or three of the most highly qualified teachers have offered themselves for the Certificate of Merit examination.

become qualified, so that their schools would become eligible for the grant; thus they would not need the Committee's help and funds would be available for other schools needing improvements which would enable them in their turn, to receive government aid. To give further encouragement to teachers, in 1849 the Committee¹ offered eight annual exhibitions of £5 and £4 to men and women respectively, who passed the examination and they were even prepared to contribute towards the travelling expenses of the women candidates at the rate of one penny a mile. Examinations² for mistresses were held in 1849 in London and Manchester, with the result that two women obtained second class certificates and five third class. The names of the candidates and the places where they were teaching are not without interest.

Second class	M. Hedley.	Hartlepool.
	E. McGurk.	St. James, Orrell, Lancs.
Third class	C. Farrell.	Townley, Lancs.
	M. Gaynor.	St. Chad's, Birmingham.
	M.T.Smallwood.	St. Anselm's, Kenilworth.
	E.O'Shea.	St. John's Wood, London.
	M.S.Waldron	" " " "

1. 1849 Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. In that year £5 was awarded to Daniel Hegarty, Poplar, and £4 to Catherine Byrne, St. Mary's School, Bolton.
2. 1849 Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee.

There is no evidence to show whether these were religious Sisters and Miss Gaynor was definitely not one, as she was given the appointment of "organising mistress" by the C.P.S.C.¹ with the duty of visiting such schools as desired to avail themselves of her services in preparing for inspection. She had only held her position for a year, when she decided to enter a convent, but not before she had helped schools in Birmingham, St. Leonard's, Nottingham and York. Her successor was Miss McCormack, who resigned in 1851; in her brief period of office, she visited schools in Liverpool and Glossop and aided especially schools conducted by nuns. Both these ladies received a small salary and expenses; the figures given below are modest even by contemporary standards, but perhaps they were ladies of means, like others found working in the Catholic Poor Schools.

1849	£11.0.0
1850	£29.18.0
1851	£36.17.0
1852	£20.14.0

Miss McCormack seems to have taken the examination in 1850, and after her resignation went to be Head Teacher of the Galway Model School.²

1. 1850 Report of the C.P.S.C.
2. 1851 Report of the C.P.S.C.

During the next few years there was a slow but steady increase, both in the number of teachers passing the examination for the Certificate of Merit and in the number of pupil teachers, but though the need for Training Colleges for men and women was recognised, little progress was made.¹ At a meeting of clergy and laity held at York on March 16th, 1848,² the following resolution had been passed:- "in order to secure in Catholic schools an efficiency lay instructors can never impart, as well as to avail ourselves of the most important provision of the Parliamentary grant, this meeting urgently appeals to the Catholic body to establish in one or more of our most populous towns a normal school of religious teachers and this meeting pledges itself to use its utmost efforts to raise a fund especially devoted to this purpose". A similar motion was passed at a meeting of Catholics of the London District at 16, Great Windmill Street³ on April 4th 1848. In the following year Bishop Wiseman⁴ sent a letter from the Bishops to the C.P.S.C. suggesting that some of its funds could profitably be applied to the foundation of "model schools", possibly they were thinking of the parallel movement to establish Church of England diocesan normal schools and colleges.

1. Minutes of the C. of C. 1849 Mr. Marshall's report p.511. Catholics have so far made no attempt to provide normal schools. "Schools conducted by untrained teachers are with rare exceptions of an inferior kind.
2. 1848 Report C.P.S.C.
3. 1848 Report C.P.S.C.
4. 1849 Report of the C.P.S.C.

But at this stage it is clear that the Bishops, the C.P.S.C., the clergy, and influential laity alike, hoped that, if not all at least a majority of the schools would be staffed by members of religious congregations. This is evident from the terms of the York resolution and in 1849 the Committee¹ sent twelve English men students to the noviciate of the Brothers of Christian Instruction at Floermel in Brittany. It was the intention that they should provide the nucleus of an English teaching community, a plan which was not destined to succeed and within a few years a college for training laymen as teachers was established in London. To recruit a sufficient number of Lay Brothers in England proved impossible; the middle class boy with a call to the religious life was much more likely to want to be a priest and there was no large Catholic agricultural class from which Brothers were, at that time at any rate, usually drawn.²

But until the middle of the century there seemed perhaps more hope that this idea would be realised in the case of the women teachers, for in the decade 1840 to 1850³ a number of teaching communities from abroad had opened schools in England. They very soon obtained recruits from Catholic middle and upper class families and it is interesting also

1. 1849 Report C.P.S.C.
2. "Mannings Work for Children". Canon St. John. Sheed & Ward 1929.
p. 78.
3. The most important for later developments were: Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, 1847 Society of the Sacred Heart, 1842, Faithful Companions of Jesus 1830 and the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, 1846.

to notice, where information is available, that a number came from amongst the ranks of the converts. These communities came in time to be predominantly English and by the early 1850s we find the Sisters teaching in the Poor Schools and taking the Certificate of Merit examination. The C.P.S.C. helped by giving grants to several communities to enable Sisters-in-training to be supported. In 1848 the Committee¹ agreed to pay the Sisters of the Holy Child, then at Derby, but in the following year removed to St. Leonards, £25 a year for each of five students, who were expected to take two and a half years to prepare for the examination. In the meantime the Committee had also acceded to the request of the Reverend Mother of the Convent of Mercy in Birmingham, to train teachers; she began with six students at St. Anne's House and received sums varying from £37.10 in 1849, to £125 in 1852. The final payment seems to have been in 1854. Other convents helped in this decade by the Committee were the Convents of Mercy at Derby and Nottingham, the Convent at Northampton mentioned above, and finally the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul at Banbury. In 1853. A letter to Dr. Tandy, the nuns' chaplain from Mr. Akers of the C.P.S.C. in 1855 explains

1. 1848 Report C.P.S.C.

that the Committee's grant will be for the future increased to £100 a year, but makes it clear that the money was intended for the support of Sisters during their training, and that the Reverend Mother had applied to the Committee of Council to have the convent recognised for taking Queen's Scholars from her own order. This practice continued for many years and for the remainder of the century, the Sisters continued to study privately for their certificates and go to the Training College at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, to take the Final Examination. In some of the convents mentioned, a few of the students were probably lay women, though it is difficult to prove one way or the other in most cases, but none of the convents were Training Colleges in the true sense; the numbers involved were very small and the chief advantage to the candidates was the opportunity for some supervised study and, for the lay students, the chance to observe at first hand the methods in use in the schools. Mr. Scott Nasmyth Stokes,¹ the second Catholic inspector, appointed in 1853, lamented the lack of trained teachers in the schools and did not consider that any of the existing communities was a college with a sufficient number of students qualifying each year.

Mr. Stokes and others who had the cause of Catholic education at heart, saw that while these small experiments were taking place, and the number of certificated teachers and inspected schools was

1. In 1850 Report of the C.P.S.C. Mr. Marshall had noted that a large number of masters and mistresses had 'been imported from the various training schools in Ireland.' The great majority possessed respectable v endowments, but few were remarkable for both talents and attainments. England, he concluded, needed its own Training Schools.

increasing slowly, the Catholic population, augmented by the steady flow of Irish immigrants to the industrial towns, was growing rapidly. The Famine brought still greater numbers and everywhere new congregations, often living in the greatest misery, were demanding churches and schools. Within a decade the character of the Catholic population had altered; the centre of Catholic life had changed from the country to the towns and the typical priest was no longer the chaplain of some wealthy family, but the parish priest of a large and poor town parish. He needed schools where the children could be instructed in the elements of their religion and teachers for those schools. Privy Council grants could bring much needed money and qualified teachers were essential. Most priests preferred the nuns, if he could get them, but teachers must be found and the sheer weight of numbers made it impossible, even in the towns with the large schools, to find enough teaching Sisters. As for the smaller towns and villages, few communities, except the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul, were willing to send out two or three nuns to a place where there was no prospect of establishing, in addition to the Poor School, a fee-paying school and perhaps a boarding school as well. Though the nuns were expected to have small dowries when entering the convent, most of the teaching communities were over-extended at this time, and in the new foundations the nuns were often living in dire poverty. The salaries

1. See English Catholics 1850-1950 edit. Right Rev. G.A.Beek, A.A. Burns & Oates 1950
The second chapter . "The English Catholics in 1850" by Philip Hughes, gives a detailed account of the situation, three years after the establishment of the Catholic Poor School Committee.

offered to those teaching in the Poor Schools were never high; Mother Dupuis of the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul asked £45 a year for certificated teachers and had difficulty in getting even that amount. In a letter concerning a teacher's salary, she makes it clear that though other communities may be able to accept less, she cannot do so.¹ In point of fact as early as 1849, there had been some correspondence between the C.P.S.C. and Mr. Lingen, ^{acting} secretary to the Committee of Council on the matter of salaries paid to nuns. The Secretary of the C.P.S.C. wanted him to waive the condition of regular salary to the teacher in a school in receipt of the grant, where the teacher in question belonged to a teaching community, but Mr. Lingen refused to agree to this suggestion.²

In places where a community had flourishing day schools for middle class girls, they were often able to offer their services in the Poor School either free, or for a very low salary indeed. As well as increasing the Sisters' income, these day schools introduced the girls at an early age to religious and educational work and the girls themselves often found as they grew older, their own vocation as teaching Sisters. Finally and not the least important, the existence of several schools in the one place made possible that ordered religious life from which the Sisters drew the spiritual strength

1. Letter to a priest in Bradford, dated January 13th, 1868, and quoted in the life of Mother Genevieve Dupuis illustrates this point. It is rather later than the events covered in this chapter, but is nevertheless interesting.
2. C. of Council Letter Book. Letter to Mr. S.N.Stokes. May 4th, 1849.
Ed. 9/12

they needed for their arduous labours.

But the reasons why the priests preferred the Sisters are not far to seek; the prime object of the Catholic school was to safeguard the Faith of the children and to ensure their growing up good Catholics, yet school life was very short, an average of about two years,¹ and as soon as the children could go to work, their parents had no option but to send them, for the Catholic population of the large towns was among the poorest in the country. The advent of Sisters to a parish meant not only the establishment of schools for the different classes of children, but also evening and Sunday schools for older girls and women, religious guilds, circulating libraries and in some cases schools of industry where girls were taught needlework and other household skills. To all this, they added visiting the poor and sick in their own homes. No wonder many priests testified to the increase of piety, the refinement of manners, the development of habits of self help which affected not only the pupils in the schools, but also their mothers and older sisters who came into contact with the nuns in the evenings and on Sundays. The good habits acquired enabled many of the poorer girls to gain a better livelihood than would otherwise have been open to them, and thus to raise their social position.²

The religious teacher was by the very nature of her vocation more completely at the service of the parish than the most lay teacher

1. Committee of Council Reports. Report of Mr. Morell for the N.E. Division 1858, said it was 'idle to expect improvement when average age is 8 years and average attendance under one year'.
2. Life of Madame D^e Houet p.228 gives an extract from an earlier life by Abbé Martin, describing in detail the work of the Sisters in Manchester. P. 230 is an account of the work in St. Patrick's Parish. Liverpool. The whole chapter gives an excellent picture of the work of teaching Sisters in large towns about the middle of the century. P.251. A footnote mentions Adelphi House, Salford and the convent in Birkenhead, founded about 1852, which had boarding and day schools for middle class girls.

could be, particularly at that time and her membership of a community ensured the continuity and stability of the work undertaken. But apart from these considerations, there was a further advantage on the side of the Sisters; though they might not all possess government certificates, they had been trained in their communities for their work in school and one has only to read inspectors' reports to see how superior their schools were to the general run of those run by the only secular teachers available at the time. In his report to the Committee of Council in 1850-1851,¹ Mr. Marshall says of the Sisters that they are distinguished from all other teachers in that, "they perform the various duties of their office, not as a means of livelihood but from the purest and loftiest motives which can influence human beings". He continues, "They differ from the great majority of teachers if not originally in belonging to a higher grade of society, (almost universally in the case in female communities) yet in previous cultivation of their minds, possession of more ample attainments and a far more careful and complete preparation for the task to which they are consecrated. They have also in institutions especially devoted to education, the not inappreciable advantage of being familiar not only with scientific systems, but with those living traditions that grow out of the experience of a long series of years and are easily perpetuated amongst

1. 1850 Report C.P.S.C. Also C. of Council Reports 1850, p.803-821 gives an excellent picture of the Catholic schools existing at the time. His comments on the need for varied and interesting school books are most apposite.

successive generations of teachers, all animated by the same spirit and acting not as individuals who cannot bequeath to others their own influence and example, but as communities which are always the same, though their members change and disappear". After this encomium, he then goes on to treat of particular schools and mentions those of the Sisters of Mercy at Nottingham and Derby;¹ in fact he seems to hope that the school at Derby might become a training college, saying that the Catholics could do no better than concentrate their efforts and resources on this school for it has suitable buildings, skilful and devoted teachers and could become a highly organised practising school. His comment on the details of work at both schools is fascinating in what it says, but tantalising in its omissions for we are left with many questions unanswered.

The Sisters at Derby used the Books of the Irish National Board from which a complete and systematic course of instruction is given and Mr. Marshall² was deeply impressed by the astonishing accuracy of the children's knowledge in sacred and profane history and their interest in natural history. Everything, he says, is learned by the most felicitous methods and even spelling is made interesting; for handwriting the children copy sentences from the prophets and the little ones learn their Scripture

1. Derby. Founded 1849. The Sisters of Mercy took over from the Sisters of the Holy Child, when the latter moved to St. Leonards.
2. C. of Council Reports 1850. p. 821. Also quoted in the annual report of the C.P.S.C.

stories from pictures. He notices their wide knowledge of the Bible. He tells us a little more about Nottingham; after commenting on the well built and cheerful schoolrooms, he explains that in their classes the Sisters take a different subject for special study each day and give a forty minutes gallery lesson. Monday was devoted to Geography, Tuesday to Natural History, Wednesday to Grammar, Thursday to Astronomy, and Friday to Sacred History. The children learned Etymology, one wonders in what it consisted, and the top class of girls could answer questions on Natural History as hard as those put to candidates for the Certificates of Merit. He tells us nothing of the size of the schools, the age range of the children, and the number of teachers. The two schools were obviously the pride of his heart and one can imagine that his visits to them repaid him for much of the drudgery and disappointment he no doubt experienced, for at times in his reports he speaks feelingly of the extent and wearisomeness of his journeys by stage coach and railway.

The convent of the Sisters of Mercy in Derby was not the first convent of this congregation to be founded in England; it had been preceded in 1839 by the house in Bermondsey¹ and in 1843 by Sunderland², both of which had been Poor Schools. The Sisters were organised into a loose federation of convents under the control of the bishop of the diocese in which they happened to be situated. This form of government was deliberately

1. Life of Catherine McAuley 1781-1841
The First Sister of Mercy. R.B.Savage S.J.Hill & Sons Ltd. 1950
P.261 explains the plan of government. It was from this convent that in 1854, five Sisters went with Florence Nightingale to the Crimea.
2. The Sunderland convent was founded from the Cork Convent of Mercy.

planned to give greater scope for local interest and initiative, but as the Mercy convents followed the same rule, adopted similar constitutions and were in close touch with one another, their methods were much the same in all their schools. The work of the Sisters was to establish Houses of Mercy where girls in want of employment might stay, elementary schools for girls and to visit the sick and poor in their own homes. At an early date however, they established day and boarding schools for middle class girls,¹ a task for which they were well fitted since many of the Sisters were from middle and upper class families in Ireland. Their Foundress, Mother Catherine McAuley, had visited the monitorial schools of the Kildare Place Society in Dublin² and had spent some time in France visiting schools. Though no records of this journey are extant, it is evident that she knew a good deal about the methods in use in that country. Inspectors' report on the Irish Schools in the middle of the century speak of large schools for 500 girls with seven or eight Sisters teaching in one room under the superintendence of a presiding Sister. One such report mentions plentiful apparatus, good organisation, neatness and order and the practice of original composition as being of worthy of note. In some of their schools a careful training in

1. The Sisters opened day schools in Ireland for the daughters of townsfolk who could not afford boarding school fees. See p. 269 in the "Life of Catherine McAuley". She employed well educated Sisters whom she encouraged to continue their studies in Languages, mathematics, music and painting to staff these schools.
2. "Life of Catherine McAuley" p.267 describes Mother McAuley's study of teaching method at Kildare Place, Dublin and later at George's Hill convent under the direction of the Presentation Sisters.

all branches was given to girls going in to service and in the Houses of Mercy, inmates were instructed in the 3 Rs as well as receiving an industrial training to enable them to get better posts. The English schools were conducted on the same plan and in the 1850s the Sisters began to take the certificate examination and employ pupil teachers. According to the list published in 1856,¹ there were Sisters of Mercy teaching in 21 English schools with 26 certificated teachers and 76 pupil teachers. This is a good record when one considers that at the time, the total number of Catholic women teachers with certificates was about 58.

A study of the diocesan statistics and the advertisements in the Catholic Directory of 1847, discloses thirteen other communities² conducting schools in England, though not in every case Poor Schools. The French Revolution had seen the return to this country of a number of Benedictine and other convents, established abroad in Penal Times; these communities were primarily contemplative, but continued their traditional practice of educating girls within the enclosure. The schools were often excellent, but were usually quite small and since they drew their pupils from the wealthier Catholic families, their influence did not extend much beyond the small circle that patronised them. But in pre-Revolutionary France from the beginning of the seventeenth century, a new type of religious community, primarily devoted to education and having day as well as boarding schools had arisen. They drew their inspiration from the work of the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers and they had evolved a highly successful system of education and established many flourishing

1. C.P.S.D. Report 1856.
2. Catholic Directory 1847.

schools both for middle class girls and for poorer girls in the parochial charity schools.

The pupils in these schools learnt something of the 3 Rs, a good deal of needlework and had a thorough religious education. The Sisters were prepared for their task during the noviciate, where their own studies were regulated and they had opportunities to practise teaching under the supervision of the headmistress of the school. The schools were not ambitious and the level of attainment was not necessarily high, but they were well ordered and the Sisters gained experience in managing large classes. There is no mention of the monitorial system, though the Ursulines¹ had a kind of prefect system with 'dixainieres', older girls in charge of ten pupils who heard their lessons and helped them but had no teaching duties. These schools were swept away at the time of the Revolution, but the tradition remained even during the period when the religious orders were proscribed; ex-religious and their friends did something to keep it alive by teaching small groups of children their Catechism and anything that could be attempted without arousing government suspicion.²

The establishment of the Empire and the Concordat with the Church made possible the restoration of the religious orders and the re-opening of their schools.

One of the groups of teaching Sisters which re-appeared at this time was that of the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul who established an English branch at Banbury in 1848. These Sisters were unenclosed and

1. Angela Merici and the Teaching Idea.

Sister Monica Phd. Longman. 1927 p.364

2. P.12 Life of M^{re} St. Joseph. by S.N.D. Longmans Green & Co. 1923
Quoting from Taine.

were willing to work in small groups of three or four in villages and small towns and they had few fee-paying schools. When the possibility of a training college was under discussion, many people hoped they would be invited to begin one to train teachers for work in country schools; by 1856¹ they had nine certificated teachers in as many inspected schools and 23 pupil teachers in training. But though the idea was canvassed at the Catholic Poor School Committee, nothing came of it, except that, as already mentioned, the order received £100 each year towards the expenses of Sisters in training.

But new communities and new methods were needed to deal with the post-Revolutionary world and in particular there was a crying need for unenclosed Sisters, like the Sisters of Charity who would open day and boarding schools for all classes of pupils in every part of France. Under the inspiration of Father Varin, a priest of the re-formed Society of Jesus, three religious congregations destined to play an important part not only in the education of girls and the training of teachers in England, but also to spread to every continent, grew up in Amiens in the early years of the nineteenth century. The three foundresses, Madeleine Sophie Barat,² Julie Billiart³ and Madame D'Houet,⁴ who founded their societies for the service of the Church through the education of children, were not the first to see the possibilities of the Jesuit rule adapted to the needs of women and of congregations of women unenclosed and centrally governed. They had had their precursors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably in the English woman, Mary Ward.⁵ Her

1. "Life of Mother Geneviève Dupuis" p. 138, explains that a definite time each day was given to study during the novitiate, but even afterwards the Sisters were expected to continue their studies in the evenings, at week-ends and in the holidays.
2. St. Madeleine Sophie Barat, foundress.
3. Julie Billiart, Foundress of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur.
4. Madame D'Houet, Foundress of the Faithful Companions of Jesus.
5. Mary Ward, Foundress of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

nuns had become enclosed in their European convents and had only been able to maintain a precarious foothold at the Bar Convent, York, in their original form. But the nineteenth century nuns were more fortunate in their circumstances, for not only was there an immense field for their labours in France, but the social and economic changes which had resulted from the upheaval, made both clergy and laity more receptive to new and untried experiments. The nuns were indeed the inheritors of a great tradition, but they had to use it to meet new needs in a changed world. The aim of the new teaching congregations was the education of girls not as nuns, but to take their places in society as Catholic wives and mothers. They catered for varying needs and different social classes; without entirely ignoring work for poorer girls, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, for example, eventually became better known in England for their schools for girls of the richer classes, and it was not until 1870 that they undertook the training of teachers in this country.

From their first coming to England in 1830, the Faithful Companions of Jesus and the Sisters of Notre Dame devoted themselves to day and evening schools and schools of industry for working class children, but had at the same time many fee-paying schools. The Sisters of Notre Dame in particular had as one of their main activities the training of teachers. At an early date, they made foundations in Belgium, then part of the Netherlands and soon learnt

what it was to contend with a government, anxious to provide for the education of its subjects, but unsympathetic to Catholic schools and especially to those conducted by religious orders.

Each of these teaching congregations developed its own methods of training its members, but there was inevitably much in common. In every case the novices received lessons in the subjects they were to teach and were carefully introduced to school work by a kind of pupil teacher system. The Sisters were constantly in touch with the religious orders of men, notably the Jesuits, from whom they obtained help and advice. In their libraries they could find what they required for their own studies, and they were well aware of the methods used in the schools of the teaching brotherhoods like the Christian Brothers who gave special attention to the needs of poorer children whose schooldays were short. The opportunities for frequent intercourse between the different houses, the centralised noviciates and the constant meetings of superiors and of other Sisters all made possible consultation and discussion; experiments could be tried on a small scale, improved upon and adopted for a sufficient time to give useful results. The coming of the railway and the steamship greatly helped the Sisters in maintaining contact with their far flung houses and Foundresses and Superiors often made incredible journeys throughout the British Isles, Europe and North America which brought encouragement to those working under difficulties, emphasised the international character of the congregations and spread knowledge of new ideas and methods.

The Sisters were recruited from all social classes; Julie Billiard, Foundress of the Notre Dame Sisters, was a peasant's daughter, but her earliest companion and co-foundress was Mère Françoise de Blin, a lady of rank and fortune. From the beginning there was no distinction between choir and lay sisters and the congregation attracted girls from all levels of French Society. Madeleine Sophie Barat of the Sacred Heart Sisters, was herself a vine-dresser's daughter, given a classical education by her priest brother, and drawing to her society women of outstanding culture and ability. Finally Madame D'Houet of the Faithful Companions, was a member of the French nobility, but among the Sisters were representatives of all sides of French life. The needs of the Church and of the poor and the orphan, not to mention those of girls of higher classes, appealed strongly to the French girl of this period and in the absence of any properly organised system of social service and of an organised teaching profession, to become a Sister in such a congregation was to answer the call of God to an urgent work of charity.

Convents belonging to each of these three congregations were founded in England in the first half of the century; as has been already mentioned, the Faithful Companions of Jesus were the first to come. They took over the Somerstown Charity Schools in 1830 and by 1856 were at work in several schools in London, in Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, Birkenhead and Chester. However, they were at first unwilling to open their schools to government inspection or to let the Sisters take public

examinations, so at that period they made no contribution to the training of lay teachers, though their charity schools were highly esteemed. The Sister of the Sacred Heart, who made their first foundation at Berrymead, Acton in 1843 and in 1852 moved to Roehampton, also played no direct part in the training of teachers for many years. Both societies were eventually to establish training colleges, but it was the Sisters of Notre Dame who were destined to be the first in the field. Their first convent was at Penryn in Cornwall where they went in 1847, but according to the lists of Catholic school and certificated teachers published in 1856¹ by the C.P.S.C. and already referred to, they had thirteen schools, five of them in Liverpool, eight certificated teachers and sixty-five Pupil Teachers already in training. Their college in Liverpool opened its doors in 1856, but before explaining why the choice of the C.P.S.C. fell on them, when during the years of trial and discussion from 1847, it had seemed as if the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul would be asked by the Committee to begin training colleges, it is necessary to describe the activities of yet another teaching congregation, who were to open a second college in the same year as the Liverpool one.

..... These Sisters belonged to the Society of the Holy Child, only mentioned so far as receiving small grants from the C.P.S.C. for training a few students. Their foundress, Mother Connelly, was

1. Report of the C.P.S.C. 1956.

an American convert of advanced educational ideas, when at the request of the Pope Gregory XVI and Cardinal Wiseman had begun her small community at Derby in 1846, with the object of recruiting Sisters for work in the Catholic Poor Schools, and, just as important in Cardinal Wiseman's mind,¹ opening fee paying schools for Catholic Middle class families whose numbers were being increased in the 1840's and 50's by the influx of converts from Anglicanism. The existing convent schools in England were with very few exceptions staffed by members of the teaching congregations which had come over from France since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829. Though there were English Sisters, the Schools were wholly French in character, but in the eyes of perhaps the majority of Catholic parents, this was no disadvantage, since the prestige of the French convent school was high and they could obtain in England the education for their daughters, which had hitherto been obtainable only in France, but there were others, particularly among the more recent converts, who wanted something different, schools where their girls would be taught by English Nuns in an English atmosphere.

Mother Connolly was particularly well fitted for this task; a convert to Catholicism herself, she had received an excellent education in Philadelphia. A gifted musician and painter, widely

1. 1846. Letter of Cardinal Wiseman to Mother Connolly. Quoted in "Life of Cornelia Connolly", by a member of the Society, Longmans Green & Co. 1922.

read in history and literature, since her conversion, she had come to know the educational system and the schools of the Jesuits and of the Sacred Heart Nuns, in whose convent at the ~~Trinità~~ ^{Trinità} ~~Mente~~ in Rome she had resided for many months. Her deep spirituality, her excellent mind and attractive personality quickly drew to her a small group of devoted subjects, some of whom were themselves women of considerable talent.

The school at Derby did not prosper and there were difficulties with the parish priest who was the owner of the property, so in 1848 the small community of Sisters and scholars moved to the convent of All Souls, St. Leonards-on-Sea, on the invitation of the local priest. Here Mother Connelly took over the Poor School for girls, opened a boarding school and continued training the Sisters in religious life and preparing them for their work as teachers. In 1851 the Sisters took over schools in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London and were soon afterwards asked to teach in several other schools in the London area. They also went in 1851 to St. Anthony's Parish School, Liverpool, but this venture was not destined to be a success. In charge of this group of Sisters was Sister Emily Bowles, an able woman with considerable literary gifts very different from the usual headmistress of a Poor School; in 1853 she began to discuss with Mr. Scott Nasmyth Stokes, the newly appointed Catholic Inspector for the North

of England and Scotland, the possibility of a Catholic Training College in Liverpool. Miss Bowles and Mr. Stokes were old acquaintances and she received encouragement from him.

Unfortunately the little community was already over-extended, the children did badly in their examinations and the Sisters were asked to withdraw from the parish schools. But a greater disaster was to follow; Sister Emily had without full consultation with Mother Connelly, borrowed £5,000 from her brothers for the purchase of Rupert House to be used as a Training College. Mother Connelly felt that the debt was too great for the community's slender resources and in any case, the criticism of the Sisters' ¹ work had made it impossible for them to remain in Liverpool. Rupert House was sold, but the repayment of the money was a heavy drain on Mother Connelly for some years to come; Sister Emily, feeling her judgment was in question left the Order, but the affair had perhaps more serious consequences, for as Mother Connelly's Biographer says, it dashed to the ground all hopes of a training school for the Society in Liverpool and put an end to the work of the sisters in the elementary schools..... "Suspicion of want of rectitude too had been sown in the minds of government officials and these were to have their effect in the future".

But the prospect of a College in Liverpool was not allowed to lapse; in the February 1853 number of "The Catholic School", Mr. Stokes had called on the Bishops to name the community to be entrusted with the foundation of a Training College and appealed for £5,000 to make a start. But the funds of the C.P.S.C. had been stretched to the utmost to provide the college at Hammersmith for men

1. "Life of Cornelia Connelly, by a member of the Society".
Longmans Green & Co. 1922.

and the only hope was to find a community that would bear the initial cost, though the Committee were prepared to help with the upkeep. In the meantime also in 1853, soon after the Holy Child Sisters had withdrawn, Mr. Stokes discussed with Sister Aimée, the Superior of the Sisters of Notre Dame, the possibility of a College staffed by her community. However Sister Aimée was recalled to Belgium and the project was shelved for the time being. But in 1854 it was reported in the minutes of the C.P.S.C. that 55 girls would complete their apprenticeship in 1855 and there was as yet no college for them to attend. It was therefore imperative that immediate plans should be made for a college and in view of the large Catholic population in the Midlands and the North, such a college would be most useful in Liverpool and the most suitable community to establish it, was that of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, who already had large schools in Liverpool and other towns of the North West.

Mr. Stokes and Mr. Allies, the secretary of the C.P.S.C. were still aware that among the Sisters were two notable English women, whose help would be invaluable in such a project, the one, the Honourable Mrs. Petre (Sister Mary of St. Francis) and the other, Miss Frances M. Lecher (Sister Mary of St. Philip) who was however still in her noviciate. When Mrs. Petre became a Sister of Notre Dame on the death of her husband who had been a member of the C.P.S.C. and devoted her fortune to the education of the poor, Cardinal Wiseman had congratulated her on "choosing the religious state in a form most likely to be so beneficial to England".¹ She remained at Namur and eventually became

1. The Hon. Mrs. Petre was a daughter of Lord Stafford. Her husband, the Hon. Edward Petre, was a member of the C.P.S.C. and husband and wife worked for the establishment of Catholic Schools. Mrs. Petre became a Sister of Notre Dame after the death of her husband in 1848. The letter from Cardinal Wiseman is quoted in material supplied by Mount Pleasant Training College.

the superior of that convent and English Assistant to the Mother General, who consulted her on all matters connected with English education. Sister Mary of St. Philip belonged to a Catholic middle class family of foreign extraction;¹ her father had made money in business and had bought an estate in Essex where they lived until in 1845, they moved to London. She was educated at New Hall, the Convent of the Canonesses of St. Augustine and at home, where her father taught her Latin and encouraged her to pursue a wide range of studies. She was in consequence more thoroughly educated than most girls of her class and generation. At an early age, she began to help in a Sunday School class at Stratford Catholic Church and became aware of the need of the Catholic poor for education. The move to Nottingham Place in 1845, brought her into contact with a wider circle of friends, both Catholic and non-Catholic, among whom were the Wallis sisters, daughters of John Wallis, editor of the "Tablet". Other friends included Oxford converts like Scott Nasmyth^{Stokes} and T.W.Allies with both of whom she was later to work. For another eight years she continued to live in London, devoting a good deal of time to work among the poor, and during the summer travelling abroad. During this period she came to know the Hon. Mrs. Petre and it was through her that she and her other sister became acquainted with the Sisters of Notre Dame. It was Miss Anne Legcher who first followed Mrs. Petre to Namur, but in 1853, after a period of indecision, Frances herself determined to enter, little realising how soon she was to return to England to undertake a task of immense responsibility and far-reaching consequences.

1. "Life of Sister Mary of St. Philip". by S.N.D.

In March 1855 Mr. Allies was sent to Namur by the C.P.S.C. to make a formal request to the Sisters to open a college, since everything seemed to point to them as the most suitable community to undertake the work, for as we have seen they already had a large number of Sisters actively engaged in government inspected schools. In Sister Mary of St. Philip as she now was, they had a prospective Principal who was well known to the clergy and to the Catholic inspectors, and in Mrs. Petre they had a benefactress who was prepared to devote her fortune to the building of the college and provide an annual sum towards its maintenance. But before the authorities at Namur gave their consent, the matter still required a good deal of thought. Though Sister Mary of St. Philip was the obvious Principal, she had not completed her noviciate but, after some hesitation, Mère Constantine, the Mother General finally agreed to the Committee's proposals, saying,¹ "The conditions are difficult, but we will submit to them: we will not abandon our poor children". The conditions were in fact difficult; the final decision was not made until October 1855, and the College had to open on February 1st 1856. Before that date suitable premises had to be secured, the Sisters who were to staff the college must themselves pass the Certificate of Merit examination and arrangements must be made for candidates for admission to the new college to take the Queen's Scholarship examination. Only about two months were left for revision; so far none of the Sisters had apparently taken the Certificate so the whole idea of a public examination was quite new. The Sisters selected to take the examination were understandably very nervous, but there was in fact no need, since though parts of the

1. Quoted from material supplied by Mount Pleasant Training College. Also P.11 Mount Pleasant Magazine, Centenary Number, 1956.

syllabus may have been unfamiliar, it could have presented no difficulty to women of their ability. When the results were published, Sister Mary of St. Philip and her sister Anne Leacher obtained First Classes, and Lucy Wallis, their friend who was now also a Sister of Notre Dame, a Second Class. Of Sister Mary of St. Philip's papers, the examiner said they were fit for the "Quarterly Review".¹

During the same year, 1855, the Reverend Mother of the Mercy Convent in Nottingham² whose school was so greatly esteemed by Mr. Marshall, also applied to the Committee of Council for permission to begin a training college, but unfortunately she became seriously ill and the scheme fell through. This left unprovided for a group of girls who had passed the Queen's Scholarship examination and expected to begin their training at Nottingham in 1856. Mother Connolly who had always hoped to engage in teacher training now came forward with an offer to open a College at St. Leonards and despite the Liverpool fiasco, her offer was gratefully accepted by the C.P.S.C.³

The necessary negotiations with the Catholic Committee and the Committee of Council were completed with great rapidity, on January 20th 1856, we find Mr. Marshall writing to tell Mother Connolly that the Nottingham sisters were unable to proceed with their plans. Ten days later on January 30th, Mr. Allies wrote a long letter to the Committee of Council explaining that the C.P.S.C. had received an offer from a "very able teaching community at St. Leonards to allot a detached portion of their building for a College if the Committee of Council would authorise

1. Quoted from material supplied by Mount Pleasant Training College. Also p.12 Mount Pleasant Magazine Centenary Number, 1956.
2. Mr. Marshall's report C. of Council Reports 1850. p. 526. A footnote states that 29 out of 33 candidates had been successful in obtaining Queen's Scholarships for this college.
3. Mr. Marshall's report to the C. of Council 1856. p. 789.

them to undertake the work. On February 2nd 1856,¹ Mr. Allies was able to write to Mother Connolly to say that he had received "formal authorisation (provisionally) of your house as a Training School". The students who were waiting to hear their fate and were temporarily in charge of a Mr. Cheadle - though where they were is not explained, were at liberty to go to St. Leonards. There was much still to be done and Mother Connolly had a formidable list of questions to answer about the proposed number of students, the salaries of the staff, details of the curriculum and the nature of the premises available, but the College was in being from February 1856² with Mother Connolly as Principal and four members of staff. These were Miss E.M.Buckle (Sister Maria Joseph) Miss S.A. Orr, Miss M.F. Cusack who obtained First Class Certificates, and Miss E.N.Noble with a Second Class. The most notable of this group was Sister Maria Joseph whose papers in the Certificate examination were according to one account, the most outstanding of the year. She was a woman of the same intellectual calibre as Mother Connolly and Sister Mary of St. Philip and taught English Literature, History and Latin in the College and boarding school for many years, spending a good deal of time in work among the poor and during the summer travelling abroad.

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1856. Mayfield Archives. Letter from Mr. Marshall, Feb. 19th, 1856, giving an account of the students coming from Nottingham.
2. Mr. Marshall's Report to the Committee of Council p. 789.

The opening of the colleges at Liverpool and at St. Leonards was very important in the history of Catholic education for in the first place it put an end to a period of hesitation and marked the acceptance of the lay teacher as a permanent figure in Catholic schools. Every student leaving college at this period could expect to be put in charge of a school and though if for any reason she left, the school might be handed over to a community, this became less likely as the century went on because so many other activities opened out for the teaching sisters. In the second place this decision definitely handed over the training of lay teachers to the religious orders.

CHAPTER IITHE FIRST DECADE - LIFE AND WORK IN THE COLLEGES

The years from the opening of the colleges at Liverpool and at St. Leonards-on-Sea in 1856 to 1870 mark a distinct period in the history of the Catholic women's training colleges. In these fourteen years before the passing of the 1870 Education Act which ushered in compulsory education, there was created in addition to the nuns, a body of devoted and efficient lay teachers with a character and quality of its own. By 1870 two hundred and sixty-seven Liverpool trained teachers were in schools in practically every diocese in Great Britain and before its unfortunate closure in 1863, St. Leonards had added at least another seventy to the number.¹ In addition to this increase in the number of the teachers in the schools, methods of training were being worked out, professional standards developed and a great deal of knowledge and experience about girls' education from the infants' school to the college level was being accumulated for use when the tempo of education was greatly accelerated and many new schools had to be built and staffed with great rapidity. Experiments such as the Pupil Teachers' College,² which originated in Liverpool, foreshadowed new systems of educating Pupil Teachers, valuable not merely to the Catholic body but also to the country at large.

1. From statistics quoted in Annual reports to C.P.S.C.
2. In existence as early as 1855 of Material supplied by Mount Pleasant Training College.

The great reputation of the Mount Pleasant Training College, in particular, brought home to the Catholic clergy and laity the value of the trained teacher; they saw with their own eyes schools under such teachers earning the praise of inspectors and their confidence and, not the least important, when the system of Payment ^{by} of Results seemed to threaten the very existence of many schools, it was those with trained teachers which did well and retained their grants. But not all pupil teachers went to college; some stayed on as assistants, perhaps working for the Certificate of Merit as external students. These also owed a great debt to the Headmistresses who, in training them, tried to hand on something of the more liberal spirit they had imbibed, not only in their years at College, but also in their frequent visits to the Old Students' retreats and conferences.

That we know more of Mount Pleasant Training College is due partly to the very success which has ensured its continued existence to the present day and earned it the praises of inspectors, clergy and educationists throughout its long history. But we are helped also by the very detailed reports of the inspectors in the earliest days, in particular those of Mr. Scott Nasmyth Stokes¹ who was the usual examiner for the College from its inception until the Education Act of 1870 brought denominational inspection to an end. He had a longstanding friendship with Sister Mary of St. Philip and maintained an intimate connection with the College over and above his official duties. A constant visitor, he

1. From statistics quoted in Annual Reports to C.P.S.C.
2. In existence as early as 1855, of Material supplied by Mount Pleasant Training College.

advised students and staff on their studies, presented prizes and scientific instruments. Sister Mary of St. Philip's own contribution to Catholic education was so great and given over so long a period that there is abundant material available, not only in the published biography, but in letters and papers still in existence at the College and most of which are available for the interested student of education. Throughout her long career at Mount Pleasant which ended only with her death in 1904, first as Vice-Principal, the Sister Superior being the official Principal, later as Principal when a change of policy made it advisable for her to accept that title, and finally as Superior of the community herself from 1887, Sister Mary of St. Philip kept the highest ideals of the Catholic teacher constantly before the students and to her must certainly be given the credit of forming a body of women teachers for the Catholic schools inspired by a strong sense of vocation and high professional standards.

The College at St. Leonards-on-Sea was only in existence from 1856 to 1863, but Mother Connolly was a no less remarkable educationist than Sister Mary of St. Philip, though her sphere was more restricted and her work less well known. Her educational ideas, as set forth in her 'Book of Studies'¹, written for the use of the Sisters working in the schools and produced for private circulation in 1863, show

1. Published 1863 for private circulation only.

her to have been in many respects well ahead of her time, particularly in her insistence on active methods of learning in the education of children and in the importance of understanding before memorising. She was in fact greatly opposed to the excessive memorisation of factual material so much a feature of nineteenth century schools. In addition to this more formal statement of her policy, there exists in the archives of the Mother House of the Society of the Holy Child at Mayfield in Sussex, a remarkable collection of record books, diaries and other papers which give an intimate and delightful picture of the everyday working of the training college.¹ These records are unusually full and especially interesting from an educational point of view, as they contain a month by month account of the life and studies of the students throughout the entire period of the college's existence, together with rough copies of returns made to the inspectors in preparation for the annual examination and of letters to such people as the Secretary of the C.P.S.C., the Secretary of the Committee of Council, the Bishop of Southwark and others. Most of these letters deal with official business, but one or two to Mr. Marshall illustrate the very friendly terms on which they corresponded. He was her adviser and supporter in much the same way as Mr. Stokes was to Sister Mary of St. Philip.

One amusing letter is worth quoting; Mother Connolly writes, 'I hear Mr. Stokes is going every week to the

1. See appendix 1 for a description of these records.

Liverpool Training School - you must not be outdone. St. Leonards is h the place for your summer residence and you could (get) one of the houses opposite for a very low rent. No one will take them because of the tall board we have put up as a screen for ourselves. Do think of this and of the advantage for little Edith in being with darling little girls nearly of her own age".¹ Edith was evidently a great favourite and was later a pupil at the boarding school; in 1858² the students made her an embroidered dress of muslin with a double skirt and Mr. Marshall himself a pair of embroidered slippers in green cloth. Also included in the gift was a purse of grey thread and steel beads, perhaps for Mrs. Marshall. But Inspector and Principal corresponded on more important matters and Mother Connolly found him invaluable in helping and advising her; Mr. Stokes with whom she also had dealings, she found less sympathetic and inclined to be more critical than helpful, when difficulties arose.

But before discussing in detail the records that have survived concerning the daily life of the students, their studies and their teachers, it is most important to emphasise that for the Sisters, the main task was not merely the intellectual development of the students nor even their training in the practical arts of the classroom, important though these were, but it was to imbue them with a sense of their high vocation as Christian teachers whose privilege it was to co-operate with the clergy in bringing souls to Christ. It is not surprising that the Sisters in each college sought to accomplish their common aim in

1. Mayfield Papers. Collection of Mother Connolly's letters. Date - February 13th, 1856.
2. Mayfield Papers. M.10 "The Training School Journal". Included in a list of handwork completed in that year.

different ways, in accordance with the methods and traditions the two religious congregations had developed, but the religious and moral formation of the students, the development of strong and disciplined characters, capable of self sacrificing work in the Poor Schools was the end to which the lay teacher no less the member of the religious congregation was dedicated. Colleges of all denominations, and there were no others in the nineteenth century, would have agreed that the strongest motive animating those who undertook to provide schools and colleges was to bring religious and moral education to the poorest children of the factories and the slums. The conditions under which the teachers had to work, with the constant exposure to dirt and disease need no elaboration here and though between 1856 and the end of the century there were great improvements, the teacher in the elementary school needed a deep sense of vocation and great strength of character, if she was not to be overwhelmed by the never ending difficulties of her work.

The Catholic Poor School Committee made the same financial arrangements with both these colleges; the communities in each case provided the buildings at their own expense. At Liverpool it was made possible by the generosity of Sister Mary of St. Francis (the Hon. Mrs. Petre), who had put her fortune at the disposal of the community.

The Colleges admitted Queen's Scholars free of charge, but private students had to pay a fee; in the case of Liverpool this was £6.10.0 a quarter. The Committee guaranteed to bridge the gap between the cost of the students' education and the amount received from the Privy Council grants. In 1856¹ they gave Liverpool a grant of £100 for books and apparatus and three years later one of £1,000 towards the building of the new Practising School, recommended by the inspectors in order to give better training in school work, particularly to students preparing to teach infants. This school was equipped with a model kitchen where pupil teachers' meals could be prepared and students get practice in cookery and laundry work.

The Committee also gave an annual grant to each College for current expenses and to provide prizes. A financial statement published in the minutes of the C.P.S.C.² indicated that over the period 1855-1862 the Committee had contributed £1,837, 10. 0 to Liverpool and the Committee of the Privy Council £9,239. This represents an average of £10.0.9 for each student from the C.P.S.C. and £50.9.9 from the Privy Council. Corresponding figures for St. Leonards are £1,180 or £13 for each student from the C.P.S.C. and £4,972 or £58.10.0 from the Privy Council; the average contribution is higher and it is not easy to account for this difference.³

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1856.
2. Ditto 1862.
3. Committee of Council Report 1860-61. It was stated that separate accounts for the college had not been kept and the figures given for board and lodging in 1859 were merely guess work. In 1861 the situation had improved and the accounts were satisfactory. One reason for the difference between Mount Pleasant and St. Leonards may be that despite the smaller number of students, St. Leonards had as many members of staff as Mount Pleasant.

The Sisters did not of course receive salaries in payment for their services, but in order to obtain the true cost of the students' tuition for purposes of comparison with other colleges, the accounts include a sum to cover estimated salaries. The published accounts do not indicate how much was allowed for each lecturer, nor do they distinguish between full and part-time staff and the boarding school. A further complication is that the chaplain's salary is also included in the total sum. But in one of the record books among the Mayfield papers¹, someone has written out on a fly-leaf, the names of the St. Leonards Sisters who were to take the Certificate of Merit examination in 1856, together with the salaries they were to be credited with in the Training College accounts. Miss Buckle and Miss Hunt were each assigned £50 a year, Miss Orr, Miss Cusack and Miss Noble £40. Two years later, 1858,⁽²⁾ in a copy of the annual returns to the Committee of Council, there is another table which gives a slightly different arrangement. This time it is definitely stated that the sums include the cost of the lecturer's lodging, but not of the board; Mother Connolly's salary is set down as £100 and Miss Orr, Miss Buckle and Miss Cusack have £50, but Miss Hunt's salary is stated to be £40 paid not out of the college accounts, but from the Practising School funds.

When the college at St. Leonards opened, Mr. Allies⁽²⁾, secretary of the C.P.S.C. advised Mother Connolly to follow the example of the Liverpool Sisters and allow £25 a year for the board and lodging of the lecturers, when she made her financial returns to the Committee of Council. These sums are modest enough, but are in line with salaries paid to lecturers in the smaller non-Catholic colleges. Some few years later, for example, Bishop's Stortford was paying £45 with board and lodging in addition and Cheltenham, £65 - £100.

1. Mayfield Papers. M.18. These details are written on the inside of the front cover and flyleaf.
2. Mayfield Papers. M.17. Letter from Mr. Allies. Feb. 2nd, 1856.
3. Report of C. of Council 1867. Canon Tinling's Report. p.517 et seq.

The Sisters of Notre Dame opened their college in Liverpool at 96, Mount Pleasant,¹ then a district of substantial Georgian houses with large gardens and coach houses, an admirable situation for further expansion. The Sisters came to Liverpool from Blackburn in 1851 and since 1852, the Mount Pleasant house had been the home of the Sisters going out to teach at first in the parish schools attached to St. Nicholas' church, and by 1856 of Sisters teaching in at least four other parish schools, In addition they had transferred from their original house at Islington Flags, the Select Day School, one of whose pupils, Miss E. Lomax, was later to be a member of the college staff, the Middle School with its seventy pupils and an Evening School for working girls. As if that was not quite enough, there was also started at the request of the parents, 'a very select boarding school' which only had sixteen pupils. Small though this school was it deserves a passing mention because its mistress was Sister Maria Theresa, sister of Father Parry, the Jesuit astronomer. But this school had to be sacrificed to the new training college. The accommodation made available by its discontinuance was increased during 1857 by the erection of the new college building which provided for sixty students with appropriate lecture rooms, refectory and dormitories. These were ready for occupation when the thirty-six new first years arrived and the existing Middle School became the Practising School. This was the school which enlarged and improved in 1858 with the help of the £1,000 grant from the C.P.S.C.

1. Plan of the college to be found in the Reports of the Committee of Council for 1856 p. 1173.

When on January 19th 1856 19 Queen's Scholars and 2 private students arrived to begin their training as the first members of Mount Pleasant Training College, they came at once into contact with a remarkable group of women who had already, in the five or six years which had elapsed since their first coming to Liverpool, established a group of flourishing schools, destined to make a great contribution to the education not only of Liverpool Catholics, but also of British Catholics as a whole and indeed of English speaking Catholics in many parts of the world. The students had in fact already met one another, as all had come to the convent in November to prepare for the Scholarship examination which took place in the third week in December. One of that first group, Mary Tivnan,¹ a pupil teacher from the Presentation Convent in Manchester and later a Presentation Sister, recorded her memories of the examination. What impressed her most was the charm and the piety of the Sister Superior and the kindness of Sister Mary of St. Philip, who amidst all her preoccupations, found time to help the candidates to revise for the papers. College work began formally on February 2nd: the Feast of the Presentation, and it is recorded that Sister Mary of St. Philip took as the theme of her Religious Instruction lesson the Canticle of Simeon.

The Sisters had offered 21 places for their first year and 20 candidates passed the examination; one of these subsequently withdrew thus leaving nineteen Queen's Scholars. In his report at the end of 1856 Mr. Stokes² gives some details of this first group:- twelve had come straight from the schools where they had been Pupil

1. See list of first students in Appendix II.
2. Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1856 p. 799-800.

Teachers; seven had spent periods as head or assistant teachers and eight had passed the examination in the first class. Of the two private students who were admitted one was that Louisa Pottinger, a well-to-do convert sent by Canon Oakley, the Tractarian convert, who became a Sister of Notre Dame and was for many years the Head of the Practising School, a position of great importance since its holder took a major part in the training of the students. Another interesting private student who stayed a few months in the first year was Euphrasie Barbier,¹ the foundress of the Society of "Notre Dame des Missions".

The list of names and schools² makes interesting reading; the students whose average age was nineteen and three months, came almost entirely from the North West. Ten were from schools conducted by religious orders but two strangely enough were from schools of the British and Foreign Schools Society. One wonders what had made them become Pupil Teachers in such schools and then decide to go to Mount Pleasant. Their Irish names suggest that they were cradle Catholics, but that is all we know about them. We should not underestimate the courage of these first students; perhaps the initiative to take the examination came from others - the Sisters at their schools, a parish priest wanting to put his schools under government inspection and obtain the grant, or the Squire's family at Talacre or Ince Blundell. But the courage to come the long distance from and, except for those who had already been in contact with Sisters, to live in a convent where many of the nuns were foreigners, was all their own, and

1. Also spent some time at All Souls College, St. Leonards on Sea.
2. See list in Appendix II.
One student, M. Woods, withdrew before finishing the first year. Nine left after one year's training to take charge of schools. Two ceased to teach - temporarily at least - from S.N. Stokes' report in the Minutes of the Committee of Council.

we can well imagine the hopes and fears, the homesickness in the unfamiliar life and the hesitations when the arduous plan of studies began to reveal itself. It should not be forgotten that it was not thirty years since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act and many Catholics as yet knew nothing of the religious life and had never seen nuns.

But if the students were pioneers so were the Sisters; it is true that the Sisters of Notre Dame were familiar with the training of teachers in Belgium and those who were to staff the College in Liverpool had passed their own certificate examination with good results, but they had no English traditions to guide them. The only other Catholic colleges were the small one for women at St. Leonards¹ and the men's college at Hammersmith.² The Sisters of St. Leonards though equally well educated and successful in their examinations, had likewise no precedents to guide them. Both the women's colleges had in fact to rely a great deal on the advice and help of the two earliest Catholic inspectors, Mr. Stokes and Mr. Marshall. Both were converts to Catholicism and shared a common educational background with their fellow inspectors. This was of immense value at a time when there was already hardly a Catholic middle class at all and the separation between Catholics and their non-Catholic fellow citizens was very wide.

1. Dedicated to 'All Souls' but always known as the Training College at St. Leonards-on-Sea.
2. Founded 1854, the property of the Catholic Poor School Committee.

The situation of the first group of students entering the college at St. Leonards in the same year was in many respects different from those going to Mount Pleasant. Unfamiliar as the latter were with what their new life was to be, they had at any rate taken the Queen's Scholarship examination at the college of their choice, but the fifteen First Year students at St. Leonards were taking a much bigger leap into the dark. Seven of them were Queen's Scholars who had expected to begin their training at Nottingham¹ and though they knew Mr. Marshall, did not know the Holy Child Sisters. The other eight may have been the remainder of the Nottingham group, though they were coming as private student and only four of them had been pupil teachers. But of that we cannot be certain, as the records are not at all clear on this point.

Unlike the Liverpool Sisters, those at St. Leonards had not met their first group of students before they actually arrived to begin their training, but they had a little information about them since Mr. Marshall² had sent Mother Connolly a list of their names and with comments of his own on their characters and abilities, which he says must be regarded only as impressions and might not be true in every case. He would have examined them for the Scholarship examination and most probably knew them in school. Two of this first group failed to complete the course; E. Sparrow whose talents he had described as 'excellent' but whom he said needed discipline and another, M. Keefe,

1. Mayfield Papers M.17.

2. Mayfield Papers. M.17. Letter from Mr. Marshall to Mother Connolly
February 19th 1856.

one of the private students who withdrew for medical reasons. She had some form of eye trouble, but immediately obtained a post in a school in Tudor Place, London, where the priest was very glad to have her as she was a good teacher. M^{rs}. Broadway, whom Mr. Marshall described as having 'Fair' abilities and a 'good' character, subsequently entered the Society of the Holy Child and met an early death in 1863 from cholera while teaching in a Poor School in London.

It is possible to trace the history of most of this first group of students through their college career until they took up their first appointments. Six went to London Schools¹, three to the school in Colet Place and two to Manchester Square. This seems to be an early example of newly qualified teachers going to their first posts as assistants and not as headmistresses. Four others are reported as going to Swansea, Preston, Bristol and Ramsgate respectively. The records indicate, but without giving names, that^a further group of seven ex-pupil teachers entered during the first year. These were to be allowed the full grant of £17, provided they passed the first year examination with the other students at the following Christmas. It is however impossible to discover who they were as the class books for the two years record only the original fifteen. There are additional names in the mark list, but it is not made clear who these girls were or whether they were Queen's Scholars, private students or even candidates. Some were evidently the latter, as their names do turn up later among the official lists of students.

1. See appendix 3.

Just as the College at Liverpool was only one of the activities carried on by the Sisters at Mount Pleasant, so at St. Leonards, the students joined an already existing community which comprised a boarding school, patronised by members of well-to-do Catholic families, ^{and} a middle school which Mother Connolly had opened for girls whose parents could not pay the fees of the main school. This school was advertised in the Catholic Directory and charged a fee of £18 a year; it is important to mention it here as from its ranks were drawn many of the private students and incidentally a number of recruits for the community. Those of its pupils who did not enter for the government certificate examination, no doubt often earned their living as governesses and teachers in private schools. In addition there were orphan girls being trained as domestic servants and finally the Poor School of the local Catholic parish. This kind of arrangement is not acceptable to our modern notions of equality but it seems to have been a very happy community and a stimulating one in which to live. There was plenty of contact between the various groups; the school and the college shared the same lively and interesting teachers and there were religious and social occasions in which all joined.

The actual building the students were to occupy consisted of a detached portion of the convent,¹ away from the boarding school. There were four rooms available, on the first floor; three were large and suitable for a refectory, a classroom for students and the practising

1. Mayfield Papers. M.17. Copy of a letter by Mr. Allies to the Committee of Council.

school respectively. In addition on this floor, there was also a small classroom and premises for the school keeper and his family. The second floor provided three dormitories over the larger rooms below and two small bedrooms; on the third floor there was another dormitory. All the rooms were from twelve to fifteen feet high and, allowing a space of five feet by eight feet for each bed, there was accommodation at the outset for thirty students. This information is contained in the account sent by Mr. Allies to the Committee of Council and he went on to explain that alterations would be put in hand to comply with the requests of the Council's architect, who was eventually sent down to inspect the premises and to make criticisms and suggestions. The authorities of the College hoped that by Midsummer 1856, the additions and alterations would provide dormitory space for one hundred students and would include also a suitable refectory, library, art room and an additional classroom. The Architect's report which is still available suggested more space for recreation, improvements in planning the additions so as to make them wider and a separate kitchen for cooking the students' food which otherwise had to be brought across from the convent itself. The buildings were in course of erection by this time, but he expressed himself as satisfied though not all his recommendations could be put into effect. It is sad to realise that the college did not at any time during its short existence, have sufficient students to use these buildings.¹

In 1856² the rule was established that Queen's Scholars should remain for two years, but for some time to come, many continued to leave after only one year's training. When Mother Connolly wrote

1. M. 17. Copy of architect's report.

2. Minute 2nd June, 1856. Committee of Council Reports. p 1 - 3.

to the Committee of Council before the College opened, she put the length of training as one year, but, if necessary three years which seems rather vague.¹ Apparently the course of studies in training colleges was not at this time a progressive one covering two years and Mr. Stokes in his 1858² report on Mount Pleasant, pointed out that the second year work in that college was of a higher order than the first and presupposed a degree of cultivation only to be acquired after a year's residence. The second year students were definitely established in a room of their own with a separate teacher and attendance at the practising school was planned on a two years sequence. In order to ensure that the students would not be tempted to leave before the end of the second year, Mr. Stokes suggested that the papers set by the Committee of Council should be quite different for these students; hitherto they had all worked the same papers, but a higher standard had been demanded of the second year candidates.

The general background of the students in both colleges, despite the sprinkling of private students who, as we have seen, were more in evidence at St. Leonards, was much the same. Most of them were Queen's Scholars who had been pupil teachers, but though they came from respectable Catholic families, there is no evidence that they were from families other than those of country labourers, small farmers or artisans. The inspectors do in fact say that the highest class of Catholics in the Poor Schools were town artisans

1. Mayfield Papers M.17. In the draft of a letter giving information to the Committee of Council about the proposed college. No date - early February 1856.
2. Mr. S.N. Stokes report in the Minutes of the Committee of Council for 1858. p. 369.

artisans¹. Some of the students had never left home, though others had been educated in Pupil Teachers' boarding houses, conducted by Sisters, where they were likely to have had more systematic instruction after their daily work in schools than the majority of pupil teachers and to have acquired some degree of culture and refinement through living in the convent. But there is no reason to suppose that they were entirely exempt from the faults of 'meagreness, dryness and emptiness or the opposite and not less mischievous evils of presumption and ostentation', described by an inspector in 1853. There was inevitably a tendency for most pupil teachers to have an undue idea of their own importance and it was often difficult for them to cease to play the part of teachers and to use their time in college to the best advantage to discover themselves as persons realise their latent possibilities, discipline and refine their tastes.² In the earliest years some had already been for short periods in charge of schools, and when they left college, ~~most~~ would be headmistresses from the moment they began teaching. In consequence they needed to acquire self-respect, uprightness and moral strength to an unusual degree to counteract the temptations likely to occur from so early an elevation to responsibility, not to mention the perils of loneliness. Sister Mary of St. Philip realised all this and realised also that the environment from which many of them came had given them a very inadequate conception of the office of a teacher. She taught them in language which perhaps sounds quaint today, that

1. Mr. Stokes' report 1860 in which he mentions that some parents objected to the title 'Catholic Poor Schools.'
2. See p.176 'Sister M. of St. Philip' by S.N.D. Longmans, 1920, where the early days of a students' college life are discussed by the writer.

the perfect schoolmistress must be a perfect lady, 'modest and retiring, refined and gentle, yet strong in her principles, ready to suffer if need be for her convictions and courageous enough to choose ought rather than like'.¹ How important this teaching became especially after the introduction of the Revised Code, is evident from some of the difficulties with managers about which former students wrote to consult her. She declared on one occasion that 'a very necessary thing for students is a realisation of the seriousness of life. You want more stability, more commonsense'.

From the beginning Sister Mary of St. Philip showed her quality as a teacher and in her lectures to the students as well as in her less formal contacts with them, drew on the riches of her well-stored mind and wide experience. The students were evidently enchanted by her lectures and one of them speaks with intense pleasure of the history classes, where all points of view were discussed and Sister Mary of St. Philip manifested 'a kind and gracious spirit' in accepting on British rule in Ireland and India, ^{opinions} different from her own. Perhaps it was a revelation to that student that the Irish question could be discussed temperately and that there were different ways of looking at it even among Catholics.² In the first years of the college's existence she taught practically every subject; needlework, drawing and music only were taken by other Sisters. This was in an attempt

1. Page 176 - Life of Sister M. of St. Philip by S.N.D. Longmans 1920

2. P. 14. Mount Pleasant Magazine. Centenary Number. 1956.

to give her colleagues more time for their own studies, for the following year would bring a new batch of students and there would be more calls on the time of all the Sisters available. When the new students did arrive in 1857, the second year students begged her to continue teaching them.

While the students were in college, each evening at 7 o'clock,¹ she met them for a short conference and as they sewed, she discussed incidents of college life, the visits of distinguished men and women to the town or to the college, public events and any other topics which would help to widen the students' horizon and counteract the narrowness likely to be engendered by the excessive concentration on the restricted curriculum prescribed for nineteenth century training colleges. Mr. Stokes² speaks with evident admiration of the careful supervision provided by the Sisters at Mount Pleasant, a supervision so close and minute that present day students would resent in the extreme, but not more close than was usual at the time. The governesses were always with the students -

1. Page 179. "Life of Sister M. of St. Philip", mentions topics of a later period. "During the Egyptian War we were in the Soudan with Gordon, we watched the progress of the Mersey Tunnel, we listened to Gladstone's speech on Home Rule, we opened the Exhibition with the Queen".
2. Mr. S.N. Stokes' report. Minutes of the Committee of Council 1856-57 p. 701.

at meals, during private study, at recreation and when they went out in the town. The students passed their hours of recreation together and were, at any rate in this early period, not expected to read or write by themselves but to "gather round the governess" to sew, while someone read aloud. There was also singing, playing the piano or perhaps two or three would sit round a table to play chess. A later account, though still belonging to the early days of the college, speaks of the students reading, dancing, singing and even just chatting in the evening recreation.¹ To avoid waste of time, letter writing was only permitted once a week and all letters whether outgoing or incoming had to pass through the hands of the Principal. Even those whose parents lived in Liverpool were subjected to the same régime and visits to see their daughters were only allowed once a month. The college had a pleasant garden for outdoor games and the students went long walks once a week and on feast days. At that time Liverpool was not so built up so the country was more easy of access; Sister Mary of St. Philip was an able botanist² and made the walks very interesting for them by often drawing attention to rare plants now no longer to be found so near the city. In 1883 the Superior General of the Sisters of Notre Dame suggested that the nuns should look out for a country

1. P. 185 'Sister M. of St. Philip' describes these evening recreations in a much livelier way - time for reading in the reading room, for singing or dancing in St. Joseph's Hall or for conversation in the recreation room with a group round the presiding Sister.
2. p. 158 Life of Sister M. of St. Philip' describes these botanical excursions and points out that S.M. of St. Philip had been taught Botany well by her father - John Pitchford the early 19th C. botanist.

property, where nuns and students could enjoy periods of relaxation and fresh air in greater freedom and privacy. This was a most welcome provision when one considers the insanitary conditions in the nineteenth century elementary schools and the constant exposure to epidemics experienced by students and teachers alike. Soon afterwards 'The Cloisters', a house in the hamlet of St. Michaels was purchased and became the scene of many a holiday party when the students played games, had picnics and sometimes acted plays in the garden.

Not only weekday had its closely packed timetable, but Sunday also was full of interests and activities. Mr. Stokes¹ mentions that the students were from the beginning encouraged to go to the different churches and help the Sisters with the Sunday School classes, but after Vespers they had an assembly of their own in which they recited, played the piano, sang, acted a scene from Shakespeare or a French play or read an original composition. Useful as these activities were as relaxation, they were still more valuable as training in good speech and in the development of easy and graceful manners. It was for these reasons that the visits of the clergy, inspectors, and other eminent persons were made the occasions of concerts and displays of work. The Sisters did in fact attach great importance to what the students did in their scanty leisure hours and considered their occupations then as of almost as much value as their more serious pursuits... It was

1. Minutes of Committee of Council Mr. Stokes Report 1856

Also discoursed on p. 181 - Life of St. M. of St. Philip
by S.N.D. Longmans 1920

at such times that students relaxed and off their guard, revealed much of their true character and disposition, giving the Sisters an unrivalled opportunity for guiding and influencing individuals, for the kindly word or the little admonition or piece of advice which might make all the difference to success or failure. Before criticising a patten of life so controlled and regulated, that it gave practically no time for the development of individual interests or initiative and might seem to turn out teachers made to a pattern, it is as well to realise that for many girls who had endured the rigours of apprenticeship in a mid-Victorian elementary school and who had come from relatively poor and over-crowded homes, the happiness of living in such a community, with its opportunities for congenial companionship, interesting pursuits and guidance both spiritual and intellectual must have outweighed any feelings of irritation at the restrictions on their liberty. In any case these would be less severely felt by girls of that period and social class. That the students were happy, there is ample evidence from such memoirs as survive and from the eagerness with which they returned to the old students retreats and conferences begun in 1859. Within the community they had in fact all they could need and all they could use in the two years they were in college. A student at St. Leonards remarked to Mr. Stokes in 1856, "For the first time in my life I have more advantages than I know how to use", and that could be said with the same truth of Liverpool.

But nothing can disguise the fact that the students had a heavy syllabus to cover; the curriculum and the syllabuses in each subject were laid down by the Committee of Council and except that those with sufficient talent were allowed to take an optional Drawing Certificate of the Science and Department at South Kensington, the work was the same for all. The aim was to combine a continuation of the professional training begun in the Pupil Teacher days with a widening of the students' general education, which was recognised on all sides to be woefully deficient. There were, let it be said, those who thought that the education given in the training colleges was too high for future teachers in Poor Schools and criticised the syllabuses as being too heavy and too pretentious. There was perhaps some truth in some of these criticisms, though a remedy was difficult to find. But in any case, the colleges had nothing to say in the matter and had to do what they could, and it is with their efforts to deal with the situation as it presented itself to them that we are concerned.

For many years to come the attempt to do all that was thought necessary in the two year course, meant an exacting and austere life. This austerity was approved in the highest quarters for Kay-Shuttleworth in his training college at Norwood had in 1840¹ instituted a very exacting régime which in the event proved to be too rigorous, but his ideas for simplicity of life and a combination of manual work and study affected the development of training colleges for more than a century. However, when we consider the hard life the nuns lived, combining their religious duties with the incessant labours of the mid-nineteenth elementary school, we cannot be surprised that both

1. Rich - "The Training of Teachers" p. 62f. quoting from Kay Shuttleworth 'Four Periods of Public Education' p. 310

teachers and students accepted the long day and constant application as the inevitable lot of the Catholic teacher who looked on her work not simply as a means of livelihood, but even with the lay teacher as a kind of religious vocation. In this non-Catholic teachers and students were not behind, since a comparison with the life of the non-Catholic colleges reveals much the same pattern.

A day which began at 5.30 in the morning and continued in carefully planned sequence until 9 o'clock at night could not be other than exacting, and there was in fact not much difference between the two colleges in the timetable they imposed on their students. Perhaps one point of contrast worth mentioning is the pre-breakfast study period at Mount Pleasant which found no place at St. Leonards. In both colleges the students were expected to do a certain amount of household work and to accept responsibility for the cleanliness and order of the rooms they used, though in neither college were they obliged to perform any of the heavier kinds of cleaning that students at some colleges seem to have undertaken.¹ It is customary in convent schools to allot 'offices' or small domestic duties to all those able to perform them; certainly the Mount Pleasant students had their tasks. Mr. Stokes in 1858, reported that they made beds, did washing up, swept and dusted passages and on Saturdays cleaned the whole college, though not the kitchens and stone passages. We have several of the

1. Rich - "The Training of Teachers". Cambridge 1933, p. 162, gives an account of the domestic work done by students at Salisbury which illustrates this point.

St. Leonards duty lists,¹ giving the names of the students appointed to clean the various rooms. Two are assigned to the 'Clothing Room', probably a room with cupboards for the students' clothing, impossible to fit into the dormitories, already described, where a space of eight feet by five was all that was provided for each bed, with either a wooden partition or curtain between. Another student had charge of the closet where the bonnets were kept. But this household work would come as no surprise to the students; after all they had had tasks to perform in their own homes and schools when they were pupil teachers and they could not feel humiliated in doing work which they saw the Sisters undertake so willingly.

Inspectors in all types of colleges constantly referred to the value of household work for students who were to be the teachers of working class children - children who would themselves be domestic servants and the wives of working men. They wanted the students to be taught simple cookery and laundry work as well as the more theoretical aspects of household management which were included in the Domestic Economy lessons in college. Another interesting reason often given for including these subjects in the course was that young teachers often had to live in school houses and should be able to cater for themselves properly.² On one occasion Mr. Stokes declared that,³ 'domestic work affords regular exercise, promotes, cultivates habits of cleanliness and checks the tendency to pride, incidental to an

1. For example Mayfield Papers. M.10. List of officers for 1859. This list was changed at intervals.
2. Rich - 'Training of Teachers' Cambridge 1933. p.162.
3. But see Mr. S.N.Stokes report for the Committee of Council 1858-9 p. 371. Makes a scathing comment on those who want the amount of industrial training increased for the students. "Schoolmistresses as a rule do not wash and get up their own or others' clothes, nor do they cook their own or others' dinners; and the argument that they should acquire these arts because economy is neglected by the poor is no more conclusive than the reasoning that schoolmasters ought to learn to carry the hod, because the dwellings of the people need improvement".

initiation into a higher education", but he did not want the students overburdened with household work and made the interesting comment that a public nursery would be of more advantage to the students. The students at St. Leonards spent a great deal of time on fine needlework and even on most elaborate Church embroidery so that it was felt that they should not be expected to spend a great deal of time on routine domestic tasks. Some of the students, incidentally, had such a love of lace-making and embroidery that they had to be expressly forbidden 'to work point lace in any of the lectures or study time'.¹ However, on one occasion they had to give up a walk to mend stockings and managed to finish more than forty pairs.

But though we may be appalled by the rigour of their days and amazed that students and staff had such perseverance and determination in their work, it is only just to make quite clear that there were many opportunities for relaxation and recreation. Mention has already been made of the country walks, picnics, of the musical and dramatic work at Mount Pleasant² and there is ample evidence that the girls at St. Leonards had many similar diversions. College terms were longer than now and at St. Leonards³ especially, many students did not go home for Christmas and Easter holidays and some even stayed the whole of their two years at college. In both colleges there would be no classes on the usual Church feast days and on others peculiar to the college; these were always occasions for extra walks, games and special feast day meals.

1. Mayfield Archives. But see also Mr. Stokes 1858 C. of C. Report p. 373, where he expresses concern that students can get higher places than they deserve on the admission list because of their proficiency in needlework.
2. Chapter XII. Life of Sister Mary of St. Philip by S.N.D. Longmans 1920
3. True to some extent at Mount Pleasant. P. 185 Life of Sister Mary of St. Philip, notes some of the holiday activities. More detail has been given of those at St. Leonards, since the information is less easily accessible.

Each year in late January and early February the St. Leonards students gave a group of plays for the benefit of the community, the girls of the boarding schools and friends in the neighbourhood.¹ The costumes and scenery were made in the holidays by those who remained behind and Mother Connolly herself often helped in designing and painting the scenery. In 1858 the plays were "Macbeth", "Scenes from Homer" and a farce "The Irish Tiger". The boarding school girls also gave a play perhaps a French one since, even when the school was very small, there is record of them performing "Athalie". In 1860 the students gave Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar" and "Caius Gracchus" by Sheridan Knowles together with two comedies "The Bashful Man" and "The Man with the Carpet Bag".

It is interesting to look at some of the holiday activities in a particular year;² in 1858, there is a whole holiday practically every month, each celebrated in its own special way. Shrove Tuesday included a walk to Fairlight Glen, pancakes for dinner - we are told that they could not be tossed because the kitchen fire was smoking. The day ended with a special tea, graced by the presence of three of the lecturers. The next landmark was St. Patrick's day when everyone, Sisters, Chaplain and students wore green bows. In the afternoon they went for a walk, when they bought fruit which no doubt, they ate at the supper party to which they invited four of the lecturers. St. George's day had of course to have a similar celebration and so the year went on. But some of the occasions are sad ones, for on May 3rd was the funeral of one of the Sisters. On June 21st, the feast of St. Aloysius, the patron of the school, however, there was a grand picnic to Fairlight Glen, with

1. Mayfield Papers. M.10. "The Training School Journal". Events of 1858.

2. See above.

a carriage to take provisions and the more delicate students!2

Eight students remained that year throughout the summer holiday and for them there were picnics to the favourite Fairlight Glen, a carriage to Bodiam Castle, twelve miles away, from which the party arrived back at 9.p.m. after a "drive through delicious country". One day they went to the "Chrystal" Palace by train; the rest of the time was spent reading and drawing, with walks and sea-bathing three times a week. Another series of gay holidays came round about Christmas time; we read that on January 6th 1859, the Feast of the Epiphany, the students elected two of their number as King and Queen of the feast. In the evening there was a conjuring show to which everyone came, Sisters, chaplains, young ladies, students, orphans and employees of the convent. When the performance was over, Mother Connolly visited the students and, according to an established custom, granted the requests they made. On this occasion they asked her to give them a talk once a month, to be allowed to prolong their Wednesday walk until 5 o'clock and to speak on Sundays in the refectory at dinner and supper. As was usual in convents, some book, not necessarily religious, was read at meal times. The following year they asked to have two extra picnics in the year and to go bathing once a week in the summer term.

But enough has been said to show that the students' lives, in these two colleges at any rate, were not so severe as one is often led to suppose and one might be forgiven for assuming, if the only evidence were the daily timetables quoted in the Inspectors' reports, nor were they, 'little worlds of their own, cut off entirely from other educational thought and activity'.¹

Before 1855 the Committee of Council did not issue an authorised syllabus to the colleges; in consequence there was much variety in curriculum and timetable between the colleges and each Inspector had considerable latitude in the conduct of the examination. Eventually the principals of some of the leading colleges asked for a syllabus, which was, in fact, published in 1853, the year before the Catholic colleges opened.² This did something to bring about more uniformity, but even so, the colleges were still left very free in the planning of their work and could decide what, if any, subjects they would offer above the prescribed minimum. This situation reflected the prevailing uncertainty about the nature of the college course; the problem was how to achieve the right balance between the need to improve the students' general education and to ensure his professional competence. The Principals, appalled by the ignorance of their first students, and even of the pupil teachers, though they did concede that the latter were somewhat better equipped, had in the majority of cases put the main emphasis on academic study. As a result there was no uniform standard between

1. Quoted in Curtis "History of Education in Great Britain", University Tutorial Press 1948.
2. Committee of Council Minutes 1854-5 p.p. 14-17 (Syllabus on p.17).

the colleges; the only common factor was too often a very over-loaded course, entailing a study of subjects beyond the competence of all but the best prepared and most intelligent students. The reason for this was partly a confusion, particularly evident at that period, between instruction and education and partly because the Principals of the colleges, even of those for women, were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge,¹ who could only see the course in terms of their own educational background. A further reason was perhaps that there was no clear idea of what the students' professional training should consist and academic study was the line of least resistance. In 1851 the Rev. Mr. Cook² in a memorandum replying to Mr. Lingen, secretary of the Committee of Council who had requested information on the Womens' Training Colleges, pointed out the importance of inspection because of the need to find out the best modern-methods of teaching and of organising and managing schools. He declared it was often impossible to appreciate the skill and ability of the teacher 'owing to absence of a definite and intelligible system'.

But the syllabus is no more than a statement of ground to be covered and tells us nothing of the quality of the teaching within the college and that in the 1850's was the crux of the matter. In the existing conditions of womens' education, apart from the principals who even in the womens' colleges were clergymen, the only source of staff was in the colleges themselves and the governesses, as they were called, were almost without exception, recent old students of the institutions where they had trained.³ The Principal was assisted by a lady superintendent, generally the widow of a professional man; Mr. Cook,⁴ in his 1864 report on the staffing of colleges, noted that all the

1. Rich. 'Training of Teachers', Cambridge 1933, p. 154.
2. Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1850-51. Special Report by Rev. E.C. Cook, pp. 83-96.
3. Rich - 'Training of Teachers. Cambridge. 1933. p. 162.
4. Rev. F.P.Cook's Report to the Committee of Council. p. 359 ff.

Principals were university men and that he considered their instructions to students were in every case good, while some were excellent. However, about the rest of the staffs, he is less happy. In the first place the position of the Lady Superintendent was a difficult one; she was expected to be a person of commanding influence, neither Head Governess nor Matron though she might do some teaching. Her authority extended to all the details of the students' residential life and indeed to the lives of the governesses as well. In existing conditions and in the absence of a professional outlook among middle-class women, it is no wonder that colleges had difficulty in getting the right type of person. Though by 1864, when the report was written, all the governesses had first class certificates and many of them must have been able women, their previous education and experience had not given much breadth to their minds. Nor can their position in relation to the Lady Superintendent have been a happy one. There was in the first instance, the difference of social class which would be strongly felt at that time and for many years to come. There is a hint of this in a much later inspector's report¹ when he enjoins her to remember that with her much better education and social background, the Lady Superintendent can do much to improve the governesses. She is exhorted to realise the importance of providing them with suitable rooms and sufficient leisure; when the isolated lives and extreme youth of many of the governesses is remembered, it is evident how singularly defenceless they must have been. In these circumstances how easy it would be for their teaching to degenerate into aridity. The problem of staffing the training

1. Committee of Council Minutes 1873, included in a report on training colleges by Canon Tinling H.M.I.

colleges was to become acute in the latter part of the century, but for the next few decades, with the possible exception of the Home and Colonial Society's college and Whitelands, the Catholic colleges undoubtedly had better staffs.

On the fitness of Sister Mary of St. Philip and Mother Connolly for their respective positions, there is no need to say more, but it is very much to the point to see what can be discovered about their colleagues. These were drawn exclusively from their communities and neither need to be satisfied with raw recruits. At Mount Pleasant the choice was particularly wide as the Sisters had by 1856 nine houses¹ in this country not to mention those abroad. The St. Leonards community, though of more recent origin, was expanding and there were Sisters available with good educational backgrounds and experience of different types of schools in London and the North of England.² The fact that all were members of the same community meant that there was no class division to contend with, and, if, as did eventually happen, ex-students of the college became members of the college staff, an interval had elapsed while the one-time student made her novitiate, in the case of the Sisters of Notre Dame ^{this} was in Belgium, and perhaps spent some time in future study and teaching in either an elementary or private school belonging to the Society.

The centenary brochure of Mount Pleasant³ speaks of some of these early lecturers, relatives and friends of Sister Mary of St. Philip, her sister, Miss Anne Lescher and Miss Wallis, both of whom had been

1. From 'History of Sisters of Notre Dame in England', printed for private circulation in 1955.
2. The Sisters were in charge of Poor Schools in Preston and London. At Preston there was a boarding house for Pupil Teachers. They had also day and boarding schools in these places as well as at Mayfield and St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.
3. Published 1956.

headmistresses of Poor Schools before becoming members of the college staff and Miss Pöttinger, the Tractarian convert, one of the first private students and for many years Mistress of Method and Headmistress of the Practising School. They must all have been at least in their thirties, and were women of wide education and experience of life before joining the Sisters. Though not so much is known about the family background of the Sisters at St. Leonards, it is obvious from the tone of the reports of their work that still exist in the Mayfield archives, that they too were able women, who had much to give the students. At St. Leonards, Mother Connolly did not herself do much of the teaching; the most outstanding of the lecturers appears to have been Miss Buckle, Sister Maria Joseph. A convert to Catholicism, she is described in the earliest life of Mother Connolly as 'well-educated, critical, intellectual, affectionate'. She could read Italian and had a talent for writing prose and poetry; she taught both in the school and the college and was responsible for English Literature, History and Latin. There is no contemporary account of the impact of her lectures on the students, but her comments on their work suggest that she was an interesting and stimulating teacher. Something of the abilities and interests of the other lecturers is revealed in their reports, which will be discussed later; but what does strike one is their comparative youth. Apart from Miss Buckle and Miss Miller, who were over thirty, they all appear to have been in their early twenties, which must have made Mother Connolly's task none too easy

The Inspector's reports for the period 1856-69 contain a complete timetable for Mount Pleasant in 1856 and analyses of the timetables of the three Catholic colleges in 1860, 1861 and 1862. In addition there are copies of timetables for 1856, 1857, 1858, notes for the drafting of later timetables and 'Orders of the Day' for weekdays and Sundays among the Mayfield papers. The timetables show many points of contrast and manifest interesting variations from year to year and between each other, but need to be treated with some caution, since it is not always clear what is meant by the subjects mentioned. In any case it is obvious from the Mayfield Papers that there at any rate, these published timetables were not always adhered to throughout the year.¹ Perhaps the most important difference to notice between the two colleges is the scope of the curriculum during the first five years. Mount Pleasant based its original curriculum on the minimum requirements of the Committee of Council; in 1869 French and Latin were added, but there is some evidence that French was studied before that date though it does not find a place on the timetable. Neither do the students seem to have done any Mathematics other than Arithmetic, and of what the Monday 'Object Lesson' consisted we cannot tell. However, knowing Sister Mary of St. Philip's interest in rare plants and flowers and recalling the case of scientific instruments, presented by Mr. Stokes, we can assume that it may well have been some general science and botany. This limitation was probably a wise decision, taken with a due sense of reality, in view of the limited background of most pupil teachers and of the need to establish the work of the college on sound foundations. Nothing would have been more dangerous to the future of Catholic teacher training than to have poor results at this stage.

1. Nor were they at Mount Pleasant. p. 160 'Life of Sister Mary of St. Philip, Longmans, 1920, when the Inspectors, realising that the official timetable often gave way to a walk or scientific excursion, said 'I see the Miss Lescher. I will then sign it' followed 'weather permitting!'"

A glance at the first timetable for St. Leonards will show how full their curriculum was; Mother Connolly saw things rather differently from the Sisters at Mount Pleasant, and one can only speculate as to the reasons for the difference. The training college was from the first very closely associated with the Middle School and had moreover a larger proportion of private students, who might be supposed to have already learnt French, Latin and Mathematics at school. Possibly she had not as exact an appreciation of what could reasonably be expected of them, as Sister Mary of St. Philip whose knowledge of the Poor Schools was undoubtedly wide. However, the St. Leonards' Sisters did find it heavy going; In 1856 Sister Maria Joseph,¹ reporting on the progress of the students in Latin, remarked that it was a pity the pupil teachers had done no Latin since they found it difficult to keep up with the others. Neither language is mentioned in the 1860 timetable, though there is a report of the work in French for June of that year. After the summer vacation, it was decided to drop both languages and Science in order to give more time to Religious Instruction. This change did not apparently apply to the private students who are noted in 1863 as still taking Latin and French, but by that time the college was nearing its end and these students were about to be transferred to the Middle School. It is hardly necessary to mention that a student at either college with a taste for languages would have every opportunity of help and encouragement from linguists among the community.

1. Mayfield Papers. M.10. Entry by Sister Marie Joseph in 1856.

The official syllabus¹ included very little English literature; in fact all the students were required to do was to learn by heart one hundred lines from a set poem. This passage was also used in the examination for exercises in parsing and abalysis; in addition they had to read aloud to the Inspector from a book like Blackstone's "Commentaries on English Law". This would not come amiss to Mother Connolly, who once declared that every well educated girl ought to be able to read the "Times" leader with intelligence. Any further study of literature was left to the colleges and would depend on the interests and abilities of the lecturers concerned. We have no record of the books at either college available for the students' private reading, but old students of Mount Pleasant spoke with appreciation of Sister Mary of St. Philips' classes in literature and from the Mayfield report books, we can get a good idea of the general scope of the literature course and the books read.

Apparently they were given a general outline of English Literature² and read both prose and poetry to illustrate the main periods. Several entries mention classes reading Milton, Dryden and Pope; in one month they read part of "The Hind and the Panther", extracts from "Hudibras" and learned about scansion. In April 1860 for example, the students read the first book of "Paradise Lost", "with notes by celebrated critics." They like it and seem to appreciate its beauties". Sir Walter Scott's works both prose and poetry were favourites, mentioned on more than one occasion. Shakespeare's plays were read, large portions

1. 1860 - Wordsworth's "Escursion" and Cowper "The Task". Chambers "History of English Literature".
2. Mayfield Papers M.10. September 1856. An entry in the report mentions finishing the Literature course and spending time on famous authors, poets and prose writers. But there are frequent entries about books read and enjoyed.

learned by heart and some put on the stage. Mother Connolly's enthusiasm for acting, incidentally were not shared by all the community, nor always by the parents of would-be pupils of her schools, who were at that time inclined to think acting a sign of worldliness. She on the contrary felt that acting was exciting and enjoyable for young people and taught them courage, grace and deportment.

One wonders how the more ill-prepared students fared with such a course of reading, but one must remember that they had few distractions, more time for serious reading and intelligent and well-informed teachers to help them. Apart from the timetable periods appropriated to "reading" and "Literature", there was the reading at mealtimes and while they sat doing needlework. Extra time was also often given on Sundays and holidays. For this general reading no doubt religious books were often chosen, but history and biography also had their place.

More interesting than the accounts of books read, is a long unsigned article, dated 1859, in the Mayfield papers on methods of teaching English literature. The writer thought it important to put the main emphasis on discussion of the life, historical and philosophical background of the author to be studied. The students could read the actual works by themselves, but they needed principles to guide their thinking. She says, "when we give a lesson on the present literature of England, we first show the causes of the change of taste, the spread of democratical and infidel principles from continental influence together with the evils occasioned by German mysticism. Writers are divided into their proper classes, the history of their lives given, some remarks on the good or evil influence of their works and concluding with a detailed account of some works of a Catholic tendency which might be useful in counteracting the influence of writers of a contrary tendency".

This statement was no doubt the result of discussions taking place between the Sisters, and scattered throughout the monthly reports, are other comments which show that consideration was being given to principles and methods of teaching. A note on the teaching of Geography mentions a course of lectures which is to include a short outline of Astronomy, the diagrams for which are to be shown in the large magic lantern. The students are to practise drawing maps from memory to familiarise them with the topography and, when they study a new region, they should hear about explorers, travellers and missionaries. Mother Connolly's attitude to the current practice of requiring a great deal of memorisation from children has already been mentioned. Though the programme of study for both children and students involves more memory work than modern practice would approve, there is constant emphasis on the need for understanding. This is reiterated in the "Book of Studies"¹ and two letters of Mother Connolly illustrating the point may be quoted. The first one is to her sister-in-law, Mrs. John Bowen, in America.² After outlining her own daily life, she speaks of her methods of teaching, "We teach our children in each branch vocally before giving them books and this makes them understand without getting into a puzzle". Again in a letter to Mr. Marshall³ in 1858 in reply to a request for information about the St. Leonard's methods of training, she said, "Cultivating the understanding and the judgement rather than the memory has been the first point upon which instructions have turned during the past two years. I do not mean that the memory has not been cultivated, but simply it has held a subservient position

1. Printed for private circulation 1863.
2. Mayfield Papers. Collection of Mother Connolly's Letters.
No date for this letter.
3. Ditto. Jan. 17th, 1858.

to the understanding and the judgement". In this letter also she gives a very formidable list of historical topics studied by the students in the same period; this includes the rise and progress of English Law, the hereditary succession of the English monarchs, the Feudal System and so forth. The students had read portions of Lingard's History and some biographies, but these are not named. This emphasis on the need for understanding occurs constantly in the lecturers' reports, showing that there was a genuine attempt to put more reliance on this and less on memory work, but there was nevertheless a good deal of commenting on the textbook and learning notes, as the following remark of Sister Francis Xavier in 1856 ¹ shows, "The students have repeated Switzerland, Spain and Portugal". But it was hard work at times; Sister Angela says "They are very dull and slow and make wonderful mistakes in their compositions", when speaking of History. Of the same subject in the next year, "No principles, cause and effect not noticed. No notice of the influence of certain reigns and courts. Facts rather poor".² Sister Theophila, later Principal herself, wrote in her report on Arithmetic that by 12 o'clock, her voice is so tired that she gives the students exercises to work.³

But this attempt to lessen the burden of learning by heart was not fashionable in the mid-nineteenth century and was to lead to difficulties, which will be dealt with later in the chapter.

In both colleges time was allotted each week to written examinations; at St. Leonards from the opening of the college in

1. Mayfield Papers. M.10 September 1856 and M.18 Comments on an exam. held on May 25th, 1857.
2. Mayfield Papers M.18. Mark list for an examination held March 25th, 1857, contains these comments.
3. Mayfield Papers. September, 1858.

1856, there was a regular system of monthly examinations,¹ when all written work, maps, drawings and needlework had to be produced for inspection and four question papers answered. The questions were given out on the Thursday before the first Friday of each month and the answers written from memory on the two following days. Each paper lasted three hours and marks were given for penmanship, spelling and punctuation, style and substance; grades A.B. and C denoted good work and X.Y and Z the reverse. In addition there were also weekly essays often written on Sundays; in this case it seems to have been a different subject each week. An entry in the report book dated February 25th 1860 says, "The new First Year Students wrote their weekly paper on History". The main faults are said to be absence of facts, bad punctuation and bad spacing. Interspersed with the marks for these tests are comments, often very forthright, on the students' general behaviour. Naturally the quiet well-behaved girls excite no remarks other than, "Good" or "Promising", but some of the other comments were of this nature, H.F. "Vulgar", A.S. "Giddy", M.A.C. "Very eccentric". Another M.A.C. "lies abed", and A.M.C. is "too sensitive".

The early timetables for the two colleges differ in the amount of time devoted to drawing and music; both subjects were certainly not neglected at Liverpool, but St. Leonards spent much more time on both.² In the middle of the nineteenth century when there was much criticism of the prevailing standards of girls' education, many of the reformers greatly deplored the amount of time the middle class girl spent in the pursuit of accomplishment in these subjects, the only object of which seemed to be to make her more attractive in the marriage market, as a consequence, some of the pioneers in women's education and some also of the teaching Sisters, felt so strongly the waste of time and the incitement to vanity and superficiality, that they could not tolerate the teaching of

1. Mayfield Papers. M.18.

2. Timetables in the appendices 4a and 4b.

music or drawing at all in their schools. Mother Connolly, on the other hand, included both in the regular curriculum and would certainly have agreed with those who thought that the teaching of music in the elementary school had a refining effect on the children. She was no mean artist herself and considered drawing a Christian art, worthy of serious cultivation by all educated women and with art, she coupled fine needlework of which the students did a great deal, ranging from simple garments to the most elaborate Church embroidery. She made it a rule that all students who had any talent should take the full Drawing Certificate of the Science and Art Department¹ and, as long as the college lasted, there was a number of successful candidates each year and in the reports there is frequent mention of the prizes of books and paintboxes² that they won. Some students had obviously not done much before they came to college and there were no doubt others like Lizzie B. in 1858,³ who surprised her Mother by taking home a pair of canvas slippers, two 'splendid bouquets of wool flowers and a beautiful cushion'; it sounds very Victorian, but represented a real effort on Lizzie's part, as she had done no handwork before.

1. See M.10 Note in Mother Coundley's handwriting that all students who have talent should work for the Drawing Certificate.
2. See M.10 February 1860. Results published of full "D" Certificates and large number of prizes - books, paintboxes and drawing instruments awarded.
3. See M.10 July 22nd, students went home for the holidays, one of those was Lizzie B.

But in 1861 and 1862 there were changes; the timetables¹ published in the Committee of Council reports indicate a considerable reduction of the amount of time devoted to Art and Music. Music dropped from six hours to two in 1861 and to three quarters of an hour in 1862, while in 1861 two hours were allotted to Art instead of the previous eight and in 1862, even this was reduced to one and a half hours. There is a curious period of five and a quarter hours put down to "Maps" - possibly the drawing of elaborate and decorative maps which seems to have been a feature of Mother Connolly's private schools. The time thus freed went to Religious Instruction, School Management and classes in the theory of Domestic Economy. The reasons for this change of policy, which co-incided with the decision to give up French and Latin for the Queen's Scholars, are not to be found in poor examination results, since in 1860 it was reported that the proportion of First Class passes in the certificate examination was greater at Liverpool and St. Leonards than at any other college except Whitelands and Borough Road.²

The main reason for these changes was undoubtedly the poorer results that the St. Leonards students were getting in the Religious Knowledge examination as compared with those at Liverpool.³ An examination of the timetable in 1860⁴ will reveal that Liverpool was giving nine hours each week to Religious Knowledge, but that St. Leonards gave only five. When the results were reported at the annual meeting of the CP.S.C. there was some discussion of the differences and the comment made that Mother Connolly intended to increase the amount of

1. See timetable in the appendix. 5a,b & c.
2. Reported at Catholic Poor School Committee meeting 1861.
3. They obtained very few first class passes and a very high proportion of thirds.
4. Appendix 5a.

time given to the subject. The letters and papers at Mayfield, however, show that these colourless words concealed great perturbation and much heart searching. At first each college had been examined independently at the same time as they had their examinations in secular subjects and the examiner for Religious Knowledge was the diocesan inspector. But in 1860 it was decided that both colleges should have the same examiner and that the results should be compared. Apparently it had to be at the time agreed upon by Liverpool and Dr. Grant, the Bishop in whose diocese St. Leonards was situated, was most anxious that the examination should come after that of the Committee of Council's in secular subjects. However it seems that it had to come before.

St. Leonards' lack of success led the Bishop to write to Mother Connolly, criticising the college's method of teaching; he evidently felt that because the teaching was shared between the Sisters and the Chaplain, it was not properly co-ordinated and that the students were afraid to ask the latter questions, though why this should be so is not explained. He had the college timetable before him and had noticed the greater amount of time allowed at Liverpool for Religious Knowledge and also that ^{at} St. Leonards the time for private study was not allocated to particular subjects. It was of course in line with Mother Connolly's principles to trust the students' discretion, but Dr. Grant thought they would not necessarily prepare their work thoroughly for Mr. Bamber, the chaplain and would give more time to

studying for the government examination. It was as a matter of fact a poor reflection on the students to think they had so little sense of responsibility about their religion. He advised Mother Connolly to find out what was done at the men's college and at Liverpool and then send him a timetable which would show how much time was spent on every subject and the way in which "all were harmonised and religion put first".

Mother Connolly made the enquiries as suggested because in the Mayfield archives there is a long article marked 'Private', which illustrated the difference between her methods and those used at Liverpool. The writer of the article, which is unsigned and not in Mother Connolly's handwriting, begins by saying that if the Managers at St. Leonards want the same results as Liverpool, they must realise that the Liverpool system is one of cramming. She says this is admitted by the Liverpool Sisters and by the examiner, Mr. Wenham, who had commented on the 'striking similarity' of the Liverpool answers. The Liverpool Sisters contended, she continued, and the present authorities agree with them, that this ensures accuracy and is more suited to the general run of students. However, according to the writer, this is to "confound substantial accuracy with verbal conformity and to sacrifice the judgement for the sake of the artificial cultivation of the memory".

But in the event, the St. Leonards' Sisters felt they could not let their students suffer by comparison with the Liverpool ones and various arrangements were made to meet the situation. More time was to be given to the subject and classes were never to be interrupted for any reason. When the Chaplain could not take his class, the time was to be made up later; even Benediction was not to interfere with classes, since this could be at 8. p.m. The amount to be learnt by heart was carefully laid down and extra time for study and revision was to be allotted on Sundays and feast days. A plan¹ of the Sunday activities given in another part of the book shows how closely packed the timetable was. The students were also to be encouraged to form catechetical circles for the private study of doctrine. Finally, since the Liverpool students carried away so many marks for teaching, the students should practise teaching Catechism lessons in the school at every opportunity and perhaps a Sunday School could be established.

This document was obviously written for the benefit of the Sisters and probably represents the results of their own thinking and the consultations Mother Connolly had with Liverpool and with the men's college. It could not of course have been published. No doubt the recommendations were all put into effect, but the college did not remain in existence long enough for any results to be seen.

1. See plan appendix 5.

It is evident also from the report books that when the Religious Knowledge examination was approaching, considerable modifications were made in the ordinary timetable in order to give more time for revision and this is in itself a measure of the distress these comparisons must have caused Mother Connolly and of the tension arising from the determination to keep to her principles of teaching and at the same time satisfy the criticisms made by Bishop Grant and the C.P.S.C.. Two extracts from the report books in 1860 will serve as illustrations; in August of that year the students had written examination papers every Sunday on Church History and Christian Doctrine alternately. In September there is a note to the effect that the hours for secular subjects had with few exceptions, been devoted to Religious Knowledge in preparation for Mr. Wenham's visit on October 22nd. There is a new timetable to operate from November 30th from which this subject has been dropped until the government examinations had taken place, evidently compensation! Two years later came the following entry:- "The whole of the first week was spent on regular work, more private study and practical arithmetic and the time formerly devoted to Doctrine now being spent on secular subjects and Drawing".

Just as the colleges had a great deal of liberty in planning the academic side of their work, so they could make their own decisions about the amount of time given to the study of school management and to practice in schools and as a result there was for a long time much diversity.

Since most students had been pupil teachers, they had acquired at any rate a superficial competence in managing classes of children and unless the professional part of their course presented them with a new approach, they could well resent too much time being taken from their academic work. This was the more likely since success in the examination depended almost exclusively on passing in these subjects; there was only one paper in School Management and students gave a lesson before the Inspector. The only college which in the early 1850s had a coherent and intelligible scheme of professional preparation was the Home and Colonial Society's college in London, which was greatly praised by Mr. Cook in his 1851 Report.¹ This college had what all Inspectors continued for a long time to advocate, both a Practising school and a Model School. In the former the students themselves taught and in the latter they could see all the best methods worked out for their imitation. However, the general practice seems to have been for there to be only a Practising School where students taught and 'model' lessons were given either by the Head Teacher or the Mistress of Method. The Inspector gave an account of the time devoted to professional studies in some of the Anglican colleges and noted that it varied from one hour a week to fifteen and a half hours. Rich, in his book "The Training of Teachers"² gives in tabulated form the results of a later enquiry by Mr. Cook, which shows that the

1. Rev. F.C.Cook. Report to the Committee of Council 1851. p.327.
2. P. 165 Rich. Training of Teachers, Cambridge. 1933.

hours given to practice in a number of colleges were between seventy at Salisbury, and three hundred and forty at Whitelands and the Home and Colonial Society's¹ college for students who had already been fifteen months in college. However, in the report of the Newcastle Commission,² though it was admitted that by 1861 there was more uniformity of practice, there was a very frank and detailed account of the training colleges from which it is evident that comparatively little time was still given to school work and the study of education and that, though the students worked hard, their work was mechanical, and they left college with minds overburdened with information but with little taste for further study.

The Catholic Women's colleges were not likely to underestimate the need to prepare students for their work in schools; the Sisters on the college staffs were in close and constant contact with those working in the elementary schools, even if they themselves had not worked in such schools. In 1860 the Sisters of Notre Dame had in the North of England alone, charge of 38 departments with 4,809 children, 22 certificated teachers and 88 apprentices. A large number of these schools were in Liverpool and the Sisters conducting them lived at the house in Mount Pleasant in constant association with college staff and students. Others were in the industrial towns of south-east Lancashire, within easy reach of Liverpool. The Holy Child Sisters were not equally favoured by circumstances, since the college at St. Leonards was in a part of Sussex with a very small Catholic population and had therefore only a very small practising school, but nevertheless the Sisters conducted elementary schools in London and other parts of the country and had in all 14 departments with 6 certificated teachers and 23 pupil teachers. It is important to realise also that they were well informed about continental methods and the work of such orders as the Christian Brothers, the Brothers of Charity and of course, the Society of Jesus.

1. C. Of Council Mr. Cook's report p.318 ff.
2. Newcastle Commission Report V.I. p. 97 ff.

Until the closure of the college at St. Leonards in 1863, this inadequate practising school was a constant subject of criticism, in 1859,¹ Mr. Marshall made the mild remark that the school was too small, but that former students are doing well in large London schools and were remarkable for the personal influence they had on their pupils. However in 1860 Mr. Stokes was more definite in his criticisms;¹ the primary school was held in a room which could not be approved. The attendance was poor, the pupils were of all ages in the one room and some came from the boarding school. In any case the students were not seeing enough of the school and the second year students ought to spend more time there; he wanted to see them giving lessons in every elementary subject under proper supervision until they had achieved some success and their more serious defects had been eliminated. He returned to the charge the next year and this time asked how much the nuns charged the pupils; he quite obviously suspects because of the presence of the boarders that it was not a school for children of the labouring class but a middle school. If it were of the latter type it was not eligible for grant. The nuns apparently did not tell him what the fees were, but assured him that the boarders were poor children who came from a small school they supported for children whose parents were in distressed circumstances and who would not otherwise be able to give them even an elementary education. One gets the impression that he was not quite satisfied with the explanation.

1. Mr. Marshall, report to the Committee of Council 1959 - only 60 - 70 children, most of them very young. p.421
2. Mr. S.N.Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1860. p. 382.

As late as 1860¹ the Inspectors were lamenting the lack of a good Infant School at Mount Pleasant, since more than half of the applications of managers were for infant school teachers and very few indeed could be considered suitably qualified. This is a rather curious comment because only the previous year the C.P.S.C. had given Mount Pleasant a grant towards the building of a new Practising School which was to have accommodation for infants and the Inspectors must have known this. The existing school is described as a well taught one of one hundred girls, and the students had access to two Catholic Schools in the town where they could obtain some practice. Like all inspectors of that time, he felt, however, that the students had not been adequately trained unless they had practised under the close supervision of the Mistress of Method in a school where she was in complete control with furniture, apparatus, timetable, registers and books illustrative of her methods. Not only would the students see her teach but they would also hear her lectures on her methods which would be in exact conformity with her principles. All this would be readily accessible to the students at all times. Mr. Stokes is here advocating a system based entirely on direct imitation and leaving little scope for individual initiative or intelligent understanding, except among the few who had more critical minds and perhaps more background for personal judgements.

1. Mr. Stokes - report to the Committee of Council 1860 p. 382

To prove their competence as teachers, the students gave lessons before the Inspector; this was not as now, in the regular course of a period of practice with a particular class, but an isolated exercise prepared specially for the occasion. However, in fairness to the students, it must be realised that they would know the Practising School and its children well. Before the test took place, the Principal of the college sent to the Inspector a report testifying to the competence of each student in Needlework, Housekeeping and Music, both in singing and playing an instrument. This report also contained what was known as 'The Teaching Schedule' which was to be filled up by the College authorities for the use of the Inspector. This document was a list of the students and the lessons they intended to teach, with columns for marks in Manner, Arrangement, Illustration and Language, but there is no mention of the age of the children being taught. From one of these forms surviving at Mayfield, it is apparent that not all students could play an instrument and sing and also that in addition to the usual plain needlework, some students there were proficient in embroidery, point lace and gola work.. To show the type of lesson often given, it will be sufficient to give details of two students, examined in 1860; M. Gray gave three lessons....1)Iron, 2) Complex Sentences (lasting 30 minutes), 3) The History of Commerce, and E. Cowlan another three... 1) Minerals of England, 2) Division of Fractions(lasting 25 minutes), 3) Distribution of Plants. The former, who in the April of that year Sister Angela had been described as 'being overcome by timidity' when giving a lesson to such an extent that it was decided not to count it, was given the mark, 'Very Fair', and her companion, evidently a hardier character, 'Good'.

Mr. Stokes realised the limitations of this type of examination and made some forthright criticisms¹ of the kind of lessons given by the students, but he never seems to have grasped that within the existing system there was no effective remedy. In 1860 he declared that the gallery lessons were not a good test of the students' competence since the real province of the elementary school was instruction in reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic and students should be judged on their capacity to teach these well. In any case, he said, the gallery lessons were going out of fashion and simultaneous answering was now discouraged. Because Practising School children were usually bright and well-informed, the student was tempted to be over-ambitious and prepare 'show lessons' that would have little value in a more average school. In such cases the inspector was placed in the dilemma of not knowing whether to give a high mark or a low one to such lessons. To make the test more realistic, he decided to make a change in the method of examination; he seems to have wanted to have six students at work in the practising school at once. Two were to give quiet lessons on reading, writing, dictation or written arithmetic, while two others were to give lessons in mental arithmetic, grammar, geography or history. At the same time the remaining pair would be busy writing copies and putting sums on the board. He expected it would take an hour for him to see all this and each student would give two lessons. It is not very easy to envisage how it was all carried out in the time, but at that period all the classes would most likely be in the one room and he does not say either what proportion of students he would examine under this system. He still

1. Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1860. p. 382

wanted to retain the gallery lesson for infants.

The new scheme was tried out in 1861 at the men's college at Hammersmith with what Mr. Stokes considered satisfactory results. He does not say definitely that he used the same system at Liverppol, but there is quite a full description of the examination. The students, who, unlike those of most colleges, had never been restricted for their practice to the actual Practising School, gave some of their lessons there, but also gave others in St. Peter's Infant School and to children from neighbouring school in the college lecture room. In the evening they had to show their skill in teaching young pupil teachers and candidates for apprenticeship. The teaching of infants received high praise as, 'extremely interesting and skilful'; it was difficult to get good teachers of infants and apart from the Home and Colonial Society's college, for a long time no other college gave much thought to the problem.

It was one of the more painful duties of the lecturers themselves to give lectures to the students and model lessons to the children in front of the inspectors. In 1860, Mr. Stokes mentions the excellence of the lessons given by Miss Hunt, Mistress of Method at St. Leonards. About one lesson given on logical grammar, to the students one presumes, he said, 'the matter was as solid as the manner was graceful'. On the same occasion, however, he gave it as his opinion that the children must be of poor intelligence because they 'received her polished lesson with listless indifference'. This criticism strikes oddly on our ears and suggests that he was far too occupied with subject matter and somewhat insensitive to the real capacities and needs of the children. The next

1. Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1860. p. 380.

year he was a little kinder and excuses the children's poor performance on account of a great storm.¹ In 1861, however, he declared that the staff at the college were 'strikingly powerful and effective'² The Sisters at Mound Pleasant seem to have come off better in this particular trial since the 1860 Report praises the lessons given by Sister Mary of St. Philip and Sister Mary Evangeline, the Headmistress of the Practising School and makes no criticisms.

In 1861³ and 1862 the Annual Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee contained articles from St. Leonards and Mount Pleasant respectively, describing the methods of professional training in use at the two colleges. Their publication in the report was no doubt meant to show the subscribers and the clergy the excellence of the students' training and thus encourage the latter to put their schools under trained teachers and apply for the Government grant. The Committee was always anxious that as many schools as possible would qualify for the grant and so leave a greater proportion of their funds available for the really poor and struggling schools. But the articles are most valuable in showing that the two colleges had endeavoured to work out what Mr. Cook said was necessary, 'a definite and intelligible system of training'; these systems must have been developed over a period of several years, since such carefully thought out plans could scarcely have originated overnight. In any case, the draft of the St. Leonards' scheme is to be found in the Mayfield papers and dated 1858.

1. Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1861. p. 362.
2. Ditto p. 360
3. Found also in the Inspectors' Reports to the Committee of Council in those years.

According to the St. Leonards' scheme, the second year students took charge of the Practising School for a fortnight at a time; during this period, supervised by the Mistress of Method, they gave lessons to each class in turn. The object of this was to enable them to make contact with children at each stage of their development. Twice during the fortnight, the other students came to the school to watch the one in charge either at work on the normal timetable or giving a 'model lesson'. They were told to observe such points as the arrangement of subject matter, the use of illustrations, the tone of voice and language of the teacher, her skill in keeping the class active and attentive. After school the students and Mistress of Method adjourned to the lecture room where a full discussion of the work took place. In these class periods they considered the arrangement of lessons for the different divisions and classes, the distribution of teaching power, e.g. the lessons to be delegated to the pupil teachers and those reserved to the mistress. Other important matters dealt with were, the supervision of pupil teachers, the manner of correcting the faults of the children and finally the care of the registers. A quaint touch is that the students must understand the use of signals, the wooden clapper used in giving commands. At other times during their second year, the students took charge of the school for a day a week, but at this point the account becomes somewhat ambiguous and it is difficult to know what is intended. But there is no doubt about the last activity demanded of the students; once a week they accompanied the Mistress of Method to the school to overlook the cleaning of the room, the arrangement of maps and pictures, the correction of copy books and dictation exercises and to supply the children's class boxes with materials for the following week. Miss Hunt finishes by

explaining that the college was well satisfied with the plan, but that in the next year there would be two additional hours for model lessons and criticism lessons which the first years would attend as observers only; this scheme was of academic interest only since the college closed within two years, but it does show thoughtful planning and an anxiety to give the students the best training compatible with the limitations of the school. It shows also a concern that the students should try to understand something of the children and not just be preoccupied with teaching them. It was also in line with Mother Connolly's teaching and agrees with the comments on methods of teaching found in the report books¹.

The Mount Pleasant scheme published the following year is different in several respects from the forgoing; it is in any case a much more detailed survey and shows how the lectures on the methods of teaching the main subjects of the elementary school curriculum were integrated with the school work. Apparently the Liverpool students did not, like those at St. Leonards, have a period of continuous practice in school, but went regularly several times a week for some hours in the day. The timetable analysis of 1863 gives three and a half hours in the first year and twelve hours in the second, which seems to accord very well with the information in the article.

The two years were divided into four periods of six months, in each of which a particular aspect of school work was treated. In the first part of their course, the students had lectures on the theory of teaching and occasionally listened to lessons by second year students and by the Mistress of Method. In the second half of

1. The Sisters, when writing their monthly reports, constantly stress the importance of understanding work, before it is committed to memory. Some of the books were so difficult for the students, e.g. Flanagan's History - that progress was very slow and almost every photograph had to be explained.

the year the lectures were on the teaching of the three Rs and to study the practical application, there were visits in parties of six or eight, accompanied by a governess, to the Practising School or to other schools in Liverpool. For the first six weeks, the students just observed and wrote accounts of what they had seen; in the latter part they gave reading and dictation lessons to the infants and lower classes of girls. This teaching was supervised but at this stage the students were not given detailed criticisms of their work. In the first half of the second year they spent whole mornings or afternoons in school and at one stage went in small groups to teach first in an infants' school and then in a girls' school. They kept to the same class for a fortnight and at the end of the period the children were tested to see what they had learnt. In addition to teaching themselves they observed the Sisters teaching children and pupil teachers. Each Wednesday there was the solemn ritual of the 'model Lesson', given by the Mistress of Method or her assistant and on each Friday the still more awe-inspiring criticism lesson at which the whole staff and second year students attended. Their pupils on these occasions were the children from the Practising School. It is extraordinary to us, looking back, that neither the Sisters nor the Inspectors felt the unreality of these lessons; we do in fact find inspectors impressing on colleges the value they held for the students and the importance of all the staff being present. It is amazing that Mr. Stokes who had such a good eye for the pretentious and the sham, should never have realised how these particular exercises lend themselves to all he disliked. For the first three months, the lessons were given on different stages of teaching the three Rs and in the second might be on more advanced arithmetic, grammar and occasionally on history, geography or 'common objects'. The students also did some teaching in night schools and Sunday schools where they would be teaching reading as well as giving Religious Instruction. After the Inspector's visit for their Final Examination, there was only one afternoon a week spent in school.

The scheme was a masterpiece of carefully co-ordinated team-work

and aimed to provide the students with as wide an experience of different types of schools as possible. It went some way to meet the criticisms of inspectors made directly to the colleges or contained in the Report of the Newcastle Commission. Mr. Stokes did, however, want the Mistress of Method to have complete control over what the students did in school so the visits for observation and teaching to other schools, supervised by other teachers might not have met with his entire approval, but from a present day point of view, it was an advantage in that it gave them a wider and richer experience than the students at St. Leonards or any of the smaller Church of England colleges. As far as we know the only schools used, besides the Practising School, were those in charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame, though there were other communities at work in Liverpool. Thus to whatever school they went, the pattern would be much the same and the methods as nearly like those in the Practising School as possible. Still the children would be different, the schools of different sizes and each Sister made her own special mark on her school. The students were in fact being carefully prepared for what they would have to do when they began teaching and it must not be forgotten that they would in almost every case become headmistresses on leaving college and not only have to teach and organise their schools, but also prepare pupil teachers and perhaps run night schools and Sunday schools as well.

The plans outlined above are concerned almost exclusively with methods of preparing students to teach in schools and neither the official syllabus nor the book list recommended by the Committee of Council suggest any attention to broad philosophical principles underlying educational practice and it is difficult, at this distance of time, to get any idea of the extent to which these were introduced

into the usual course on School Management, particularly at this early stage of the colleges' existence. Inspectors¹ of all denominations were divided in their opinions as to the possibility of helping students to develop a more philosophic outlook or an insight into what was then known as mental science. The chief difficulties were the absence of textbooks sufficiently simple, yet reliable enough for the students to use and the fact that most lecturers were either themselves unaware of the students' need for this kind of study, or not sufficiently capable of mediating the results of their own thinking and reading to the students in terms they could understand. The list of books available for study by the Mount Pleasant students and quoted in the inspector's report for 1856 is quite a long one for the number of students and was no doubt increased as time went on, but it is not much more than a list of textbooks and works of reference. There was another collection of books for general reading, but how large is not stated nor is there any list of its contents. The nuns had their own libraries for spiritual reading and private study; they were well versed in literature and widely read in history and religious doctrine, but they had not undergone a systematic course of study in philosophy. However, they had many contacts with the more learned Catholic clergy of the day and as a result of their deep spiritual formation, their wide culture and their contacts with educational thought and practice both in England and abroad must have been able to lead some of the more intelligent of their students to think deeply about the more fundamental problems underlying their work in school. But for all, the fostering of their vocation as Catholic teachers in institutions

1. Rich. 'Training of Teachers. Cambridge. 1933. P. 167. Also Committee of Council Minutes. 1854-5. p. 739 . 1854-55. p. 338. 1856 - 7. pp. 700-7.

with such many-sided activities as St. Leonards and Mount Pleasant must have done much to lift them from the narrowness of their Victorian working-class backgrounds and save them from that pedantry and pretentiousness which nineteenth century critics of training colleges averred were the results of their training. But of the examination results and the less measurable effects of the students' training in terms of success in school, more will be said later. However, before leaving this discussion of methods of training it must be acknowledged that, though the Sisters worked with unremitting zeal, they were not in fact innovators, but accepted the system as they found it and planned with far-sighted prudence to make the best use of it in the cause they had most at heart - the education of the Catholic poor.

CHAPTER III.THE REVISED CODE AND ATTENDANT PROBLEMS.

The careful planning of the students' work, the high quality and enthusiasm of their teachers resulted from the beginning in excellent examination results. In the fifteen years under review Mount Pleasant was outstanding for the number of students placed in the first division and for the very low rate of failure, and during the years of its existence St. Leonards was almost equally successful. When the first group of students from Liverpool were presented for examination in 1858 their results were:-

	<u>First Division.</u>	<u>Second Division.</u>
1st Year.	19	5
2nd Year.	8	7

It will be noticed that 27 out of the 39 were in the first division and that none were below the second. The results at St. Leonards were almost equally good:-

	<u>First Division.</u>	<u>Second Division.</u>	<u>Third Division.</u>
1st Year. ^{1st Y}	6	4	4
2nd Year.	5	2	2

Five St. Leonards' students and one from Liverpool obtained Drawing Certificates.

So good were Liverpool's results that Sir Francis Sandford, Secretary of the Committee of Council wrote to congratulate the nuns and Mr. Marshall declared "that it was unparalleled in the history of training colleges". Each subsequent year brought its triumphs in the shape of first division passes, and though there were students in the third division, the schedule

or even failures, the numbers of these were extraordinarily low. In 1863,¹ Liverpool had the highest percentage of first division passes in the Country.

All this was very gratifying not only to the nuns who had in the first place undertaken the work of training with so much trepidation, but to the students themselves and above all to the Catholic Poor School Committee who had urged on the Catholic body the imperative need of a supply of trained lay teachers to staff the schools for the Catholic poor. But if further proof of the value of the trained teachers were needed, it came in the shape of inspectors' reports on the ex-students of the College teaching in the schools. As early as 1859 Mr. Marshall² said of the teachers trained at St. Leonards that they "display as a body almost without exception a certain simplicity and generosity of character". In 1861 Mr. Morell³ discussing the schools in the Southern District commented on the general superiority of the trained teachers over the others and declared that many secular teachers, i.e. women who had been trained at Liverpool or at St. Leonards, were in all respects as competent as the members of the religious orders, to whom, however, they were indebted for their training. It was even possible for Mr. Stokes⁴ in 1860 to point out that, though the nuns were in general excellent in their conduct of Poor Schools, it was most important for communities to realise that teaching required certain essential qualifications in addition to religious zeal and that they should be careful not to extend themselves too much, thus running the risk of putting in less suitable teachers. The effect of this could only be harmful to Catholic education and would deprive well qualified lay teachers of positions with no compensating advantage to the children.

1. C.P.S.C. Report for 1863.

2. C.P.S.C. " " 1859 & Mr. Stokes' Report to the C. of Council
(1859. p. 421)

3. C.P.S.C. " " 1861

4. C.P.S.C. " " 1860

There is no doubt that the careful preparation received by many of the Pupil Teachers in their previous schools contributed to their success in College. It was an accepted part of the duty of Head Teachers in receipt of grant from the Committee of the Privy Council to instruct their Pupil Teachers and prepare them for the Inspector's examination, held in each year of their apprenticeship. For this part of their duties, they received an addition to their salaries, but to teach several Pupil Teachers all at different stages was by no means an easy task for the hard-pressed and often very young certificated master or mistress. The extract from the Report of the Newcastle Commission¹ frequently quoted in accounts of the Pupil Teacher System is too well known to reproduce, but it does give a grim but vivid picture of the average pupil teacher's life.

In the early days of the system for both teachers and apprentices alike, there was the obligation to stay on after the normal school hours for special teaching by the Head Master or Mistress and attending on Saturday mornings, and even Sundays. Unless the teacher was unusually able and well equipped, the instruction was likely to be dull and pedestrian, relying too much on note learning from rather arid text books. The criticisms levelled at Pupil Teachers as ignorant, yet pedantic and pretentious, were not without point and though the experience in school might give them facility in handling classes of children, the want of a proper system of secondary education was a serious weakness in all the students of nineteenth century training colleges. Nor was this all, the heavy pressure resulted in much hardship and ill-health. As Mr. Stokes² noticed in 1860, there was much sickness among pupil teachers and it was difficult to get young people who were sufficiently robust and able to stand hard work. He impressed on managers the importance of attention to the ventilation of the classrooms and the provision of seats for young pupil teachers.

1. Report of the Newcastle Commission Vol.1. p.104 evidence Mr. Proctor of Bevonport.
2. C.P.S.C. Report for 1860.

But the chief criticism of pupil teachers was however of their ignorance; college lecturers and inspectors complained frequently of their lack of knowledge of even the most elementary subjects of the curriculum and of the impossibility of widening the students' background and indeed of producing even a minimum level of attainment. Towards the end of the Century, after the establishment of School Boards and also as a result of private initiative, Pupil Teacher Centres were established to enable apprentices to be grouped into classes and have more specialised tuition. At first attendance was limited to after school hours and Saturday mornings, but eventually, particularly in the larger towns Pupil Teachers spent whole days at the centres and divided their time equally between school and centre. In 1882¹, Mr. Mundella, speaking at Liverpool, said that a claim had been made for the London County Council as pioneers in this field, but that the credit of beginning the system of collective teaching of Pupil Teachers must go to the Sisters of Notre Dame.

The Liverpool Centre was already in existence before the opening of the Training College; about twenty of the girls were boarders and there were certainly day students, girls who attended in the evenings and on Saturdays and Sundays. Later the numbers rose and there were as many as seventy or eighty residents. A pupil teacher² who came to Liverpool for the first scholarship examination in 1855 wrote "Our first month spent in Mount Pleasant was in the Pupil Teachers' Home..... about 20 pupil teachers in residence, nice agreeable girls who made the recreations very pleasant for us. A kind homely little Sister seemed to us to have charge of them. They all loved her and well they might, for they had a good Mother in Sister M. Francis". In 1857 five Pupil Teachers who had been teaching with the Sisters for some time in the 'Poor Schools' were apprenticed in the Practising School. Not a great deal is known about

1. Mr. Mundella - Vice President of the Ed. Department on the occasion of the distribution of prizes given by the Liverpool Council of Education in St. George's Hall, Liverpool. Quoted in the "Life of Sister Mary of St. Philip", By S.N.D. Longmans, 1920. Chapter IX.
2. Quoted in material prepared for Centenary brochure 1956.
3. Ditto.

about the early days of the Centre which remained in existence until 1907, but there are a few entries in the Mount Pleasant Annals and scattered references in the Inspectors' reports. The entry in the Annals ¹ for Feb. 16th, 1859, records that "Monseigneur", our Bishop, accompanied by several preists, came to give the prizes to our Pupil Teachers". In July of the same year, "Sister Superior went to see all the Poor Schools and to hear the lessons given by the Pupil Teachers." Eight years later the following remark indicates a justifiable pride in the achievements of the Centre. "September 30th, 1867 - all the Pupil Teachers of Liverpool came for the Religious Examination list, and it was one of our Pupil Teachers who obtained the first place".² Like the students, the Pupil Teachers had their country walks, excursions to the sea, and picnics; one Ascension Day they went partly on foot and partly by train, with four Sisters to Woolton, where they visited the Poor School and the Church, returning to College about 6 o'clock".

Their domestic arrangements were closely linked with those of the College and one reason why the Students were not expected to do any work in the kitchen was that meals for Sisters, Students and Pupil Teachers were prepared in the same kitchen and a large Belgian stove was used.³

This method of training pupil teachers had many advantages; as the girls and Sisters taught at several schools in Liverpool, the numbers involved made it possible to arrange the different years in classes and to introduce a measure of specialisation in teaching. The Sisters who were Headmistresses fulfilled their obligation to the Committee of Council by teaching pupil teachers for the prescribed number of hours, but were not obliged to deal with all subjects at each stage. As a result the level of instruction was higher and there was less fatigue and less waste of time. Arrangements on this scale would of course only be put into operation in towns like Liverpool, where the Sisters taught in a number

1. Quoted in material prepared for Centenary brochure. 1956.
2. From material prepared for Centenary Brochure 1956. Evidently means that the Pupil Teachers, who lived in Liverpool, came to the College to get their results.
3. C.P.S.C. Report 1860 also Mr. Stokes report to the Committee of Council 1860. p. 386.

of schools, but it was a common practice for nuns teaching in Poor Schools everywhere to board some of their Pupil Teachers, and where they taught in several towns in a school, to provide collective instruction for them. The Sisters of Notre Dame opened a second convent in 1869 at Everley^{ton} Valley, Liverpool, and included with it a Pupil Teachers' residence. Pupil Teachers were also boarded at their other Convents in Lancashire, in London, and in other parts of the country, and ~~their~~^{other} religious orders did the same; in 1853 the Holy Child Nuns opened the Convent at Winckley Square, Preston, which became a well known Pupil Teachers' Centre. Though not much detail is available of the organisation of these centres in the period up to 1870, the Inspectors speak well of them. In 1858, Mr. Stokes², discussing the disparity in numbers between male and female Catholic Pupil Teachers, of whom there were only 127 boys and 298 girls, mentions that many female pupil teachers reside with their teachers and have better opportunities of being prepared for the Queen's Scholarship examination. In this connection he speaks highly of the pupil teachers trained by the Religious Orders; of forty-seven girls who gained scholarships in 1858, six had not been Pupil Teachers, and of the rest, twenty-one had been brought up by nuns, chiefly Sisters of Notre Dame and Holy Child Sisters. He goes on to say that the best results are obtained where the Notre Dame Sisters board and lodge pupil teachers during their apprenticeship.

For many years to come, while the College at Liverpool had no difficulty in filling its places with well qualified candidates, the Men's College at Hammersmith had to resort to preparatory classes, assistance with railway fares to the scholarship examination, and special awards to masters whose pupil teachers obtained good results, to get even a small number of indifferently trained candidates.

1. Newcastle Commission Report, 1861. Evidence of Mr. Howson on Liverpool V IV p. 385.
- .2. CP.S.C. Report 1858.

It is not very easy to discover what the nuns charged for boarding the Pupil Teachers; the girls received stipends varying from £10 for the first year of their apprenticeship to £20 for the fifth year, but this would hardly cover their maintenance. Several advertisements in the Catholic Directory, inserted by the Holy Child Nuns¹, gave a fee of £17-20 for girls who are being trained as Pupil Teachers. If that was the usual fee, the girls parents would have to supplement the stipend and would in addition have to provide an outfit. This in itself may indicate that the girls were from a rather better class of home than the boys, for there is constant complaint not only about the fewness of the recruits among boys, but of their poverty. In 1857² Mr. Marshall, after speaking of the position of the girls, goes on to say that the boys seem to come from poorer homes; their clothes are barely decent and many can hardly afford the journey to London for the Scholarship Examination. Few live with their masters and their training is superficial and perfunctory. This he attributes to the poor quality of the Catholic schoolmasters who are in general badly paid and not provided with proper houses. Several years later, in 1865,³ after the introduction of the Revised Code, which had among other effects, the decrease in the number of Pupil Teachers and of their stipends, he again takes up the contrast between the male and female pupilteachers and mentions the confidence placed by Catholic parents in the Headmistresses who treat their pupil teachers in a kind and friendly way so that the girls are happy and contented, while many of the boys break off their apprenticeship to take up other more remunerative work.

1. Catholic Directory 1851. An advertisement for the School at St. Leonards gives a fee of £50, but then says that girls above 13 will be trained in the parish schools as pupil teachers for a fee of £18 per Annum.
2. C.P.S.C. Annual Report. See also C. of Council Minutes 1857. Mr. Marshall, p. 794. See also "The Schools for the People". G. Bartley, Bell & Daldy, 1871. The Male Pupil Teachers were of an inferior class to that of the female students. P. 469.
3. C. of Council Minutes. Mr. Stokes' Report on Roman Catholic Normal Schools. p.455.

It is therefore interesting at this point to consider in more detail from which parts of the Country and from which dioceses the pupil teachers came and if possible get some idea of the numbers from schools belonging to religious communities on the one hand and of those from schools under headmistresses. Fortunately there is some information available on both these points; in 1860 out of ninety-one candidates, fifty-five obtained Queen's Scholarships and the majority of these were drawn from the dioceses of Liverpool and Westminster.¹

In the 1862² report a detailed table of the numbers of apprentices and non-apprentices accepted at Liverpool for the years 1855-1862 is provided. It shows the steady increase in the number of students and also the small proportion of men pupil teachers who found their way to College - 60 candidates out of 359 were in that category. The Report goes on to explain that in that year there were 181 candidates from Lancashire, half of these from Liverpool, and the remaining 113 candidates from seventeen other counties. Twenty-two counties sent no candidates, because they had no Catholic schools large enough to employ pupil teachers. There were also ten Welsh Counties with no pupil teachers and twenty-seven Scottish counties similarly placed.

A more useful and detailed list was published in the year 1868³ Report, though this also applied to Mount Pleasant students only, since St. Leonards had closed in 1862. This gives the provenance of 623 candidates in the period 1855-67; there is the same pattern as in 1860 - 151 are from the Liverpool area - Manchester, London and Glasgow follow with 42, 39 and 26 candidates respectively. Next comes 20 from Edinburgh and Preston, and the total number is made up with smaller numbers from other localities. In this table the arrangement is by

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1860.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1861.
3. C.P.S.C. Report 1868. See also C. of Countil Minutes. Mr. Stokes' Report on Roman Catholic Normal Schools, p. 579 and 580.

towns not dioceses, but the North West is definitely ahead. The much smaller number from London is perhaps surprising, but from 1855-63, the College at St. Leonards was also taking candidates from the South of England. On the second point, the proportion of candidates from schools conducted by religious communities, there is in 1860¹ a table giving details of their schools in the North West of England, the district covered by Mr. Stokes as H.M.I. Out of a population of 19,394 Catholic children in inspected schools, 12,277 are in schools with nuns as headmistresses. They control 116 out of 180 departments and hold 62 out of 110 certificates; these last figures are interesting as they show that even in 1860, not all departments under government inspection had certificated teachers in charge and, despite all the compliments paid to the nuns, in the schools under secular teachers, a higher proportion had a trained certificated teacher in charge. Probably, though by no means certainly, the children referred to would be mostly girls, since apart from infants' classes and schools in small places, the usual practice was to have single sex schools. Another interesting conclusion from the table is the great variation from one community to another in the number of children and apprentices to each certificated teacher. From what has been said about boarding pupil teachers by the nuns, it is not surprising to notice that the Sisters of Notre Dame had 88 apprentices and were well ahead of all the other communities in this respect.

No information is given about the number of pupil teachers in schools conducted by lay teachers, so it is not possible to make a comparison with the nuns' schools. The only implication given is, that between 1855-60 of the 148 pupil teachers who gained Queen's Scholarships, 101 came from their schools and the remaining 47 were either prepared by lay headmistresses or had never been pupil teachers.

Every effort was made to attract good candidates to the Colleges, and realising that the Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee found its way to every presbytery and to the homes of subscribers, the Sisters at Liverpool¹ set out in the 1860 volume the conditions of admission to the Training College. For the most part these conditions would apply to any training college as the financial arrangements were the same for all. It is however clear that the college was trying to ensure that all students stayed for the full course of two years, by refusing, or at least being very unwilling to recommend as trained teachers, those who stayed for less. The six weeks probation period during which the student's fitness for teaching and her state of health were observed was a wise precaution at that time, when it was probably difficult to get accurate and sufficiently detailed reports from headmistresses and local doctors, not very familiar with the demands of the training college course. The candidates came to the college for the scholarship examination which took place in December, after the students-in-training had been examined; they were then expected to return home until the results were announced and return at the end of January for the opening of the College year. Apparently candidates were allowed to stay at the College from August or September until the Scholarship examination took place in order to do some intensive private study, but they had to pay £1.13. 4 a month for the privilege and were only admitted if the College had rooms to spare. This arrangement was different from the preparatory class at the Men's College at Hammersmith, where the candidates were boarded free of charge, at the expense of the Catholic Poor School Committee and the class was an emergency measure to get enough candidates. At Mount Pleasant there was no need to offer inducements, the candidates came. However, when it was possible

1. C.P.S.C. Annual Report, 1860. See also C. of Council Minutes 1859. Mr. Stokes' report on the Roman Catholic Training School. Liverpool p. 435 f,

See also Appendix 7.

to accommodate some candidates at the College for a few weeks before the examination took place, it was no doubt a welcome concession. There is no further reference to the arrangement in the available records, but the practice did continue for many years.

The short paragraphs on the outfit the incoming student was expected to provide shows that no concessions were made to female vanity and if any pupil teacher could have been stigmatised as "dressy" before she came to College, there was not much chance of her being so while in College. For very many years to come Mount Pleasant students wore black and the older generation to this day speak of the black dresses and coats worn when they were in College in the 1890s and of the tendency for young teachers to continue to wear the same sombre uniform. The Holy Child nuns at St. Leonards were more inclined to allow their pupils to have some choice of colour in their clothes, certainly Mother Connolly liked to see the girls in her boarding school in gay colours. Still it must be conceded that the imposition of a uniform was very general and though no doubt designed to discourage undue attention to dress, probably helped to inculcate standards of good taste and a sense of what was fitting in girls who had had little previous opportunity of learning.

The document about conditions of admission ~~ends~~^{ends} with the ~~statement~~ that the same terms apply in general to the College at St Leonards.

In the same report of the Catholic Poor School Committee¹ there was also published a letter to School Managers from the Superior of Mount Pleasant about the appointment of teachers, which is of great interest as a social document in showing the kind of conditions young women certificated teachers_^^{could} expect when they left College to take charge of schools. The tone of this circular is respectful, yet firm in its attitude to the school managers; the College knew the value of its young

1. Catholic Poor School Committee Report. 1860.
Also Appendix 8.

teachers and wished to provide them with places where they would be appreciated. Their College training had, it was hoped, rendered them efficient and instilled into them a sense of their high vocation and of the need for self-sacrifice in their labours for the Catholic poor, but the nuns expected that the managers for their part, would provide reasonable conditions of work and fair salaries. For those priests who could not come to the College and interview applicants in person, a questionnaire was provided with explanatory notes to enable both parties to the engagement to get a clear understanding of what was required. It was particularly important for the young teacher to know what she would be expected to do besides teaching in the school and training the pupil teachers. In many parishes her services were in demand to train the choir, play the organ and produce the annual concerts which were vital for the support of the school and a means of keeping the interest of parents in their children's progress.

Another very important parish activity could be the government inspected Night School; this was open to working boys and girls many of whom were often of course not more than nine or ten years of age when they first began to attend. These schools gave much needed instruction in the 3 R's, either consolidating what the children had begun to learn in the day school or for many, actually beginning their instruction; for the girls some needlework was included, but most important was the religious instruction; since the average length of attendance at the day schools was only two years and in most towns the Catholic population was so poor that few children stayed long at school, for many, knowledge of their religion depended in no small measure on what they could get from Sunday School and Night School. The high praise given by priests and inspectors to the Night Schools conducted by the Faithful Companion Sisters in Manchester¹ has already been mentioned and there is no doubt that a good

1. Life of the Viscountess de Bonnault D'Houet. Father Stanislaus.
Longmans. 1916. p. 229.

Night School was invaluable to the adolescents of a parish who had so few opportunities of recreation and such drab and fatiguing lives. We have seen that as part of their training, the students had helped the Sisters in the Liverpool Night School¹ and would know what was required. However, it is made plain that the teachers first duty was to her school and to her pupil teachers and that if she has to have charge of a Night School as well as instruct Pupil Teachers, there must be an Assistant Teacher.² The Assistant Teacher might be an ex-pupil teacher who had secured a place in College, or she might be a Probationer - a student of one year's standing in College who had usually, though not always passed the first year examination. The managers were reminded that such a teacher could be employed in place of two Pupil Teachers and that the Committee of Council would give a grant of £20 towards her salary.

The teachers duties having been made clear, the next matter for consideration is her salary. Apparently she could expect between £30 and £35 a year if lodgings were provided and from £40 - £45 if she was expected to find her own accommodation. According to the Committee of Council Minute of 1846 a scale of augmentation for certificated teachers was laid down as follows:-

For Men -

First Class Certificate (one year's training)	£15 or £20
Second Class Certificate (two years' training).	£20 or £25
Third Class Certificate (three years' training)	£25 or £30

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1862. Liverpool training scheme. Second Year students help with night schools & Sunday Schools. Reported by Mr. Stokes to C. of Council 1862 p. 287 ff.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1860. "Conditions of employment of mistresses from the Liverpool Training School". The Schoolmistress is not allowed to undertake a Night School as well as the instruction of apprentices, unless there is an Assistant".
3. The class of certificate depended on the number of years training - the students were arranged in divisions as a result of their examinations

Women received two-thirds of these amounts and in every case the managers were expected to provide an equal sum in salary and/or its cash equivalent. A woman leaving college after two years' training could expect to get two-thirds of £20 or £25, but in the period from 1846 - 1860 the amount usually provided by the managers had obviously increased as the sums mentioned are definitely said to be exclusive of the augmentation grant. In 1860¹ the average salary was stated to be £30 plus lodgings, presumably this does not include the augmentation grant which would bring the total up to about £45. This salary though not princely was not an inadequate one; apparently furnished rooms suitable for a teacher could be obtained for between £10 and £15 a year and if we go by the amounts charged for residence at Mount Pleasant - six shillings a week for students who were sent home at the end of the six weeks probation, it appears that the teacher could feed herself adequately for another £15 a year.

1. C.P.S.C. Report. "Conditions of employment of mistresses from Liverpool", recommended a salary of £30 - £35 with furnished lodging: this was to be exclusive of the augmentation grant.

There is in existence¹ a manuscript copy of the addresses given by Sister Mary of St. Philip to the students in their evening instructions; it is true that this belongs to a period some ten to fifteen years later than 1860, but there is not likely to have been much change in the kind of advice she gave them. In these addresses, she constantly refers to the need of young teachers for good food if they are to do their work properly. She urges them to buy meat and bacon and to have drinks like cocoa and coffee made with milk; evidently she assumed they could afford to do so. Another indication of the teacher's financial position is the invitation to the Annual Retreats and Conferences held every summer from 1859.² Old students were encouraged to attend every year and school managers were urged to make this possible. These meetings were in fact most popular and well attended, and will be discussed in greater detail later. Their salaries also enabled them to buy better clothes - or at least more clothes, because there are acid comments, sometimes, on the old students' love of finery and indirectly their lack of taste.

Though some of the young teachers went to take over schools already in receipt of government grants, in many cases, in the early years of the Colleges' existence, they went to schools that were either completely new or had been in charge of an unqualified teacher. It was therefore a help to managers to have all this information provided in an easily understood form and to have the list of requirements for a schoolroom and their cost so clearly set down. That meagre list shows as perhaps nothing else can, the immense changes that have taken place in primary education in the last hundred years. The school to which the girl would go had only one room, with sometimes a smaller room and gallery for the infants. The walls were whitewashed and in a Catholic school there would be a crucifix and something of colour and graciousness would be provided

1. Unpublished material at Mount Pleasant Training College, addresses given by Sister M. of St. Philip to the students during the 1880's and taken down in note form by one of the audience.
2. "The Voice" 1869. Old students are urged to do their best to come even if it meant asking permission to be absent from school.

by the religious pictures and the statues, often gaily decorated with flowers. But the narrow curriculum - confined as it was to the 3 R's and needlework, gave no scope for the decorations of the classroom with children's work. The nature study specimens, the children's books and handwork, found nowadays and in point of fact even then in the new kindergartens which were being established in some of the large towns, had no place in these 19th century schoolrooms. The slates are now a thing of the past and the lesson posts on which the reading cards,^{hung} ^{and} round which small groups of beginners gathered for their daily reading practice, seem to have been relics of the ^{monitrial} schools. Very few people nowadays will know that the signal was - the small wooden clapper used to help in moving the large numbers of children silently and expeditiously in and out of the crowded classrooms. It is mentioned in the "Conduct of Schools"¹ by St. John de la Salle and was a standard of equipment in many schools down to the early years of the present century. The supply of reading books was a difficulty since reading books were used to supply general knowledge of a historical, geographical and scientific nature, and it was not easy to get books that were satisfactory in their content and gave no offence to Catholic feeling. The books published by the Irish Board are frequently referred to, but thought to be unsatisfactory, and attempts were made at this period to get a Catholic publishing firm to produce a suitable series.

Mention has been made of the parts of the country from which the students came, but it is quite as important to discover where they went after their training. The publication of the Revised Code in 1862 which was to have serious repercussions on the financing of the Colleges, on the supply of pupil teachers and the actual methods of training the teachers, led the Catholic Poor School Committee to collect information about the existing position - the numbers trained, those actually

1. "Conduct of Schools". St. John Baptist de la Salle, translated into English 1935 and published by McGraw Hill & Co. New York.

teaching in Poor Schools and the dioceses in which they were working. The tables¹ indicate that by far the majority of those trained in the ten years under review were still teaching; a very few had deserted the Poor Schools to become governesses and a surprisingly small number - eleven from the two colleges, had married. Fewer than one might expect had died or were ill. In fact only 29 Liverpool students out of a possible 254 were not teaching in 1862. Of the 117 from St. Leonards, the number - 29 - was the same. Among the men from Hammersmith, ten had given up teaching to take other positions and seven were teaching in private schools. These figures suggested that the Colleges were justifying the money spent on them by the Committee of Council and the Catholic Poor School Committee, but as a footnote to the table, it is stated that though by that date the majority of certificated teachers in the Catholic Schools had been trained, yet there were still only half of the schools in charge of such teachers and that of the total number of certificated teachers - 414 - only 127 were men.²

Of the 287 certificated teachers in 1862³, 205 had been to college for one or more years; 96 of the 149 Liverpool students were concentrated in Birmingham and the four northern dioceses of Liverpool, Beverley, Hexham and Salford. The next largest group were teaching in Scotland where there was at that time no Catholic Training College. The dioceses of Southwark and Westminster accounted for only 13, but it was in these two areas that most of the St. Leonard's students were concentrated.

1. See Appendices 92, 9b.
2. See Appendix 9b.
3. Extract from C.P.S.C. Report 1862, Appendix 10.

It must not be forgotten that each year a few teachers qualified for their certificates by taking the examination by private study. This practice continued throughout the century and was the usual method of qualification for nuns belonging to the teaching communities. Practically every report of the Catholic Poor School Committee gives the numbers of those passing the Certificate of Merit in the particular year. A good year to take is 1858¹, for details of the women candidates are given. There were in all eleven, and of these four were Sisters of Notre Dame, two Sisters of Compassion, one Sister of Mercy, and one Sister of Providence, and three lay teachers. In other reports when numbers are given, there are no details, but the largest number was thirty-three in 1869; it is therefore apparent that the Catholic Schools were in the sixties getting most of their certificated teachers from the Colleges.

As might be supposed the distribution of the students among the dioceses follows very closely the distribution of the candidates for the scholarship examination.² The Catholic population was mainly concentrated in the industrial areas of the North and Midlands and apart from London, there were comparatively few Catholics in other parts of the Country. The tables showing the dioceses in which the students were teaching indicates this very closely.

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1858.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1869.

In the two previous years 1860¹ and 1861 and again in 1863 Mr. Stokes in his annual reports went into considerable detail on the supply of teachers to the Catholic schools, and from his tables of statistics and his comments some interesting facts emerge. Like the members of the Catholic Poor School Committee, the Inspectors were most anxious to see the number of schools in charge of certificated teachers increase as rapidly as possible. The two sources of supply were the colleges and the ex-pupil teachers taking the Certificate of Merit examination. We have seen that during the sixties the number of the latter was not very large, but the colleges could send out 95 teachers each year, 35 men from St. Mary's and sixty women from Mount Pleasant and St. Leonards. These numbers varied a little from year to year because some students still only stayed one year and in 1861¹ Mount Pleasant built new dormitories which made it possible for them to accommodate ten more students. There were of course more candidates for Queen's Scholarships than places available; Mr. Stokes calculated that there was an average of 51 men and 111 women each year, but he thought that all those deserving of a place got into college. Whether the schools could absorb between 90 and 100 new teachers each year depended on the numbers leaving the profession through death, retirement or other causes and on the increase in the number of inspected schools. In 1860 Mr. Stokes anticipated an annual increase of between 40 and 50 in the number of schools coming under Government inspection until eventually 750 certificated teachers would be needed. But in 1859 there were still only 414 Catholic schools obtaining the annual grant, staffed by 286 certificated teachers. In that year 59 teachers from the colleges took over schools and 27 already in service obtained the Certificate of Merit. Thus by the end of 1860, 43 schools were in need of qualified teachers; this does not include of course those uninspected schools, which had so far not applied for annual grants.

1. C. of Council Minutes. 1860 and 61. Reports by Mr. Stokes in the Roman Catholic Training Colleges p 376.

However the number of Pupil Teachers obtaining Queen's Scholarships in 1860¹ was in fact low; there were 70 candidates at Liverpool and only 18 at St. Leonards. At St. Mary's the number of male candidates was 20... Only 50 of the women and 8 of the men passed and St. Leonards and St. Mary's were in consequence half empty. St. Leonards had only 28 out of a possible 60 students and even Liverpool did not fill all their places and had eight vacancies. When Mr. Stokes² returned to the discussion in 1861, he pointed out that there should have been 372 certificated teachers working in the schools by December 1860, but there were in fact only 301, which represented a loss of 19% of the total teaching force. As a result of the December examinations 87 teachers were added to the 301, but when enquiries were made in August 1861, it was found that 33 were no longer teaching in inspected schools. This led him to the conclusion that even if all the places were filled, the market would not be overstocked and in any case there were always a few of the larger schools which could employ more than one certificated teacher. This was not however very common at that time and there was quite obviously no danger of that contingency arising since in that year only 122 of the 200 places available were occupied and in the following year, 1862, the colleges had one third of their places vacant. The average length of a teacher's service was also very short, only about 8 years, and that in itself emphasised the need for a continual inflow of new teachers into the schools.

The members of the Catholic Poor School Committee felt very keenly the inability of the Catholic body to fill St. Mary's; as early as 1858 Mr. Stokes³ had said that unless something was done to improve the quality of the men teachers by providing better salaries and houses, it would not be possible to deliver the Catholic body from the lame and ridiculous posture in which it must stand before the public, while

1. Committee of Council Minutes 1861. Roman Catholic Training Colleges. Mr. Stokes. p. 358.
2. Report of the C.P.S.C. 1861
3. C.P.S.C. Report 1858.

its lower classes consist of well taught women and ignorant men. But they seemed much less perturbed about the difficulty of filling St. Leonards nor was there any suggestion at this point that it might be able to attract more students if it could be moved to a place with a larger Catholic population¹. In fact in 1861 Mr. Stokes considered that the estimates he had made the previous year about the supply of teachers and their length of service had been about right in view of the findings of the Newcastle Commission.²

There was very little discussion in 1862 on this problem, but the Inspector's report contained a series of statistical tables which summarised much that had been said in the previous years. In any case the publication of the Revised Code made imperative a detailed explanation of its provisions in the Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee since the situation was now greatly changed. St. Leonards,³ though it had contributed a total of 88 certificated teachers to the Catholic schools, was unable to carry on and the supply of women teachers was at one stroke reduced to those coming from Liverpool. Even so Mr. Stokes was apparently quite satisfied that the 35 or so coming each year from Liverpool, would with the help of the nuns, be sufficient to fill the vacant places. He did actually say in his report of that year, though without going into detail, that more girls' schools were being taken over by religious bodies. His optimistic estimates of an additional 40 or 50 inspected schools each year had not been fulfilled and he was now quite clear that even with the reduced number of women teachers, all the schools would be provided with qualified teachers by 1864...

1. Letter from Mother Connolly to Bp. Grant Sept. 23rd 1862, in which suggests moving the College to London, either to Harley St. or to a suitable house in Southwark. But nothing further was heard of that proposal.
2. Appendix 9.

However in 1864, he noted that though 74 certificated teachers had been added to the list, the absolute increase was only 26 and even by 1865 there were only 464 certificated teachers for 553 departments and that 360 of them were women. In the following year only seven Liverpool students were going to schools which had not previously employed certificated teachers and of these, only three were new additions to the list of inspected schools. By 1867 the problem of supplying all the inspected schools with certificated teachers had not been solved and in common with the other denominations,¹ the Catholics found the number of pupil teachers had diminished and though there was never any difficulty in filling Mount Pleasant with well qualified candidates, the fact remained that it had never been possible to fill St. Leonards and when it was decided to close the college, there was no great outcry for its retention. Even as late as 1868 the inspectors were still saying that a total of 60 women students was adequate. This was in spite of the nation-wide agitation for the establishment of compulsory schooling, if necessary by the establishment of secular schools which was already in full swing. Almost immediately the Catholic community was forced to take measure to increase its schools at a rapid and unprecedented rate and in consequence find the teachers to man them.²

But there were other and perhaps more lasting effects of the operation of the Revised Code on English education and on the training of the teachers for work in the schools under the new conditions

1. Mr. Stokes' report to the C. of Council for 1868. p. 470. "The desire of the Managers is to reduce the total of students to 60 (from 66), and I entirely concur with the wisdom of that decision".
2. C.P.S.C. Report Mr. Stokes explained that Liverpool Authorities had decided to take enough first year students to fill the college - accommodation was then for 73.
Mr. Stokes' report to the C. of Council 1869. p. 494. See also p¹/₂ 496 "The time is nearly come for considering the best means of increasing the production of trained Roman Catholic schoolmistresses".

The year 1861 saw the publication of the Revised Code which was to have such serious and lasting effects on English Education and on the training of teachers for work in the schools. The Catholic schools and colleges suffered no less than those of other denominations and the Code raised so many problems that there were some who considered a breaking away from the connection with the government to be the best solution, though that view was never entertained either by Sister Mary of St. Philip or by the C.P.S.C. The pages of the Annual Reports of the Committee and the Inspectors' reports in the Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council for the next few years reflect the anxieties and disappointments of this period, but there are also in existence at Mount Pleasant Training College copies of a small news sheet, circulated to old students at irregular intervals. It was never printed,¹ but meticulously copied by hand; each copy had to serve a group of old students who passed it from one to the other and finally back to the College. The pages of this little magazine, known as "The Voice from Our Lady's Training College", illuminate in a most striking manner the every-day problems of the teacher working under the Revised Codes and are full of advice, somewhat simple and homely, but also giving detailed help in the intricacies of log books and time tables.

The main features of the Revised Code and the financial regulations for Training Colleges, which were amended in the minutes of March 21st, 1863, determined the work of schools and training colleges for many years and are too well known to repeat in detail, except in so far as they directly affected the Catholic colleges. In 1861 grants to

1. Copies of this new sheet for 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1869 survive in manuscript form. The 1871 copy is printed.
2. Minutes of the Committee of Council 1863. p xliv.

colleges for enlarging and improving premises were abolished, but the system of annual grants based "payments by results" was altered in 1863 to a scheme which was still more to the financial disadvantage of the colleges. As a result of these new arrangements the colleges were to receive an annual grant of £20 for each man and £14 for each woman who had stayed for the full two years and by completing two years of probation had become certificated teachers. The total amount of the grant¹ was not in any case to exceed 75% of the annual expenditure of the college nor to exceed £50 for each man and £35 for each woman in residence. This imposed such severe hardship that the Holy Child nuns decided to close the college at St. Leonards² and Mount Pleasant only balanced its accounts because an anonymous donor (actually Sister Mary of St. Francis - the Hon. Mrs. Petre) gave the College £250 a year, for though the colleges had been provided with much sacrifice by the religious communities, they relied for current expenses on the grants from the Government and the Catholic Poor School Committee. The Privy Council grant had always been the larger and in the 1864 Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee, it was stated that in the years from 1855 - 1863 the Committee of Council had contributed £28,876. 6. 8 and the C.P.S.C. £14,248.10. 2 to the training of 137 men and 332 women teachers.

1. Minutes of the Committee of Council March 21st, 1863. p.xliv ff
2. See Supplement.

Since there is no separate statement to show what went to each college, it is not possible to distinguish between them, but the annual amounts given by the C.P.S.C. to the women's colleges were always very small,¹ until 1865 always well below £300 to each college; the major portion of the grant had always gone to the men's college, since it was the property of the committee.

The problems involved in this iniquitous system ~~were~~ well known; it was impossible to know how many of a particular group of students would be able to find places in inspected schools and remain there for two years. There was the inevitable toll of illness, and even death to contend with; the children's results at the annual examination might be bad through no fault of the teacher and this could mean a withdrawal of the grant. The teacher would then find herself in an uninspected school and her service would not count towards her probationary period. She might also have difficulty in procuring another post in a suitable school. Under the Revised Code the augmentation grants to teachers were abolished and they were left to make their own bargains with managers; and though it was recommended that the teacher should be given a share in the annual grant to compensate her for the loss of her personal allowance, it is obvious that this suggestion could be a fertile source of disagreement and could lead to loss of position.

1. The amount of grant given to the Colleges was published in the Annual Report.

Some details of the Inspectors' report for 1864¹ show clearly the effect of these arrangements. At the Christmas of 1862 thirty students left Mount Pleasant and their two years probation should have been completed in 1864, certificates issued and the grant paid to the College. In actual fact the College received grants for only eight, leaving twenty-two for whom nothing would be paid in that year. The twenty-two are accounted for as follows:-

2 died.

1 married.

5 entered convents (these would of course teach in inspected schools later).

7 changed their situations within the two years.

1 living in Jersey - had her certificate deferred on a technical point.

1 failed.

5 missed the Inspectors' visit to their schools, for some reason, and must wait another year.

The inspectors felt that this was not an untypical situation and could have serious effects on the College.

In 1865² twenty-nine parchment certificates were issued to Liverpool students, but they could have obtained forty. This time the report gives less details about what happened to the remaining eleven, except to say that three had died and that in some cases the teachers' examination results were not good enough. Some certificates had not been granted because managers had not complied with the conditions. But the result was that the colleges' grants fell short of the 75% they could claim for the year.

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1864.

2. C.P.S.C. Report 1866

The Catholic Poor School Committee and the colleges made strenuous efforts to deal with the situation; the £250 annual gift to Mount Pleasant has already been mentioned and the Committee increased its own annual contribution to Liverpool in 1865 and 1866 to over £400 and thereafter to between £300 and £400 each year.¹ In 1864 candidates for admission were asked to execute a declaration that they intended to be teachers in elementary schools and would teach in an inspected school for two years.² This was in accordance with a recommendation of the Committee of Council. Until 1864 Mount Pleasant had not charged the students any fee, but for the future they were asked for an entrance fee of £5³ though no fees were as yet exacted at Hammersmith, but this proved to be no deterrent since there were sixty-five candidates in that year. To further strengthen the College's position, it was decided to have a board of management independent of the community.⁴ This consisted of:-

Colonel Towneley.
Thomas Weld Blundell.
Reverend T. Cookson, Fernyhalgh.
Reverend R. Chapman, Birkenhead

The third number of "The Voice", sent out in 1866 explains in considerable detail the loss to the College when students did not obtain their parchment certificates. Sister Mary of St. Philip who was of course the writer, explained that in the previous year the College

1. C.P.S.C. Reports, 1865, 1866, 1867.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1864. Also in Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1864 p.405.
3. C.P.S.C. Report 1864 ditto.
4. "The Voice" 1866.
C.P.S.C. Report for 1864 and Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council.

had lost £200; in two or three cases this was due to the teacher's death, but three others gave up work in a government aided school, other teachers were in process of changing their posts, and in five instances the reason was the children's failure in the examinations. Teachers, she declared, should be careful about the second time they presented children for their examination and not present pupils who had little likelihood of success. If they wished to change schools, they should wait until the Report had been received.

She goes on to explain that there was now a Committee, the names of whose members are given above, responsible for the College finances and they were not prepared to let the Sisters educate any students gratis. This Committee scrutinised the names of those who did not get their certificates and enquired carefully into the causes of each failure. One supposes that fear of the possible repercussions when applying for other posts might make young teachers more careful, otherwise it is difficult to see what practical effect this threat could have ^{had} been. Students admitted immediately before the Code came into operation were also reminded of their obligation to teach for two years in Poor Schools.

Sister Mary of St. Philip, like the members of the Poor School Committee, realised that it would be unthinkable to give up the government grants, and to gain the interest and support of the managers of the Catholic Schools, drew up a circular letter to them which was sent out under the signature of the official Principal, Sister Mary Theresia¹. This letter asked managers to engage teachers who had taken the full two years' training and to make permanent engagements with them. They were begged not to withdraw their

schools from government inspection, not to change teachers unnecessarily nor to suppress departments which had been in charge of certificated teachers. To ensure that the teacher did not miss gaining her parchment, certificate on any technical point, they should give immediate notice to the Committee of Council when a new teacher took charge of the school. The letter continues by saying that the college will try to supply teachers of the highest quality but that managers should give them "paternal care" because of their youth and inexperience.

But if the Colleges had difficulties, so had the teachers; under the Revised Code the augmentation grants to teachers and the direct payment of Pupil Teachers was abolished; in future teachers and apprentices had to make their own arrangements with the managers, who were often tempted to drive a hard bargain with the teacher whose task, particularly in the Catholic schools in industrial areas, was a particularly onerous one. In these schools, though numbers were large, the children were of the poorest class, who attended irregularly and frequently not only did not make the necessary 250 attendances for the grant, but were of such poor backgrounds that it was difficult for them to pass the examinations. In the early days of the Revised Code, "The Voice" - No. 1, 1863, advised its readers that the Catholic schools in Liverpool intended to present the majority of their

children under Standards I or II, one or two classes perhaps under Standard III, and not more than a dozen scholars under Standard IV, and none at first under Standard V or VI. If that was the case in Liverpool where, though the children were very poor, Catholic Schools under Sisters had already been in existence nearly twenty years, one can imagine what it was like in other places, where many schools were only newly established. Failures were likely to be high in these circumstances, and there would be bitter disappointment about the amount of the grant on the part of managers and teachers alike.

It was on the grant that the teacher's salary now depended and the same copy of "The Voice" advised teachers to consider three alternative plans for agreements about salary with school managers. In a few cases, usually only where the school was doing well and the teacher had an established reputation, the managers engaged to go on paying the teacher the same salary as before, making up the teacher's augmentation grant and her gratuity for teaching apprentices. Another plan was to pay three times the value of the augmentation grant in addition to furnished lodgings. The teacher for her part accepted this instead of all other grants. But the most favoured plan was to give the teacher a fixed salary from £30 - £35 with furnished lodgings and to add after the annual examination, a certain portion of the school grant - in country schools a third or a quarter, and in town schools one seventh or one eighth. The writer then goes on to give suggested plans to show how this might work.

"Estimate for a school of 100 with an average attendance of whom 25 are under six -

Grant for attendance	4/- x 100 - 400s	- £20. 0. 0
Grant for Infants	6/6 x 25 - 162/6	- £ 8. 2. 6
Grant for examination supposing		
60 out of '75 pass	8/- x 60 - 480/-	- £24. 0. 0
		<u>£52. 2. 6</u>

In order to obtain the grant school pence and voluntary subscriptions must also amount to £52. 2. 6. "

Unfortunately she does not say what the teacher's share of this would be, but a quarter of the grant would bring her salary to between £43 and £48 which is higher than some teachers were already getting, if there was a house or rooms provided in addition.

The inspectors also had something to say on the question of grants and salaries in their reports to the C.P.S.C.¹; they emphasised the importance of not letting the present difficulties lead to a break with the government, but to bring as many Catholic Schools as possible up to the required standards to get an even larger share of the grant. Perhaps the most important means of doing this was to use trained teachers; in 1863² Mr. Stokes pointed out that one-third of the Catholic schools did not apply for grants and of those who did, a considerable number preferred untrained teachers. He himself felt rather discouraged

1. C.P.S.C. Report. 1863.

2. C.P.S.C. Report. 1863.

by this attitude and put it down to a "dread of pecuniary risk, impatience of friendly criticism, dislike of interference" and so forth.

The financial position of the training colleges and the danger of losing grants both for the colleges and the schools led the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1864¹ to send a deputation to the Bishops to explain the situation to them so that they could urge the clergy to do all in their power to make their schools efficient. The committee explained that to obtain the capitation grant the schools must employ certificated teachers and that the lowest terms on which competent teachers could be obtained were £50 for a man and £35 for a woman, with a house or furnished rooms and with in addition, a share in the grant obtained by the school.

Their suggestion was not unlike the one made in "The Voice", one third to compensate for the loss of the augmentation grant and the gratuity for training apprentices. Many of the schools that asked the Committee for "support grants" could in fact come under government inspection, but a major difficulty was to get a sufficient supply of men teachers for the boys' schools. Unless all this was realised and acted upon, not only would it be difficult to carry on the schools, but the task of maintaining the colleges, the cost of which came to over £4,000 each year, would be impossible.

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1864.

There was no mention of the pupil teachers in this memorandum, but their position was made less favourable by the operation of the Revised Code¹. Often their stipends were diminished and they were in any case dependent on examination results and the agreements they made with the managers. The ratio of pupil teachers to children was increased, now one pupil teacher was allowed for every 40 children beyond the first fifty instead of thirty . Even so, many managers gave up having pupil teachers or broke off their apprenticeship in the third and fourth year to avoid paying higher wages.² The result was that the total number of apprentices fell as in the schools of other denominations. In the period from 1861-65 the number of girls dropped from 548 to 491 and that of the boys was disastrously low.³ The inspector did not seem unduly worried about the falling off in the number of girls, since there was now only one college to be filled, though he did explain that the pupil teachers were the main consideration for the training colleges. In ten years Liverpool had only admitted thirty non-pupil teachers and their numbers had grown less, since the students had to stay two years and promise to teach in a Poor School.

1. Revised Code 1862. Pupil Teachers no longer to be paid directly by the Committee of Council, but from the capitation grant paid to the Managers annually.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1865.
3. C.P.S.C. Report 1866.

Though the financial problems raised by the operation of the Revised Code involved all concerned in constant anxiety about the maintenance of the schools and colleges and the supply of Pupil Teachers, they could not but have serious repercussions also on the quality of the work done in the schools by quenching the ardour and enthusiasm of the teachers so that all too frequently they appeared to be engaging in a battle of wits with the examiner rather than concerning themselves with the real education of the children. But before discussing what is of great interest, the effect of the Code on the training of the young teachers themselves and the steps the Sisters at Mount Pleasant took to render them as efficient as possible, it is most important to realise that the religious education of the students and children took first place with the Sisters and their determination that the students should get good results in secular subjects did not arise simply from worldly motives. The Catholic community, poor though it was, had subscribed large sums for the creation of schools, so that their children could be nurtured in the Catholic Faith, but the continued existence of these schools depended on the government grants. Consequently it was vital that they should not only have the loyalty and support of the parents, but also by their examination successes win the esteem of the Committee of Council. The enemies of denominational education in any form were extremely vocal in the 1860's. Catholics were but slightly regarded by the general public, and their schools could easily have fallen victims to the intolerance that prevailed in only too many places.

There was also among Catholics themselves the danger, or so it seemed to those like Sister Mary of St. Philip, who recognised that for financial and educational consideration it was imperative to maintain the government connection, lest discouragement with the struggle to keep up with the government demands should creep in and destroy all that had been so painfully built up.¹

Rich, in his book "The Training of Teachers,"² after giving a brief summary of the changes introduced into the Liverpool students' training to meet the new demands, remarks that such "very elaborate organisation for training in "Revised Code" teaching was uncommon", but that it "had the merit of being intimately connected with the realities of a teacher's life and its ingenuity and thoroughness were deserving of a better object." Later discussion will show whether the criticism is a valid one, but we should be doing the Sisters an injustice if we thought them less aware than many of their contemporaries among teachers in training colleges and inspectors of the more dangerous implications of the system. Their close and intimate connection with the schools brought a realisation of the low standards of attainment caused by irregularity of attendance and the short school life; Catholic schools, entering for such a poverty stricken section of the population suffered perhaps more than most from these evils. The inspectors also had few illusions on this score; in 1858 Mr. Marshall³ in his report on the schools in the

1. Chapter IX "Life of Sister M. of St. Philip" by S.N.D. Longmans 1920
2. Rich, R.W. The Training of Teachers. Cambridge 1933 p.199 ff.
3. C.P.S.C. Report 1858. Mr. Marshall's report to the Committee of Council on R.C. Schools in the Southern Division. p.188.

Southern Division mentioned the difficulty of teaching grammar to children who attended so irregularly. His colleague, Mr. Morell, reporting on the schools in the North East in the same year,¹ spoke of the want of efficiency caused by poor attendance, which resulted in a low standard of reading. He was inclined to think that where the teachers were good and well trained, the children would come to school regularly and quoted St. Mary and St. Andrew's schools in Edinburgh as examples of well attended schools though catering for a very poor class of children. But he was honest enough to say that the problem of juvenile labour was a serious one and it was idle to expect a great improvement when the average age of the scholars was only eight and their average attendance under one year. In these circumstances the children were not likely to learn much grammar or geography and the reading lesson was the only hope of giving them some general information and developing intelligence. One interesting comment is that the parents wanted the children to be fluent readers in the shortest possible time, but the pressure for this often resulted in unintelligent reading. However when the Revised Code was actually promulgated and its dangers in the shape of financial penalties became obvious, one inspector at any rate realised that the new rules, designed to ensure greater competence in the Three R's, might not have that effect, since even the scholars from the best schools emerged with only a moderate knowledge as a result of irregular attendance and previous neglect.

1. C.P.S.D. Report 1858; Mr. J.R. Morell's report to the Committee of Council 1858. p. 206 ff.

In the reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee for 1864¹ and 1868² are two documents giving details of the changes made in the system of training the students to enable them to comply with the new regulations and the different numbers of the "Voice" published in the late 1860's give advice to the practising teacher. In 1864¹ the inspector explained that the scheme of training outlined in 1862 had been modified to include instruction adapted to the different standards, tests of individual progress and help in the accurate keeping of school registers. The students were required to give two out of the three lessons before the inspector on elementary subjects, suitable for the different standards. Their school practice was planned so that they began by teaching one subject to an infant class for about three weeks. The next stage was to take a class in a girls' school preparing for the first and second standard examinations and again only one subject was taken during the ensuing three weeks. After this the students prepared between twenty and thirty children for the half yearly trial examination which was conducted according to the "Code" regulations. The student was responsible for the success of her class in two out of the three examination subjects and we are told that the students vied with one another in securing the success of their classes, when they changed classes the children were examined by the Mistress of Method and everything was done to bring home to the students the difficulties that would await them when they began teaching. In these trial examinations they acted in every way as the mistress of a school would

1. C.P.S.C. Report and Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1864. p. 403 f.
2. Report of the C.P.S.C. and Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of Council 1868.

be expected to do, in preparing registers and attendance rolls and they were informed of the children's results and saw for themselves the disappointments that could come from the irregular attendance of their pupils. This careful training was to accustom them to attend closely to detail.

This latter quality was most essential in dealing with the Codee regulations and the report goes on to explain that each second year student had a set of registers, an admission book and two class rolls. She marked the registers of two classes in the practising school, made up the weekly average on Saturday mornings with the help of the Mistress of Method and the headmistress of the Practising School and also prepared the quarterly summaries. In addition each student had to keep a log book of her own in which she entered lessons she had either listened to or given herself.

The 1869 report gives a more detailed scheme of school work for the second year students and clarifies several points that are rather obscure in the 1864 account. In the second scheme the work is planned in quarters; in the first three months of the year, the students spent one and a half hours daily in teaching children preparing for the first and second standards. Twelve students took entire charge for one week of the infant school attached to the practising school. From April the students each took over a division preparing for one of the six standards and at the end of the three months the children had a private examination in one of the subjects of the Code.

After midsummer the students spent more time with the higher classes; every evening nine of them gave lessons to Pupil Teachers in their first, second and third years. This was of course possible because the Pupil Teachers' College was in the same building. Another seven prepared groups of children for the "higher subjects of instruction"; it was possible to obtain extra grants for children who passed in such subjects as history, geography or grammar and the well qualified teacher would want to be able to do this. The remainder of the students taught the three R's to the ordinary classes. It is not clear whether the students worked on a rota for this period or whether only the most able students were entrusted with the higher classes. The time spent in practice in the three months from midsummer was two and a half hours daily, not very different from the time allowed in the 1862 scheme. This was really the equivalent of teaching half time and seems rather excessive when one considers the years already spent in actual teaching before coming to college. In addition to regular daily practice, which could be either in the morning or the afternoon, the students attended the practising school each morning for ten minutes to mark the registers, presumably in turns because of the small number of classes, though this is nowhere stated. Again in 1864 each student kept a register of her own and worked out her own averages.

It is with relief that one turns from this seemingly excessive pre-occupation with administrative detail to the next section of the Principal's Report dealing with the supervision of students while teaching. However this proves to be almost as much concerned with minueiae as the rest, though there are one or two interesting points for the student of method. The Principal pointed out that the students were employed in five or six schools in the town; this had of course been the practice from the beginning. The Mistress of Method could only supervise a proportion of the students at any one time, but since classes were changed quarterly, each student spent some portion of her time under the Mistress's direct supervision. The students were accompanied to their schools by one of the governesses who listened to their lessons and occasionally took over a class to illustrate particular points of method. In addition the Headmistresses of the schools reported on the students.

The private examination of the children referred to in the second quarter was conducted by the Principal of the College and the students' classes were examined again in June in a prescribed portion of the Code subjects. The model and criticism lessons outlined in the 1862 scheme were also continued; but these were replaced in the second and third quarters by criticism lessons given by students in the presence of the Mistress of Method.

The whole scheme refers entirely to the second year students so we must suppose that the first year work was carried out according to the earlier plan of 1862. Rich¹ bases his comments on the Liverpool scheme on the information given in the Minutes of the Committee of Council, but had he seen the copies of the "Voice" already referred to, he might perhaps have been even more critical, for certainly no effort was spared to help the practising teacher to surmount her difficulties in dealing with the intricacies of the annual examination and it is to a consideration of this advice and the light it throws on the conduct of schools in the first decade of the operation of the Revised Code, that we now turn. The teachers evidently found keeping log books and registers accurately a major difficulty, and there is frequent complaint on this score by inspectors in all types of schools. Not only were teachers careless and seemingly unable to grasp the importance of accuracy, but if we are to believe inspectors, there were teachers who fell into the temptation of making false entries, so afraid were they of the serious consequences of the loss of grant. In the first number of the "Voice" in 1863, teachers were warned that even a mistake might lead to a suspicion of dishonesty and they should be most scrupulous in making their class registers two hours before dismissal.

The teachers were advised to buy copies of the Code and with it "Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors" from Philips in Castle Street, Liverpool. To assist them still further in the examination procedure, an eye witness account of an examination conducted by Mr. Stokes in one of the Liverpool schools on the plan of the Revised Code was given in great detail. Before the Inspector arrived each

1. Rich - Training of Teachers, Cambridge 1833. pp 199 ff.

child in the three upper classes, the ages are unfortunately not given, was provided with a sheet of writing paper, one of blotting paper, a pen and a ruler, and had her reading book on the desk in front of her. The children in the lower classes had slates instead of paper. The first thing the Inspector did was to require everyone to write her name and class at the top of the paper and then to expedite matters, all the classes wrote dictation together. This suggests that all did the same piece but that there was an age allowance in marking. Arithmetic followed next and the Inspector either dictated four or five sums himself or allowed the teacher to write them on the board; these were worked on papers or slates and then collected and placed on a table in front of the Inspector so that he could put the marks for each child's reading on her paper or slate. For the reading test, the children were called out in turn to the table. The writer of the account goes on to say:- "Thus none could escape; the ill-prepared scholars being subjected to as vigorous an examination as the others, and the Inspector was extremely careful to check the slightest attempt at whispering or copying."

The slates were marked immediately, but Mr. Stokes took the papers away with him to check at home. He was of course required to give marks for handwriting, but as he hardly glanced at the copy books, his opinion of this was formed on the papers and slates alone. When the Code came into force, the children in the first three Standards would write on slates and the rest on paper.

The "Voice" pointed out that only good teaching would ultimately secure success, but advised its readers to let their classes practise writing papers for some weeks before the examination and to have one or two rehearsals with a visitor or the school manager playing the part of the Inspector. Teachers should be especially careful to prevent copying during these rehearsals.

The second number in 1864 repeated the earlier warning about the serious consequences of false entries in registers and mentioned a pamphlet printed to help teachers to deal with the Revised Code. There is a report of a conference given to the second year students by Mr. Stokes in which he had referred to the importance of correct and detailed log books.

In order to help the teachers already in the schools, a specimen of the type of information which the Inspectors would require was provided. This specimen page - which of course deals with a fictitious school is most interesting since it indicates the kind of materials and apparatus that would be available in a school with an ordinary attendance of between 70 and 80 in charge of a certificated headmistress with an assistant teacher and two pupil teachers. The school was assumed to have the following:-

Two dozen copies of each book of the Catholic series readers.

One set of reading cards - rather the worse for use.

50 slates, a box of slate pencils, 1 blackboard and easel.

1 lesson stand. Hughes map of the world and of the British Isles.

A register, a copy of Martin's admission book and summary.

The Durham Class Rolls.

After this list, there follows a description of the work of the first class of pupils, said to contain eighteen children; these are reading the third book of the Catholic series and have covered one half. Fourteen of these children can write dictation on paper, their spelling is fair, but their writing untidy. Twelve are working sums in compound multiplication; the others are not yet perfect in the simple rules.

This summary of the information required in a log book for a particular class was given as a sample of what the inspectors would require on their annual visits and was followed by a discussion on the allocation of the different books of the Catholic series of readers to the various standards. Apparently the primers of this series were considered to be too easy for Standard One and a revised arrangement is given as being more suitable.

The list of books and equipment which this specimen log book mentions is of course practically identical with the one published in the Catholic Poor School Committee's report of 1862¹ and evidently represented the standard equipment for the schools with which the teachers would be familiar. The statement that the highest class is reading book three of the Catholic Series agrees very well with the information given earlier that the Liverpool schools were presenting very few children above Standard IV until they had more experience with the examination, since this book was considered suitable for that standard.

A great part of the "Voice" sent round in 1866 was concerned with college finances, but there is a section dealing with inspection problems. In awarding the grant to the schools the inspectors were expected to take into consideration the discipline and tone of the

school, so teachers were advised to be particularly careful of the children's behaviour during the examination and while they were being dismissed. They should detail their Pupil Teachers to supervise the dismissal of classes and to help the children to find their bonnets and cloaks. On fine days in summer, perhaps the children could come to school without hats and cloaks, or those who, like the infants would only be in school for a short time, could keep their hats in their hands or under their seats. On reading all this it is almost possible to see the crowds of little girls in their clean print frocks, neatly washed and mended, clutching their bonnets, eagerly waiting for their dismissal by somewhat agitated pupil teachers and headmistresses. However the writer keeps on relentlessly with her advice; we next read that children under six are examined collectively in the gallery; they are asked a few spellings, write some letters on their slates, count and sing, the two or three times table, before they can escape.

We have seen that in the 1864 issue of the "Voice", Chambers Readers were recommended for the infants and the first two standards; Mr. Stokes is quoted as preferring these but another series published by Heywoods is mentioned called "Standard Reading" and Home Lessons Books", by Grayston and Birkby. Finally the teacher is given some

help with the kind of arithmetic demanded; from a modern point of view it is interesting to note the very large numbers in the specimen sums - by multiplication for Standard III, but short division money sums in Standard IV, weight and area in Standard V, and practise in Standard VI.

Similar advice about practising for the examination and having all official papers ready and signed by the manager was given in 1867 and the only new point was a description of a series of reading books issued by Burns and Lambert. These contained exercises for home and school in preparation for the examination; there were questions on spelling and arithmetic and the reading lessons comprised a course of instruction in Religious Knowledge, the elements of grammar, geography and English history. These books were very cheap ranging in price from fourpence for Standard I to a shilling for the Standard V and VI book and it was suggested that pupils could have copies of their own in addition to the class books. Apparently homework was felt to be necessary if the children were to pass the examination.

The 1869 "Voice" contains the first mention of the class subjects - history, geography and grammar for which the older children could be entered. Success in these brought extra grants and the teachers were recommended to enter their classes for geography since it was apparently the easiest.

But it would be a serious mistake to think that the Sisters were only concerned with examination results though the information on the training scheme given in the Minutes of the Committee of Council and all the advice on the conduct of examinations and the filling up of log books in the "Voice" do seem to give sustance to Dr. Rich's criticisms. However one cannot help feeling that this is only a partial view for the rest of the contents of the "Voice" and other sources of information about the life and work of the College show that the Sisters had lost none of their enthusiasm for what they conceived to be their main aim - the education of Catholic girls to be teachers of the highest quality, despite the limitations of their previous backgrounds and the shortage of time available for their training.

The Revised Code introduced changes in the students' syllabus; certain subjects were omitted and increased weight was given ^{to} the certificate examination to Arithmetic, Composition, Reading, Writing and Sewing. These changes are reflected in the timetables published in the Minutes of the Committee of Council in 1860, '62 and '64, and it is interesting to note ~~that~~ the increased amounts of time given to these basic subjects in the timetables of the later years.¹ Sister Mary of St. Philip referred to this in the first number of the "Voice", when she said that the changes showed "the increased importance given by the government to the useful in contradistinction to the ornamental branches".

1. See appendix 9 for 1864 Timetable, and Chapter 2, appendices 5a, b, and c.

Apart from this comment there is no hint of any kind of criticism on the effects of the Revised Code either from Sister Mary of St. Philip herself or from any of her contemporaries. But we do know that throughout this period the staff of the College remained remarkably stable and there is no reason to suppose that their teaching was any less liberal than it had been in the first years of the college's existence. The inspectors continued to make good reports on the students' work and the results were always among the best in the country. It became the practice during these years for an increasing number of students to enter for Drawing Certificates¹ and in 1869² the first group of students entered for examinations of the Science and Art Departments in which they obtained first class certificates and prizes. The "Voice" of 1869 has this to say of the first examination, "Twenty-three students prepared for the examination which was held on the evening of May 4th, from seven o'clock until 10 o'clock. The gentlemen of the Committee superintended it, and the very strict rules laid down by the Government were adhered to with undeviating severity.... The late hour of the day and the novelty of the whole proceeding caused it to be much enjoyed by the students, and they came down to their supper in rather inconveniently high spirits. The result was published in June; three in the first class, fifteen in the second and one in the third. The prizes gained by those in the first class have yet to come."

1. In the C.P.S.C. Report 1865 - is the first mention of students at Liverpool having taken this examination, though some of the St. Leonards students passed the Drawing Certificate exam. during the early sixties.
2. "The Vocee" 1869.

Sister Mary of St. Philip's biographer declared that the system of "Payment by Results" was by its very nature repugnant to Catholics since it could open the way to an undervaluing of religious instruction, for there was the obvious danger that passes in secular subjects, which brought immediate and tangible rewards would be more highly prized than religious knowledge. As early as 1853 the Catholic Poor School Committee, anxious about the standard of religious instruction in the schools, had urged the institution of diocesan examinations and had offered rewards in the shape of statues, pictures and medals for schools, individual children and pupil teachers. Though not all dioceses had by the middle of the 1860's appointed examiners, and there were complaints about the ignorance of the pupil teachers when they arrived in college, there was no doubt concerning the seriousness with which the matter was regarded both in the schools and in the training colleges. The amount of time devoted each week to religious teaching, the list of books for the students' reading and the examination of the students' own knowledge and of her competence in school are sufficient evidence of this. Each year the results were published in the annual report and comparisons made between the different colleges. In 1861 for example it was stated that Liverpool always seemed to do better than St. Leonards. But more important than the knowledge of content, the daily life and atmosphere of the colleges testified to the primacy of religious values.

Through the medium of the "Voice", in private correspondence and at the Old Students' retreats held annually from 1859, the Mount Pleasant students were encouraged to maintain their high ideals and their failures were commented upon for the benefit of those who might be tempted to put success in the secular examination before training in religion; Sister Mary of St. Philip herself lamented on one occasion over the teacher whose children all passed in the Three R's, but who was the

despair of the school manager because the same children failed in Religious Knowledge. In the "Voice" for 1864, she referred to her disappointment on hearing complaints about teachers' want of personal piety, their lack of interest in religious instruction, their neglect of Sunday Schools and confraternities. Later in the same number, she advised them about the confraternities they might like to introduce for the girls in their schools. She struck a more hopeful note in the next edition and spoke with gratitude of the reports from priests about the good work of ex-students in the parishes where they were teaching.

The third and fourth editions of the "Voice" each contained a list of points for the individual teacher's self-examination and show very clearly Sister Mary of St. Philip's solicitude for her ex-students' development as truly Catholic teachers with high professional standards and ^{these lists} would themselves be an answer to any charge that the college was excessively occupied with training students who saw their prime task as gaining the maximum number of passes and the highest possible grants. These points dealt with the teacher's religious duties, her conduct out of school, and her work as a teacher and served as reminders of the ideals already inculcated in college, she was advised to be regular and frequent in going to the Sacraments herself and to encourage her children and pupil teachers also to be attentive to their own religious duties. Her attitude to the parish priest should be one of respectful co-operation, anxious to help them when needed in parish activities. The rules for her personal conduct are, considering the youth of many of the headmistresses and contemporary standards of behaviour, wise and prudent, though perhaps not all of them are to our taste. She was urged to be regular in rising and in going to bed, not to waste her time out of school, to be quiet and modest in manner, though friendly and on good terms with everyone in the parish. Her dress should be simple and plain and she should be careful not to get into debt. She was advised not to go to places of public amusement, to be at home after dark unless she was at night school and

before receiving visits at her house or lodgings to consult the priest. A final group of points dealt with the teacher's work in school. The good teacher is content with her school; she should be there by 8.45 in the morning, keep carefully to her timetable and give the proper time to working with her pupil teachers for she would be an accessory to any of their faults that arose from her want of supervision. In her dealings with the children she is expected to be always gentle and patient and "never to strike them or use the cane". Sick and absent children must be visited and contact made with the parents.

These exhortations were followed up by the retreats for old students who came each year from 1859¹ to gain spiritual refreshment and renewed inspiration from the sermons they heard and from their contacts with their former teachers in the college. It became the custom on these occasions to have an educational exhibition, to show new books and apparatus and to invite someone to speak on an educational topic of general interest. School Managers were urged to release their teachers to enable them to attend and we hear of diocesan inspectors, members of the Catholic Poor School Committee and Her Majesty's Inspectors being invited to give addresses and to take part in discussions on methods of teaching, and to make suggestions for improvements especially in the matter of religious instruction. During these retreats Sister Mary of St. Philip would herself give a daily conference on a schoolmistresses' duties and impress on her audience the need to start guilds, study circles, sewing classes and the like to keep boys and girls who had left school under good influences. The "Voice" of 1869 reminded the teachers of what they could gain by coming and mentioned the addresses given by Mr. Stokes and the Sister Superior at the retreat of that year.

1. Chapter XII Life of Sister Mary of St. Philip by S.N.D. Longmans 1920¹

The students' appreciation of the needs of the Catholic poor in this decade was shown not only by the work they did in the regular day and evening schools but by the fact that a number of them sought employment in Poor Law Schools, reformatories and prisons. The dire poverty of large numbers of Catholics in this period meant that they were exposed to all the vicissitudes of casual employment, bad housing and the recurrent epidemics that constantly swept the slums of the large industrial towns. Though the religious orders had worked hard to provide shelters for the orphans and schools for the neglected and the truant, they could not at this period supply all that was needed and large numbers of unfortunate Catholic children were found in the care of the public authorities. The respect now paid to parents' wishes or to the child's known religion was by no means the practice at that time, consequently entrance to a workhouse school, a reformatory or a prison meant for many not only the loss of all hope of instruction in their religion or opportunity to practise it, but they might even be the victims of determined attempts to subvert them from it. It was therefore with real satisfaction that the "Voice" in 1867 reported that Miss Mary Brophy had been appointed as a teacher at Kirkdale, the school for workhouse children in Liverpool where three hundred out of the five hundred girls were Catholics. The chaplain had tried for a long time to get a teacher appointed, but objection had been made to every candidate until eventually Miss Brophy was appointed. Two years later the "Voice" spoke of a Catholic teacher going to Kirkdale to take charge of the infants, mentioning that she had gained the position not

as Catholic, but because her qualifications were superior to those of the other applicants. The writer went on to say that there were already old students teaching in reformatories, industrial schools, other Poor Law Schools and one had recently been appointed to a prison school.

Perhaps a still more compelling proof of the students' sense of vocation was the number who became nuns in various religious congregations and devoted themselves to the education of children in what continued for some time to be called the "Poor Schools". Lists of the appointments of the students were published annually and each year a certain number entered noviciation straight from college. Perhaps inevitably the largest contingent went to the Sisters of Notre Dame, but other congregations were well represented. In 1864 Quoting the "Voice", twenty-one students entered convents in that year, not necessarily all directly from college, fourteen became Sisters of Notre Dame, three Sisters of Mercy, one went to each of the following orders - Presentation Sisters, Sisters of Loretto, Sisters of Charity, In 1869 the "Voice " again reported that ninety-one students had already become nuns, mostly Sisters of Notre Dame.

The emphasis laid on the work done by the Mount Pleasant students in these different fields of activity, the high praise bestowed on them by inspectors and priests and the mention of those who became nuns, has shown that however much stress was laid on preparation for dealing with the conditions introduced by the Revised Code, their sense of vocation was not dimmed. Nor can one legitimately say from the evidence that there was any falling off in the general educational standards of the students, though admittedly the regulations demanded less of them than formerly.

But even after the closure of St. Leonards, though the college at Liverpool was the main source of supply, it was not the only one. It has already been mentioned that the various teaching congregations trained their own subjects according their traditional methods and entered them as external students for the Certificate of Merit if they needed a government qualification. Some of these candidates had been pupil teachers before they entered the convent and would, had they so chosen, been eligible for admission to Mount Pleasant. Others were of course middle class girls of better educational background who became nuns after an education, either at home or in a convent school. In addition to these there was always a small number of pupil teachers, who for one reason or another did not go to college and alter gained Certificates of Merit.

But it is with justice that Mr. Stokes could say in 1869 "that to the Liverpool Training College are mainly due the extension of annual grants, the increase of teachers, the strengthening of teaching communities, the adoption of the best and most successful methods, intelligent accuracy in keeping school records and the maintenance of a high and generous tone of feeling among schoolmistresses".

CHAPTER IV.THE NEXT THIRTY YEARS - A STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT.

The Education Act of 1870 presented a tremendous challenge to all those who wished to see the continuance of the denominational schools and despite their poverty, the Catholics rose to meet that challenge. The Crisis Fund,¹ inaugurated in 1867, raised £47,000 in subscriptions of £5 and upwards and thus enabled an immense building programme to be undertaken during the six months period of grace allowed to the Churches under the provisions of the Act. Through the efforts of priests and people and backed by this fund, it was possible to begin providing places, not only for the 56,000 children not in school at all, but also for the 25,000 in uninspected schools and to prepare for a gradually lengthening school life and for the time when compulsory education should become fully effective.

The somewhat complacent attitude towards the supply of women teachers, described in the last chapter was rudely shaken and it was obvious that the immediate task was now

1. Inaugurated by the Catholic Hierarchy in 1867.

to augment as rapidly as possible the number of certificated mistresses to act as heads of the new schools and prepare pupil teachers for future needs. To this end three different methods were employed, the enlargement of the existing college of Mount Pleasant, an increase in the number of candidates qualifying each year by the Certificate of Merit Examination and finally the establishment of a new college.

In 1870 the C.P.S.C asked Mount Pleasant to admit an additional twenty students for a one year course allowed by the Committee of Council as a temporary measure to enable students to obtain their certificates after only one year's training. The C.P.S.C. offered to pay the additional expense and also to reduce by half the entrance fee of £5 for all students. In the event, the college did not take the full number that year, but they admitted a First Year of 41 instead of the usual 36 and immediately began extensions to the college, which enabled them to increase the total number of students to 104 in 1872 and to 120 in 1874.

Until about the close of the decade 1870 to 1880, the numbers remained at this level, but when the new college at Wandsworth was fully established, Mount Pleasant reduced its numbers

and they remained at 108 for the rest of the century.

In 1872 51 students qualified, of whom eighteen were one year trained.

In 1870 and 1871 Mr. Stokes devoted the greater part of his report to the C.P.S.C. to the problems of the supply of teachers and among other points suggested that the Sisters should train a group of students exclusively for work in Infants' Schools, giving them a one year course. He stated that fourteen years previously he had urged the Sisters to train Infants' teachers since such a large proportion of the children in Catholic schools were found in the Infant classes and in the lower standards.¹ There seems to be some confusion here as there was an Infants'² school in connection with the Practising School and students certainly spent time in that school. However, he was probably of the opinion that unless students were trained with the youngest children in mind, they would be unlikely to seek posts in Infants' Schools, since such posts were not so well paid. The Sisters were not attracted by the idea of the shorter course and when the emergency came to an end, one year students were no longer admitted.

1. C.P.S.C. Report. Paper by Mr. Stokes on , 'The Bearing of the New Education Act on the Catholic Population'.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1860. Mr. Stokes said that Mount Pleasant Practising School was without an adequate Infants Department, and that more than half the number of applications from Managers were for Infants Teachers. However in 1858 the C.P.S.C. had made a special grant of £1000 to Mount Pleasant to enable the Sisters to form a special class of Infants teachers.

But the college trained teachers had of course, never been the only certificated teachers going into the schools and from 1870 the number of candidates for the Certificate of Merit Examination increased rapidly. To encourage more to qualify, the Sisters at Mount Pleasant¹ provided classes on week nights and on Saturday mornings for young women in the Liverpool district; a like eagerness and enthusiasm must have been shown in other areas because, between 1870 and 1872,² 258 acting teachers passed the examination as against 93 between 1866 and 1869. The table in the appendix³ shows the position in 1873 when these two measures to increase numbers had become effective. The number both of teaching sisters and lay teachers went up in about equal proportion and it is difficult to know how many of the lay-women would have gone to college, had there been sufficient places, but there were quite evidently enough suitable candidates to fill another college, if one could be provided.

1. S.P.S.C. Report for 1870.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1873.
3. Sec. Appendix II

In 1870 the Bishops, the members of the C.P.S.C. and the inspectors had discussed the need for this new college but where it was to be sited, what Religious Order was to be asked to undertake it were all matters for debate. The C.P.S.C. made it clear that in view of their heavy responsibilities for the building of new schools, they would not be able to go beyond the kind of financial assistance with entrance fees and maintenance already given to Liverpool. It was therefore obvious that the new venture would have to be undertaken by a religious community, able to supply staff and premises. It is to the report of Mr. Stokes, already mentioned that we turn for a full discussion of all the problems involved.

He had himself a predilection for the Sisters of Notre Dame, but he recognised that it might be difficult for them to staff another college without weakening Mount Pleasant and considered it would be safer to call in another community. The Sisters at Mount Pleasant¹ themselves did not wish to undertake another college unless no other community could be found for the work, but in case their

1. Mr. Stoke's report to the C.P.S.C. quoted in the 1871 Report.

help was needed, they had inspected sites in London and Southwark. However, after consultation with Canon Tinling and the C.P.S.C., they decided on enlarging Mount Pleasant. Mr. Stokes own opinion was that the new college ought to be in London, in 'a salubrious position', near to large schools but with facilities for a good practising school. London was an obvious choice since most of Mount Pleasant's students came from the Midlands and the North² and there was need for a college which could draw students from areas that had so far sent few students to college. After discussing the merits of several communities of teaching sisters, he gave his verdict in favour of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, on the grounds that they were exclusively devoted to education and powerful in numbers and educational resources. They were moreover, experienced in teaching in government aided schools. These Sisters had large schools in Manchester and Somertown, London, but though Mr. Stokes had expressed his opinion in their favour, they were apparently not asked or refused as no more was heard of this proposal.

2. Figures in the 1872 Report of the C.P.S.C. illustrate this; of 77 Pupil Teachers who passed the Queens Scholarship at Liverpool in 1871, only 15 came from schools south of Birmingham.

In the meantime Mother Connelly of St. Leonards who had never lost her desire to re-start the training of teachers, had carried on a lengthy correspondence with Mr. Allies and other members of the C.P.S.C., with Canon Wenham, the Westminster Diocesan Inspector and with Archbishop Manning himself offering to buy premises in London to be used as a college¹: She was apparently a prospective purchaser for some property in Dorset St., later bought by the Sacred Heart Nuns, but though many letters passed, Mother Connelly's plans came to nothing, At the end of a copy of the last letter written to Archbishop Manning, there is a note in her own handwriting, "The whole of this correspondence and the visit to London ended in smoke. The proposed purchase was a mere bubble". There is no mention by Mr. Stokes of these negotiations; perhaps he did not know of them, but in any case, he may not have been anxious for the Holy Child nuns to have the college since his relationship with them over the earlier one at St. Leonards had never been a happy one.

The Sacred Heart nuns who bought the Dorset Street house had a flourishing boarding school, established in

1. The project is discussed in a series of letters beginning with one in July 1870 to Mr. Allies, Secretary of the C.P.S.C. and continuing until a final letter to Lord Petre in 1874. Mayfield Papers.

Roehampton since 1852; they had many friends particularly among a group of devout and well-to-do Catholic ladies who were frequent visitors to Roehampton for retreats and meetings of the Children of Mary Sodality. It was these ladies who approached Mother Digby² to open a house in London itself which could be a centre for the many charitable activities of the sodality and where the nuns could have a "Poor School". The Bishops urged the nuns to consider opening a Training College and at first Archbishop Manning, in whose diocese the Dorset Street property was situated, agreed to the proposal. Assured that all would be well and supported by the approval of the Inspectors, the nuns consented to begin the college. Unfortunately the Archbishop withdrew his consent, but Mother Rigby, the Superior at Roehampton, decided to continue with her plans and to ask Bishop Daniel of Southwark to allow the college to be established in his diocese.

The C.P.S.C.¹ accepted the Sacred Heart nuns offer, guaranteeing them the same grants as those given to Mount Pleasant. They were asked to admit Queen's Scholars not

1. Report of the C.P.S.C.
2. April 3rd 1873. Mayfield Papers. There were apparently difficulties about raising the money for the purchase price of this house, but Mother Connelly felt that Mr. Allies had not helped her enough and that he feared the community would not be able to stand the expense involved in running the College. There is no doubt of her disappointment at the failure of the plan.

not later than February 21st 1874; before this could happen, the staff had to be chosen and take their government certificates and finally, a house had to be found. The first Superior was Mother Leslie who had for assistants Mother Laprimaudaye, whose aunt we have already met at St. Leonards, Mother Phillips and Mother Power. The last three set off in secular dress to get all the help and information they could from the Sisters of Notre Dame, who were most welcoming and from whom they obtained much useful detail about teaching and organisation. The expedition was not without its adventures and the nuns wrote light-hearted letters² back to Roehampton in which they mentioned the "damp and dirty lodgings", "the hot water bottle that leaked and the large piece of paving stone wrapped in grimy flannel that did duty as a bed warmer". It goes without saying that they did not stay at the convent in Liverpool: In the Notre Dame Centenary Brochure there is a delightful entry from the College Annals:- November 26th 1873, "Two ladies of the Sacred Heart from Roehampton

2. "Mabel Digby" - by M.R. Richardson. Chapter 21.

came to see the Training College. One of them was the Superior; we found them very pleasing. As they are going to begin a second Catholic Training College, they were very desirous of making a profound study of our system of education. Our good Sister Superior gave them all the information possible." "January 26th 1874. Three Ladies of the Sacred Heart came for several days to be present at the different lessons given in the Training College." The Sisters of Notre Dame felt that the help they gave was "our contribution to the new college and a very important one". That the Ladies of the Sacred Heart were in their turn grateful for the help they received is shown by the comment in the "Life of Mother Digby", that on their visiting Mount Pleasant, the Sisters, by "their cordial charity and serviceable hints, made it appear as if the success of the southern college was to be their own".

It is most interesting to note here that not only did the nuns get help from Mount Pleasant and Hammersmith, but Mother Digby and the other members of the staff visited Stockwell and Southlands, both colleges of the first rank

it is true, but an early example of friendly relationships with colleges of other denominations. While the nuns were making these visits, they were also preparing with the help of outside specialists, for the certificate examination. Mother Digby had declared :- "We must devote ourselves to the acquisition of this secular knowledge that is being asked for. We bear the responsibility of giving Catholic children an education equal to that given in non-Catholic schools. If we or our students neglect study and fall below the standard required, parents and children might in consequence resort to schools in which the knowledge is not taught. Mr. Disreali has spoken of the 1870 Education Act as creating a new sacerdotal class; the schoolmaster is not for us the substitute for the priest." ¹.

But though the college was officially opened in February 1874 the 21 students were housed in temporary premises at Roehampton. The nuns wanted a house as near to London as possible, and yet not too near an existing convent with Poor Schools. They tried many of the London suburbs south of the river but Orchard House in Wandsworth¹. which

1. Mabel Rigby. M.K.Richardson. Chapter 21.

eventually became the nucleus of the new college, was at first passed over as being in too deserted a situation and in need of a great deal of repair, However Mr. Allies pointed out that the site was healthy, the grounds extensive and close by was a district of overcrowded tenements with Catholic children in desperate straits for education. The house was bought, but several months passed in alterations and meanwhile the students were accommodated at Roehampton itself. On July 20th 1874, the community with five students who were staying for the summer holidays, took possession of the new college. Mother Leslie, describing the move, wrote²:- "At seven in the morning the first cartload of beds and bedding left Roehampton for the foundation and a cab started shortly afterwards with Mother Vercruysse and Sisters Elizabeth, Honorine and Conway to receive and unpack the things. At a quarter to nine, I followed with Mother Laprimaudaye and a little later Mother Kieran and Mother Power came in Mrs. Robson's carriage, followed by Mother Bergel, Sister Frances and two students". There follows a vivid and entertaining account of the first days' settling in and finally:- "Not long after a Roehampton cow, named

2. Quoted from "The Chronicle" Digby Stuart College, Roehampton, London (the successor of the College at Wandsworth) 1956 Edition. p.13.

Patricia arrived with three calves and had to be milked". It was however soon apparent that more room would soon be needed for both college and practising school.

In view of the immediate need for more trained teachers, it is surprising that the college was not at once filled to capacity, but it was for many years overshadowed by Mount Pleasant whose great reputation and established position tended to attract the best candidates, many of whom had been trained in the Pupil Teachers' Centres attached to most of the Notre Dame convents¹: Only candidates who obtained first or second class passes in the admission examination were awarded Queen's Scholarships and there were occasions during the decade 1870-80². when very few candidates at Wandsworth reached the required standard and numbers were made up by offering places to girls who would have preferred to go to Mount Pleasant. This was discouraging when one considers the quality of the staff, but results were, if not outstanding always satisfactory and the Inspectors helpful and sympathetic. But the College had many financial difficulties to face and in 1882³ the C.P.S.C. had to make a grant of £500 because of the

1. e.g. Schools in Liverpool, Blackburn, Wigan, Manchester, St. Helens, Plymouth, Southwark, to mention the best known. Northampton,
2. Report of C.P.S.C. 1877 there were more applicants than places at Wandsworth, but in the admission exam in 1878 (C.P.S.C. Report 1878) only nine out of 35 candidates passed, yet 22 first year students were admitted again in 1879. 20 passed the exam, but 32 were admitted.
3. Report of C.P.S.C. 1882.

delay some of the students had experienced in getting their parchment certificates with the consequent loss of revenue to the college for that financial year. Some similar help and also some of the sympathy shown to Wandsworth in its difficulties, might have saved St. Leonards in 1863 but in 1882 the college-trained teacher was in greater demand and a higher value set on her services. However in spite of this, a new chapel and additional classrooms were built in that year. Yet there was financial stringency for some time and in the Wandsworth accounts in 1884 there was an item, "To subscriptions and donations from individuals £698.12.2d" and the secretary of the C.P.S.C.¹ told the committee that he believed that the nuns themselves had contributed the money to make up the deficit.

The main change in administration resulting from the 1870 Education Act² which was viewed with some apprehension, was the abolition of denominational inspection of schools and colleges. But though the authorities at Mount Pleasant were sorry to lose Mr. Stokes³ who with Mr. Renouf³ was transferred to London, they seemed to have accepted the advent of the

1. C.P.S.C. Minute Book - April 24th 1884.

2. Elementary Education Act 1870 33 and 34 Victoria Chap.75.
Section 7.

3. Committee of Council Report 1870-71. Inspectors Districts
p.CLvii.

4. Mayfield Papers Dec.1st 1860.

Anglican Canon Tinling with composure; this in itself indicates a significant alteration in the climate of opinion within a very short space of time, for in 1862 Dr. Grant⁴. Bishop of Southwark, was writing to Mother Connelly expressing his annoyance that the Science and Art Department of South Kensington had sent a non-Catholic drawing inspector down to St. Leonards and asking anxiously if the inspector in question had spoken to any of the students in the course of his invigilation. But in any case Mount Pleasant⁴ had sufficient confidence in its own work and soon found very cordial friends in Canon Tinling and his successors, as indeed did Wandsworth. An extract from the Mount Pleasant Annals on the occasion of his first visit is worth quoting:-

"September 12th and 13th, 1871; Today took place the examination for teaching in the Training School, under the inspection of Mr. Tinling, Canon of the Church of England at Gloucester. As it is the first time we have had a Protestant inspector the students were less self-confident than in other years. Fortunately, however, they pleased him much and gave their lessons perfectly well. He showed that he was satisfied with the whole training school, which he visited down to the last details. He wanted to examine everything, even the

the cupboards of the students, their cubicles, the kitchen with all its appurtenances. Everywhere he admired the order and the discipline, and he remarked with pleasure on the good spirit which reigned among the students and the expression of happiness depicted on their faces. Seeing their little chapel, he asked if we would permit him to make his meditation there... He was a man full of piety and noble sentiments and we thanked God that the Training School had made such a good impression on him".

The inspectors in their turn were very appreciative of the merits of the two training colleges and the cordial relationship established so soon after the introduction of the new system were never broken.

But though Sister Mary of St. Philip had accepted the new system and the end of denominational inspection for the college, she did feel it necessary to prepare students with the utmost care for the changes they might encounter in their relationships with managers and inspectors. Not all inspectors were likely to be as kindly and as understanding as Canon Tinling and in a series of letters written in 1875 by inspectors to Sir Francis Sandford¹, Secretary to the Committee

1. Public Record Office. Replies to a letter by Sir F. Sandford asking for their opinions on R.C. schools. The letter referred to here is from Mr. Sandford who is reporting on R.C. schools in South Staffordshire.

of Council, in response to an enquiry he made relative to the Catholic Schools, there are occasional comments which show not only a lack of understanding of Catholic practices, but also something of more definite prejudice, which a young teacher in particular might find hard to bear. One inspector, for example wants more strict rules prohibiting, "anything resembling image worship during secular hours. I have found lights burning before an image of the Madonna and the image itself decked out gorgeously at certain festivals and seasons". Not very serious perhaps, but later in the letter, he remarked that "the religious influence of a Catholic tendency is being exercised during secular hours in some of the schools". However he is generous enough to add, "but it must be borne in mind that only religious zeal (which is hard in many places to meet with, undivested of sectarian views) will induce teachers to devote themselves to the education of such children as the R.C. schools of large towns have to deal with".

Some of the managers for their part, regarded the introduction of the conscience clause with some disquiet, fearing that the separation of the secular and religious aspects of education would result in the impairment of the Catholic atmosphere of the schools, But Sister Mary of

St. Philip and Father Rowe, Principal of St. Mary's College, Hammersmith, continued to hold to their view expressed at the time of the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862¹ that the government connection must be maintained to ensure the very existence of the Catholic schools and were at one in their opinion that to accept the conscience clause was not to compromise on a vital issue. In the C.P.S.C. Report of 1872 it was pointed out that it was quite practicable to unite four hours of secular instruction with efficient religious teaching outside that period, and that the quality of the latter depended on the energy of managers and teachers alike.

Sister Mary of St. Philip² had a large picture of the "Coin of the Tribute" placed in a prominent position in the college and was never tired of emphasising its lesson. She wanted the students to realise that they must not on the one hand be so anxious to impress the inspectors with their secular knowledge and competence as teachers that they neglected religious instruction, nor equally disastrously, must they ignore provisions of the conscience clause and give the latter more than its legal time. In "The Voice" of 1871, the last

1. Life of St. Mary of St. Philip by a Sister of Notre Dame. Longmans. 1920 Chapter IX.

2. Our Lady's College, Magazine. Centenary. November 1956. p.20.

number available and this time printed, she advised the old students on the interpretation of the Act and what she has to say gives a clue to the kind of instruction the students would receive while actually in college. She pointed out that neither indirect religious teaching nor private observances were forbidden by the Act and consequently the tone of the schools could still be Catholic, Catholic textbooks used, familiar religious objects and pictures retained and the usual prayers and hymns said and sung at the change of lessons. The little pamphlet gives an excellent account of the religious teaching and devotional practices in a school of the period and includes specimen timetables to show how matters could be most suitably arranged to comply with the provisions of the Act. She suggested that teachers should in consultation with the clergy, decide whether to have religious instruction at the beginning or end of the session; she herself preferred the beginning, since the registers could then be marked at the last possible moment. The teachers were reminded that visits to Church must come out of periods allotted to religious instruction. In case it could be considered as contravening

the Conscience Clause, they were advised to say silently the various prayers customarily recited at different times during the day. This might be a better preparation for life after school.

Inspection of the time tables ¹ shows an hour each morning given to religious instruction, divided into actual prayers, the learning and reciting of the catechism and a half hour's lesson. At the beginning there was a half hour period, when the girls could listen to the reading of Bible History or some religious book as they did their sewing. Though not strictly relevant to our immediate purpose, it is worth while noticing that there was an hour and three quarters spent on sewing on two days a week and no time at all allotted to physical exercises or outdoor recreation during school hours. On this latter point, Sister Mary of St. Philip suggested that the infants might spend part of their two hours secular instruction in the playground. It was evident also that apart from the Code subjects and religious instruction, it was assumed that the teachers would be attempting little else. Vocal music is given a very small space and half an hour only allotted to either Geography or Grammar.

1. See Appendix 12 a & b.

As one would expect from such a source, not only were the details of the children's religious education in school planned with meticulous care, but as in the 1864 edition of "The Voice", the teachers were recommended to reinforce the influence of the school by forming a series of sodalities for girls in the parishes where they worked. There were three of these, suited to the different age levels from about seven upwards. All had their monthly meetings, conferences, special practices and devotions and medals to wear. There were many suggestions about good behaviour at home and in the streets and the older girls were to be advised against going to public amusements. All were urged to go to Confession monthly and Holy Communion as well if they were old enough. Where these sodalities flourished, a great deal could be done to raise the tone of the girls of a parish and to offset the evils of living in overcrowded homes and working in the factories of industrial towns. But one does wonder how these pious practices were ever carried ^{out} by those living in real slum conditions.

The writer was also most emphatic that teachers must be careful to respect the rights of any non-Catholic children

they might have in their schools. This was not likely to occur in towns, but there were a few country places where the only available school was a Catholic one. At the time of the Cross Commission¹ Catholic witnesses said that the Conscience Clause was seldom or never invoked by the parents of non-Catholic children. Her final point was that undenominational inspection imposed on Catholic teachers the duty of being efficient in all their dealings with inspectors and managers since any neglect or suspicion of dishonesty on the part of individuals would rebound to the discredit of the whole body of Catholic teachers.

Made aware of their duties and responsibilities by such admonitions as the foregoing, reinforced by the conferences at the Old Students' Retreats, the young teachers, earnest and hardworking but inevitably limited, were in a difficult situation. They could not help but realise that, on the results of the annual examination conducted by inspectors, now no longer necessarily of their own faith, their salaries and sometimes the very existence of their schools depended. Yet on the other hand there was in most dioceses, in addition an examination in religious knowledge² with medals and

1. Royal Commission in Education 1886. Evidence of Mr. Lawrence Conway, Holy Cross School. Liverpool p.300.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1875. New Scheme for diocesan inspection of Religious Instruction. For next few years detailed results of examination were given in the report with names of Head Teachers receiving "Grants of honour" for good results of pupil teachers and children.

pictures for successful candidates and names published in the C.P.S.C. Annual Report, which found its way to every presbytery and every subscriber's home. Their task was made all the harder by the fact that until the very end of the century a disproportionate number of Catholics were to be found in the poorest groups of the population; their children were more disposed to leave school at the earliest possible moment, to be less amenable to schools attendance orders and to make most use of any loopholes for exemption. The inevitable result was that few scholars reached the higher standards or took the class or specific subjects introduced by successive codes with the object of broadening the curriculum, mitigating some of the effects of the system of Payment by Results and not the less important, providing extra grants for the schools. In many of the voluntary schools these regulations simply lead to increased pressure on the children and teachers, for pupils were often kept at school to 6,7 or even 8 o'clock to be coached for the examinations, particularly after the Mundella Code of 1882¹ had introduced the Merit Grant. This over pressure would be avoided, said

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education. Minute of March 6th 1882. p.123 and 124.

the authorities at Mount Pleasant, if only the managers would be content with a fair percentage of passes which was all that could be expected until Catholic children attended school as regularly and as punctually as scholars in the Board Schools, But in fairness to the teachers and children, it should however, be noted that certainly in the seventies and eighties, the Catholics got a higher percentage of passes in the lower standards than other voluntary and Board schools.

This did not pass unnoticed by the C.P.S.C. and in several reports there were lists published, showing the comparatively small number of Catholic children who passed in special subjects and incidentally, that in Catholic schools more girls than boys took these extras, whereas in the other schools the situation was reversed. In 1877². it could be said at the annual meeting that to a very large extent, the schools were only infant schools; less than one tenth of those who were of an age to pass in Standard VI were presented, yet "the child who leaves school without being able to pass the sixth standard cannot be said to have received an efficient and complete education". In the following year a table¹.

1. Appendix 13.
2. Report of the C.P.S.C. 1877

published in the report shows that from the age of eleven there was a steady falling off in the number of children in school, so that there were only 5,165 children in the 13 to 14 age group as compared with 22,163 of nine and ten.

The situation did improve during the next twenty five years, partly because school life lengthened and attendance became more regular for everyone, but also because the economic position of the Catholic poor improved. David Mathew in "Catholicism in England 1535 to 1935"¹ points out that in this period the gap between the well-to-do and upper class Catholics and the mass of their co-religionists was closing as the latter, benefitting by the improved conditions, entered the ranks of skilled workers, obtained posts of responsibility in banks, commerce and the Civil Service. But it is important not to lose sight, when discussing the colleges and the pupil teachers, of the very real difficulties with which the Catholics, even more perhaps than the other supporters of voluntary schools had to contend.

The Catholic community had from 1856 been fortunate in its training colleges for women and when the results of all the colleges were published in a general list after 1870, it

1. "Catholicism in England 1835 - 1935". David Mathew.
"Catholics and English Life" p.234.

was immediately apparent that Mount Pleasant, to judge only by examination results was one of the leading colleges in the country, ranking with such institutions as Whitelands, Stockwell and the Home and Colonial Colleges. In 1875 Mount Pleasant's results were higher than those of any other college; in 1880 it was second only to Whitelands and these excellent results were consistently maintained.^{1.} In the last decade of the century the Sisters were quick to take advantage of permission to present students for the London Matriculation and Intermediate Arts and Science Examinations; the Mount Pleasant Centenary Magazine^{2.} suggests that this happened before 1882, but the Inspectors do not mention it until 1894^{3.} From 1894 the Sisters decided to keep a few students for a Third Year and once begun, the practice continued with an average of about three or four a year, about the same as Whitelands and Stockwell. These students sometimes spent their year abroad but some stayed in Liverpool and prepared for one of the university examinations. In 1895^{4.} the inspectors reported that a select group was to begin preparation for degrees of the

1. Report to the Committee of Council on Education. p.459. Summary of Results of examination of students in Training Colleges 1875. ditto 1880 p.472.
2. Mount Pleasant Centenary Magazine, published 1956.
3. Report to the Committee of Council. Mr.Oakleys H.M.I. report for 1894 p.183.
4. Report to the Committee on Education. 1895 p.216.

Victoria University, but the scheme was not proceeded with, and no students actually took degrees until after the turn of the century. The results at Wandsworth did not match those at Mount Pleasant for they were handicapped by the poor quality of the majority¹ of their students. There is no record of students staying for a Third Year or taking University examinations until much later.

But the inspectors always spoke highly of the staffs of the two colleges, exempting them from the usual criticisms made with increasing frequency of training college lecturers in the latter part of the century. The appointment of ex-students to the staff, criticised by Mr. Fitch in 1892², who thought it undesirable even if they possessed external London degrees, was still the usual practice. At Whitelands for example, almost the entire staff were ex-students, though they had been encouraged to work for London Matriculation and the Scottish L.L.A.. Inspectors³ declared that such appointments gave the Principal a tractable staff but one whose qualities were described as "Accuracy in a narrow sense, the methodical arrangement of facts, no doubt useful, but imparted in a

1. Report to the Committee of Council on Education 1895.
p.222 mentions this.
2. Report of the Committee of Council on Education. 1892 by
Mr. Fitch. p.156.
3. Report to the Committee of Council on Education 1894.
Mr. Scott comments. p.129 & 130.

perfunctory manner, with a steady view of gaining marks and a persistent treatment of knowledge in a restricted professional spirit". Though there was a steadily increasing number of women graduates and others who had qualified by passing such examination as the Cambridge Higher Local and the Cambridge Teachers' Certificate, they were more attracted by work in the rapidly expanding girls' high schools than in the training colleges, where they would have had to be resident in unattractive and narrow conditions. Darlington Training College¹ a college of the first rank, able to select its students from the first 500 on the Queen's Scholarship list, appointed graduates from 1887 onwards, but they seldom stayed long. One member of staff, an ex-student, went to Newnham for a year and by 1897 there were three graduates working full time and some on the visiting staff. But Whitelands and Darlington were at that time two of the best known colleges.

It is quite true of course that both at Mount Pleasant and at Wandsworth all the lecturers were members of the order and in the former college, an increasing number had actually been students and it is also true that it was some time before

1. Darlington Training College. Information from records at the college.

the nuns at either college began taking degrees themselves. But because of their opportunities for education within the convent and their teaching experience in different types of schools in this country and abroad, they were less likely to be subject to the faults of narrowness and inbreeding stigmatised by the inspectors. In 1881 Canon Warburton¹, Canon Tinling's successor declared that he would direct an enquiring foreigner to Mount Pleasant as an example of excellence among English Training colleges. Three years later he declared that the "lecturers are exceptionally fitted for their office". In 1887 Mr. Fitch² in a detailed report on Mount Pleasant, mentioned several of the staff by name. He speaks of Miss Winfield and Miss Lomax as first rate teachers. Miss Partridge, sister of Sir Bernard Partridge, the famous contributor to "Punch" showed very unusual gifts exhibiting wide reading and mental cultivation". Many colleges, he declared, had to take their governesses from teachers in elementary schools, "your Committee is very fortunate in having ladies whose much more extensive

1. Report to the Committee of Council on Education by Canon Warburton 1881.
2. Unpublished material at Mount Pleasant Training College. At this period the reports on individual colleges published in the Committee of Council Reports were very brief, but more detailed comments were apparently sent to the colleges.

education enables them to exhibit a variety of illustrations and results in so much greater efficiency in their lectures". In 1889 there was a most interesting comment on Miss Mottram's lecture on the property of numbers. "Arithmetic", he said, "is usually not considered a strong point with females and in any colleges, they avail themselves of the services of male professors for this subject, but Miss Mottram treated the subject with much more than average ability and it was a grand specimen of a model lesson."

The same inspector in 1892¹, after commenting on the new buildings at Wandsworth, went on to say that the lecturers are, "gentlewomen, many of whom have received a liberal education and have qualified themselves by special training to meet all the requirements of the Code and have in addition devoted their private fortunes to the work of the college". Finally on the subject of Mount Pleasant in 1896, he declared, "this college is in a very true sense a national institution and has come to be so regarded all over the kingdom".

Sister Mary of St. Philip, who was a keen observer of educational developments and had friends among the Principals

1. Report to the Committee of Council on Education. 1892
by Mr. Fitch. p.153.

of non-Catholic training colleges, with whom she must have discussed the current criticisms of the colleges. It was one of these friends, Miss Ravenscroft¹ of the Home and Colonial College, who in 1882 introduced her to the L.L.A. scheme, initiated by Professor Knight of St. Andrews University. Immediately Sister Mary of St. Philip encouraged several of the younger Sisters to work for this diploma, specialising in the subjects most needed to strengthen the college curriculum. Professor Knight himself was invited to address staff and students on the "Higher Education of Women".²

The students' general education in both colleges was sensibly widened³ during these years as in addition to taking South Kensington Art and Science Examinations, they were given more opportunities for visiting other schools, attending outside lectures and concerts and were encouraged, once they had left college, to attend vacation courses. The Liverpool students attended courses of lectures at the University in mental philosophy, mathematics, history and literature and had such people as Professor Raleigh to

1. "Life of Sister Mary of St. Philip". by a Sister of Notre Dame. Laymans 1920. Chap. XIV.
2. Catholic Poor School Committee Report 1897.
3. - do - - do -

lecture in the college on Shakespeare and on Wordsworth's poetry. Wandsworth students had lectures on Kindergarden Methods from the staff of the Froebel Institute and visited a variety of schools and institutions in and around London. The comment was made at the C.P.S.C.^{1.} meeting that "these opportunities were of distinct value whether as preparing them for their future career or as widening their intellectual horizon by lifting their minds to a higher level and taking them beyond their daily routine".

But though the colleges met with such praise and were obviously giving those students fortunate enough to attend them an excellent preparation for their future work, it would be a mistake to think that all was well with the training of women teachers for the Catholic schools, for there were some very serious problems to be solved, the most pressing and for many years the most intractable of which was the provision of a much improved system of pre-college education for the pupil teachers. Even in 1870 neither Sister Mary of St. Philip nor Mr. Stokes had any illusions about the training of most of them, for it became apparent

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1897.

when a general list of the results of the Queen's Scholarship Examination was substituted for the separate denominational lists, that despite the many good candidates entering Mount Pleasant, the majority were no more than average. Candidates ^{1.} who had been taught at the Catholic pupil teachers' centres did remarkably well; in 1875 and 1878 a Catholic girl took first place and in seven of the nine years between 1874 and 1885, girls from the centres at Mount Pleasant and Everton Valley in Liverpool were so successful in carrying off prizes offered by the Liverpool School Board that the Board decided in 1878 to introduce centres for its own Board school candidates. Nor did the good candidates come only from Liverpool; pupil teachers from centres in London and Plymouth did equally well. 1883 was a particularly good year; Mount Pleasant admitted the third girl in the general list and two more from the first ten. Another girl was fourth among the London pupil teachers and St. George's school in Southwark sent six with first class passes who were also in the first hundred. In 1884 again they had four candidates among the first ten and two Liverpool girls came first in the city.

1. Reports of the C.P.S.C. from 1871 to 1880 positions of outstanding Catholic Pupil Teachers in the general list are quoted.

There were however, the exceptions; it is almost impossible to discover exactly how many centres there were at this date but much later in 1895^{1.} there were only twenty, so it was for the majority, at this stage entirely taught by their own head teachers, that Sister Mary of St. Philip was speaking when she declared in "The Voice" of 1871, that though one hour* instruction for a day for pupil teachers was all that was required by the Code, it was certainly not enough and too many teachers neglected their apprentices in favour of night school work, preparing for concerts and choir practices. She went on to say that few students gave evidence of careful and intelligent teaching and had had very little opportunity for useful reading with the result that in their final examinations they were falling below the class they were capable of achieving. Headmistresses who had themselves been to college, ought, she considered, to be able to confer these benefits on their apprentices.

Mr. Stokes in his report to the C.P.S.C. in 1873, drew attention to the need for the better education of the pupil teachers and underlined the difficulties experienced by those not fortunate enough to go to centres. He said he had reason

1. Results of an enquiry made by the C.P.S.C. Twenty places where there were centres; in one or two towns, e.g. Leeds there was more than one centre, but the total was not more than 25.

to believe that Catholic teachers were falling behind as the scope of education offered to non-Catholic pupil teachers readily increased. Many of the latter were getting systematic instruction in drawing and passed the examinations of the Science and Art Department. The final examination for pupil teachers now included optional papers in music and languages and credit could be obtained for passing in one of six science subjects in that examination. He followed this up by a letter to the "Tablet"^{1.} in the next year, to press home to school managers the need to procure qualified teachers to instruct their apprentices in these additional subjects or otherwise to send them to classes at local schools of science and art.

To what extent managers were able or willing to follow his advice, it is difficult to say, but the next few years brought changes, which though they were to the ultimate advantage of the pupil teachers, their immediate effect was to make the situation even more difficult for the voluntary schools. In 1880^{1.} the age of apprenticeship was raised from thirteen to fourteen and a new class of candidates created,

1. Report to the Committee of Council on Education New Code 1880 para. 706, p.124.

who were to continue in full time education for another year before becoming pupil teachers. Four years later in 1884^{1.} pupil teachers were not required to teach more than half time and might attend centres during school time. But poorer parents found it difficult to forge the earnings of their thirteen to fourteen year old children and the voluntary schools could not afford the extra staff to allow pupil teachers to attend centres parttime.

With many of the criticisms levelled at the Pupil Teachers' system by members of the Cross Commission in 1888, and of the Departmental Committee in 1898,^{2.} Catholics could not but agree. The witness at the former, who stated, "the great mass of testimony is that the training colleges are unable to do all they should for their students on account of the unprepared and crude state in which they receive them", could not be denied. Other comments with which most inspectors at any rate would concur, were that "the pupil teachers teach badly and are badly taught", and that they were regarded too exclusively in the light of cheap labour. At the 1898 Committee the early age of admission to apprenticeship was

1. Code instructions to Inspectors and Minutes Revised Instructions. para.69. p.15.
2. Cross Commission. Final Report p.277.

stated to be a serious obstacle to the proper preparation of the candidates and a great peril to the classes entrusted to them. ^{1.} The amount of teaching they had to do and the burden of preparation tended to deprive young teachers of both the opportunity and the desire to acquire a liberal education. ^{2.} But the Rev. W.J.B. Richards, a Catholic priest and a witness at the Cross Commission emphasised the school's difficulties, when he said that the reduction in hours of teaching gave the Board schools an enormous advantage in the scholarship examination compared with other pupil teachers.

That the education of the pupil teachers was regarded as a major problem, is evident from the reports of the C.P.S.C. down to the end of the century; it is referred to year after year, suggestions are made, advice offered to head teachers and finally in 1895 an enquiry was launched to discover the exact state of affairs throughout the country. But debarred from rate aid, faced with an increasing school population and rising standards of education, the Catholics like other supporters of the voluntary schools, had little hope of

affording the improvements they knew to be essential, if their

1. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teachers System 1898 p.6.
2. Report of the Cross Commission 1888. Vol.2 p.393.

pupil teachers were to keep pace with those educated in the better School Board centres. Their anxiety in face of this seemingly impossible task, sometimes led them to appear as opponents of educational progress as for example in some of the criticisms made of the new regulations for pupil teachers in the code of 1898, following the report of the Departmental Committee.

The Catholic girls who were not able to attend centres suffered the same limitations as their non-Catholic contemporaries in a like case, but even those in the centres found themselves overtaken in the Queen's Scholarship examination in the late eighties and nineties by the Board School candidates. They no longer gained the high places which had formerly been theirs in such great numbers.

^{1.}
In 1889 failures at Liverpool were numerous and no high places were gained by the Catholic pupil teachers. "Catholic candidates are kept hard at work all day in school (in some cases until six in the evening) having as a rule one short hour of instruction five times a week from a teacher worn out from her hard day's work". Board School candidates, it

1. C.P.S.C. Report.

said, are allowed to leave school to take afternoon classes, taught by first rate masters, men with degrees who devote themselves to special subjects, engaged for tuition at the centres, who come fresh to their work, having no other schoolduties to absorb their time and strength. They have classes from the same tutors and governesses on Saturdays and have every facility in the shape of books and apparatus. Catholics can never, the writer declares, meet their competitors on equal ground, unless something of the kind is done for them.

The 1892 C.P.S.C. Report is largely taken up with helpful advice to Head Teachers who are still responsible for the whole of their apprentices' academic education. They are reminded that it is a breach of contract to make apprentices teach for more than five hours a day and that, even if it means engaging extra staff, third and fourth year pupil teachers should have additional time for study. All pupil teachers need access to a good school library, to have the opportunity of hearing outside lecturers, visit museums and picture galleries in order to get more general knowledge than they can obtain from their ordinary teachers

and the limited textbooks available. No longer it is thought possible for the head teacher to supply all that was needed, as was so confidently stated in the "Voice" of twenty years previously! The pupil teachers¹ are advised that if they wish to make sure of places at Mount Pleasant, they should secure extra marks in the Queens Scholarship Examination by taking Music and by passing the Drawing examinations of the Science and Art Department of South Kensington. These were subjects which were inclined to be neglected by Catholics, but they are more than ever necessary now that Drawing was a compulsory subject in boys' and mixed schools.

In the same report there is an account of a most interesting discussion, revealing that while the committees were still thinking in terms of increasing the number of pupil teachers' centres, some of them at any rate were moving towards what was to be the ultimate solution, the full time secondary education of the intending teacher. On the first point, Canon Franklin moved "that on account of the absolute necessity of our pupil teachers being better prepared for the Queen's Scholarship Examination", the Committee should draw up a scheme whereby grants might

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1892.

be made for the foundation of pupil teachers' centres. He went on to say that the examinations are now so difficult and so many extra marks were required to get even a second class pass that the number of failures among pupil teachers is very large. The ordinary masters and mistresses could teach the elementary subjects, but few were capable of training pupil teachers in scientific subjects. Another member drew attention to what he called "the famine in female teachers". He felt and in a letter written to the C.P.S.C. in 1895, Sister Mary of St. Philip agreed with him, that more would be forthcoming if there were more pupil teachers' centres.

Later in the discussion Lord Herries said that Catholics should take advantage of the grants for secondary education available under the Technical Education Act of 1889 and the Customs and Excise Act of 1890 to finance ^{their schools}; he was thinking of boys, when he brought this up and so to some extent was Monsignor Cahill in 1894, when he suggested that the schools for middle class Catholics should be circularised with a view to gaining a more educated class of recruits to the teaching profession. The inspectors he said, were enthusiastic about the training given at Hammersmith and Wandsworth, but lamented the lack of first class certificates. This was because these

colleges had to take all the students they could get, while Mount Pleasant was able to draw eligible students from their secondary schools all over the country. This letter was sent out, but apparently only to the boys' schools:

On the matter of the "famine of female teachers" alluded to in the previous paragraph, the number of pupil teachers had fallen in all schools since the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862 for which many reasons were advanced. At the end of the century the report of the Departmental Committee of 1898^{1.} went over familiar ground when it attributed this fall to low wages which had tended to fall rather than rise during the period, to the expense and length of the training and after qualification, the not very attractive conditions of a teacher's life.

Finally in 1895 there comes the account of an enquiry made by the Catholic School Committee itself into the training of Catholic pupil teachers which is most valuable in giving an over-all view of the situation at the end of the century. The Committee sent out 987 forms, 420 of which were returned from fourteen dioceses.^{2.} There were twenty centres for girls,

1. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teachers System 1898 p.6.
2. C.P.S.C. Report 1895 gives the results of this enquiry.

mostly conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame and almost always these were available only to pupil teachers who taught in the elementary schools taught by the nuns..Many of the pupil teachers were resident, but those who lived near the centre could attend for the classes only. There were only five centres for boys and it was reported that both boys and girls went to private venture centres, such as Cusacks and some boys went to School Board Centres. When it came to stating the apprentices' hours of employment, many managers put down 25, the legal maximum, but the members of the Committee thought this was unrealistic, when in fact pupil teachers usually did a considerable amount of supervision duty and 32 to 35 would have been a fairer answer. They found it almost impossible to discover how much time the pupil teachers had for private study; the answer ranged from none at all to twenty seven and a half hours a week. The residential centres, about which more will be said later, had regular hours set apart for private study under supervision but even in these, very little attempt was made to relieve the girls of teaching duties that they might study in school hours.

No very revolutionary suggestions were made by the Committee or by the managers who had reported, except that

there should be an attempt to establish centres available for all Catholic pupil teachers in large towns and these should be assisted by grants from the C.S.C. But during the course of the year at a sub-committee set up to consider the report, Mr. Scott-Coward H.M.I. pointed out the difficulty of establishing a general centre in places where the nuns already had centres catering for perhaps the majority of the girls and suggested that boys in such places might be sent to School Board Centres. What he really wanted to see, he said, was a Catholic Pupil Teachers' Centre with a headmaster, preferably one with three years training, who could if necessary, engage non-Catholic specialists to teach particular subjects.

This particular sub-committee is remarkable in that it had one woman among its members, the Reverend Mother of St. Aloysius' Pupil Teachers' Centre, Clarendon Square, Somerstown, London. So far, though the C.S.C. was always well-informed of the views of the teaching nuns, none of them had ever joined in the discussion nor were there any laywomen on the committee itself. Her presence is important because she gave an account of the working of the centre and information about their organisation is hard to come by.

She explained that the Sisters had 55 pupil teachers, of whom twelve only lived in the convent. The externs came for nine and a half hours each week, and were seldom absent or late, but the time was not nearly enough for thorough work. The resident pupils, in addition to the nine and half hours instruction, worked practically half time, the rest of the time was given to private study. This was because the nuns in charge of the schools ~~were~~ these particular girls taught, were able to arrange for more than the minimum staff. The Reverend Mother does not say whether all the non-residents were teaching in schools whose headmistresses belonged to the Congregation of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, but one assumes it must be so in view of what was constantly said about convent centres being open exclusively to girls teaching in the schools controlled by a particular congregation of Sisters. Fees were low, 10/6d a year for the first three years and £1 in the Queen's Scholarship year and the residents payed £25 a year, rather higher than at some places. The girls earned £8 in the first year and had an increment of £2 each year; the parents of the residents were supposed to make up the difference but

seldom did so. In addition to the Sisters, there were three visiting teachers for Art, Botany, and Mathematics.

Another centre, unusual in that it was for both boys and girls was the one at Melia St. Southwark, described by Dr. E. Buckley which had ~~been~~ 27 and 30 pupil teachers, and had been in existence for eight years. This had a staff of four, presumably part time since the two masters were paid £30 a year, and the mistresses £20. Here the students came for eleven hours a week, but Dr. Buckley felt that the weak point about these central classes was the divided control between the centre teachers and the pupil teachers' own head teachers, who was responsible for his or her training in teaching. This was a criticism which hardly applied to the convent centres, but was made on other occasions. But Dr. Buckley, despite the centre instruction, arranged for his fourth year pupil teachers to take correspondence classes.

A letter from Sister Mary of St. Philip, read at the C.S.C. meeting in this same year, 1895, outlined different ways in which pupil teachers could be instructed. As one would expect, she preferred residential centres, though day pupils should be allowed to come to the classes, "The homes of the Catholic pupil teachers are" she said, "seldom suitable

for study and much time was wasted in travelling". But though she was not in favour of Catholic girls attending Board School centres, it was hard to forbid it entirely, since the pupil teachers needed something more than the common run of lessons given by Catholic masters and mistresses who are "not a reading or a Literary body". The pupil teachers should go to outside classes for science, mathematics and literature; the Liverpool girls had been able to attend extension courses on English literature by one professor at the university and thus to add to their total marks in the scholarship examination. She recommended either 'Cusacks' or Tamans and The School Guardian correspondence course for those unable to attend a centre, but they should be followed under the supervision of the head teacher. Time for private study was essential; the Liverpool pupil teachers had from 8.a.m. to 9.30 a.m. and in some schools the younger girls had an additional three hours a week. However, this could not be done without a liberal staff, but where there is a residential centre, candidates, the thirteen to fourteen year old girls, who were not being paid, could help the teachers to relieve the older pupil teachers.

What is immediately striking about this letter and the information given by the Reverend Mother of St. Aloysius' Centre is that even as late as 1895 and in centres which were admittedly among the best the Catholics had, the pupil teachers were working practically full time. This is confirmed by the evidence on Liverpool Pupil Teachers' centres given by Mr. Harrison H.M.I.^{1.} to the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System in 1896. Describing the Mount Pleasant Centre, he said that candidates attended a preparatory class full time, while the actual pupil teachers had classes in their school each morning from 8 to 9 o'clock private study from 9 to 9.30 or 10 o'clock and some additional time free in the afternoons. But it was difficult for this to be supervised as the teachers had their ordinary classes to teach. Two evenings a week and on Saturday mornings there were classes at the centre which left the remaining four evenings for study. Evidently they were not expected to have a free evening! According to Mr. Harrison this was substantially the same system as that operating in the Liverpool Board School centres. He did not find much evidence of over-pressure among Board School pupils but the Prinnipal of Mount Pleasant had reported that some found the work heavy. The Mount

1. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System 1898 p.207

Pleasant girls he said, " are exceedingly well looked after" and serious over-pressure was more likely to be found among those voluntary school pupils with no centre available.

Discussing the qualifications of the staffs at the centres, he declared that many of those teaching in the School Board centres had degrees. The teachers at Mount Pleasant had themselves been pupil teachers in the Liverpool ^{schools}, but many were highly educated before they entered the Order. A great number of the pupil teachers who passed through eventually became Sisters and he concluded, that because of the very good influence exercised by the Sisters, it would not be fair to induce these girls to go to School Board Centres. This was a policy which found favour in some quarters and more will be heard of it later.

Before finally leaving the subject of the centres, there is more evidence which is worth quoting in the form of timetables of other pre-1902 centres. These date from 1896 to 1902 and have survived attached to some of the school files ^{1.} of the secondary schools which grew out of these pre-existing centres.

They all show the same basic pattern of almost full time

1. The school files preserve correspondence reports of inspections of pupil teachers' centres and secondary schools from 1902, but in some cases there are additional notes and timetables dating from about 1896.

teaching with lessons before and after school, but some of the centres were larger and more efficient than others. A few were little more than residences for a small group of pupil teachers living with Sisters, teaching in one or two schools of a Town. One for which the fullest detail remains and where the girls were receiving what was in effect a complete secondary education was that at the Notre Dame Convent, Blackburn, Lancashire.^{1.} The Convent School was founded in 1851 and was in fact the earliest Notre Dame School in Lancashire; the centre opened in 1870 and on the site in 1897, there was in addition to the High School, a boarding and day school, a pupil teachers' residence for 39 girls. They had excellent classrooms, with single or double desks. Ten hours weekly were spent in class and the older girls were working for the Oxford Senior Local Examination. Those who wished could take instrumental music in addition to the compulsory subjects. The staff^{was} said to be numerous, responsible for one or more subjects and to have the necessary qualification. The latter are not specified, but presumably include the teachers' certificate; none of them would be graduates at that date. In addition to their actual

1. See School File consulted at the Ministry of Education Library. Curzon St. W.1. Ministry of Education Archives S/4599.

lessons, the pupil teachers have two hours supervised private study every day and one or more half days a week away from school. For recreation they can play tennis, croquet and other games in the extensive grounds attached to the convent. But the real obstacle to higher academic standards is said to be the poor state of preparation of many girls when they arrive at the school. Not a few came from Ireland at the age of fourteen, knowing less than a girl~~s~~ just out of Standard IV. More will be heard of these pupil teachers from Ireland, who were to be found as boarders in many pupil teachers' centres and were helping to supply the shortage of English pupil teachers. At Blackburn before these Irish girls became pupil teachers, they were given a year~~s~~ of full time education in the convent school. There is nothing about fees or salaries in this particular set of papers.

The Sacred nuns had a similar scheme in operation at The Ave Maria Pupil Teachers' Centre^{1.} West Hill, Putney, and information about this centre comes from one of its last surviving pupils, a Sacred Heart nun herself. She described how she came to the school at the age of twelve as a boarder,

1. Information from Sister Hopper, who has since died.

and for the next two years was a full time pupil. Her parents paid £12 a year for board and tuition, but the Sister remembers to this day her single bedroom and the good food and care provided for the boarders. Her subsequent career is typical of many others; four years as a pupil teacher, teaching practically full time, with lessons before and after school and at the weekends. The classes she taught even at that young age were usually large, often over 50. The children were very poor; many brought their dinners to school and had to be supervised during the dinner hour, which made the pupil teachers' day long and tiring. What she describes agrees very well with the evidence gathered by the C.S.C. In due course she went to Wandsworth and after her two years there, obtained a post as headmistress at £47 a year. But two years later she entered the convent, and for the greater part of her teaching career, was headmistress of the practising school attached to one of the Catholic training colleges. But hard though her life and that of others like her who were boarders, or even day students at the convent centres was, she was fortunate compared with those who, in addition perhaps to long journeys to and from school, had their scanty

leisure taken up with evening classes and correspondence courses. She was at any rate taught by well educated women and lived in an atmosphere of culture and refinement, where everything possible was done to alleviate the difficulties inevitable in a pupil teachers' life.

But though it is evident that the best of the centres were giving what approximated to a secondary education and all were doing what they could under existing circumstances, the failures and low average places of the Catholic candidates in the Queen's Scholarship Examination are not surprising. Some figures of the 1890s illustrate this only too clearly; about 6000 pupil teachers^{1.} finished their apprenticeship each year and in 1891 the average place on the Queen's Scholarship Examination list of students entering Stockwell was 125. Whitelands admitted only those with first class passes, but even at Mount Pleasant, the average place was only 1137 and at Wandsworth it was 1933. In 1893 though a girl~~s~~ from the Mount Pleasant Pupil Teachers' Centre carried off first place in the whole country, only 22 of the 55 successful candidates admitted to college had first class passes and in the same year, the average place at Wandsworth was 2333. So troubled were the authorities at Wandsworth,

1. History Elementary Education.
Tutorial Press. 1925 p.448.

that they operated a scheme of correspondence classes to enable incoming students, who had already got scholarships to improve the standard of their work, before their college career actually began. In a letter to the Catholic School Committee^{1.} Mother Moran, the Principal said however, "that the inability of so many to work by themselves and to make use of the notes sent has hitherto prevented results from being altogether satisfactory". She continued, "it is very desirable that those who are low on the list should have some preparatory training to put them on a level with those who have had greater advantages". Girls who could afford the extra expanse, were invited to do these preliminary studies at the college itself.

It was of course true that throughout the period many well qualified Catholic candidates might decide against going to college and this for a variety of reasons. The two colleges served the whole of England and Scotland until in 1894 the Sisters of Notre Dame opened Downhill College in Glasgow. Though there was only the entrance fee of £2.10. to be paid, for some travelling expenses and other incidentals might be too heavy and the two years salary which they could

1. C.S.C? Report 1896.

have earned as assistants, hard to forgo. Also even in the last quarter of the century, there were still Catholics who had had little or no contact with teaching Sisters and whose own lay school masters and mistresses, not having been to college themselves, were not necessarily enthusiastic about the idea. Some priests even, according to a remark made at the C.P.S.C.^{1.} did not always give their pupil teachers much encouragement to go to college. But on the other hand there were many like the parish priest, who out of his own pocket, paid the fees for correspondence courses and for the books and music lessons needed by his poorer pupil teachers.

Thus it frequently happened that girls who had obtained first classes in the Queen's Scholarship Examination did not enter college at all and the numbers had to be made up from candidates lower on the list. In 1880 for example, out of 40 first class candidates at Mount Pleasant, eleven, including the girls with the highest marks, took places as assistant teachers. Much the same situation occurred in other years; in 1884 out of 184 candidates presenting themselves for the examination, 60 attended only to qualify as assistant teachers.

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1870 Mr. Stokes produced a long paper on the bearing of the New Education Act on the Catholic population in which he pressed for a great increase in the number of Certificated Teachers.

A still further discouragement to going to college was that the trained teacher as a rule received no greater salary than one who had got her certificate without going to college. If the former had to take a post away from home and pay for lodgings, she might even be worse off than by staying in her own school or at any rate her own neighbourhood, as an assistant teacher. But though it was a common practice for the latter to take the Certificate Examination externally, their results were seldom as good as those of the college trained candidates. At Mount Pleasant in 1880^{2.} 40 of the college students were in the first division as opposed to nine assistants, taking the examination with them and there were none in the fourth division. But 43 assistants obtained third division passes and 92 fourth division, which precluded them from being responsible for pupil teachers.

Towards the end of the century there was general tendency, not only among Catholics, to employ in preference to pupil teachers, these qualified assistants and even to engage the Article 68 teachers, women of over 18 who had been approved by the inspector, but who might have no academic qualifications at all. This situation posed some difficult

2. C.P.S.C. Report 1880.

problems; pupil teachers were said to be better than Article 68 teachers, though less useful than assistants, since they needed free time for study, help in preparing for their examinations and instruction if there was no centre available. This was a burden, that with increasing standards many Head Teachers, like the Catholic headmaster^{1.} who gave evidence before the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System^{1.} in 1898^{1.} were finding too onerous. This man stated that since the age for apprenticeship had been raised to 15, he had never been able to get pupil teachers, but in any case he felt he could no longer accept the sole responsibility for their training. His school a mixed one in Manchester, had eight teachers, including one certificated master and six women, two of whom were Article 68. He was more fortunate than some because one of the latter had a second class certificate from the Irish Board and the other had been for five years a mistress in Kerry, and had thus some training for their work.

But if there were no pupil teachers, there would be no assistants, qualified or otherwise, unless other methods of educating candidates were found. The report of the Departmental Committee rehearsed all the problems of getting an adequate

1. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System 1898 p.166

supply of pupil teachers and providing for their education, which were in fact only too familiar to Catholics and common everywhere, except in towns with good Pupil Teachers' Centres. The general opinion of the witnesses to the Committee was summed up in the statement that the time had come when the preparation of young teachers should "approximate more closely to the more liberal methods and studies which would help to bring them to the same level as the best scholars in the secondary schools". The recommendations they made were embodied in the Code of 1898, which raised the age of admission to apprenticeship to 15 from 1900 and by a variety of regulations reducing the amount of teaching pupil teachers were allowed to undertake and the size of classes for which the older ones were responsible. In addition the standard of attainment at the end of the apprenticeship was materially raised and from 1901^{2.} they might substitute certain university examinations for the Queen's Scholarship Examination. A speaker at the C.S.C? in 1898 was somewhat caustic in his comments on compulsory Latin or French; the examination in the latter was, he said, to consist of reading, reciting, conversation and dictation, but nothing was said

1. Revised Instructions issued to H.M. Inspectors. Applicable to the Code of 1899. para.42 p.23 & 24.
2. - do - issued to H.M. Inspectors. Applicable to the Code of 1901. 34 - 45.

3.

about pronunciation. He concluded by saying, " but we think the examination is quite beyond the capacities of the average pupil teacher". The Departmental Committee Report had declared that the best centres were those established by the London and other large school boards, which were housed in buildings set apart for the purpose, with their own staffs of teachers and pupil teachers attending from five half days at first, to three or four later in their apprenticeship. It had commented unfavourably on the private venture centres which were, it was admitted successful in getting their pupils through their examinations, but because of their exclusive concentration on examination success, the pupils tend to acquire a habit of mind which must act perniciously on their teaching and is opposed to the spirit of sound education". There was no doubt a good deal of truth in this, and a great many Catholic pupil teachers were forced by circumstances to make use of such centres, but there is no reason to suppose, as was suggested at the C.S.C. in 1898^{1.} that these strictures applied^{only} to the centres and central classes organised by the denominational schools. It cannot be denied that where pupil teachers were working practically all day and attending classes in the evenings and on Saturday mornings, or perhaps only

1. Discussion at Council General Meeting of the C.S.C. 1898 on the Report of the Inquiry into the Pupil Teacher System made by a Departmental Committee between 1896 & 98.
3. C.E.C. 1898 during a discussion on the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System which had recommended raising the standard of the Queen's Scholarship Examination.

studying with the help of correspondence classes, that they had fewer advantages than those who were free to go to a centre whether under a School Board or not, for five half days a week. All the same, one cannot but have great sympathy with the C.S.C. and agree with the letter sent by the Secretary, Mr. Hunnybun,^{1.} to the Department of Education on their behalf in which it is said, "this unhappy situation is studiously embittered and unscrupulous advantage taken of it by the enemies of denominational education who assail their opponents with charges of obscurantist obstruction and set hostility to educational advance and assume an attitude by which results are demanded while resources are denied".

But difficult as the circumstances were, the C.S.C. recognised that if Catholic boys and girls were to receive their pre-college education in institutions of their own faith, a determined effort would have to be made to provide more centres or inevitably the pupil teachers would have to be allowed to attend centres of other religious bodies and of the school boards. In any case, however, much depended on the results of the battles over the status of the voluntary schools which was settled when the Education Act of 1902 gave the schools rate aid

1. Quoted in the 1899 Report of the C.S. Committee.

and made them part of the local educational provision. How these changes affected the development of Catholic pupil teachers' centres and in due course secondary schools, is a matter for the next chapter. It was perhaps even more than the provision of training colleges, the real problem of the new century.

Chapter V.TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS.

The period from 1902 to 1957 can for the purposes of study¹ be conveniently broken into two unequal divisions, from 1902 to the outbreak of the First World War and the subsequent years. The earlier period is the more important~~er~~ since, in the first place, after the foundation of five new colleges in rapid succession, no further grant-aided colleges were established until 1946. During these years, as a result of intricate negotiations, complicated by the sectarian bitterness aroused by the 1902 Education Act, Catholic Pupil Teachers' Centres and secondary schools were given a place, though not always satisfactory financially to themselves, within the national system of education. The training of teachers for these schools at which the Sisters of Notre Dame and the Holy Child Sisters had made a beginning at the end of the nineteenth century was also tackled. The later years of the century, though to its own old students the history of each college has its own appeal, were in the main a period of quiet development and consolidation.

1. The college files preserved by the Board and later Ministry of Education were destroyed by enemy action and this has seriously limited the first-hand information available for the period from 1899 - 1914.

Even before the end of the century it was quite evident that the existing colleges could not accommodate all those qualified to enter nor could they supply the numbers of teachers needed to satisfy the demands of the schools. During the decade 1890 to 1900, the serious shortage of college places had been a constantly recurring theme of the reports of the authorities of both Liverpool and Wandsworth. The pressure had been lessened to some extent when in 1894 the Sisters of Notre Dame opened a college for Scottish girls at Downhill. Glasgow and by extensions at Wandsworth which had brought its numbers up to 100 by 1900. Mount Pleasant built a new wing in 1901 and bought adjoining property to accommodate additional students but the cost of these extensions laid a heavy burden on the community, despite a great Bazaar which realised the truly immense sum of £6,000.

But the school population was growing rapidly; in 1870¹ there were 350 Catholic schools with places for 101,556 pupils, but in 1890 there were 946 with places for 341,900 and throughout the decade numbers rose steadily. School attendance was more regular; pupils were staying longer at school and in need of more advanced instruction. Legislation also contributed to the increased demand for teachers; the code of 1890² laid down that there was to be one certificated teacher for every 70 pupils instead of for every 80 and if the regulations of 1898 reducing the hours pupil teachers were actually required to teach were everywhere enforced, more adult teachers would be needed. Finally, after 1900³ no more

1. Quoted from footnote page 150, History of Elementary Education.
2. Code of Regulations 1890 p. 11. para. 73. *Birch enough. U.I.P. 1925*
3. This does not seem to have been the case; the regulations regarding these teachers continued unchanged until 1903, when a clause was added to the article stating that as a condition of recognition or continued recognition the Board might require such a teacher to take a course of training, "as the circumstance of the case may render expedient." Board's Regulations 1903. p.13.

Article 68 teachers were to be appointed; there was a comment at the meeting¹ of the Catholic School Committee that H.M. Inspectors often seemed out of touch with the needs of voluntary schools who needed the services of these teachers. While some of them were pupil teachers who had either completed their apprenticeship or who had failed the Queen's Scholarship examination, many were nuns whose education was vouched for by their communities. The regulation that² pupil teachers were not to be placed in a school unless there were two adult teachers also underlined the need for more qualified teachers. It is no wonder that the Mount Pleasant Sisters³ declared that many applications from managers had to be refused and that during these years they held evening classes at the College for acting teachers wishing to take the Certificate Examination, and for girls who had not been pupil teachers to enable them to take the Queen's Scholarship Examination.

The obvious solution even before 1900 was to ask another community to found a new college, but there were important reasons, not unconnected with the general history of teacher training why this step was not taken until after 1902. The shortage of college places was general throughout the country and was felt in particular by those who wished to go to non-conformist or undenominational colleges of which there were only ten in the country. Such students, even if they were willing to go to Anglican colleges did not always get places. However the establishment during the 1890's of the Day Training Colleges, recommended by the Cross Commission in 1888 and organised in connection with the Universities and University colleges, did something to help this particular group. These colleges were an entirely new departure and as well as adding to the number of students able to take certificates, they brought the possibility of reading for a degree to many hitherto debarred by lack of means. This method of training did not find favour with everyone and with much of the criticism made on purely educational grounds, Sister Mary of St. Philip agreed. That she was not

1. C.S.C. Report 1898.
2. Code of Regulations for Day Schools 1899. p.7 article 37?
3. Mentioned in the C.S.C. Reports for 1894. 95 & 97.

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completely opposed to the idea may be inferred from a statement made in 1902² that Catholic Day Training Colleges might be necessary to keep pace with the demand for qualified teachers. But the Catholic authorities in general were not in favour of day colleges or even of day students attached to the residential ones. They felt and were not alone in this, that the residential college was a potent educational instrument, playing a major part in the formation of the teacher. The student did not come to college simply to pass examinations in academic subjects and obtain her professional preparation, she came also to be educated as a certain kind of person and if the conditions were austere and savoured somewhat of a noviciate that in itself was no bad thing, for teaching was in any case a vocation. This comes out very strongly in the discussions that took place at the C.S.C. meetings² in the late eighteen-nineties, when a new college in Salford was being discussed. The Education Department had in 1899 passed a minute which would apparently enforce the opening of a day training college in connection with every new residential college and Lord Herries, the acting chairman of the C.S.C. wrote to the Lord President of the Council to put the Catholic point of view. The Committee were afraid, he declared, that the minute might involve the admission of qualified non-Catholics to vacant places which would appear unfair, since the support of the colleges was a very heavy burden on the Catholic body. In 1898 £3,200 and in 1899 £3,800 had been contributed from money raised in the main by church collections. It would also not be easy to have in a college a group of students exempt from religious studies who could give the time to private study or recreation. Further many subjects of the curriculum, though not strictly religious were so closely connected with theology and morals that there could be difficulties in teaching a mixed group.

1. C.S.C. Meeting 1902.
2. C.S.C. Reports.

Until the situation was clarified, the plan which was already advanced for the opening of a third training college at Adelphi House in Salford where the Faithful Companions of Jesus had a Pupil Teachers' Course, remained in abeyance. The 1902 Education Act made no change in the administration of training colleges nor in the relationship already established with the Committee of Council and the newly created Board of Education, except to allow Local Education Authorities to set up their own colleges. However this permission was not likely to affect Catholic plans. But the Act did underline the need for more college trained teachers, since managers would now have to meet demands likely to be made for increases in the numbers of certificated teachers, to bring voluntary schools into line with the position in the Board Schools where the staffing ratio was much more favourable.

Consequently the Sisters at Salford who had not given up hope that they would be able to add a Training College to the Pupil Teachers' Centre and the Convent High School already established there, re-opened negotiations with the Board of Education. Sir Robert Morant¹, in reply to a letter from Mr. Hunnybun, Secretary of the C.S.C., urged him to go ahead with plans for the residential college at Salford or anywhere the Committee wished and he advised the former not to make his application too apologetic or defensive in tone. Since there was a need for a new college, the Board should not, he wrote, put any obstacle in the way nor should they insist on the admission of non-Catholic day-students, if they applied. It was important to show that the

1. Archives of the Catholic Education Council of Great Britain.
Letter dated July 15th, 1903.

best kind of training "both of character and intellect" could be provided and that there would be elementary schools available for practice.

Letters went to and from between the Sisters, Canon Richardson, who was Chairman of the Local Committee which had backed the late Bishop's earlier application for a training college, and Mr. Hunnybun, and finally on August 8thm 1903¹, the latter was able to write to the Reverend Mother that the college was approved for 25 students on the same terms as Mount Pleasant and Wandsworth, and that they would not be required to take day students nor accept the Conscience Clause. He said that they should be ready to open in September, but to go about things quietly until Parliament adjourned as there was likely to be a storm when the Anglicans discover that, "we have got what they could not get with the strong support of the late Archbishop of Canterbury and the National Society".²

In the final application³ of the C.S.C. to the Board of Education for permission to establish the college it was stated that more trained certificated teachers would be needed now that the schools were under the Local Education Authorities. Though it was true that there were vacancies at Wandsworth, they were likely to be filled and in any case it was a hardship for Northern girls to go to a London college. The document stated that the first application was made in 1900 and the buildings were approved by Mr. Scott Coward, H.M.I.. Since that date they had been improved and could provide for 40 students and there were plenty of schools available for practice. The college was to be governed by a sub-committee of the C.S.C. as was the case at Mount Pleasant and Wandsworth. There would be an experienced staff of lecturers ready to avail themselves, if necessary, of the services of Owen's College.

1. Archives of the Catholic Education Council of Great Britain.
2. See "Memoirs of Frederick Temple", Archbishop of Canterbury, edited E.G.Sandford, Macmillan & Co., 1906, p. 316. The Archbishop, speaking at the opening of St. Gabriel's College, Kennington, said that the condition of establishing the new college was to have students who lived either at home or in licensed boarding houses, who did not receive religious instruction according to the Church of England. This condition was imposed by a government regulation.
- 3, Archives of the Catholic Education Council of Great Britain.

The letter went on to state that every effort would be made to help students to graduate. The Catholic School Committee hoped that the Board of Education would agree and that the college would be able to open in the autumn. Mr. Hunnybun had certainly taken Sir Robert Morant's advice to heart!

In a letter¹ sent by Canon Richardson on July 16th which was evidently meant to furnish the C.S.C. with the necessary information to enable them to make this application, there are some additional facts of value. He pointed out that the community was very go-ahead; here it will be remembered that it was these Sisters whom Mr. Stokes had wanted to begin the second college in 1872. They could actually recruit enough students for the college from schools controlled by the Sisters in different parts of the country. Then follows a significant sentence which shows a change of attitude to the elementary school teacher. The Sisters, he declares, expect to get "well trained young ladies in the college from their boarding schools; the pupils of these schools have been very successful in higher university examinations and under the improved conditions of teaching will be willing to enter the profession".

Every effort was made to get the college started off on a proper footing, including a short article² in the Manchester Guardian; this explained the need for an additional college and said that the growing importance of Manchester as an educational centre had doubtless led to the establishment of the college in that area. The organisers of the college hoped to use the resources of the Victoria University and hoped also for the interest of the University to prevent the college from becoming too self-centred. From the beginning the students did in fact go to some lectures at Owen's College but it was some years before any graduated.

1. Archives Catholic Education Council

2. See Appendix 1 by courtesy of the Librarian "The Guardian".

But it was rather late in the year 1903 when all details were settled; prospective students had already accepted places at Mount Pleasant or Wandsworth or obtained posts as assistants for the following year. Though the Sisters were naturally disappointed when they realised that they had only two applicants for the opening date in October and a third who could not come before November 1st, they nevertheless decided to make a start with the three first year students. Shortly after the little college had started, Sister Mary of St. Philip wrote¹ to Mr. Hunnybun saying how sorry she was for the Salford nuns. Though she had allowed them to see the Liverpool list and pick out any girls who might perhaps agree to transfer, none could be persuaded to do so even among those who had been pupil teachers at schools with Sisters of the Faithful Companions. She had also told the incoming students at Mount Pleasant about the new college and offered to let them transfer, but to no effect. Though Mount Pleasant had had to refuse 30 applicants, by October these had accepted posts and some had determined to work for the acting teachers' examination. But she continued, the Sisters would no doubt fill the college the next year since they had so many schools. In this letter the proposed Southampton College was mentioned as making a fourth women's college. Sister Mary of St. Philip questioned whether a fifth was necessary, "unless you want to empty Wandsworth". This may have been a reference to the plans already being mooted for a college at Newcastle-upon-Tyne to be opened by the Sacred Heart nuns. There were so many facilities, she said, for taking the certificate externally and in 1903 Mount Pleasant had a class of 50 assistants preparing for the examination.

1. Archives of the Catholic Education Council. Letter dated Oct. 13th, 1903.

The College at Southampton, mentioned by Sister Mary of St. Philip, which opened in September, 1904 with 32 students, was founded by the Sisters of the Holy Union of the Sacred Hearts, whose main convent was at Highgate in London. The nuns had a secondary day school and in 1903 had applied to the Board of Education to establish a Pupil Teachers' Centre and a residential training college. But a difficult situation arose at Southampton and the Sisters were for a time in trouble with the C.S.C. With the Bishop's permission the Reverend Mother had opened a Hostel with a tutor in charge, for King's Scholars attending Hartley College, a day training college. Apparently most of the hostel students were non-Catholics, according to the report of the C.S.C.¹ nineteen out of twenty, but the College records mention a much smaller hostel with from six to eight students. It seems that there was some feeling in Southampton against the hostel² and it was closed. But the Board of Education advised the Reverend Mother to apply for recognition as a residential Training College which was what the community had really wanted from the outset. When the college opened in September, 1904 seven of the first year students were non-Catholics and in the following year another four were admitted. This was against the policy of the C.S.C.³ and by a majority of one they voted not to accept the college. However nothing more was heard of this motion and it is obvious from later reports that there were no further criticisms. The first Principal who remained in office until 1915 was Mother Antonia, a Belgian with wide experience in education in Europe and South America. The college grew rapidly; by 1905 there were 82 students including nuns from different congregations. This is interesting and important; the College accepted student nuns from the outset, an arrangement greatly desired by the Bishops who throughout the next decade were constantly exhorting religious superiors to see that their nuns obtained recognised qualifications, either certificates or degrees.

1. Discussed at the Annual Meeting of the Catholic School Council 1903.
2. Material supplied by the Sisters of the Training College of the Immaculate Conception, Southampton.
3. Catholic School Committee 1903.

Until Salford and Southampton had established themselves it was ^{obvious} impossible that candidates would prefer Mount Pleasant or Wandsworth, with the former still a first choice for the great majority. In 1904 Sister Mary of St. Philip in a letter¹ to Mr. Hunnybun, expressed the hope that Wandsworth would take 20 or 30 of their candidates and not be offended because the girls had put Mount Pleasant first. Only eleven girls put Salford first in the same year and since there were 33 First Year students, the remainder must have come from the Liverpool list. This situation may have arisen in later years, but there were no further comments at the C.S.C. meetings, and within a year the Sisters at Salford were beginning to find the premises at Adelphi House inadequate and in 1906² had transferred the college to a house in Sedgley Park, Prestwich.

Since it was now apparent that the Board of Education were not putting forward objections to the foundation of new residential colleges, two others followed in quick succession, Hull belonging to the Sisters of Mercy in 1905, with 16 First Year Students, and the Sacred Nuns in 1906 opened. St. Mary's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with 24. The latter was founded specifically to provide training nearer home for girls from the Hexham and Newcastle diocese, who found the journey ~~we~~ither to Liverpool or Glasgow too expensive. It had been noted that, for example in 1903³, there were only fourteen girls from that diocese in college at all. The Sacred Heart Nuns, finding they had no room for expansion at Wandsworth, moved the College in 1905⁴ to buildings in North Kensington, formerly occupied by a seminary, founded by Cardinal Manning, a curious coincidence when it is remembered that it was the Cardinal who in 1874 had refused to allow the nuns to found a college in his diocese.

1. Archives of the Catholic Education of Gt. Britain. Letter dated Oct. 13th 1903
2. Annual Meeting of the Catholic Education Council 1905. Reported that the Juniors were already at Sedgley Park and both years would be there in Sept. 1906
3. Reported at the Annual meeting of the Catholic School Committee 1903.
4. Reported to the Annual Meeting of the Catholic Education Council 1905.

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The building had been neglected and much had to be done to make it habitable; a student of that time wrote in the 1957 number of "The Chronicle" of Digby Stuart College, the present day successor to North Kensington, "On reaching the new college we found it still full of workmen and the lecture halls were stacked with trunks and packing cases. We were told on arrival to go to a nearby restaurant for a supper provided and arranged by Reverend Mother. This was a treat and quite exciting." The new colleges grew rapidly and by 1907 there were 777 women students compared with 200 in 1900.

The last college of the pre-1914 group was that at Selly Park, Birmingham, founded by the Sisters of Charity of St. Paul to train their own nuns as teachers, though they also admitted a few lay students, but the college did not receive grants from the Board of Education until 1927. These Sisters had from at least as early as 1853 received grants from the C.P.S.C. to help with the training of their own nuns; it had even been suggested about the same time that the community should be invited to begin a college.¹

The C.S.C. which had sponsored and largely financed the earlier colleges was, during these pre-1914 years, undergoing great changes. The word 'Poor' was dropped from its title in 1892 as no longer reflecting the actual condition of a great proportion of the children in the Catholic schools, though some were still poor enough. But in 1904 there was a radical reconstruction by the Bishops and the former C.S.C. became the Catholic Education Council for England, Scotland and Wales. The important change for our purposes is that the twelve members nominated by the Bishops of the Province of Westminster and by the Conference of Catholic Colleges (boys' day and boarding schools) had been chosen with special reference to secondary education, which also included the affairs of the pupil teachers' centres. There was in addition a sub-committee for training college business.

1. C.P.S.C. Report. 1853.

It was this Council which now had to make decisions about the amount of financial help the colleges would receive. Since 1856¹ students going to the Catholic colleges had only been asked to pay an entrance fee of £5 and in 1870 even this was reduced to £2.10.0. Their only other expenses had been to buy books, provide their pocket money, clothes and travelling expenses, but the men students had been given additional help because of their greater poverty. The C.P.S.C. had also agreed to give the colleges the difference between the amount of the Privy Council grant and the actual cost of their maintenance. This had in the course of years become stabilised at £4.5.8 for each Queen's Scholar. There was no attempt to impose any higher fee until in 1899 students were asked to pay an entrance fee of £20 at the men's college and at the two for women £12, but apparently the Committee continued to give the colleges the old £2.10.0 entrance fee and the maintenance grant. But the funds of the Council were no longer so ample as in former years; they were largely dependent on church collections and the objects of the Council, the maintenance of the Training Colleges, the arrangements for the diocesan religious examinations and the support of small elementary schools, not on the grant list, no longer appealed with such force to parishes pre-occupied with raising money for the needs of their own schools.

Consequently it was at first² decided that no grants could be given to Southampton, Hull and Newcastle and they were expected to finance themselves from the students' entrance fee of £12 and the Board of Education grant. In 1907³ the Training College sub-committee decided that within two years the entrance fee to the women's colleges should be raised to £15 and to consider then whether the total grants to the colleges could be reduced. The Sisters at Mount Pleasant declared their willingness to forgo the £2.10.0 entrance fee, but felt they could not lose the maintenance grant which brought them £650 a year. The other colleges, North Kensington and Downhill (Glasgow) received £400 each

1. C.P.S.C. Report 1856.
2. Report of the Catholic School Committee 1904.
3. This Committee was created in 1905 when the Catholic Education Council was created.

as their annual grant and Salford £200 and the three new ones a special grant of £100. But though the Council felt strongly that all the colleges ought to be able to finance themselves without its help, in 1909¹ and 1910 it responded to an appeal from Hull with £300 and in the latter year gave Southampton £100. The colleges were again in difficulties in 1913 and asked for a special grant though they did not suggest raising their fees. The next year the sub-committee decided to continue the regular grants for the time being, but they made it clear that they felt themselves under no obligation to do so.

Anxious to rid themselves of the burden of supporting the colleges, the Council decided in 1916² that after 1918 all grants would be discontinued, but the entrance fee should be raised to £20. Colleges were, however, permitted to charge £25 if they deemed it necessary. The colleges were still in financial difficulties on occasion during the next few years, but this was inevitable when the rising prices of the war and post-war periods are realised. However the Council did not discuss the financial position in detail again until the 1930's, when as a measure of national economy the government wished to reduce the total number of students, since it was no longer possible to raise the school leaving age nor to continue an Exchequer grant, which had been made during the last three years for the provision of buildings to implement the Hadow Report. The C.E.C.³ decided not to close any of the Catholic colleges, but to recommend the admission of fewer students to each institution. This involved hardship to the individual college as voluntary colleges were financed by a capitation grant and over-head expenses could not easily be reduced. The Council asked the President of the Board of Education if the grant could be stabilised

1. Catholic Education Council Reports 1909 and 1910.
2. Catholic Education Council Report 1916.
3. Catholic Education Council Report 1933.

on the basis of the current year, 1933, but this request was refused.¹ The Treasury, the Council declared, would want colleges to increase fees up to a level of e.g. £50 a year, but that was more than Catholics could be expected to pay. However the fees were raised to £30 a year in the same year and there were further increases in 1934 and 1935, bringing them to £40 a year, a figure more in line with the other voluntary and L.E.A. colleges. What enabled the Catholic colleges to survive these years of financial stringency was the fact that they were staffed by the communities controlling them, who were thus able to keep the employment of highly paid lay staff at minimum. Though fees had remained relatively low for so long, the Catholic colleges may well have fared better than other voluntary colleges with little or no endowment. That the Council was undoubtedly right to keep all the colleges open was justified by subsequent events; in 1935² there were only 723 women students, about 50 less than in 1907, but when in the immediate post-war period more teachers were needed, the existing colleges were able to expand without too much difficulty and in 1947² numbers had increased to 1030.

On the matter of staffing, mentioned in the last paragraph, it will be remembered that throughout the nineteenth century Mount Pleasant and Wandsworth had received many compliments on the excellence of their lecturers, who of course had no external qualifications other than the government certificate. But there was considerable alarm when a Board of Education regulation³ declared that a proportion of every training college staff should be graduates and that after August 1st, 1904 alternate vacancies in the non-graduate portion of the staff should also be filled by graduates. The C.S.C. feared that this might be the thin end of the wedge and lead to the appointment of non-Catholics since for historical reasons, it was stated, there were few Catholics with degrees

1. Catholic Education Council Report 1933
2. Catholic Education Council Report 1935
3. Regulations for the Training of Teachers and the Examination of Students in Training Colleges 1904. Chap. 1 Section 5a and 3a.

and "a Catholic who has had the advantage of a university education is a 'rara avis' ".¹ But in the absence of the college files, it is impossible to know whether the Board did criticise the college staffs. There is only one reference in the minutes of the C.E. Council's of 1907 to the effect that though the Inspector's report on Hull was good, the students' attainments did not reach a very high level, due to their imperfect preparation and to the difficulties experienced in securing a permanent and well qualified staff. However, in 1911² two of the staff were sent to Cambridge - no doubt to take the Cambridge Teachers' Diploma and it was reported that another was preparing for a university degree. Presumably in the case of the other colleges there was no difficulty in satisfying the Board's requirements as there are no further comments.³ Of these historical reasons more later, but it was only in 1903⁴ that the first Sister of Notre Dame took a London external Degree. On the same occasion there were also two other successful candidates from the College.

That the new colleges were not immediately filled with well-qualified students and complaints continued to be made of their low attainments and poor preparation, only underlines what was said at the end of the last chapter that the real problem of the new century would be, not so much the provision of colleges, but of secondary schools and pupil teachers' centres. The situation as it appeared to well-informed Catholics just before the 1902 Education Act was summed up in an article by Sir Bertram Windle, writing in the Weekly Register of September 13th, 1901. He gave it as his opinion that there were enough non-local and boarding schools, but that the real need was for day secondary schools to be established in every large town, to be in existence

1. Catholic School Committee Report 1904.
2. Catholic Education Council Report 1911.
3. Owing to the destruction of college files by enemy action, it is not possible to know what the Inspectors may have said to individual colleges
4. Our Lady's College Magazine, Century Number p. 78. 1956.

before the new Act gave Local Authorities power over all secondary education below university rank. This he was sure would be the case and Catholics ought to be in a position to negotiate for their place in the local system. He said there was a need for women religious to improve their qualifications and hoped for a common place of training for them, but in the meantime the existing facilities should be used to the full. The Holy Child nuns had in 1896 opened a house in Cavendish Square, London, where nuns and lay students could take the Cambridge Teachers' Certificate or read for London degrees at one of the colleges, but neither this institution nor the opportunities for secondary training at Mount Pleasant were being supported as they should. Sir Bertram also spoke of a hostel in Cambridge¹ in connection with the Women's Training College which came to an end. He was not the only one to be concerned with the future of secondary education for Catholic girls. In 1903 the Annual Report from Mount Pleasant to the C.S.C. stated, "Catholics must qualify themselves for posts in Pupil Teachers' Centres and Training Colleges and even read for degrees - all this requires buildings, appliances, capable teachers and money".

Where all this was to come from became only too clear; to provide Pupil Teachers' Centres on the scale now demanded by the Board of Education and to transform them in a matter of a very few years into secondary schools, the Catholic Church in England had to rely on the religious orders, just as they had to rely on them to build and staff the colleges. This was an inescapable fact, but conditions for success were much harder in the earlier twentieth century than fifty years previously. Then the Committee of Council had stipulated only that the nuns should pass the certificate examination and that their buildings

1. It seems that some Catholic women, how many it is not clear, stayed at the Convent School in Bateman St., Cambridge, while preparing either for the Cambridge Higher Local or the Cambridge Teachers' Certificate. This scheme or a similar one was mentioned by Bishop Choartelli in a sermon preached in 1901 on the occasion of the jubilee of the Loreto Convent, Hulme, Manchester.

should satisfy the very meagre standards of amenity considered appropriate for training college students. That the nuns could attempt to give their students a broader culture and greater refinement than was usual was fortunate for the Catholic women students. It was not until the end of the century that questions began to be asked about other qualifications and the Inspectors satisfied with the achievements of Mount Pleasant and Wandsworth and recognising the nuns' anxiety to reach as high a standard as possible were not likely to press further. Ultimately it was not for another fifty years that with greatly improved government grants and a highly qualified teaching force that Catholic parishes could embark on the building of secondary schools and staff them entirely with lay people if they wished. That again has only been made possible by the work of the Sisters. In the meantime it was the drive to improve the qualifications of intending teachers, not so much a desire to provide secondary education for Catholic girls of the working class that prompted the tremendous effort on the part of the nuns to get centres and schools recognised. But if the religious communities could provide the buildings, it was impossible in this time of rapid expansion to supply teachers entirely from their own numbers as had been the almost universal practice in the convent high schools. But from where the teachers^{were} to be recruited was a major problem. as Sir Bertram Windle's article had indicated, which was only just beginning to be faced.

Until the turn of the century there had been in effect two systems of secondary education for Catholic girls; one the pupil teacher system leading to the training colleges, where the girls had been mainly though never entirely working class, and the other, that of the convent day and boarding schools, providing for the middle and upper classes. Here again there was some overlap for, where there was an inexpensive convent day school, many of the pupils might well be the daughters of shopkeepers, small business people and farmers, who in other places

might just as easily have all or part of their education in an ordinary parish school. In the convent schools the lay teachers, where she existed at all, was a visiting specialist or a temporary makeshift and the Sisters themselves, until the last decade of the century, had rarely qualified by any external examination or training other than for some government certificate. That is not of course to say that they were inefficient in so far as can be judged by the results of university Local Examinations and the Inspectors' reports when the schools began to apply for recognition. It is evident also that some¹ of them, like the Pupil Teachers' Centres, were also entering pupils for the examinations of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington and receiving grants from that source.

It is at first sight extremely puzzling to those unacquainted with the history of the Catholic Church in 19th century England to understand why, with colleges like Mount Pleasant and Wandsworth, providing the elementary schools with a supply of well trained teachers, that there should have been, until towards the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, such a dearth of university graduates to staff the schools. But to understand why the higher education of Catholic women was apparently so far behind that of their non-Catholic contemporaries, it is first important to realise that there was only a very small class of potential university students from among the Catholic body, and until the abolition of tests in 1871 neither Catholics nor nonconformists could take degrees at Oxford or Cambridge. A small number had actually studied at the university without taking the degree and others had taken London degrees ^h whether as internal or external students. But in the sixties there was a growing feeling that one way to end the social and intellectual isolation of middle and upper class English Catholics was for them to go to the universities on the same

1. See School Files for details. Everton Valley Convent of Notre Dame, Liverpool obtained grants in this way, as did Coloma School, Croydon.

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Ed. 35/1 319

Ed. 35/2387

terms as their fellow countrymen. This policy was advocated by many of the converts from Anglicanism, who themselves were graduates of the universities. The most notable of these was Newman, but equally there were others like Manning who strongly opposed Catholics going to Oxford or Cambridge. So adamant were the opponents that they appealed to Rome, and from 1867 to 1897 Catholics were virtually forbidden to go as students to Oxford or Cambridge.¹ This prohibition was directed to the men ~~of~~ but of course would have included women if any had wanted to go to one or other of the newly established women's colleges.

However there was no ban on students going to London or the new provincial universities; many Catholic boys' schools affiliated to London and Catholics, both clerical and lay, took degrees. Not everyone was in favour of external study, notably Dr. Casatielli², Bishop of Salford, who thought boys should go to their local university.

All this applied to the men and not to the women, but it needs to be made clear so that the atmosphere in which the girls and their teachers found themselves can be understood. There was very little thought about the need for university education³ for women and this, for a variety of reasons peculiar perhaps to the Catholic Church in England. The number of potential students was even fewer than that of the men; that of course applies in much the same degree to non-Catholics. But it is still more important when thinking of the Catholic women not to forget the almost entire absence of an intellectual middle class. The non-Catholic girls who went as pupils to the new high schools of the last quarter of the nineteenth century were drawn, not from the aristocratic circles whose sons went to Oxford or Cambridge largely as a matter of social convention, but from among the daughters of professional men, the Anglican clergy, university dons, public schoolmasters, lawyers,

1. Catholics & the Universities Chap. 10 by H.O. Everett, M.A. in 'English Catholics 1850 - 1950.' Edit. Right Rev. G.A. Beck, A.A. Coadjutor Bishop of Brentwood Burns Oates 1950.
2. Ditton
3. See J.E. Smart "The Education of Catholic Girls" 1911 - A book very widely read by Catholics, was very cautious in her approach to the idea of university education for women.

doctors and so forth. Even in these families it often required considerable courage for a girl to insist on a university education. Among Catholics the first three classes did not exist and in general the daughters of the remainder found their way to the convent day and boarding schools where the education was good and thorough, but proceeded on its own traditional lines somewhat apart from the main stream of English education. Some, though not all of these schools, did begin to present pupils for University Local Examinations as can be seen from their advertisements in the Catholic Directory in the second half of the century, but if Catholic young men went to the universities in such small numbers and if there was so much questioning about the danger to faith of their attendance, it was even less likely that such a course would be contemplated for girls who were not in fact the sisters of the upper class young men whose right to go to Oxford or Cambridge was being so urgently advocated. These were girls whose brothers rarely went to universities at all except to medical schools, but proceeded straight into business or professional life.

In any case when the non-Catholic woman obtained her degree, she had open to her an interesting and honourable career as a mistress of one of the high schools. If she did not marry, though her salary was not high and her life might be somewhat narrow, she had an assured place, the respect of her relatives and the possibility of becoming a headmistress. Some also became doctors and others went out to teach or practise medicine in Africa or Asia and those whose circumstances were easy often did an immense amount of social work. The Catholic girl of the educated class who married or had independent means could and did find the same kind of outlets in voluntary social work. But for the woman who had to earn her own living the situation could be very difficult as it was of course for any other unqualified woman of the period. Most girls in convent schools did not at that time separate teaching and study from the religious life; it was in fact the only way it had been presented

to them. The writer remembers an elderly friend who had been a pupil in a convent school in the nineties explaining that she and her school friends never thought of being teachers but only whether they wished to be nuns or not; teaching was seen as an expression of that vocation. It was true that there were secular teachers but to these girls they were the occasional visiting mistress or lower class young women who had been pupil teachers and had qualified in training colleges. She herself, much to her own surprise, went to a training college in later life, advised to do so by a far-seeing Reverend Mother. Her experience as an unqualified teacher and at the training college made her aware how little her education had fitted her to earn a living or to do advanced study. The result of all this was that until the beginning of the new century there was not much demand for university education among Catholic women.

The situation then on the eve of the 1902 Education Act was not a promising one; there were too few schools likely to be acceptable to the Board of Education as secondary schools. The Board's list for 1903, '04 and '05 gives only 39 grant-aided Catholic pupil teachers' centres and secondary schools and all but two had fewer than 100 pupils. Provision for training secondary school teachers was in its infancy; there was only the house of studies at Cavendish Square, London; Mount Pleasant had made a beginning and possibly a few girls and nuns were taking degrees or preparing for the Cambridge Teachers' Certificate independently.

However two events made swift action imperative; in the first place, the Education Act of 1902 gave the Local Education Authorities power, as Sir Bertram Windle had prophesied, to make regulations about the staffing of all schools, voluntary as well as provided, and including Pupil Teachers' Centres. Some authorities had their own centres which they wished all pupil teachers to attend, and there were those unwilling to allow Catholics to hold bursaries at the Catholics centres, even if

recognised by the Board of Education. In the minds of some of the members of the C.S.C.¹, there was more than one dilemma to be faced; if the L.E.A., as in Manchester, gave their Catholic pupil teachers bursaries and recognised their centres, would these centres be obliged to accept non-Catholics to fill vacant places? A second question also could arise, in cases where Catholic probationers went to centres which had been refused financial aid, would the L.E.A. later employ them in the schools? Finally, would the L.E.A. allow Catholic pupil teachers to attend centres outside their own area? This was a difficulty where the nuns had a boarding house in connection with a centre for non-local girls. In Leeds there was such a centre, St. Mary's,² where the majority of the residents came from Ireland and the Board of Education did not want to recognise it on the grounds that it was not necessary for the educational needs of the Leeds Catholics.

The second important event was the publication of the Pupil Teacher Regulations in 1903. These abolished the class of probationers, declared that the minimum age for recognition as a pupil teacher was to be between 16 and 17, that they should only teach half time and have their instruction in fully equipped and staffed pupil teachers' centres. Prior to recognition they should be educated in secondary schools to which they should transfer at not later than 12 or 13. Only if no school was available would preparatory classes be accepted. In The General Report on the Instruction and Training of pupil Teachers³ after rehearsing the defects of the pupil teachers as shown in the King's Scholarship Examination, it went on to say, "the natural education for future teachers will only become possible when they can share it with boys and girls designed for other occupations and have ceased to be

1. C.S.C. Report 1903.
2. School File, St. Mary's School, Leeds: Report of First General Inspection. 57 pupils, 42 are boarders, 41 come from Ireland. Ed. 35/2990
3. General Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers. 1903 - '07 with Historical Introduction. p.23 Section 45

regarded as a race apart." It was not until 1907 that the new system was fully in operation and even after that some pupil teachers continued to be appointed. But the conclusion was inevitably drawn from these changes was that Catholics must get their centres recognised as quickly as possible and at the same time plan for the integration of the pupil teachers with the general secondary school population. If this was not done with all possible speed, they could well find themselves excluded from the new secondary school system.

To discover the existing state of affairs, the C.S.C.¹ circulated a questionnaire on the supply and training of teachers and fourteen out of the sixteen dioceses which received it sent in replies. The results showed that in these dioceses there were 975 female pupil teachers, 691 of whom were attending centres, 247 were in non-Catholic centres, 37 were in no centre at all and another 175 were attending non-Catholic secondary schools. There is no mention of Catholic secondary schools for girls. The Committee² urged the increase of centres and secondary schools, both day and residential, but were still convinced of the value of the pupil teacher system. They were afraid in the first place that unless boys and girls from the elementary schools were encouraged to become pupil teachers there would be a dearth of teachers. They also expressed the usual view that pupil teachers gained by their experience of teaching and added as another reason for the retention of the system, that pupil teachers had a better training in the teaching of religion than candidates from the boarding schools. However the need for teachers and the fact that Catholic schools had in 1903 - '04³ only 53% of certificated teachers compared with the national average of 56% and

1. Catholic School Council Report of the Secondary Education sub-committee 1905
2. " " " " " " " " " "
3. Catholic School Council. Report of the Secondary Education Sub-Committee 1905

19% of supplementary teachers as opposed to 13% in non-Catholic schools, they¹ were prepared to discourage young people who could not go to Catholic secondary schools or centres from entering the profession. Even at this date they were pinning their faith on getting a supply of Article 50 and 51 teachers from convent schools and boys' colleges. There was finally a strong recommendation, frequently to be repeated in later years, that heads of religious orders should see that those of their subjects who were designed for teaching should have a college training. The problem of the badly prepared pupil teacher whose pass in the King's Scholarship examination was too low to obtain her a place in college remained unsolved. Many of these² in the London area went to L.C.C. centres to prepare externally for the certificate examination. This came up again several times during the next few years; more college places would not help these girls, only better preparation to enable them to reach the required standard.

But though within the next decade many centres and secondary schools were recognised, it was impossible to devise a master plan to deploy existing resources to the best advantage. The C.S.C.³ advised schools to make all applications to the Board through the Committee which could give them its fullest support and the results of its long dealings with government departments and officials. This advice was designed also to prevent unnecessary duplication and contradictory requests being made. But apart from this the nuns and their local supporters had to make their own arrangements with the Board and the L.E.A. Each town had its own problems and so much depended on the size of the local Catholic population, the state of local political parties and often on the reputation of an existing centre or school.

1. Catholic School Council Report of the Secondary Education Sub Committee 1905
2. Minutes of the Catholic School Council 13th July 1906 - discusses this matter and also the fact that nuns will not go to residential colleges to be trained and prefer the day training colleges. Earlier in 1904 Sister Mary of St. Philip had written to Mr. Huntlybun about the number of 3rd Class passes among Catholic pupil teachers.
3. Council Report Catholic School Committee 1903.

At first the Board were quite generous in giving recognition and grants to schools and centres applying, but in 1907 new regulations were issued, some of which greatly complicated the situation for the Catholics. The controversial articles were those concerned with the instrument of government which must be drawn up for each recognised and grant-earning school. Schools must accept the conscience clause though where the child's parents or guardians applied in writing, denominational instruction could be provided, but the cost of this was not to come from funds supplied by the L.E.A. or the Board of Education. No scholar moreover, whether day or boarding could be refused admission to a school on religious grounds. Some convents had a proportion of non-Catholics and parents had been accustomed to making their own arrangements with the nuns about religious instruction, but the C.E.C.¹ and the communities were at first averse to accepting these articles as definite regulations. More controversial were Articles 23 and 24; according to the first there was to be no denominational restrictions on the staff and Article 24 declared that governing bodies must contain a majority of governors appointed or elected by local representative bodies, i.e., the L.E.A., and these governing bodies had the appointment of the headmistresses in their hands. It was allowed, however, for the appointing or electing body to waive their right to exercise these powers, if it could be shown that the school was necessary for the proper provision of secondary education in a particular area.

Where the regulations were accepted in full, schools received a grant of £5 for each scholar between 12 and 18 and £2 for those between 10 and 12 who had been for two years in a public elementary school. This was an improvement because before 1907 grants were only paid for scholars above 12 and it was not until the fourth year that it was £5; for

1. Catholic Education Council Report 1907.

younger pupils the grant was proportionally less. In addition there was a small schools' grant to ensure that no school received less than £250 a year and there were also extra grants for special apparatus. But if the school did not comply with the disputed Articles, the capitation grants were £2 and £2.10.0 and there were no additional grants. It was the difficulty of accepting all these regulations which, despite the efforts of the communities to comply with the Board's standards of building and staffing retarded the progress of Catholic secondary education for over a decade and some would say for a generation. A number of the authorities were quite happy to waive the disputed articles where it could be shown that there was a sufficient Catholic population to support the school and that the school met with the Board's approval on educational grounds. At first the Bolton L.E.A.¹ put obstacles in the way of the Catholic school there, but in 1907 they were prepared to state that the newly established secondary school, together with the Anglican secondary school and Bolton school itself, were all necessary for the educational provision of the town and would agree to the waiver of all the disputed Articles. The Board of Education accepted the L.E.A.'s decision here and also in Salford² where the same situation arose. But often the Board would agree to the waiving of Articles 5 and 18 b (conscience clause) but not to Articles 23 and 24. On these it was of course more difficult to reach any kind of compromise; the Catholic case rested on the demand for Catholic teachers and knowing their shortage of qualified secondary teachers and fearing that to give way on Article 23 would mean being forced to accept non-Catholic teachers, they were understandably reluctant to agree.

The question of the composition of the governing body was also very difficult to solve; the actual school buildings belonged to the communities and each had its own rules about the distribution of community

Ed. 35/1249

1. Ministry of Education Archives. School file 5/4600. Copy of a letter from the Bolton L.E.A. to the Board of Education, giving this information.
2. Ditto S/7790 March 1907.
4432 Ed. 35/1410

offices, including that of headmistress of the school. In cases where the Order was an international one, even the appointment of the teachers might be made by the General of the Order with little or no reference to the local headmistress. The nuns felt that to have a governing body largely representative of outside authorities and understanding little of their way of life in a position to appoint a headmistress would remove the schools from their control. There was in fact an impasse. The C.E.C. made frequent protests against the two articles and finally in 1919 the secondary school regulations were changed and instead of a majority of representative governors, the Board would accept that not less than one third should be appointed by the L.E.A. But until this change was made, many Catholic secondary schools were only able to earn the lower grant, a severe hardship when fees were also low.

The same regulations² also contained a section dealing with staff qualifications in which it was stated that after July 31st, 1907 the Board might require that a certain proportion of the staff of a secondary school should have gone through a recognised course of training. However they were not prepared to say at that point what kind of training would be required or in what institutions it should be received. The school files for pupil teachers' centres and secondary schools indicate that the inspectors were in general satisfied where the teachers were either graduates or possessed the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate, but inclined to be critical if the majority of the staff had no more than a two year training or such qualifications as the L.L.A. or College of Preceptors Examinations. Some of course had even less; there are in fact a variety of examinations given in the staff lists of the school files. A frequent comment on a school is that the academic qualifications of the staff are

1. Board of Education Grant Regulations 1919 p.3. paras. 2 - 9.
2. Board of Education Grant Regulations 1919. p.11. para. 16.

not high, as for example at Coloma School, Croydon in 1908,¹ where most of the Sisters had the Associateship or were licentiates of the College of Preceptors or had passed examinations of the Science and Art Department. At Hull in 1903², there was only one teacher in the centre who had even been through a training college; but in 1904³ the nuns are commended for their great efforts to improve the staff. But at the Holy Child Convent at Preston⁴ though there were only three graduates, others had the Cambridge Teachers' Certificate, Oxford Higher Local, foreign qualifications or the teachers' Certificate. The low salaries paid to the lay teachers, the Inspectors declared,⁵ prevented the schools from getting well qualified teachers and they must be prepared to pay at least £100 a year for a woman graduate. Anything less makes it difficult to make proper provision for old age, say the Inspectors in another report. But in one case⁶ the headmistress retorted to the Inspector's criticism that young inexperienced graduates might have the academic knowledge, but it was the older nuns who made the better teachers. There was a good deal of unfavourable remark on the amount of cramming for examinations, overpressure on the girls and too little training in habits of independent work and thought, all faults which are frequently the results of poor teaching. The trouble was that so many of the schools had either grown out of pupil teachers' centres or had a centre grafted on to them; they had to succeed and the criterion was examination success, leading to acceptance at a training college.

But the Inspectors invariably speak of the good tone of the schools, the thorough and conscientious work and the great efforts to

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| 1. | Ministry of Education Archives School Files | 5/7/82. | Ed. 35/2387 |
| 2. | " | " | " 5/8768 } Ed. 35/2785 |
| 3. | " | " | " 5/8768 } |
| 4. | " | " | " 5/4622 Ed. 35/1394 |
| 5. | " | " | " 5/9288 Report of 1st
General Inspection 1908 Sheffield Notre
Dame Sec. School. Ed. 35/3053 |
| 6. | " | " | " |

improve buildings and get better teachers. The Pupil Teacher Centre in Bolton already mentioned, was not recognised in 1903, but the nuns went ahead and built a secondary day and boarding school for 100 girls on the outskirts of the town, stating that it was really for intending teachers. The school was recognised as eligible to receive grants in 1906 and many years later in 1918, when the school appealed to the C.E.C. for a special grant the nuns were able to say that 121 of their pupils had taken up teaching, including eight in secondary schools and there were 129 prospective teachers then in the school. It was a fact that of the schools recognised before 1911, most had a high proportion of their older pupils intending to take up teaching and holding L.E.A. bursaries.

The amalgamation of other pupil teachers' centres with secondary schools usually took place with a like rapidity though there were sometimes questions on social grounds, as for instance at Mount Pleasant High School in 1904. Sister Mary of St. Philip³ wrote¹ to the Board of Education to say that while she saw the desirability of the pupil teachers attending the secondary schools, she did not want to put the 40 pupils of the preparatory class in the secondary school, as it would alter the status of the school. She would prefer to introduce them gradually over a period of two years or alternatively to have them in separate classes in the secondary school. The Sisters at the other Notre Dame Convent School in Liverpool, at Everton Valley, also asked for two years to complete the amalgamation. When these at Adelphi House, Salford made the same request, Mr. Bruce, ~~H.M.I.~~² pointed out that fusion would be in the interests of both and that the Board of Education would not recognise separate preparatory classes where a secondary school was available.

1. Ministry of Education Archives. School files. Letter from Sister Mary of St. Philip to the Board of Education. 1904. Ed. 35/1327
2. Ministry of Education Archives. School files. 1904. S.4632 Ed. 35/1440
Hon. William S Napier Bruce. Principal Assisnant Secretary 1903

The question of the social origins of the girls at the Pupil Teachers' Centres and in the new secondary schools is an interesting one. The pupil teachers, coming from the elementary schools were, particularly in the large towns where convent day schools had existed for a very long time, naturally of working class families and often quite poor. The notes in the school files show that most of the pupils in the secondary schools were middle class, though seldom from professional families. Parents' occupations are given as commercial, managerial, farming, but fees were low, tuition fees from £3 to £6 a year and boarding fees round about £25, not very different from what pupil teachers were charged at residential centres, though these admittedly had their small salaries to meet the cost. However this amalgamation of the pupil teachers' centres and the secondary schools did mean that the idea of teaching in the elementary school began to be accepted by middle class girls, at least by those who went to recognised and grant earning schools. Here it will be remembered that when the college¹ at Salford was planned, it was declared that well trained young ladies from the Sisters' boarding schools would be willing to enter the teaching profession now that salaries and conditions were better

The improvement in the academic standards of the secondary school teachers needed time and, given the drawbacks suffered by the Catholic population at the beginning of the century, it was a slow process. But first at Mount Pleasant and later at the other training colleges students began to study for degrees; in 1907 the Holy Child nuns established a hostel at Cherwell Edge, Oxford and a steady trickle of Catholic girls became members of St. Anne's Society; this hostel and the house in Cavendish Square began to serve the needs of middle class girls who wished to qualify for secondary school teaching, but who were not willing to take a degree course through a training college. ~~The Sisters at~~

1. See above p. 7.

The Sisters at Mount Pleasant had as we saw in the last chapter, encouraged students to stay on for a Third Year and to take University examinations like London Matriculation and Intermediate, but in 1896 they were more ambitious. This was the year after the prohibition on Catholics going to Oxford and Cambridge had been withdrawn and no doubt they felt that in this freer atmosphere it would be opportune to let some of their more able students begin degree studies at the university. Accordingly three second year students began to attend lectures. One of these was the daughter of Mr. Scott Coward the Inspector. However the Bishop, though not opposed to the higher education of women, thought the plan premature and after a year the students were withdrawn.¹ But in 1903 Mount Pleasant students returned to the university. A paragraph in the Mount Pleasant Centenary Magazine explains how this came about; a Catholic student, admitted in error to a non-Catholic College, was reluctant to leave when given the opportunity to transfer to Mount Pleasant, because she would then be unable to continue with a degree course she had intended to take. The Bishop, knowing that the Board of Education was pressing for more graduate teachers in secondary schools, and realising that well qualified Catholic students would inevitably want to go to colleges where degree study was possible, then withdrew his previous objection to the Mount Pleasant students taking degrees at Liverpool University.² At that time it was the usual practice for training college students taking degrees to do their academic studies and teacher training concurrently in a three year course.

The nuns had two other schemes to help students qualify for secondary school work; the first was the establishment of St. Mary's Hall where girls of good education could take the Cambridge Teachers'

1. Our Lady's College Magazine Centenary number 1956. p. 76.
2. The College was in 1903 affiliated to the Victoria University; this gave the College the right to keep the University students at the College for the first year of the degree course under teachers (Sisters) approved by the University. This became unoperative almost immediately with the inauguration of Liverpool as a separate university, but in 1905 the college was re-affiliated though for Latin & English Literature only. Centenary Magazine 1956. p. 82.
3. Ditto p. 78.

Certificate. This group of students was always a small one, never more than fifteen and somewhere about 1912 reduced to twelve. In the Board of Education pamphlet No. 23, published in 1912, there is an explanation of a scheme drawn up by the Sisters which they wished to substitute for the Cambridge syllabus which they felt was too academic for a course lasting only one year. In their opinion the whole of the work - lectures, reading and practice in schools - should bear directly on the student's future as a teacher. St. Mary's Hall was eventually transferred to Birkdale, Southport, but in 1917, since by then there were other schemes of training available, ceased to exist. Another group of Sisters and lay women had for some time studied privately for London and continued until 1926. The students in both these courses paid their own fees, though at St. Mary's Hall they were only twenty-six guineas for the year. But this method of private study had no future, after the new grant regulations in 1921 made it possible for suitably qualified training college students to take the Four Year Course.

The number of students in the main college taking the three year course had grown steadily, from five in 1905 to 52 in 1921. In the following year the university students moved into a separate residence, St. Thomas' Hall; the first three years were spent at the University and the final year taking the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate in the college itself. Other Catholic colleges began to enter their more able students for degree courses, at first the concurrent three year course and after 1921 for the Four Year Course. By the end of the First World War Sedgley Park, St. Charles' and Fenham Hall¹ all had sizeable groups. Here it should be noted that the Four Year System made it possible for many less well-to-do Catholic girls to go directly to the University rather than by way of one of the Catholic training colleges. Some no doubt then went to one or other of them for the training year, but it is not, of course, possible to estimate the numbers involved.

1. Catholic Education Council Report 1920. Students at Sedgley Park College, St. Mary's College, Fenham, were entered for three year course. Catholic Education Council Report 1921 - Students from these colleges and N. Kenisngton began the Four Year Course.

But welcome as these developments were the slow pace of change noticed earlier in the chapter is confirmed by some figures for 1913. In the Board of Education volume of statistics for that year there are 47 Catholic girls' secondary schools on the grant list; in no case was the headmistress a graduate, only six of them had been specially trained for secondary teaching. Fourteen assistants had degrees and 36 had a secondary teacher's training. The remainder had elementary training or some other certificate. One further point must be emphasised; while the convent secondary schools were only able to earn the lower grant and because on the whole fees were low, it was difficult to pay adequate salaries to the graduates coming into the profession. Teaching in a Catholic secondary school could be a precarious business for the lay teacher right up to the end of the Second World War, because not only might she not be paid Burnham Scale, but she might also have very little security of tenure. To make ends meet, apart from other reasons, the nuns wished to employ as many of their communities as possible and many a lay teacher after several years service found she had to give way to a nun. The shortage of teachers, the possibility of becoming voluntary aided schools and the ability of the Catholic middle classes to pay higher fees at Direct Grant Schools have of course since 1945 changed this situation.

Before bringing this history of the training of Catholic women teachers to close with a brief survey of the war and post-war years, it remains to note in 1930 the establishment of the Joint Board for Training College examinations. In 1927 the Board gave up the examination of the colleges' academic work though it retained control of the Final Teaching Examination until the Institutes came into existence in 1948. Several of the training colleges had already established close links with neighbouring universities, but now membership by lecturers of

1. Catholic Education Council Annual Report 1927. The Council agreed to the new method of examination for the Catholic Training Colleges provided that - 1) the University representation on the Governing Bodies of the Colleges should not be greater than the representation of the L.E.A.'s on the governing bodies of aided secondary schools as fixed by the Board of Education.
2. The visitation of the training colleges proposed by the Universities should not lead to an excessive number of visits to the colleges concerned.

their appropriate Boards of Studies brought them still more into contact with their opposite numbers in other colleges and more into the main stream of national education. The new institutes completed in the integration of Catholic and non-Catholic colleges in the work of training teachers and in the many institute activities and committees the experience and special insights of the Catholic colleges have contributed to the variety and enrichment of institute life. The Advanced Courses which have developed since the war are eagerly attended by lecturers from the Catholic colleges with none of those fears which accompanied the first tentative steps into university life in the earliest years of the century. The misgivings of Bishop Grant in 1860¹ when he was troubled lest the non-Catholic Drawing Inspector had spoken to the students at St. Leonards' seem worlds away.

The war years brought disruption and evacuation to some colleges and of these three did not return to their old premises. St. Charles' moved to Roehampton and the college is now known as Digby-Stuart in memory of its earliest principal, Mother Digby and Mother Janet Stuart, one of the Order's most famous educationists. The college has not only increased its numbers but has introduced a domestic science course, the first to be set up in a Catholic training college and to accommodate this department and to provide a hostel for its large contingent of student nuns, has gone back to its beginnings and is once again using the Wandsworth premises for training teachers. Selly Park, grant aided in 1927, removed during the war from Birmingham, but the Sisters bought a large house at Newbould Revel, near Rugby, where there is great scope for expansion.

In 1946 soon after the close of the war two new colleges were established - Maria Assumpta in Kensington and Coloma Training College, Croydon was transformed from a private Froebel College into a recognised

1. Mayfield papers. Letters from Dr. Grant to Mother Connolly, December 1st & 17th 1860, asking whether the non-Catholic Drawing Inspector from South Kensington had spoken to the students and asked questions about "principles of Drawing".

Two Year college and moved to Wickham Court in Kent. It became grant aided in 1957 and is now in process of expansion to 400 students.

This study was originally intended to deal with a century of the education of Catholic women teachers, but it is not possible to conclude without some reference to future developments.¹ The shortage of teachers, realised with such force in the late fifties, has led to a vast expansion of training college places in which Catholics are to have their share. According to information supplied by the Catholic Education Council before this phase of expansion began there were about 2,000 places, including the two colleges for men. In the near future in addition to an increase in numbers at existing colleges, there are to be four new colleges, two for women only, one conducted by the Holy Child nuns at Birmingham and another by the Loreto nuns at Nottingham. There are also to be two mixed colleges, one at Liverpool and the other at Leeds. Two interesting points emerge from this scheme; one is that for the first time there will be mixed colleges for Catholic students and the other is that the C.E.C. will now own, in addition to St. Mary's, Strawberry Hill, the ~~women's~~^{men's} college, established in 1855, a half share in Christ's College, Liverpool and the new men's college at Leeds; the women's colleges will be owned by the communities conducting them.

It would be impossible to assess with any hope of justice the contribution made by any one person or even any institution to the history of the education of Catholic women teachers, apart from expressing how much is owed to Sister Mary of St. Philip who in one capacity or another controlled the destiny of Mount Pleasant Training College from 1856 to her death in 1904. It is most moving to read some of her latest letters in the Catholic Education Council's archives or in the Mount Pleasant School file and to realise how right to the end of her long life,

1. See list for numbers in 1959 on the eve of expansion.

her zeal for education and sure grasp of educational principles continued to serve the institution she had in a large measure founded and done so much to foster. Mount Pleasant Training College as the pioneer, the helper and encourager of other colleges, a debt they would be the first to acknowledge, cannot be passed over. Another name that calls for mention is Mother Connolly, the Founder of the Society of the Holy Child, disappointed at the failure of St. Leonards', not living to see the return of her nuns to teacher training first at Cavendish Square, London, and now another fifty years later to begin a new college in Birmingham. How much also would she have rejoiced at the work of the Sisters for the higher education of women and particularly for student nuns at Oxford. But if one continues to speak of individual colleges, it would be difficult to know where to end; all have in their measure have made their contribution and produced their quota of devoted and well trained teachers. A final assessment can never of course be made but perhaps one might stress the part played by the nineteenth century elementary school teacher, who came as a rule from the mass of the greatly underprivileged Catholic population and understood its life and problems, in contributing to the improvement of the quality of religious and social life and in helping to break down the isolation in which their fellow Catholics lived. It was a long process, hampered by poverty, the lack of a cultural tradition and the absence of an educated middle class. One recalls the writer of the letter to Sir F. Sandford in 1875 declaring that it was only the religious zeal of the Catholic teacher that made him or more often her, able and willing to try to educate the Catholic poor of the large towns.

The opponents of the denominational system who might question the right of Catholics to have their own schools and colleges would perhaps agree that in this way they did something of value and that in addition, they have down to the present day, helped to keep alive the voluntary spirit, the willingness to make sacrifices for what one wants and values.

MAYFIELD ARCHIVES

(A summary of the material dealing with the College)

1. Collection of Mother Connolly's letters -

Contains one letter to her sister-in-law and discusses her principles of education. No date but the first in the collection.

2. Two letters to Mr. Marshall on College business and her methods, but showing the close friendship that existed between.

Dated Feb. 13th, 1856 and Jan. 17th 1858.

3. A series of letters to Mr. Allies, Secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee dealing with the Annie McCave case which throws a deal of light on the affair and also shows the strong dislike Mother Connolly had for Mr. Stokes. Dated from March, 1862 to July 9th, 1862. These letters show that the difficulties with the Committee of Council and with the Catholic Poor School Committee that resulted from this affair played a much greater part in the eventual closing of the College than had been realised before. There is no hint in the published reports of all this.

4. Two letters to Dr. Grant of Southward, dated July 25th, 1862 and September 23rd, 1862, dealing with the same problem and with the closure of the College. She mentions the possibility of moving to London.

5. A series of letters written between July 1870 and Jan. 22nd, 1874 to members of the Catholic Poor School Committee, Archbishop Manning, various clerics and laymen, about the possibility of opening a College in London when the need for a new College became apparent after the passing of the 1870 Education Act. This came to nothing as the Sacred Heart nuns were in the end asked to begin the new College.

6. Four letters from Dr. Grant about the poor results of St. Leonards in the Religious Exam. Compared with Liverpool and about the non-Catholic Drawing Examiner. These letters help to make clear what lies behind some of the comments in the Report of the C.P.S.C. They also show Dr. Grant's timidity which was a great trial to Mother Connolly.

MAYFIELD ARCHIVES.

FOLDER OF LETTERS AND PAPERS.

These concern the College's dealings with the Committee of Council and are copies of letters, statistics and reports sent to the H.M.I. dating from Nov. 1st, 1857 and ending June 27th, 1862, with a letter to Mr. Allies. A group of letters in this folder are to Mr. Allies.

Examples of material found in this folder are as follows:-

- 1 1858 Table of officers of the College with salaries and a draft of the annual returns but not a complete one.
- 2 Copies of timetables, information about number of students, vacations, copies of the Inspectors' reports.
3. An official form with what is presumable a rough copy of the information required by the Inspectors when they made their annual visit; this gives the names of the students, the subjects of their lessons and the marks awarded for Manner, Arrangement, Illustration and Language. The age of the children is not mentioned.
e.g. Student M.G. gave three lessons of 30 minutes each on "Iron", "Complex sentences", and the "History of Commerce". Result "Very Fair;"
Student E.C. gave three lessons of 25 minutes each on "The Minerals of England", "Division of Fractions", "The Distribution of Plants". Result "Good".
Other information about M.G.
Age 20
Length of time in College - 17 months.
Queen's Scholar - Second Class.
Reading - Fair.
Lessons - Manner Good. Arrangement V.Fair. Illustration - V.Fair.
Language - V. Fair. Total - V.Fair.
4. Some notes on the teaching of Literature. Interesting to notice that the teacher is to lay her main emphasis on discussing the author's historical and philosophical background rather than on reading the works of the writer with the students. The notes are not signed and ~~and are quite~~ long.
5. A draft of the article on School Management later appearing in the

FOLDER OF LETTERS AND PAPERS cont.

in the Catholic Poor School Committee Report.

6. Similar information and statistics for each year.

7. Letters to Mr. Stokes ; one - June 8th, 1861, shows that she found him rather difficult.

8. An article marked "Private" about Religious Instruction. A very frank discussion of the Liverpool methods describing them as "cramming" but then goes on to suggest improvements in methods of teaching at St. Leonards. This long article is unsigned but there is a note at the end in Mother Connolly's hand saying that nothing except government papers should be put in the folder.

9. Letter from Mr. Lingen on the A. McCave case - April 23rd, 1862. April 28th, 1862 letter of Mr. Allies to the Committee of Council on the same case.

June 1st, 1862 and June 3rd, 1862 letters of Mother Connolly to Mr. Allies about the case, which show how strongly she felt that Mr. Stokes had been unjust to the College. Final comment that they would rather submit to a non-Catholic Inspector than have Mr. Stokes again.

MAYFIELD ARCHIVES. M.12.

Foolscap size notebook

1. 1862 mark lists. This list puts the seven private students separately and says they went to the middle school at the end of June.
There are the same sort of remarks about conduct as in previous lists.
2. List of class mistresses and a plan of teaching for the year.
3. Notes on the teaching of Christian Doctrine, lessons for Sunday School and tests for the students' own knowledge. Timetable for Sundays.
4. A note to the effect that it is forbidden to work point lace in lectures or study time.
5. Lists of students' offices ... sweeping rooms etc.
6. Recreation and holiday reading.
7. Subjects of the weekly exam. paper.
8. Monthly subject reports from January 1862 as in the previous book.
9. List of the private students who seem to have had a separate timetable.
10. Exam. questions.
11. Practising arrangements for 1863.
12. Other arrangements for 1863, e.g. Timetable analysis for each lecturer, arrangements for weekly test papers of 3 hours and details of the marking scheme.
13. Second part of the book ... the Journal beginning 1862 and ending October, 1863.

N.B. These reports and the Journal cover the whole of the College's existence and there are very few gaps though some reports are not so full as others.

APPENDIX 2.STUDENTS ENTERING MOUNT PLEASANT TRAINING COLLEGE
FEBRUARY 1856.

NAME	HOME DISTRICT AND/OR PREVIOUS SCHOOL.	FIRST TEACHING POST
Mary Byrne.	St. Oswald's School, Liverpool (Sisters of Mercy)	
Mary McDermott	Lower Mosley St. British School, Manchester.	
Ellen Hayhurst.) Elizabeth Tivnan) Elizabeth Smart.)	St. Patrick's School, Manchester. (Presentation Sisters)	
Elizabeth Roddis	St. Chad's School, Birmingham (Sisters of Charity of St. Paul)	
Anne Atherton.) Catherine Warner)	St. Thomas School, Liverpool (Sisters of Mercy)	
Anne Keating.	St. Anthony's School, Liverpool (Sisters of Notre Dame)	
Jane Nicholson	Hurst Green School, Lancashire.	
Margaret Carter	St. Thomas & St. Williams School, Liverpool (Sisters of Mercy)	
Mary McCarthy.	St. Peter & Paul's School, Bolton	
Anne Harrison	St. Andres's School, Newcastle.	
Maria Anderson	Talacre.	

APPENDIX 2. cont.

NAME	HOME DISTRICT AND/OR PREVIOUS SCHOOL	FIRST TEACHING POST
Mary Woods.	Ince Blundell.	
Mary J. Daglish	Stella, Durham	
Mary Ann Mahon	St. Nicholas School, Liverpool (Sisters of Notre Dame)	
Cecilia Kiriven	Hull.	
Elizabeth Mooney	Dean Mills British School, Halliwell, Lancs.	
Louisa Pottinger.	Private Student.	
Euphrasie Barbier.	" "	

STUDENTS ENTERING ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA TRAINING COLLEGE
FEBRUARY, 1856

NAME.	HOME DISTRICT AND/OR PREVIOUS SCHOOL	FIRST TEACHING POST
QUEEN'S SCHOLARS		
Emma Sparrow (left Dec. 1856)		
Sarah Humphries		Colet Place School, Commercial Rd. London
Rose Ketley		ditto
Martha Broadway		Manchester Sq. Sch. Londpn.
Catherine Broadhurst.		St. Augustine's Sch. Ramsgate .
Monica Ingram		St. Ignatius Sch. Preston
PRIVATE STUDENTS.		
Mary Keeting.		Manchester Sq. Sch. Londpn
Jonna Madden		St. Nicholas Sch. Bristol.
Margaret Keefe (left after one year)		Tudor Place Sch. London
Julia Holland.		St. Thomas of Canterbury Sch. Fulham.
1. Ellen Newsham.	Pupil Teacher, Preston.	
2. I. Parkinson	" " "	
Jane Richardson.		
Kate Humphrey.		
<hr/>		
1.	Took the examination for a Queen's Scholarship Dec. 1857.	
2.	" " " " " "	
	Evidently wanted to get a scholarship for their second year.	

APPENDIX La.

(Contained in Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of)
 (Council on the R.C. Training College for Schoolmistresses)

Time Table 1856 MOUNT PLEASANT TRAINING COLLEGE.

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
9.0	Relig. Know. (Doctrine)	New Testament	Methods. (Relig. Know.)	Church History	Old Testament	School Management
10.30	English	Parsing.	Map Drawing	Eng. Lang. & Grammar	Geography	Domestic Economy
12.30	----- Dinner and Recreation -----					
2.0	Reading.	Writing.	Practice	Writing	Reading	Needlework
3.0	Object Lesson	Arithmetic	Schools	Arithmetic	Notes of lessons	Notes of lessons
4.30	----- Tea. Recreation and Chapel -----					
5.15	Music.	Drawing		Drawing.	Music	Needlework
6.30	----- Private Study -----					
7.30	----- Supper and Recreation -----					

APPENDIX 4b.

ST. LEONARDS-on-SEA TRAINING COLLEGE.

First Timetable 1856

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
9.0	Arithmetic	Physical Science.	Algebra	Domestic Economy	Algebra	Methods of Teaching (STCW)	9.30 Drawing
10.0	History	Bible History	History	Bible History.	History	Composition Essay	Drawing
11.0	Paraphrases Grammar Literature	Latin Grammar Translation	Paraphrases Grammar Literature	Latin Grammar & Translation	Methods of Teaching	Transposing Poetry Composition Essay	Drawing
12.0	Geography	Grammar Criticism	Geography	History Criticism	Geography	Virtue Essay	Essay on some Virtue 2 or 2 hours
2.30				Drawing and describing maps		Needlework	Water colouring
3.15				Study		Needlework	Harmony 3.30
4.0				Study		Needlework	4. - 4.30 Sodalility of the Angels.
5.15				Supper			5.30 Vespers Instruction Benediction
6.0	French	Music	French	Music	French	Music.	6.45 Fresh Air
7.0	Drawing freehand	Drawing perspective	Drawing perspective	Drawing perspective	Drawing perspective	Drawing	7.0 Notes on the Instruction. Supper 7.30

APPENDIX 5.

ST LEONARDS-on-SEA TRAINING COLLEGE

PLAN FOR SUNDAYS 1862

- 9.0 Holy Mass
- 10.30 Learn the Gospel.
- 11.0 Teach in the Practising School. (Christian Doctrine).
- 11.30 Criticism of the lesson.
12. Repetition of the Doctrine learned during the week.
- 12.30 Conference.
- 2.30 Drawing.
- 5.0 Refection.
- 7.0 Letter writing.

1860 Time-tables.

<u>Subjects.</u>	<u>Mammersmith</u>		<u>Liverpool</u>		<u>St. Leonards</u>	
	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st.</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>
Religious Knowledge.	6	6	9	9	5	5
S.Management	6	4	7	2½	5	3
Grammar	4	6	3½	4	x4	4
Arithmetic	4	6	3½	5½	4	5 +
History	4	4	4½	4½	4	4
Geography	4	4	4	4	3¼	3¼
Latin or Algebra	6	6	-	-	-	-
Euclid	-	4	-	-	-	-
Reading	2	2	1	1	4	3 ø
Drawing	4	4	3½	3½	8	8
Music	4	4	2½	2	6@	6x x
Needlework	-	-	4½	4½	3½	3½
Written Exam.	2	2	4	5	8 xxx	8 xxx
Writing	-	-	1	1½	-	-
Dom. Econ.	-	-	1	1½	-	-
Practice in D.E.	-	-	3½	3½	-	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	46	52	53½	51½	52¾	50¾

x with Literature.

@ with French

+ with Algebra.

xxx with Latin

ø with Needlework.

~~xxxx~~ with Private Study.

St. Leonards revised time in Religious Knowledge to 9 hours a week
(see 5b)

Mr. Stokes' Report to the Committee of Council 1860 p.385.

1861 TIME-TABLES

	St. Mary's		Liverpool		St. Leonards	
	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>
Religious Knowledge.	4	4	8	7½	9	9
Reading	2	2	1	2	3	3
Writing	1	1	1	2	1½	2½
School Management	5	2	* 14½	3	4	2
Grammar	2	2	3½	4½	5	4
Maths. & Arith.	6	8	3½	5	5	5
History	2	2	4	4½	3	3
Geography	2	2	4½	4½	2½	3½
Music.	3	3	2	2	2	2
Drawing	3	3	3	3	2	2
Written Ex.	7	7	3	3	4	4
Private Study	19	17	12	12	6	6
Needlework	-	-	4½	4½	3	3
Dom. Econ.	-	-	5	17½ +	3	4

* Students in P.S. 3 hours per week Jan. to Oct.

+ Parties of 6 to kit. and laund. 2-4.30 Jan. to July.

APPENDIX 5c.

1862 TIMETABLES.

	ST. MARY'S		LIVERPOOL		ST. LEONARDS	
	1st Yr.	2nd Yr.	1st Yr.	2nd	1st Yr.	2nd Yr.
Religious Knowledge	4	4	$6\frac{3}{4}$	$6\frac{3}{4}$	$9\frac{3}{4}$	$9\frac{3}{4}$
School Management	2	4	$3\frac{1}{2}$	12	5	4
Grammar	2	2	6	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{3}{4}$	4
Arithmetic	5	5	$6\frac{1}{2}$	5	4	4
History	2	2	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$	2	3
Geography	2	2	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$
Reading	3	3	2	1	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Drawing	3	3	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Music	3	3	$1\frac{3}{8}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Writing	2	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
Exams.	6	6	-	-	6	6
Economy	2	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Needlework	-	-	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Physical Science	-	-	-	-	1	1
Maps	-	-	-	-	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
Private Study	-	-	-	-	$5\frac{1}{4}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$
	36	38	$41\frac{1}{4}$	$43\frac{1}{4}$	$49\frac{1}{4}$	$49\frac{1}{4}$

APPENDIX 6.

1860 SCHOOLS TAUGHT BY RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES N.W. DISTRICT

						Apprentice
Notre Dame	38 Depts.	4,809 Children	22 Certificates			88
Sisters of Mercy	24 "	2,865 "	16 "			45
Sister of St. Paul	18 "	978 "	7 "			11
Holy Child.	14 "	1,492 "	6 "			23
Presentation	4 "	804 "	2 "			9
Loretto	3 "	424 "	3 "			6
Faithful Comp.	12 "	848 "	5 "			8
Holy Family	3 "	237 "	1 "			2
<hr/>						
TOTAL -	116 "	12,277 "	62 "			192
<hr/>						

1860 - Terms and conditions of admission to
Our Lady's Training School, Liverpool.

Pupil Teachers who have satisfactorily concluded apprenticeship, and other young persons who can produce unexceptionable references, and who have completed their 18th year, may be admitted to the Liverpool Training School -

- a) as students and candidates for the Certificate of Merit:
- b) as candidates for Queen's Scholarship.

The Certificate of Merit can be gained only by a student of at least one year's standing in a training school, or by a teacher who has attained the age of 22, and who is in charge of an elementary school under inspection. It entitles the holder to the grants made to school teachers by the Committee of Council.

The Queen's Scholarship can be gained by any young person above the age of 18, except by those who have begun and not completed an apprenticeship as a pupil teacher. It entitles the holder to two years' training, free of expense, in a normal college.

- a) 1. Those who apply for admission to the Liverpool Training School as candidates for the Certificate of Merit can be received in the month of January only, either by competing for and obtaining the scholarship offered each December, and thus entering free of expense, or by paying a pension of £26 per annum. In the latter case, if a certificate be gained at the December examination, a deduction will be made at the end of the year of £8, £10, or £15, according to the class reached by the candidate.
2. All students examined by doctors and rank for six weeks as probationers in order that moral and intellectual fitness, as well as state of health can be tested. Should a probationer, for whatever cause not remain, she will be charged at the rate of 6/- per week for the period of her residence.

- a) 3. The regular course of training is two years: special cases may in particular instances, require this term to be abridged: but in general, the student who remains for one year only, cannot be recommended by the authorities of the institution as a trained teacher.
4. The students are expected to bring with them a black dress and mantel and a black straw bonnet, trimmed with the same colour. The bonnet worn on Sundays must be procured after their arrival. The books used in the training school will be sold to the students at reduced prices.
5. The vacations are five weeks at Christmas and from 3 - 4 weeks after Midsummer, during which periods it is preferred that the students should return to their friends.

Information for the use of Candidates for Scholarships:

- b) 1. Those who desire to enter the training school in order to prepare for Scholarships, may do so (when the institution is not full) in August or September. They will be charged during their stay at the rate of £1.13. 4 per month. After the December Examination they are expected to return to their friends till the result is made known, when it will be optional with the authorities to re-admit them or not.

APPENDIX 7 cont.

- b) 2. Candidates for Scholarships in the ordinary course must apply before the 20th November for permission to attend the examination. They are expected to be at the training school on the Monday of the examination week (which is usually the Monday of the week preceding that in which Christmas Day falls), and to leave on the following Friday. They will be received at the institution during this period and charged 3/6 for their board and lodging.
3. The list of Queen's Scholarships for each year is generally published on or about the 15th January. The scholars who are accepted at Liverpool will be required to come into residence within six days after the result of their examination has been announced. Any further information may be obtained by addressing the Superiors, Convent, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.

The same terms and conditions apply generally to the training school of the Sisters of the Holy Child, St. Leonards.

Taken from the Report of Mr. Stokes to the Committee of Council 1859 and C.P.S.C. 1860.

SUMMARY

1860

OUR LADY'S TRAINING SCHOOL, LIVERPOOL
INFORMATION OF SCHOOL MANAGERS, RELATIVE TO THE EMPLOYMENT
OF CERTIFICATED STUDENTS
AS TEACHERS

1. Students of Liverpool Training School will be open to engagement with School Managers, from the month of September to that of December in each year, and will be ready to take charge of schools early in the ensuing January.

Uncertificated Mistresses or Assistant Teachers may frequently be heard of by applying at the Training School during the months of January and February, but Trained and Certificated teachers must be engaged before the end of the year.

2. Students completing second year of training are already certificated. Students of first year are not certificated and their success in the Christmas Examination remains doubtful until the second or third week in February.

Authorities of the Institution cannot be responsible either for the Certificate or efficiency of any one who is engaged before the close of the second year.

3. It is respectfully suggested that, where it is practicable, the Rev. School Manager will engage his teacher by means of a personal interview at the Training Schools. Where an interview is impossible, the full questions will be found useful in abridging correspondence.

QUESTIONS AS TO TEACHER REQUIRED.

To be answered and returned to the Liverpool Training School.

Note - on the following page some information is given on the subject of these questions.

1. Locality of School.
2. Whether under Government inspection or intended to be so.
3. Size of school. Whether for Girls alone, Girls and boys, or Infants.
4. Whether the Mistress is to be Head Teacher, or Assistant.
5. Whether there are pupil teachers, and if so, how many and in what years.
6. The salary offered.
7. Whether a furnished house or lodgings are provided.
8. Whether the Mistress is required to undertake any duties not immediately connected with the school, e.g. playing the organ or instructing the Choir.
9. Whether the teacher is required to attend a Night School.
10. When is the Teacher wanted?

APPENDIX 8 cont.

Remarks -

2. A certificated Mistress will not generally be found willing to undertake a school unconnected with the Government unless the salary be such as to compensate for the loss of grants from the Committee of Council.
4. If the school is under inspection, and Pupil Teachers are employed, one certificated Mistress is essential; and if more than four pupil teachers are required or if there are two departments in the school, a second teacher should be engaged. If this second Teacher be a Probationer, i.e., if she is leaving a normal school a grant of £20 towards her salary. This grant may be claimed even when the student has failed to obtain a certificate and has been scheduled after the December Examination. But when, (as is ordinarily the case), the Probationer is certificated, her salary should be such as to compensate for the loss of the £10 to which her certificate would entitle her. The Probationer takes the place of two Pupil Teachers, and the term of probation only lasts two years, when a fresh arrangement must be made. Schools in rural districts, not exceeding 1,200 sq. feet in dimensions, nor attended by more than 100 children, may be taught by a Probationer alone.
5. The salary usually offered to a student of the second year, who is engaged as a Teacher, is from £30 - £35 when furnished lodgings are provided, and from £40 - £45 when she finds her own lodgings. This is exclusive of the personal grants made to the Teacher by the Committee of Council.
In order that the teacher may obtain the Augmentation grant to which she is entitled, it is necessary that the Manager give notice to the Committee of Council as soon as she is placed in charge of his school, of the exact date at which she commenced her duties.
6. The Schoolmistress is not allowed to undertake Night School as well as the instruction of Apprentices unless there is an Assistant.

7. Students leave the Training School about 20th December, and are ready to commence their work immediately after the Epiphany.

The following list of furniture and apparatus, absolutely necessary at the very outset of a Teacher's work, may be found useful:-

	£.	s.	d
Desks and Benches sufficient for all the scholars			
Rostrum for Mistress, presses, clock.			
Black boards, one for each class..... each	5.		0
Eazel - one for each board " "	7.		6
Chalk and pointers	1.		0
Signals and bell " "	1.		0
Lesson Posts, with frames to hold sheets	5.		0
Maps. World, Europe, England, Palestine, from Chamber's set	2.	5.	0
Slates for use of scholars per dozen			8½
Reading books for scholars 1st and 2nd sequel to 2nd and 3rd of Irish Board (until the Catholic Lines is published)			
Copy books, slate pencils and pens to be sold to scholars.			
A few dozen Catechisms, Table Books and Spelling Books for home tasks - to be sold to scholars.			
Registers - Martin's set	10.		0

APPENDIX 9.a.

1861. TABLE TO SHOW PRESENT POSITION OF STUDENTS.

College	Students leaving 1861		Average Salary	Total Number Trained.	Number Teaching.
	One year	2 year			
St. Mary's	0	22	£60	65	46
Liverpool	6	25	£30	145	117
St. Leonards	4	13	+ lodgings not known	71	60
	10	60		281	223

Trained Students not teaching.

College	Dead	Emigrated.	Teaching Upper Schools	Propose to teach.	Retired.
St. Mary's	5	1	4	3	6
Liverpool	6	2	5	5	10
St. Leonards.	0	0	7	0	4
	11	3	16	8	20

Total certificated teachers in Catholic Schools August 1st, 1861 - 355

Taken from Mr. Stokes' report to the Committee of the Privy Council 1861

1862 - TABLE TO SHOW DISTRIBUTION OF TRAINED TEACHERS IN DIOCESESStudents teaching following dioceses:-

LIVERPOOL

Westminster	7
Beverley	11
Birmingham	13
Hexham	16
Liverpool	37
Menevia & Newport	2
Northampton	3
Nottingham	2
Plymouth	1
Salford	19
Shrewsbury	11
Southwark	6
Scotland	19
Colonies	<u>2</u>
	<u>149</u>

ST. LEONARDS

Westminster	14
Beverley	2
Birmingham	3
Clifton	1
Liverpool	8
Menevia	4
Nottingham	3
Salford	2
Shrewsbury	1
Southwark	15
Scotland	2
America	<u>1</u>
	<u>56/ -</u>
	85

APPENDIX 11.

Extract from the Report of the C.P.S.C. 1873

Table to show the increase of Female certificated teachers
after the passing of the 1870 Education Act.

	Students taking the Certificate Exam.	Acting Teachers passing the Certificate of Merit Examination	Total
1867	35	21	56
1868	36	20	56
1869	30	33	63
1870	41	65	106
1871	38	92	130
1872	50	101	151

Acting Teachers passing the Certificate of Merit Examination

	Religious Sisters	Secular Teachers	Total
1867	12	9	21
1868	10	10	20
1869	22	11	33
1870	35	30	65
1871	52	40	92
1872	48	53	101

Quoted from "Voice of our Lady's Training School 1871

APPENDIX 12b.

TIME TABLE FOR A GIRLS' SCHOOL

100 scholars taught by mistress and 2 P.T.'s

	9.	9.15	9.30	10	10.30	11.15	12.	1.30	2.	2.15	2.45.	3.15	4.
Stds. IV V. VI.				Arith.	Dictation	Reading	Arith. Sacred	Sacred History Sewing Tues. & Thurs.		Arith.	→	Writing	
III				"	"	"		Sacred Hist. or Relig. Reading Lesson Sewing Tues. & Thurs.		Arith.	→	Geog. " or Grammar	
II	Prayers and Tasks.	Catechism learnt and repeated.			Relig. Know.		Closed.						
		Class	Registers	"	Reading	Dictation	Dinner & Recreation			Vocal Music.	Registers closed.		
I		"	"	"		Transcribing		Relig. Reading or Catechism		Arith.	Reading	Writing	

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE C.P.S.C. 1878 and 1879

Table showing the numbers of children in Catholic Inspected Schools
in England and Scotland

Age of Children	1878		1879	
	England.	Scotland	England	Scotland.
Under 3	340	3	386	3
3 - 4	6,325	453	6,154	429
4 - 5	17,363	2,017	16,659	1,807
5 - 6	22,537	3,822	23,267	3,025
6 - 7	22,878	4,493	24,840	5,129
7 - 8	21,218	4,187	22,993	4,432
8 - 9	21,942	4,670	23,146	4,813
9 -10	22,163	4,749	23,742	4,930
10 -11	20,658	4,127	28,898	4,489
11 -12	17,387	3,198	19,177	3,377
12 -13	12,198	1,884	14,018	2,186
13 -14	5,165	684	6,112	740
14+	1,172	223	1,360	273
	<u>191,341</u>	<u>34,710</u>	<u>204,752</u>	<u>36,533</u>

NEW ROMAN CATHOLIC TRAINING COLLEGE IN SALFORD

Manchester Guardian
September 2. 1903.

Relations with Victoria University

The Roman Catholic diocese of Salford will shortly be placed in possession of a new training college for female teachers. The college is to have its headquarters at Adelphi House, Salford, where for many years past the Sisters of the Faithful Companions of Jesus have carried on a successful secondary school and a house of residence for teachers. But so far the diocese has had no training college - indeed, the only Roman Catholic Training colleges in the United Kingdom are those at Liverpool, Wandsworth and Glasgow for women and that at Hammersmith for men. The Salford College, like those already in existence, will be under the care of the Catholic School Committee, and it will be conducted by the Mother Superior and Sisters of the Faithful Companions of Jesus. The College will provide accommodation for forty students - twenty in their first year and as many in the second year. While the course of instruction within the institution will be of a thorough character - the authorities, of course, will have to comply with the Government regulations in the matters of curriculum and general efficiency. The students will be encouraged to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the Victoria University of Manchester and other institutions for higher education in the city. Indeed, the growing importance of Manchester as a centre of educational work has doubtless led to the establishment of the College in this district. The founders of the new institution particularly hope to enlist the help and interest of the University staff in their experiment. They desire to prevent the College from becoming 'self-centred' by extending the training in the widest possible way. Much valuable assistance and many generous assurances of sympathy have been received from the Principals of other training colleges, and the new institution is being

APPENDIX 14.

launched upon its career under the most promising auspices. The Sisters are not altogether without experience in the training of teachers, for they have been in the habit of preparing girls, who have been resident at Adelphi House, for a subsequent course of training in colleges elsewhere. Now they will be able to carry on this work to a further stage. It is expected that the Salford Education Committee will accept Adelphi House as a centre for pupil teachers - there are now 100 pupil teachers in residence - and that the school in this connection will also be recognised by the Board of Education under Part I of the Education Act when the necessary preliminaries have been arranged. After the new training college has been established upon a sound basis ~~it~~ it possible that a college of a somewhat similar character for male teachers will be founded in the adjoining diocese of Liverpool.

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St. Mary's College. Fenham, Newcastle upon Tyne	226
Endsleigh College, Hull.	350
Our Lady's College, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.	200
Cavendish Square Training College, London.	70
Coloma College, West Wickham, Kent.	400
Digby Stuart College, Roehampton, London.	350
Maria Assumpta College. Kensington, London.	238
Seggley Park College, Prestwich, Salford.	180
Immaculate Conception College, Southampton.	200