

**English middle-class girls' high schools and
'domestic subjects' 1871-1914.**

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PhD thesis.

Submitted to the UCL Institute of Education, University of London.

Final version, April 2016.

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Word count (exclusive of appendices and bibliography): 85,287 words.

Acknowledgements.

I would like to show my gratitude to many individuals and groups: Professor Jane Martin, my first supervisor at the Institute of Education, sincerely supported and helped me to find my research topic and approach during my first two years of the MPhil/PhD Course. Professor Miriam David, my second supervisor at the Institute of Education, warmly helped me to draft and revise the chapters in the later stage of my PhD Course. Professor Gary McCulloch and Professor Joyce Goodman, my thesis examiners, have given very careful and sharp comments to widen as well as to deepen my research scope. The archivists and librarians gave me great help when exploring the archival materials. I would especially like to thank Dr Christine A. Joy of Manchester High School for Girls Archive, Mrs Jean Longley of Camden School for Girls Archive and archivists of North London Collegiate School Archive. The first three years of my MPhil/PhD were funded by a Japan Student Service Organisation's scholarship. The History of Education Society gave me various chances to present my research work, supported me with bursaries and enabled me to meet many friends who are also working on the history of education.

I am also thankful to my family and friends in Japan, and also those in London.

Abstract.

How 'domestic subjects', variously defined as cookery, dress-making, housewifery, laundry, needlework were transformed in English middle-class girls' high schools between 1871 and 1914 is the subject of this thesis, dates deliberately chosen to build upon the work of other scholars. Changing notions of middle-class women's positions in society and the economy influenced the development of these schools, their academic curriculum and the characteristics of 'domestic subjects'.

Middle-class girls' education and the pioneer headmistresses such as Miss Frances M. Buss, founder of North London Collegiate School (NLCS) and Camden School for Girls (CSG), have been extensively studied by feminist historians of education such as Delamont (1978). The Victorian women's movements were seen as a struggle for sexual and social equality through secondary and higher education. Miss Sara A. Burstall as headmistress of Manchester High School for Girls (MHSG) introduced 'domestic subjects' in 1900. Delamont saw this as a challenge to what earlier pioneers had achieved in the academic curriculum. 'Domestic subjects' had arguably been provided to meet the needs of girls with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds within the high schools.

I have found that the curriculum offered in girls' high schools throughout the period 1871 – 1914 was more gender-specific than previous scholars had considered. 'Domestic subjects' such as cookery, dress-making had always been included even when the pioneering headmistresses were also struggling to achieve academic goals. The originality of my thesis lies in the comprehensive and detailed documentary analysis of previously unexplored sources for the period 1870-1914 of the Association of Head Mistresses (AHM), founded by Miss Buss, and those of the three case study school archives (NLCS, CSG and MHSG) and also books written by contemporary headmistresses such as Miss Burstall. Through a detailed analysis of these materials, I have revised the history of the transformation of 'domestic subjects'.

My findings show different stories of the transformation of 'domestic subjects' in the three case study schools which reflected the changing positions of middle class women in universities, labour market and home. First, 'domestic subjects' were a part of girls' high school curriculum from their inception. Second, three stages were revealed with different contents, aims, staff and pupils as:

- a) separate compulsory subjects (1870s-1890s),
- b) special classes under the category of 'technical' education (1880s – 1890s)
- c) comprehensive special courses (after 1900).

Third, the six headmistresses in the three schools reacted differently to the changing social, economic and educational environments considering the financial states of schools and demands of pupils and their parents. Fourth, staff and pupils involved in 'domestic subjects' were not limited to those with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds of their parents.

In conclusion, the changing characteristics of 'domestic subjects' in girls' high schools can be seen as a move from Miss Buss to Miss Burstall: a difficult balancing act of academic and feminine roles at home, at school and in employment and responding to individual girls, local and parental needs and the growing role of the state, through its national Board of Education (BOE).

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Abbreviations.

AHM	Association of Head Mistresses
AR	Annual Reports, AHM
BOE	Board of Education
CC	Charity Commission
CSG	Camden School for Girls
ESC	Endowed Schools Commission
GPDSC/T	Girls' public Day School Company/Trust
HR	Headmistresses' Reports to Governors, NLCS and CSG
LEAs	local education authorities
MEC	Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Association of Head Mistresses of Endowed and Proprietary Schools
MGM	Minutes of Governors Meetings, MHSG
MHSG	Manchester High School for Girls
MRC	Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick
NLCS	North London Collegiate School for Girls
OM	<i>Our Magazine</i> , NLCS
PDR	Prize Day Reports, NLCS.
RCCPWSS	<i>Report of the Consultative Committee on Practical Work in Secondary Schools.</i>
RRCSE	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education</i>
RSIC	<i>Reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission</i>
RSS	<i>Regulations for Secondary Day Schools</i> , BOE
SM	School Magazines, MHSG
SR	School Reports, MHSG
TEB	Technical Education Board

Part I: Introductory and conceptual.

Chapter 1: Setting the scene for exploring the histories of middle class education for girls 1871-1914.

1.1. Introduction.

In this introductory chapter, I provide first my personal and professional trajectory into my PhD research topic. Second, I present a context for my study by explaining the literature on the histories of English middle-class girls' education by contrast with boys' education and working class schooling. I focus on class, gender and curricula. Key concepts such as 'double conformity' and 'divided aims' of middle-class girls' education are identified. More specific research and scholarship on the changes in curriculum and the introduction of 'domestic subjects' into English girls' secondary education are then introduced and gaps in this literature identified. This leads into my research questions. Finally the contents of each of the following chapters of the thesis are summarised.

1.2. Personal and professional reasons for my research.

My interest draws from my experience as a Japanese research student of British history as an undergraduate, MA and early PhD student in the Office of Occidental History in University of Tokyo. My research focus and methods reflect what had been studied in the Japanese academic context. My initial supervisor, Kazuhiko Kondo, one of the leading historians of British history in Japan, saw British history in the context of European history, so we, his students, were encouraged to have comparative views. My second supervisor, Shunsuke Katsuta, he is also a leading figure of British history, lead me thorough difficult conditions, too. In addition, my origins as a Japanese female brought up in Japanese education, strengthened my aim to be more comparative and international and enabled me to do a PhD in London, a foreign environment.

Second, an important influence on my research interest in women's and gender history came from Toshiko Himeoka, one of the leading gender historians of German history, and from joining the Japan Women's History Network. My sensitivity towards the core topic in British women's and gender history, whether to value an 'equal' or 'separate' approach when

raising women's positions, was also strengthened by both groups. I first became familiar with the Japanese literature, which was much like that of British women's and gender history. These scholars preferred to value the 'equal' approach based on the same human rights when raising women's rights and positions. Later, Himeoka's work indicated that there were different research trends in German gender history such as the notion of 'maternal feminism', taking a 'separate' approach valuing female qualities. This led to my choosing 'domestic subjects', a specifically female subject in middle-class girls' education, as my research topic.

In Japan, historians of English middle-class education shared a similar interest with those in Britain. The 'second-wave feminism' of the 1960s played a key role in stimulating historical research into girls' secondary education in England as I will explain later in this chapter. In Japan, one of the earliest works was published by Kawamura (1973) on Victorian governesses and the reform in middle-class girls' education in the 1970s when the topic was also hot in Britain. Since then, Japanese scholars such as Kagawa (1985, 1995), Takiuchi (1994, 2008), Yamaguchi (1996), Tsukamoto (2006) and Horiuchi (2008) have maintained interests in middle-class girls' and women's education. What was missing in Japanese literature was the focus on the 'feminine', including maternal, aspects in middle-class education. The same could be said for British scholarship, too.

Therefore, my research focus is drawn from my experience as a Japanese historian of English middle-class girls' education. What were the aims of middle-class girls' education? How did middle-class women's changing social and economic positions influence middle-class girls' curricula? How were the characteristics of 'domestic subjects' affected by above changes?

1.3. Class-based analysis of education in Victorian and Edwardian England.

A rich literature exists for the class-based analysis of education in Victorian and Edwardian England. Simon's historiographies of the development of English education illustrate a valuable and overall picture including the development of the mass English education in the period (Simon, 1965). Roach (1986, 1991) threw light on the development of private enterprises, public schools and endowed schools for upper and middle-classes.

Of the related scholarship, most interesting contributions were made by a group of historians led by Müller, Ringer and Simon who examined the rise of the modern educational system in Germany, France and England (Müller, Ringer and Simon, eds., 1987). They concentrated

on the similarities or patterns underlying the development of secondary and higher education in the three countries from 1870 to 1920, and conducted social-historical and comparative approach to interpret the systematic structural change in education (Müller, Ringer and Simon, 1987, p.xi). According to Ringer, the transformation of educational systems in the three countries brought secondary and higher education into closer relationship with the occupational system. However, Ringer denied the educational functionalist view seeing this transformation as the adjustment of educational systems to the requirements of high industrial economy, and emphasised that educational transformations occurred in terms of social effect rather than through economic causes (Ringer, 1987, pp.1-3). For example, Ringer introduced French sociologist Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of social reproduction and different capitals as an alternative to educational functionalist view to explain the structural change in education. According to Ringer, Bourdieu noted that if those with cultural capital entered the school system and gained highly valuable educational credentials, they succeeded to obtain high occupational and social positions. Therefore, educational credentials were linked not only with family backgrounds but also with cultural capital. By using these concepts, Ringer noted that during the structural change of 1870 to 1920, educational systems came to play a more central role in perpetuating social hierarchies (Ringer, 1987, pp.3-5).

Ringer summarised the three common features of the modern educational system: 'systematisation' developed by Müller, and 'segmentation' and 'generalist shift' presented by Ringer himself. 'Systematisation' explained the shift from the initial existence of diverse group of vaguely defined schools to the emergence of a highly structured and hierarchical system of institutions according to their link with higher educational institutions. This 'systematisation' was extended from the top level to the bottom and functioned as a process of exclusion in lower levels when schools lost access to higher educational institutions (Ringer, 1987, pp.5-7). 'Segmentation' meant the division of educational system into parallel segments or 'tracks' which differ both in curriculum and social origins of pupils. The important point was that curricular differentiation alone did not constitute 'segmentation' and clear social difference was attached as well. 'Generalist shift' described the tendency of newly introduced 'practical' or 'technical' programmes in existing schools or newly established technical institutions to strengthen more generalist and academic characters over time, mainly in response to the socio-cultural aspirations of teachers and parents to seek for more highly valued academic trends (Ringer, 1987, p.7).

Simon (1987) examined the transformation in England by using the terms 'systematisation'

and 'segmentation'. Simon emphasised the difference between England and the other two countries by pointing out chronological differences and differences in the means by which transformation was brought about. In England, the crucial moment of change took place during the 1850s and the 1870s when belief in examining and reforming of all levels of education rose and a series of Royal Commissions were appointed, followed by various Education Acts. However, the state did not directly force 'systematisation' or 'segmentation' in the case of secondary and higher education where change was realised as the new redistribution of public trusts. In this period of educational reconstruction, the feature of English secondary curriculum was the supremacy of classics which coincided with the inferior status attached to scientific or modern subjects ('segmentation'). The main agents in this reconstruction of secondary education were not the liberal Unitarians who were politically active in the 1830s but were the dominant classes of landed gentry assisted by professional groups who served in the Schools Inquiry Commission (SIC) in the 1860s. The influence of industry was also noted (Simon, 1987, pp.88-89, 96-100). SIC divided secondary schools into three grades by their school leaving ages and curricula. First-grade schools would take pupils up to 18, and prepare them for university education through a classical education. Second-grade schools would take pupils up to 16, and train pupils for business and professional careers. Third-grade schools would take pupils up to 14, including sons of small farmers, shopkeepers, and superior artisans (Roach, 1986). However, SIC failed to establish an authority to maintain these differences. Therefore, 'systematisation' and 'segmentation' in England occurred with a relatively large degree of autonomy within educational system (Simon, 1987, p.106).

Furthermore, Steedman (1987) introduced the concept 'defining institutions', the alternative to 'generalist shift', to explain the specific features of the transformation of English secondary education in Victorian England. According to Steedman, the shift in England could not be explained only by 'generalist shift': it needed 'not only by means of types of knowledge but also by means of school ethos and organisation'. Public schools, the model of the first-grade schools, served as 'defining institutions'. The three criteria of 'defining institutions' were the classics curriculum, the ability to gain Oxford and Cambridge open scholarships and the late school leaving age. The four additional aspects were: school uniforms, organised team sports, the chapel or assembly attached to the school, and the house system. The three criteria directly attached to social reproduction, though, the four aspects contained purely symbolic values. By observing the features of widely acknowledged 'successful' grammar schools, Steedman concluded that such criteria and aspects of 'defining institutions' extended to the less prestigious second-grade and

third-grade grammar schools including 'day' schools by the 1890s (Steedman, 1987, pp.112-113)

However, it is important to note that such observations were largely gender-blind being almost entirely based on an analysis of the state of boys' education. While concepts such as 'systematisation', 'segmentation', 'generalist shift' and 'defining institutions' could also be applied to girls' education, the literature on middle-class girls' education developed quite differently from that of boys.

1.4. Usefulness of a gendered approach in the history of education.

The theoretical framework of gender has been more common among historians since Scott (1986) emphasised gender as a useful category of analysis. For example, Tosh (2006), a historian of masculinities, summarised the change from women's history to gender history as follows. Before the 1980s, women's history tended to uncover what was called the hidden 'herstory' of women's experience and activities in opposition to mainstream history. During the 1980s, a shift from women's history to gender history began to occur. Women were not seen as a single undifferentiated social category but a more sophisticated analysis according to class, race, culture and religion was developed. Second, the stress on patriarchy was softened, and a more diverse relationship between the sexes or genders was examined. Third, men and masculinity also became the subject of analysis.

Spencer (2010, pp.108-109) reviewed the use of gender in historical analysis by referring to Scott (1986; 2008). Gender enabled collaborations between work on 'women's history' and sociology, anthropology, geography and philosophy. In 1986 Scott recommended that historians use gender to re-examine the fixed and unchanging quality of the binary opposition and to question the general historicisation and deconstruction of the terms of sexual difference. Since then, scholars have become more sensitive to the process of construction of male and female genders. Some of the critical power gender initially had has been lost, so Scott in 2008 reemphasised the power of gendered analysis. Gender was 'an invitation to think critically about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced, deployed, and changed; that finally, is what accounts for its longevity'. Scott further highlighted the importance of gender in analysing historical policy-making in education where gendered roles were set by and required change in administration. In conclusion, Spencer pointed out two important features of gendered analysis: firstly, gender still has the potential to irritate and bring out hidden prejudices and assumptions which continues; secondly, gender

enables a focus on the present uneven hierarchy based around sexed bodies (Spencer, 2010, pp.110-112).

1.5. Working-class girls' education in Victorian and Edwardian England.

Working-class girls in Victorian and Edwardian England experienced very different education from middle-class girls. Purvis (1991) summarised that working-class girls attended a range of educational institutions between 1800 and 1914. Dame schools, small private schools usually ran by one woman or 'dame' in her own home, were more home-like schools teaching boys and girls knowledge related to working-class lives. Pupils were mainly taught reading and spelling, and girls were also taught to sew and knit. In Sunday Schools, they were taught to read the Bible and sometimes to write. There are controversies over whether the school was a means of social control by the middle-classes or was a part of working-class community. Day schools were established by the British and Foreign Society (established in 1808) and the National society (established in 1811). Both groups provided about 90 percent of voluntary school places by the 1870s. They aimed 'not just to impart basic knowledge and religious instruction but also to instil certain habits and manners considered appropriate for the 'lower' orders'(Purvis, 1991, p.24). Girls were instructed to be 'good' servants or 'good' wives and mothers and the sexes were separated in entrance, classes and seats. The curriculum also differed. While girls and boys were offered the same curriculum, reading, writing and religious instructions in the morning, in the afternoon, boys did arithmetic when girls did needlework and knitting (Purvis, 1991, pp.11-26).

The Education Act of 1870 enabled local boards as a form of local government to set up schools for the working-classes, becoming known as local board schools. Revised Codes offered grants to strengthen the teaching of certain subjects. Girls' curriculum was influenced by the grants towards 'domestic subjects'. In 1878 Domestic Economy was made a compulsory specific subject. Grants for Cookery were set in 1882 and for Laundry Work in 1890. 'Learning of useful, practical skills *and* character training' were required to raise them to be good women, wives and mothers. Grants were continuously offered after the establishment of the national Board of Education (BOE) in 1899 (Purvis, 1991, p.26). When examining such State invention on schooling, David (1980) focused on the 'family-education couple' which maintained and reinforced both class and sexual divisions and pointed out that these divisions were necessary for the reproduction of the conditions of the capitalist economy. In particular, David tried to demonstrate the persistence of the idea that women primarily were to be wives and mothers but that they may require special training adequately

to pursue these tasks. Therefore, girls' education was regulated differently from that of boys (David, 1980, pp.239-240).

The expansion of instruction in 'domestic subjects' for elementary school girls arose from fears about the future of the British race and the decline of the British Empire. Davin (1978) carefully investigated the interrelations between motherhood, Social Darwinism and Eugenic ideas which became the basis for opposition towards female education at the turn of the twentieth century. When the birth rate declined and infant mortality rates rose in the 1870s, the following decades saw the rise of public concern regarding the birth rate which subsequently became a matter of national importance. In imperial competitions with other countries such as the USA and Germany, the poor physical state of soldiers which became clear after the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 raised public interest in the debate on better child-rearing. Amid medical concerns regarding both 'quality' and 'quantity' of children, the cause of poor health for children was seen to be the maternal ignorance among working-class mothers rather than the general poor economic and environmental condition of working-class itself. These ideas were shared by cross-party groups of socialists, Social Darwinists and eugenicists. The effort to supply working-class mothers with adequate mothercraft skills turned to training working-class girls, and instruction of 'domestic subjects' other than needlework (e.g. domestic economy, cookery and laundry work) and infant care were introduced side by side in elementary girls' curriculum after the 1860s under the obsession with empire and 'national efficiency'. Instructions to girls after leaving school were also given in girls' clubs and voluntary centres. While working-class women were blamed for maternal ignorance, upper and middle-class women were criticised for not fulfilling their duty of fertility. (Davin, 1978, pp.9-16, 28-38).

Debates on women's 'higher education' were also based on the national and imperial importance of motherhood. The effects of university education on female health and reproduction of the imperial race were discussed, and eugenicists criticised female students for producing less offspring (Rowald, 2010, pp.207-209). Eugenicists claimed that racial improvement of British society would be realised not by social but by biological means, and formed a small but effective lobbying group (Overy, 2009, pp.104-105). Eugenicists believed in the importance of the family, especially the mother's role, and considered the mother's health to be essential for breeding and rearing future generations. They gained scientific and pragmatic authority by inheriting Darwinist and utilitarian origins, and were often opposed to female higher education for fear that individual intellectual development might damage the reproductive power of women (Davin, 1978, pp.19-20).

1.6. Developing ideas about Victorian and Edwardian middle-class girls' education.

Recent scholarship has started to take an international approach to the development of English secondary education for girls. Goodman and Martin have edited a work on British colonies (Goodman and Martin, 2004). For the European and North American contexts, the book edited by Albisetti, Goodman, and Rogers (2010) 'highlights the similarities and common patterns in the historical development of secondary education for girls as well as the wide range of variation and difference'. It 'takes seriously the dialectic between education as a conservative force and as a force for change as expressed in both democratic and authoritarian political agendas across Europe' to see the impact of their struggles on the cultural and economic life of women. Since 'throughout Europe secondary education was oriented toward the training of "public" men', middle-class women whose primary mission was assumed to be good wives and mothers had to struggle against the idea that 'girls' secondary education should focus on appropriately feminine subjects, most notable foreign language, sewing, and painting, in addition to the indispensable religious and moral messages'. 'Secondary' education for girls above the middle-classes always involved lessons in domesticity which differed among each country. 'Domesticity' implied a range of gendered attitudes that were reflected not just in course content but also in prevailing moral ideas that built upon religious values in all of the European countries' (Albisetti, Goodman and Rogers, 2010, pp.2-4). In New Zealand's context, Fry (1985) provides a well-illustrated overview of the development of girls' curriculum from 1900 to 1975. 'What girls through the curriculum are able to learn and experience, and the nature of the choices available to them' were primarily aimed for their future roles as wives and mothers, however, changes were seen in all areas of girls' education. Girls' education in New Zealand were also influenced by trends in England or the United States, however, they had their own uniqueness and gender-differentiation within curriculum was notable especially in areas such as Mathematics and Science, Home Science, Physical Education and Maori girls' training. Fitzgerald and Collins (2011) also emphasises the international context of 'domestic subjects' instruction when offering historical portraiture of the first generations of women home scientists at the University of New Zealand between 1911 and 1947. Home Science offered a range of professional possibilities for educated women and women exercised their scholarly agency to professionalise the field to extend scientific and academic careers for graduates by creating cross-national networks.

Research on 'domesticity' in Victorian and Edwardian England has influenced the

historiography of middle-class girls' education from its inception. Gorham (1982) noted that the Victorian perception of ideal girlhood and womanhood, which was one manifestation of the Victorian conception of femininity, played a major role in the conception of ideology about family which consisted of the middle-class world view. New middle-classes formed by the late eighteenth century consisted of urban entrepreneurial and professional families who shared a positive belief in the value of social mobility and work. However, at the same time, they expressed doubt and anxiety toward their lives in the economic and political world. Therefore, one feature of the newly emerging middle-class world view was the 'cult of domesticity' which attached Christian values to home and linked the world outside the home with harsh capitalist values. The notion of 'separate spheres' divided home and the world outside home into private and public spheres, and enabled men to dominate the public sphere of competition while leaving women in the private home to provide love, emotion and domesticity to relieve men. The Victorian woman's role was to become the 'angel in the house', ever innocent, child-like, pure, gentle, self-sacrificing and pressing no ambitions. Daughters of the middle-class were attached a special role in 'the cult of domesticity' to represent the family love and true purity of ideal womanhood. A gendered distinction between men and women had existed before the formation of the Victorian middle-class, although the notion of 'angel in the house' was a new idea to explain the distinction as 'natural', using psychological and physiological concepts. Gorham concluded that the Victorian ideal of womanhood and girlhood had a life of its own which was independent from individual experiences, reinforced the conception of masculinity, and helped to maintain the system of dividing the moral, intellectual and emotional universe into 'separate spheres'.

Gorham (1982) described another aspect of Victorian middle-class values as the pursuit of 'gentility'. It served as a social symbol of the ruling classes, and was gained by material wealth and the manifestation of certain personal and cultural attributions. The contrasting features of both aspects were integrated by the family's life style as a whole. Social status of the women was judged by the men in the family, and contrastingly, the 'gentility' of the family was judged by the women's cultural and social activities. The ideal woman should devote her life to cultural leisure activities, though, in reality, many middle-class women were engaged in household management with the help of daughters and few servants. Thus, the ideal of cultured leisured womanhood became widely challenged by the middle of the nineteenth century which led to various campaigns including demands for female educational reform. Purvis (1991, pp.73-75) noted two reasons for the rise of female educational reform at this period. Firstly, the reform was intended to help deprived gentlewomen with inefficient training who were seeking their own living in the education

market. Efforts to train governesses at Queen's College, London from 1848 extended to an attempt to improve the whole state of middle-class female education. The second reason runs parallel with the first, and it sees the development of female education in the broader rise of the women's movements in Victorian England. Consequently, education became one of the key areas where female activists campaigned to gain training for paid employment, and to overcome the idleness and boredom of their everyday lives.

Emphasis on the notion of separate spheres, the division between public and private world and the emphasis on the association of women with domesticity characterised the historiography of Victorian middle-class women that flourished thanks to the influence of second-wave feminist academic scholarship. As Davidoff and Hall (1987) demonstrated, 'gender played a crucial role in the structuring of an emergent, provincial, middle-class culture, for it was the ideology of domesticity and separate gender spheres which gave distinctive form to middle-class identity'. However, while admitting their huge contribution to the field, Vickery (1993) criticised the unquestioned acceptance of the framework of 'public and private', 'separate spheres' and 'domesticity' by other scholars, and called for more sophisticated analyses. Generally speaking, Victorian women had legal, institutional, customary and biological disadvantages. However, the separate spheres framework had limitations for examining the individual experience of female subordination or the complex interplay of emotion and power in family life. Vickery called for detailed empirical research with a limited time span, area of analysis and subject of focus rather than general over-views based on social discourse. She also advised researchers to be sensitive in defining what keywords such as public and private meant in each context. By adopting the suggestions made by Vickery, research on Victorian girls' secondary education must also be based on empirical methods whilst limiting the time, area, and subject of analysis.

Burstyn (1980) pointed out that opponents of female education feared the change in perception that would lead to the destruction of separate spheres and ultimately to a revolution in relations between the two sexes. Opponents claimed that university education which served as training for professions was unnecessary for women since their place was in the home, and that women were not capable of sustained study. They also felt that serious study would ill-prepare women for marriage and motherhood, and that imitation of boys' curriculum would undermine the sexual division of labour. It was believed that women were inferior to men both mentally and physically, therefore, women were required to save their energy by being simple, compliant, retiring and subservient. Opponents to female education allied over political, religious and professional groups, and based their arguments

on the economic ramification of higher education for women, on evidence from comparative anatomy and physiological discourse and on biblical and social conventions (Burstyn, 1980 pp.27, 44-45).

However, as Rowald (2010) who examined the social discourse towards the development of female higher education noted, pressures were stronger in the field of higher education than in secondary education. This was the international phenomenon found in the Western Anglophone society. Mackinnon (1997) explored the personal lives of the first-generation of professional university women in Australia in the late nineteenth & the early twentieth century within the wider social background of historical decline in the birth rate. While such university women were blamed for reproducing less offspring, they used the dominant discourse and new languages to form their own narratives when seeking love and freedom-economic, sexual and social. Mackinnon's work clarifies that demographic changes were undermined by the individual decision-making of men & women where the link between education, feminism and fertility control could be seen (Mackinnon, 1997, pp.x-xii, 4-15, 113-114).

1.7. Expansion of schools for middle-class girls from 1850 onwards.

Before the establishment of girls' secondary schools after the 1850s, middle-class girls normally received education which was segregated from that of working-class girls. The aim of education was to socialise girls to fit their future roles as wives and mothers. Middle-class girls were mainly taught at home or in small local private schools managed by middle-class ladies and some attended expensive finishing schools at the end of their education. While in their early years girls and boys received the same education, in their later years of growing up only boys were sent outside the home to public or grammar schools. Such gender-differentiation was justified by their separate roles. Middle-class boys were to be prepared for paid employment in the public world, but girls were required to live homely lives. The content and level of instructions varied from home to home, however, 'accomplishments' were seen important as skills useful in the marriage market. Girls' education at home was mostly given by governesses who were often members of the family or came from the family network. As the number of middle-classes rose by the 1860s, more families tended to employ governesses for their daughters' education. The financially and socially poor state of such unqualified 'distressed' gentlemen gradually became to be acknowledged and led to the reform of middle-class girls' schooling (Purvis, 1991, Chapter 4).

Theobald (1996) re-evaluated the role of 'accomplishments' curriculum in the early nineteenth century. The rise of this gender-differentiated forms of the humanities at the beginning of the nineteenth century was 'one of the most far-reaching, and neglected, phenomena in the history of Western education'. This 'cross-national interest in women's education' arose from a more general interest in education from the Reformation onwards. First, the rise of Protestantism and its emphasis on individual responsibility for salvation through reading became a democratic phenomenon. Second, enlightened ideas such as the rationalist, liberal, humanitarian and scientific mode of thought supported women's education (Theobald, 1996, p.16). Historians were rather interested in the changes after the mid-nineteenth century reforms and the earlier transformation of female studies has been overshadowed. 'Yet it was sufficiently well established as a coherent pedagogical system to be noted by the acerbic cleric, Sydney Smith, in 1810. 'A decided and prevailing taste for one of another mode of education there must be. A century past, it was for housewifery- now it is for accomplishments' (Theobald, 1996, p.12). The 'accomplishments' curriculum had no official prescription from church, state or university, however, it was remarkably uniform-followed informally in the home over a lifetime; systematically with governesses and visiting masters; or in the private female academies which mushroomed to take advantage of the new enthusiasm for women's studies. It comprised two elements, 'a sound English education' and 'the usual accomplishments'. 'A sound English education' meant 'basic literacy and numeracy but a comprehensive program in all the elements of the English language- literature, grammar, composition, elocution and calligraphy- with history, geography, arithmetic and elements of natural science'. The terminology, 'English education', contrasted the classical education, Latin, Greek and mathematics, which was still important in middle-class boys' curriculum. The 'accomplishments' referred specially 'to the cultural studies of music, art and the modern languages, and sometimes to the totality of women's studies...Dancing, gymnastics, callisthenics, and crafts such as leather work, wax flower modelling and needlework- subjects which historians have sometimes assumed were the main focus of the accomplishments curriculum'. Housewifery, which was a required knowledge before the 'accomplishments' curriculum rose, 'had suffered eclipse' (Theobald, 1996, pp.14-15). This omission 'may have worked to the detriment of ladies' school as reaction to the feminist movement provoked a cry for domestic education later in the century' (Theobald, 1991, p.74).

Theobald (1991) saw the reforms in female education as 'the movement of women for access to 'masculine' forms of secondary and tertiary education' which 'customary linked with an emerging feminist consciousness in the second half of the nineteenth century which

fuelled demands for the right to paid employment and the reform of laws relating to women' (Theobald, 1991, pp.71-72). A first move towards improving English middle-class girls' schooling started with the establishment of Queen's College and Bedford College in London. Two reasons are seen as the cause of this move. First, it originated from middle-class activities to help middle-class governesses seeking their own living with inefficient training in the education market. Queen's College established in 1848 originally aimed to give sufficient qualifications to governesses. Soon after middle-class girls from the age of 12 were admitted, and its educational aim was extended to improve the education of middle-class females in general. Queen's College was supported by Anglican male educators from King's College, London. In 1849, Bedford College was established by Mrs Elizabeth Reid, a wealthy Unitarian with the help from members of University College, London. The two colleges helped train some of the early female educators including Miss Buss, founder of NLCS and who is one of my key subjects. The second reason sees the development of female education within the broader rise of women's activities in Victorian England. Education was one of the key areas where female activists campaigned to gain training for paid employment, and to overcome the idleness and boredom of their everyday lives (Purvis, 1991, pp.73-75).

While some leading girls' secondary schools, NLCS and Cheltenham Ladies' College, were already established in the 1850s, it was not until the *Reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission (RSIC)* were published in 1867 that the national move towards improving the quality and the quantity of middle-class education, both boys and girls, had started. *RSIC* provided important data on the generally poor state of middle-class schooling, and proposed some resolutions. Except for some prosperous boys' schools, the number of pupils entering universities was small, Latin and Greek were often dropped from the curriculum, and endowments were ill managed. The Commission recommended dividing schools into three grades in order to improve their organisation and curriculum. Girls' schools were generally small and lacked qualified teachers as well as being more sensitive to their social mixture than boys' schools. The report also questioned whether girls and boys had equal educational capacities. By basing their arguments on examples from the USA and the results of Cambridge Local Examinations, Commissioners concluded that both sexes had equal ability, although needed to be educated differently according to their social roles. The report also stated that it was unjust that middle-class girls could not benefit from existing endowments (Fletcher, 1980, p.23; Roach, 1987, pp.275-287; Roach 1991, pp.201-202).

After the publication of the *RSIC*, national and local debates arose among middle-class

educational reformers with regards how to redistribute endowments properly. The Endowed Schools Act, 1869 established the Endowed Schools Commission (ESC) which included many liberal members from SIC who were also sympathetic to improving girls' schools. However, Section 12 of the Act decided to redistribute endowments 'on equal terms with boys, so far as the circumstances of the case shall admit', and it was left in the hands of the Commissioners whether or not to divide endowments to girls (Fletcher, 1980, p.23). While the contemporary writer Zimmern (1898, p.83) described this as the 'Magna Carta of girls' education', Fletcher (1980, pp.6-7) took a more critical view of this judgement some 90 years later. When the Charity Commission (CC) took over the work of ESC in 1874, the unlucky influence of this transmission was mostly felt in girls' education. Fletcher argued that the CC was less active than ESC because CC consisted of legalistic men who did not identify themselves as policy-makers, and were more devoted to serving the poor. Nevertheless, Fletcher criticised the literature of girls' education since it paid little attention to the national and local supports given by the ESC and CC. She emphasised that both commissions had contributed more to the expansion of girls' secondary than private sectors because while the Girls' Public Day School Company (GPDSC) had established over 30 schools by 1900, the ESC and CC had founded more than 90 schools nationally (Fletcher, 1980, pp. 60-68, 171-172; Roach, 1991, pp. 202-203)

The GPDSC (which became a Trust in 1906) extended the number of girls' high schools and adopted a school ethos on the lines of NLCS. The four main founders of GPDSC were the two sisters, Mrs Maria Grey and Miss Emily Shirreff, Lady Stanley and Miss Mary Gurney. However, the former two, especially Mrs Grey, were more active in the campaign. She supported Miss Buss to acquire endowments for NLCS before 1871, and realised the difficulty for girls' schools to earn sufficient aid from existing endowments. As a result of her experience, Mrs Grey reached a firm determination that a national association was needed to integrate individual and organisational efforts for supporting girls' education. She gained support from the Society of Arts, and the Society's circulation recommended the integration of individual and organisational activities, establishing good and cheap day schools, raising the social status of women teachers, and providing sound liberal education for girls as Mrs Grey asserted. Mrs Grey also received warm support from the North of England Council for Promoting Higher Education for Women and the Social Science Association. In 1871, the National Union for Improving the Education of Women of All Classes (National Union) was founded by appointing Princess Louise as its president, and recruiting various influential male vice presidents. GPDSC was founded on the grounds of the National Union in 1872. The central working committee of the Union founded was transformed to the Executive

Council of GPDSC, and the Council served as a central authority and held the power to appoint its own committees such as Education, Finance and Sites and Buildings Committees. The royal president of the Union, Princess Louise, became Patroness of the Company, the vice presidents remained in office, and the Earl of Airlie, Lady Stanley's son-in-law, became the president (Kamm, 1971, pp. 48-49).

Kamm (1971, pp. 36-46, 49) described the development of GPDSC by focusing on the private efforts and networking of four women founders, and at the same time, emphasised the importance of the national associations as a reformative forum where such women met and gained male support. Dyhouse (1981, pp. 60-65) further emphasised the necessity of male middle-class support to succeed in the campaign. New schools were mainly sponsored, organised, patronised and controlled by male supporters when it was impossible for women with weak legal and political power to manage such a public venture as school management without male support. Support from local clergymen and distinguished noblemen were especially effective at the local and national level.

GPDSC schools were organised along the lines of NLCS. Schools were divided into three sections, preparatory, junior and senior, under the authority of one headmistress, and consisted of staff and student teachers. Schools were founded by collecting shares, though they were to be self-supporting afterwards. Their academic standards were tested by regular inspections and examinations (Kamm, 1971, pp.46-50). Roach (1991, p.2, 9) noted such aims of GPDSC as uneasily balanced, for the Company combined a personal development approach and financial independence approach. The first Company school - Chelsea - opened on 21 January 1874. School fees were set at 4 pounds 4 shillings per term for pupils entering at 9 to 12 years old, and 8 pounds 8 shillings for those entering after 15. Normal school hours started from 9.15 and lasted until 1.30, and afternoon hours were used for voluntary classes. It soon established the Kindergarten. It was re-named Kensington in 1880. The second - Notting Hill - opened in September 1873, and the third - Croydon - in September 1874. From 1873 to 1901, GPDSC opened 38 schools. The Executive Council maintained a strong power over schools and appointed headmistresses and staff, although each school developed their own colours as schools reflected their local environments and the characteristics of the headmistresses. Notting Hill was especially famous for its academic results (Kamm, 1971, pp. 57-62).

Other bodies also supported the expansion of girls' high schools. Reverend Francis Holland and his wife were opposed to the denominational lessons given in GPDSC, and founded the

Church Schools Company to provide girls with Anglican instruction, going on to establish 33 schools by 1901. Local efforts were also seen nation-wide to establish civic originated proprietary and endowed girls' secondary schools in big cities such as Manchester and Leeds. Many of these schools were also modelled on NLCS and GPDSC (Fletcher, 1980; Roach, 1991, Part V).

The quality of middle-class girls' education rose as more girls began to sit for external examinations. Girls' high schools actively introduced external examinations to improve its academic status, with succeeding high schools also introducing this trend. Reformed schools were strongly linked with women's colleges founded after the 1870s, and it became the goal for new secondary schools to enter candidates for such examinations. Female pupils were able to take examinations of the College of Preceptors from the 1850s, and after the campaign by Miss Emily Davies and her supporters succeeded, Cambridge Local Examinations accepted women to sit informally in 1863. Early candidates such as NLCS girls proved their ability with superior marks, therefore, female students were able to take Cambridge Local Examinations formally from 1865. Oxford Local Examinations was opened to women from 1870, and women were accepted to take Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board (Joint Board) examinations from 1877. The number of female candidates increased steadily to the 1890s, and their results were seen as superior to their male peers (Zimmern, 1898, p.34; Levine, 1994, p.54; Jacobs, 2007, p.247). Jacobs (2007) used Bourdieu's concepts as 'thinking tools' to interpret how notions of gender and class featured in middle-class and working-class girls' educational experience, especially examinations. The opportunity to take examinations at secondary level itself was cultural capital shared by middle-class girls. Examination as valuable cultural capital was acquired in the field of education and reinvested in fields such as better qualifications and employment (Jacobs, 2007, p.258).

The professionalization of middle-class female teachers also took place as the number of schools expanded. Copelman (1996) pointed out that the creation of middle-class female professions, in areas such as social work and teaching, went on alongside the creation of middle-class male professions, in areas such as medicine, law, architecture, accountancy and civil services. First, the professions were developed to serve and were assumed to be above market forces and were implicitly male. Second, such professions required advanced authority, knowledge, training and qualifications, and self-regulation. Finally, professional ideology was considered manly, requiring as they did mental efforts and unswerving dedication (Copelman, 1996, pp.7-8). Masculine values such as 'ideas of mastery, control

and discipline were essential...to all forms of professional endeavour'. The enlightenment legacy of human perfectibility and equality of opportunity were also added to professional ideals (Copelman, 1996, pp.8-9). While the professions originally were based on assumed manly qualities, and the mission to serve enabled female entrance. Women claimed their rights to professions by arguing about their nurturing qualities and powers of reasoning as human beings. By the late 1890s, women had succeeded in carving out their professional spheres in social work and education (Copelman, 1996, pp 9-10).

De Bellaigue (2002, p.964, 969) questioned the simple use of the term 'profession' since it was never simply descriptive. The idea of 'vocation' was attributed to female teaching profession as those who adopted them entered a hierarchical system of promotion and advance. Teachers need to be placed within the particular professional model of their time because ideas and notions of what constitutes a professional model shift and 'those working within professional occupations constantly strive for greater power, autonomy, status, independence from supervision, better training, pay and working conditions'.

Teaching as a female profession developed during the period 1870 to 1930. Oram (1996) noted that teaching was initially a masculine profession involving notions of training, intellectual work, public service and material rewards, but at the same time nurturing and upbringing of children by teachers were associated with female sphere. Women teachers were in the unusual and contradictory position of being both 'professional' and 'women' (Oram, 1996, p.14). As the schools and teachers became more responsible for the health and mental conditions of pupils in the early 20th century, as social interests about infant and child care rose, professional teaching became more associated with social service and social maternalism and the notion that teaching was maternal and feminine was reemphasised (Oram, p.18-20). Middle-class high school teaching was one of the most successful female professions created through Victorian feminism. Middle-class female teachers were able to gain authority over parents and pupils, pursue academic training and qualities, self-control and discipline. They were also fulfilling the mission to serve by raising new generations of middle-class women. However, Copelman (1996) sees the limitation of middle-class female professions since they were careers for middle-class spinsters 'who would find womanly fulfilment in socializing girls to a higher ideal of their sphere - one which joined domesticity with the purpose of liberal education' (Copelman, 1996, pp.17-25).

The shifts in the focus of research on women teachers are also apparent in the 21st century. Whitehead conducted research concentrating on the work of women in the educational

system based on South Australia, and later on London under transnational settings in the first-half of the twentieth century. Whitehead focused on women's agency seeing how headmistresses of large city schools and training colleges or female governmental officials negotiated with headmasters and male central administrators to secure their autonomy and power in the processes of the state education (Whitehead, 1999, 2006, 2010). The gendering of professionalization of teaching was also considered (Whitehead, 2005). More recently, Whitehead explores 'the "transnational" circulation of people and ideas between European and non-European countries as well as around the British Empire in the first half of the twentieth century' by focusing on 'the connections between people, places and ideas'. Transnational history also has the potential to challenge notions of centre and periphery, which have marked traditional comparative and imperial histories' (Whitehead, 2012, pp.381-382; 2014). Recently, Goodman has also produced leading activist scholarship concerning the agency and networks of British female students and teachers in international, colonial and transnational settings in the early twentieth century (Goodman and Martin, 2004; Goodman, 2007, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015). These transnational research methods provide useful insights to overcome the limitations of national history on the research of women. However, this research takes a detailed approach to see the local specificity within one state or area.

The AHM founded by Miss Buss in 1874 served a central part in professionalising female secondary teachers. The role of AHM and headmistresses' attitudes towards girls' curricula within AHM will be examined in detail in following chapters.

The rising interest in science and technical education also influenced middle-class girls' schooling. The Victorian government originally aimed to subsidize, but not direct, provision. Grants were given to elementary schools from the 1830s and by the Science and Art Department after the 1850s, but middle-class education generally kept its distance from governmental influence. Following the *Reports of the Royal Commission on Technical Education* (1884), in 1889 the Technical Instruction Act was passed which empowered local authorities to use their rates for the advancement of technical instruction in elementary schools, secondary schools and local colleges. The Increased Beer and Spirit Duties in 1890 enabled the 'whiskey money' to be used for this purpose. In early 1890s, Technical Education Boards (TEB) were established in County and County Boroughs to give grants for purposes such as building and furnishing science laboratories, employing teachers, offering secondary education scholarships to elementary pupils and launching new technical institutions or Polytechnics. One of the most influential authorities was the London Technical

Education Board established in 1893. The London TEB was chaired by Mr Sidney Webb and consisted of members representing London County Councils, School Boards and members of educational institutions (Bremner, 1898; Summerfield and Evans (ed.), 1990; Roach, 1991, Chapter 10).

Goodman (1998) pointed out that support from the London TEB for instruction in 'domestic subjects' was given in several ways. Since women were under-represented in TEBs nationally, views of male authorities which emphasised women's roles as 'home-makers' or domestic servants were reflected in the provision of technical education for girls and women provided in the 1890s. Classes in Cookery and Dressmaking were offered by the support of TEB. Schools of Domestic Economy and Teacher Training Departments were attached to Polytechnics and scholarships were given to girls from elementary schools to enter such schools. In contrast, the definition and scope of 'technical education' used by women themselves were far wider. Women's Industrial Council played a major part in reforming the 'technical education' for women and girls after the 1900s especially in the field of trades. The Council was aware of the inferior position of female workers in the labour market owing to the 'inefficient and untrained quality of their work' and called for the development of adequate technical and trade training. The Council used the method of social investigation to prove and legitimate their ideas and recommended that training of girls by apprenticeship be replaced by day trade schools offering both practical and general curriculum. After the 1900s, newly established day trade schools offered lessons in a variety of subjects such as waistcoat-making, dressmaking and upholstery', 'photography, millinery, corset-making, dressmaking and ladies' tailoring' (Goodman, 1998, p.311). However, the outcomes were contradictory. While girls attending such trade schools were able to receive better pay compared to others, the instruction offered remained within existing parameters of female employment such as domestic industries, laundry work and needle trades, rather than pushing the boundaries outwards. 'No attempt to train women for trades in which the skilled, and hence best paid, work done by men' (Goodman, 1998, p.311, 314).

The Royal Commission on Secondary Education (RCSE), which was set up in 1894 to consider the construction of a centralised system of education, was concerned with the state of girls' secondary education from the beginning. RCSE examined seven counties in detail, but some areas had few or no girls' schools. RCSE reported that girls still attended small private schools when there were no alternative schools in the area. However, where there were newly established endowed and proprietary schools, commissioners praised the reasonable success of such schools under the new scheme. For example, RCSE regretted

the fact that CC did not distribute endowments equally to boys and girls, and also regretted the low share girls had in technical education, and the lower number of scholarships available to girls entering universities (Bremner, 1897, pp.95-96; Roach, 1991, p.203). Some commissioners noted that there was still a lack of understanding among families when it came to providing daughters with an academic education or having them sit examinations (Jacobs, 2007, p.252). Zimmern (1898, p.237) wrote that 70 percent of middle-class girls were educated in small private schools.

Hunt (1991) provided the most important work on this topic by examining the interactions between the national BOE and headmistresses around the introduction of gender-differentiated curriculum into secondary education. The BOE was established by the 1899 Board of Education Act to integrate the Educational Department, the Science and Art Department and the educational functions of the Charity Commission. The Board acted in association with local educational authorities, responsible for elementary and secondary education in their locality. Hunt first observed the Board's stance toward girls' education, and analysed its detailed process of decision-making and system of operation. She then examined the process of the diffusion of its view to schools. The important thing about the first point is the structure of the Board, its personnel and the interrelationship of different categories of members. According to Hunt, Simon observed that the Board desired to protect and sustain the elite secondary sector and the public school system. In addition, Hunt noted that the Board also held a conservative view towards girls' curriculum, and this gendered view was shared by the local authorities serving under the Board (Hunt, 1991, pp.47-49, 111).

Simon (1965) pointed out that the number of secondary schools rose dramatically after the 1902 Education Act gave power to local education authorities (LEAs) to support secondary education using local rates. Because the Board aimed to maintain and develop a parallel system of elementary and secondary education to secure the division between working-class and middle-class education, newly established municipal secondary schools were modelled not after the organised science schools or higher grade schools providing scientific and technical education to pupils from elementary education, but after the grammar schools or public schools providing liberal education to the upper-strata (Simon, 1965, pp. 219-220, 238, 242). Efforts to open new schools varied among LEAs. Some were newly opened, and others were transferred from existing endowed schools, higher grade schools, organised science schools, pupil-teacher centres, and private schools. Many new schools were single-sex, but some were mixed schools with separate departments. Fees for

new schools were approximately half the amount charged in independent schools, and they accepted more scholarship pupils. New heads and LEAs cooperated step by step, and the number of existing schools taking grants from LEAs also rose. Many pupils attending elementary school were not able to pay the fee for secondary education, and the scholarship ladder was not sufficient (Glenday and Price, 1974, pp.50-55, 57-58). Therefore, Vlaeminke (2002, p.76) criticised the 1902 Education Act for stifling the wider access to secondary education and the development of a broader curriculum. After the 1902 Act, access to secondary education was still limited to a majority of middle-class pupils and to a minority of intellectual working-class pupils who were able to climb the scholarship ladder. The liberal School Boards were replaced by more conservative County Councils as LEAs. Vlaeminke regretted both the 'lost opportunity' of elementary pupils and 'a huge waste of potential' in School Boards.

There are few specific works concentrating on the development of girls' municipal schools in the English literature besides the centenary publication of AHM which emphasized the cooperation between AHM and headmistresses of new municipal secondary schools (Glenday and Price, 1974, pp.47-66). Japanese scholar Morikawa (1997) provided a general overview of the increase of municipal secondary schools. Morikawa pointed out that a dual system of secondary schooling was established after 1902. On the one hand, schools existed which were provided by local educational authorities, and on the other hand, there were schools not provided by the local educational authorities. The latter was divided further into schools receiving some forms of public grants and schools completely independent from public funding. According to Morikawa, these public grants aimed to enhance scientific and technical education in the latter half of the nineteenth century, although after 1904, they were transformed to secure general liberal education within the secondary curriculum (Morikawa, 1997, p.324). However, Morikawa provided no information on gender-difference among schools, and further analysis is required using original sources.

1.8. Feminist historians' arguments about 'domestic subjects'.

Fry (1985, p.105) notes that developments in 'domestic training were widespread in the western world at the turn of the century' in UK, USA, Switzerland, Sweden, Holland, Belgium and Germany. In New Zealand, backed by debates on national efficiency, the needs for gender-differentiated curriculum for both sexes and home-related subjects in girls' curriculum rose from around the 1900s. Some girls' secondary schools had used local centres to provide girls with Cookery lessons from the mid-1880s. Plain Sewing was also

common in the curriculum. After the New Zealand's Secondary Schools Act of 1903, Free Place pupils from the primary education came to enter secondary schools. Some schools introduced non-academic options for them including 'domestic subjects' and commercial subjects by 1907. The establishment of the School of Home Science under US influence in 1911 marked the beginning of 'domestic subjects' training in higher education. Home Science gradually spread in girls' secondary curriculum as it became one of the Public Service and Intermediate Examinations subjects in 1914 (Fry, 1985, pp.32-35, 59, 75, 108-111). Fry (1985, pp.105) points out to the uniqueness of New Zealand's development where 'the size of the population and the increasingly centralized administration made it possible for a unified practice' and 'what schools offered continued to vary depending on resources, educational outlook and demand'. Matthews (2008) also refers to the strong state control over girls' curriculum in New Zealand. 'The power of the principals to determine what was taught was a source of consternation for government officials' as they had no power to convince principals in curriculum making. However, after the government became involved in funding the schools to open up increased free places from the early 1900s, 'it could insist upon accountability in exchange for continued state support' (Matthews, 2008, p.23). This was supported by eugenicist campaigns to include 'domestic subjects' in girls' education above primary level which had succeeded by 1917 when 'a pass grade in a compulsory course in domestic science became required of all matriculation girls. The message was clear: even scholastically able young women destined for university or teacher training had to learn the rudiments of good household management, cooking, and sewing, for the inevitable time when, it was assumed, they would take up their 'proper' role in adult life' (Matthews, 2008, p.26).

During the nineteenth century, the curriculum of middle-class girls' schools was primarily determined by their headmistresses: NLCS under Miss Buss provided a standard model. In general, girls' schools taught more subjects in fewer timeframes than boys' schools, often resulting in problems of over-pressure (Milburn, 1969, pp.229-231). *RSIC* published in 1867 and 1868 reports that NLCS offered lessons in Religious Knowledge, English, French, Elements of Latin and German, History, Geography, English Literature, English Composition, Reading, Writing, Drawing, Chorus, Arithmetic, Simple Mathematics, Simple Needlework, and Calisthenics. The extras were Italian, German, Music, Painting and Dancing. Such an academic curriculum as well as the long morning lessons and 'free afternoon' of NLCS became characteristics of successful girls' day schools (*RSIC*, 1867-1868, vol.10, pp.288-291).

Headmistresses continued to modify the girls' curriculum by introducing and refining subjects in gendered lines. McCrone (1993) described that 'Music, traditionally a female preserve, and sports, traditionally a male preserve, had unexpected similarities in spite of their different and contrasting educational trends and aims in middle-class girls' schooling'. Music continued to be an important aspect of reformed girls' schooling, while scientific sports education was introduced in place of calisthenics alongside the introduction of club games and medical inspections in the 1880s. Sports and music tried to raise its status and quality, to enlarge its facilities, to encourage specialisation in its training and to introduce inspection. Both subjects were encouraged in girls' secondary schools by their intellectual, moral and physical beneficences, though, both subjects became a common but second-place subject in girls' secondary curriculum by the 1910s. Sports and music were sometimes seen as problematic as both introduced competitive aspects and were forced as compulsory subjects. Gender-differentiation within sports and music also existed and pupils were only allowed to play sports and musical instruments that were considered feminine. In conclusion, both sports and music fostered contrasting qualities, freedom and strength or self-sacrifice, and symbolised the discontinuity between school life and adult life.

Manthorpe (1993) examined the development of science education in girls' secondary schooling with special focus on NLCS in the late nineteenth century. As the debate raged in middle-class boys' education with regards whether to include science in its curriculum, science had already established a part in pioneering girls' secondary schools. By the 1890s NLCS introduced full science courses and semi-scientific courses, which provided subjects of hygiene, domestic economy and physiology, in order to serve different groups of pupils. Such science education served for two different futures of pupils, higher education and home life, based on belief toward the power of knowledge of science. However, science never became a popular specialisation for girls because it was less attractive to parents and was sometimes seen to contrast with religion. The trend strengthened after the BOE reduced the required amount of instruction in Science and Mathematics after 1904. Such 'differentiation' of instruction in girls' high schools according to individual girls' future is an important aspect of the 'divided aims' that Hunt observed.

At the same time, moves towards introducing 'domestic subjects' into working-class girls' education were seen. Turnbull (1983, pp.34-43) stressed that 'domestic subject movements' from 1895 to 1914 were developed by women themselves who used the Victorian feminine ideal to legitimate their campaign. Promoters believed that the elevation and professionalization of their traditional domestic skills would raise women's social status. The

'domestication of feminism' called for women's greater participation in life outside the household, and was increasingly rooted in the need to nourish and give a wider lead to uniquely female values and virtues for the good of society as a whole'. The centred object within the women's movement moved from single women, or women in general, to wives and mothers specifically, and this change of emphasis once again brought gender difference to the forefront of arguments. Turnbull emphasised that 'within this setting of women's movement reacting to prevailing conditions of life first for single women and later mothers, rather than evolving an independent and consistent feminist ideology, that the growth of domestic subjects teaching can be understood'.

However, Turnbull (1983, pp. 96-101,111-112) noted that from the 1850s to the 1890s, needlework remained the only common practical subject in girls' secondary curriculum. It reflected aspects of women's culture, and was considered to be useful for developing the feminine mind and body. Teaching of needlework was justified by its practical utility and disciplinary value as a sedative for women until the 1900s. As the professionalization of education furthered, it became insufficient to justify the teaching of needlework with former reasons, and needlework became linked with other subjects such as art. In secondary schools, art needlework and functional plain sewing for philanthropic purposes were recommended.

Hunt (1987, pp.11-13) concluded that girls' liberal education developed differently from that of boys by the 1900s. Girls' curriculum was famous for providing good aesthetic subjects based on the tradition of accomplishments and literary subjects, although these subjects became an advantage and a disadvantage at the same time. The existence of subjects of excellence different from boys justified the diversion between boys' and girls' curriculum, and such 'girls' subjects had low academic status. Girls' achievements in mathematics and science were considered to be poor, and the question frequently arose whether or not the two sexes had different intellectual capacity for such subjects. Clear answers never emerged, although the Board's decision-making was based on the belief that girls were less suitable for science and mathematics than boys.

It has been usual to argue that one of the earliest introductions of 'domestic subjects' into girls' secondary schools was the establishment of the Housewifery Course at MHSG in 1900 under its second headmistress, Miss Burstall. This is one of the issues that I will re-examine in subsequent chapters. This action of introducing housewifery was considered to be a representative activity of 'separatist' headmistresses. Delamont (1978a, p.154) a feminist

sociologist and historian of women's education, divided women campaigners of girls' education into two groups: 'the uncompromising' and 'the separatists'. 'The uncompromising' were the people who were determined that women should do what men did. They supported an equal curriculum for girls and boys, and were against setting special women's courses which would easily become an inferior course. 'The separatists' were those who favoured modified courses for women that were particularly suited for their future as teachers, nurses and mothers. While 'separatists' aimed to improve girls' education, they often played into the hands of men who wished to keep women in their inferior position.

Dyhouse (1981), another feminist historian, also supported this approach and named Miss Emily Davies as the representative of 'the uncompromising' and Miss Burstall as a representative of 'the separatists'. Dyhouse firmly criticised the writings of Miss Burstall (1907, pp.110-111):

What about the kind of position taken by a woman like Burstall? A present-day feminist cannot but find herself more and more aghast as she turns the pages of Burstall's educational writings: 'Mathematics should be kept at a minimum for girls', we read, 'it does not underlie their activities as it does so many of the activities of men.' Or again, 'science...is essential for every woman as a preparation for domestic duties and the care of children' (Dyhouse, 1981, pp.141-142).

Like others of her generation of headmistresses, Miss Burstall was faced with girls who were not academically brilliant, and not enthusiastic to learn classics and mathematics, alongside those who were the potential university entrants, and for whom the pioneer schools had been founded. Secondary education was becoming normal for upper-middle and middle-class girls, but not all of them were scholars. To meet their needs, she designed courses in Housewifery and secretarial work to run parallel to the academic courses for the university aspirants. Her phrase for these two groups was 'express trains and slow trains'.

Delamont concluded in her article on Miss Burstall in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) as follows:

Her [Miss Burstall's] introduction of home management and other domestic subjects into the curriculum for middle-class girls was a retreat from the insistence of the pioneer generation of headmistresses on a strictly academic curriculum. She believed this was necessary in order to attract a substantial number of fee-paying pupils aged over fifteen,

and was better suited to many girls' abilities. But the policy was controversial in her own time, and remains so a century later. It was either a sensible adjustment to the interests of non-academic girls or a betrayal of everything feminist educators had spent fifty years campaigning to achieve (Delamont, 'Burstall, Sara Annie (1859-1939), *ODNB*).

However, this interpretation of Miss Burstall's approach and attitudes requires a more careful and detailed analysis. The division made between 'the uncompromising' and 'the separatists' seems to come more from their generational differences than from their personal attitudes towards gender-differentiated curricula. In addition, not enough research has been done on the attitudes of headmistresses of Miss Burstall's generation towards the transformation of 'domestic subjects' to draw this as a sufficient conclusion.

Hunt (1991) saw the influence of the national Board of Education in the introduction of 'domestic subjects' after the 1900s. Silver (1983, pp.24-25) criticised historians of Victorian education for ignoring the division between different dimensions of education, intentions, practice and effect, and of having the fear of misinterpreting the actual educational conditions of boys and girls by only focusing on the governmental level of decision-making. Therefore, Hunt intended to investigate how the BOE exhibited organised policy at the 'middle level' of educational decision-making between governmental policy-making and school practices in introducing gender-differentiated secondary curriculum through grants and *Regulations for Secondary Schools (RSS)* after 1902. The process of gender-differentiation for girls was shown as the gradual introduction of 'domestic subjects' and as the substitution of Science and Mathematics to Housewifery after the *RSS* of 1904 (Hunt, 1991, 11-12, 121-122).

Morikawa (1997, pp. 335-345) pointed out that *RSS* of 1902 inherited the work of Science and Art Department and TEBs which supported science education in secondary schools. However, this encouragement of early specialisation in secondary education was problematical and the *RSS* of 1904 showed a backrush toward education in literature and humanities. Hunt (1991, pp.116-118) notes that what liberal education in the early twentieth century meant was first to concentrate on general aspects of education in order to provide a broad base of knowledge and mental training, and then to move to specialisation by giving intellectual endeavour, vocational training or actual instruction in work related skills. Liberal education itself was a goal-directed education to prepare for the future of children. Boys' liberal education was relatively narrow in line, but those for girls were divided to prepare them for employment and home life. I will come back to this point in the next section on

'divided aims'.

Although various attempts were made both by headmistresses and educational authorities to transform 'domestic subjects' in middle-class girls' schooling, things did not go smoothly because of the lower academic status attached to the subject. Hunt (1991, p.122) concluded that 'domestic subjects' only obtained a second-place position in girls' secondary curriculum during the 1900s and the 1910s. Headmistresses generally considered practical training to be appropriate for pupils with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds taking jobs or going into home life after graduation. The problem became acute after the Board interrupted in the decision-making of secondary curriculum. Some headmistresses and teachers attempted to justify the 'domestic subjects' instructions by integrating it with Science as Domestic Science, but this attempt was also unsuccessful. Manthorpe (1986) analysed the attempt to transform Domestic Science in girls' secondary education as unsuccessful struggles and cooperation between male scientists, domestic subject teachers and science teachers. As Attar (1991) emphasised, the low status of home economics in the 1970s demonstrated the 'failure' of the transition of 'domestic subjects' into an academic subject in girls' secondary education.

The low academic status of 'domestic subjects' was even more emphasized after it was included in the Group IV subjects of the School Certificates after 1917. The School Certificate was established to replace the University Local Examinations, and aimed to test the ability of pupils, effectiveness of teaching and diffusion of liberal education. Subjects of examination were divided into four groups. Group I (scripture, English, geography and history), Group II (Latin, Greek and modern language), Group III (mathematics and sciences), and Group IV (practical and aesthetic subjects). Group IV included bookkeeping, shorthand, mapwork, economics, housecraft, needlework, mensuration and surveying and hygiene in 1922 (Hunt, 1991, p.82). Candidates were required to take five subjects from Group I, II, and III to gain the Certificate, or if it was to be used as a matriculation, to pass at least one subject from one group. Group IV subjects were not used in either case. Hunt showed how the conflicts arose between teachers, who demanded flexibility in exam results fearing that the curriculum was too exam-based, and the Board and the Council, who aimed to maintain academic standards. Although matriculation and gaining a School Certificate was different, matriculation was required by employers and parents as a proof of secondary schooling. Situations were difficult as the examination was class-based and pupils were not allowed to sit individually. Male teachers and local educational authorities were also opposed to the Certificate, but it was the female teachers who actively led the campaign in

the 1920s because the Group IV elimination mostly affected girls. In 1929, candidates were permitted to substitute one subject from Group I, II or III to two Group IV subjects, and this inequality in curricular status continued even after the reorganisation of subjects in 1938 (Hunt, 1987, pp. 19-20; Hunt, 1991, pp. 82-84)

The transformation of 'domestic subjects' at university level also influenced its presence at secondary school level as we will see later among the debates of headmistresses. However, 'domestic subjects' at the university level had different origins and trends. Blakestad (1994) notes that the establishment of Household & Social Science Course at King's College, London in 1908 and the Household Science movement in England were influenced by the US Home Economics movements and developed uniquely in the Victorian & Edwardian social culture - educational trends and preoccupations with social reform, especially with the physical (as opposed to the moral) aspects of social conditions' such as 'physical deterioration', infant mortality, and the reform of 'the home' (1994, p.75, 101). Middle-class girls' schools mainly excluded 'domestic subjects' from the curriculum until some moves were taken by the turn of the century and that headmistresses considered it 'appropriated for the academically less-able students, especially for the 'duffers' (Blakestad, 1994, p.89). The rise of the 'domestic science' movement, the significant shift in the approach and methods used in 'domestic subjects' teaching particularly at the secondary school level backed by the 'cult of science' then popular in the British life, became the motive for the transformation of 'domestic subjects' in middle-class schooling. 'The concept of 'correlating' science and craft generally meant one of two things: (1) the total integration of domestic arts and science into one complete domestic/science course; or (2) the current teaching of separate courses in science and domestic arts, with each course drawing upon examples and methods from the other (Blakestad, 1994, p.91). Such scientific methods of teaching also required well trained professional teachers. The Association of Teachers of Domestic Science (established in 1897) played its role and external inspections by the local and notional authorities on the teaching of 'domestic subjects' were conducted (Blakestad, 1994, pp.96-101).

The history of Home Economic attracted more attention among feminist historians and historians of education in the United States. The works edited by Stage and Vincenti (1997) provide anthropological work on the history of professions in the wide and changing area of Home Economics. By exploring how race, class and gender influenced women's options the study of Home Economics moved towards ' a more complex rendering of the dynamics that gave rise to the professional home economics and a greater understanding of the obstacles

women encountered and the strategies they employed to gain legitimacy as the field developed' (Stage and Vincenti eds., 1997, p.2). Central to the approach lays the issues in politics and professionalization. Home Economics was the place on the interplay between politics and domesticity as women politicised domesticity to use their skills in 'that larger household of the city' within the settlement house movements and social work. Home Economics also provided women, largely denied access to male professions, with parallel fields to develop gendered professional careers. However, Home Economics in education developed in mid-west land grant universities and did not gain acceptance in elite women's colleges. Therefore, Home Economics is 'a significant area in which to evaluate the structures and strategies women employed in their efforts to expand the range of their activities'- both successful and failed (Stage and Vincenti eds., 1997, pp.2-4).

Scholars have been interested in the development of the academic side of middle-class girls' curriculum and therefore, the curriculum or experience of girls' with lower academic ability and/or lower social status in middle-class girls' schools, including 'domestic subjects', has not yet been fully researched. An interesting study by Goodman and Jacobs (2006) offers an inspiring view of the spread of music – non-academic subject - education in the inter-war girls' secondary schools. Goodman and Jacobs examined how aesthetic education increasingly extended to the 'ordinary' pupil in English girls' secondary schools and how it was related to the reproduction of culture, class and gender for secondary schoolgirls. They concluded that aesthetic education provided the grounds for gendered class practices through which continuities of middle-class formation were realigned as access to girls' secondary education widened in terms of class. As the same time, music education provided a space to contest to traditional and gendered views of women's musical abilities and given positions in the field, and enabled fulfilment for girls. This focus on 'ordinary' pupils' needs will be required when examining the transformation of 'domestic subjects' in girls' secondary schools. However, the economic, educational and social situations surrounding girls will be different and this requires careful examination.

By examining the curricular development in girls' secondary education from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Hunt concluded that pioneering women educators considered that giving liberal education suitable for employment and home life did not exclude nurturing femininity. Pioneers interpreted femininity to mean intellectual and social values, and believed that liberal education and cooperative school life could foster a womanly woman suitable for all spheres. Femininity was reinterpreted by the early 1900s to include domesticity and self-sacrifice, and the principle of a general education became

compromised by including practical training for life at home that developed a gender-differentiated curriculum (Hunt, 1987, p.20).

Thus this thesis aims to re-examine the relationship between the hierarchy of gendered curricula and social structure within middle-class girls' schools. Although the literature has not introduced keywords such as 'systematisation' or 'segmentation' used in the analysis of middle-class boys' education directly into their analysis, a similar phenomenon in the development of girls' secondary and higher education has been acknowledged in the same period. Hunt (1987, 1991) noted that the number of girls receiving secondary education rose by the end of the nineteenth century, and headmistresses were aware of the need to respond to a variety of educational needs of individual girls. When 'domestic subjects' became transformed in girls' secondary education, headmistresses were said to consider this 'practical' subject suitable for girls of lower social backgrounds and of lesser academic ability.

1.9. Changing aims of middle-class girls' curriculum: From 'double conformity' to 'divided aims'.

The concepts of 'double conformity' or 'divided aims' were used by feminist scholars to examine the pursuit of both academic results and femininity in middle-class girls' curriculum. Delamont (1978a) proposed that 'double conformity' was the central feature which could be traced through the development of female secondary and higher education from the 1840s. 'Double conformity' imposed strong adherence on both educators and pupils to 'two sets of rigid standards: those of ladylike behaviour *and* those of the dominant male cultural and educational system'. Therefore, pioneer headmistresses inevitably became entangled in a web of contrasting demands and directives by trying to please different social groups. Educators strove to maintain ladylike behaviour in order to attract parents as most new girls' secondary schools depended on parental fees to maintain their management. Training girls for universities or employment was considered to make pupils unattractive in the marriage market at first, and accomplishments-based aesthetic subjects sustained their position within new schools. Pioneering headmistresses set strict rules to maintain ladylike behaviour of teachers and pupils inside and outside of their schools. Headmistresses themselves were seriously concerned with maintaining their feminine public image, and refrained from joining suffrage movements and sexual campaigns so as not to risk their public image. However, Martin (1999, pp. 58-68) noted that female educationists and women's activists shared overlapping women's networks. At the same time, headmistresses

aimed to give their students and pupils a sound academic education similar to their brothers instead of showy traditional accomplishments common in those days. However, the pursuit of academic subjects led to several controversies. Firstly, female educators and students needed to show their mental and physical fitness to achieve academic goals. Secondly, they also had to prove that intellectual ability coexists with sexual attractiveness. Thirdly, they had to establish a suitable curriculum for girls and women. The last was a difficult and controversial task, as their model, the classics supremacy in boys' curriculum, was also under question at the period. Furthermore, with the development of professional society, education and degrees became increasingly related with professional careers, and the admission of women into universities was questioned and refused as the bases of women's entry into new professions (Delamont, 1978a, pp. 140-154).

Delamont (1978b) furthered the debate within the literature on how to interpret attempts to establish a desirable female curriculum with a relation to domestic ideology by situating it in the wider context of curriculum reform in male education from the 1870s. The supremacy of classics in boys' curricula was challenged by members of the new industrial and scientific professions who required the inclusion of science and technical subjects. However, 'the uncompromising' female educators tended to support traditional classics supremacy until the newly integrated subjects gained enough academic status within male education. Class-consciousness was also strong among female education because the new female education was mainly supported by new professional classes who hoped to distinguish themselves from upper-classes, business professions and working-classes. Delamont observed the celibate state of many female educators, and concluded that the new female education served to establish two new female role models: 'the celibate career woman and the wife who was an intellectual partner to her husband' (Delamont, 1978b, pp. 173-177, 184).

Dyhouse (1981) stressed the conservative feminine character in new female education of those times. Dyhouse referred to Delamont in stating that most reformers were to some extent trapped in a 'double-bind'. Indeed, sheer hard work, determination and ambitiousness, all the qualities which might be thought necessary to achieve anything of substance, were regarded as wholly unfeminine. Women's achievements were accepted if they were done in the areas such as nursing and teaching, areas considered to extend the feminine role of care-taking or nurturing children, in the Victorian period (Dyhouse, 1981, p.59, 74). Pedersen (1987) emphasised the power of the supply factor in the changes, and concluded that new girls' education developed to reflect the demands of emerging professional classes

who provided organisers, teachers and clientele of new education. In her analysis, headmistresses of new secondary schools interpreted femininity to include authority, notions of public service and secular duties. Dyhouse (1987) furthered this opinion and observed the controversial images headmistresses possessed by using maternity to legitimate their authority as professionals, while maintaining celebrity to keep their posts. Headmistresses, staff and pupils alike were aware of the feminine ideal, and internalised it. To challenge male authority in education was forbidden, and most pupils feared being labelled as unfeminine, and thus remained unambitious, accepting womanliness, self-sacrifice, modesty, as well as being retiring and attractive to others' needs. Those who were exceptionally ambitious felt embarrassed and guilty for being selfish (Dyhouse, 1987, pp. 66-73)

While feminist scholars like Delamont and Dyhouse viewed these aims of the new female education as conflicting, Hunt (1987, 1991) presented a more consensual view of the development of different aims by using the term, 'divided aims'. By the 1870s, education was seen as an essential key for middle-class women to live productive and useful lives. The content of education was formed after the existing canon, liberal education for boys, as women educators believed in its excellence and effectiveness. However, the canon itself was under question at the period, and whilst the status of classics was maintained, vocational or technical subjects such as science and modern language were introduced into boys' education (Hunt, 1987, pp.4-8). Women pioneers were aware of this shift in boys' curricula, and as a consequence, adopted a broader curriculum in girls' secondary schools. Nevertheless, Hunt stressed the rejection of any vocational or technical subjects including 'domestic subjects' by pioneering headmistresses. They seemed to make no distinction between the education of boys and girls, for they believed that 'the principles of a liberal education was based on a general belief in its excellence and the conviction that what helped make a man 'nobler and better' would fit a woman for a feminine role of duty and service, whether in the home or in the outside world'. Thus, the dual aim of preparing for both home and work was an integral element in the new schooling for middle-class girls to contain achieving both intellectual goals and feminine qualities.

However, the earliest works based on school archival materials question the concepts of 'double conformity' and chronological origin of 'divided aims'. Watson (2000) noted in his school history book of NLCS that NLCS was offering Cookery lessons in the 1870s under Miss Buss, its founder. Following his statement, Webber's undergraduate dissertation (2009) examined the Cookery course in one of her chapter sections. This transformation of 'domestic subjects' in NLCS shows that while middle-class girls' schools were struggling to

develop an academic curriculum, 'domestic subjects' other than Needlework were a part of its curriculum. The move from 'double conformity' to 'divided aims' needs revision. What is needed is a detailed empirical case study using school archival materials. Before the establishment of BOE, middle-class girls' secondary schools offered their own curriculum mainly decided by headmistresses considering the local needs. Owing to the lack of administrative sources, information could only be acquired from school archives.

1.10. Research questions.

There are several points to make about the time frame and the definition of 'domestic subjects'. First, the period covered in this thesis is between 1871 and 1914. This mainly relies on the time frame adopted in Turnbull's work (1983) when the national 'domestic subjects movement' arguably began to develop. This thesis will investigate the detailed conduct of the 'domestic subjects movement' within the Association of Head Mistresses (AHM) and in the three case study schools. By starting from 1871, it enables me to analyse the transformation of 'domestic subjects' in NLCS (converted to a trust school in 1871), CSG (established in 1871) and MHS (established in 1874) from their inception. By ending in 1914, this thesis does not go into the more complex ferment of the First World War period.

Second, the term 'domestic subjects' is used as a comprehensive category to include a range of school subjects related to household management such as cookery, dress-making, housewifery, laundry, or needlework. In the history of 'domestic subjects' in the United States, definition and terminology also changed reflecting its contents and aims. In the late 1890s, 'Household arts' implied cooking and sewing and was tied to manual training in schools. 'Domestic economy' focused on housewives and household problems, especially the 'servant problems'. 'Domestic science' combined work in kitchens and chemical laboratories, emphasising nutrition and sanitation. 'Home Economics' was linked to emerging social sciences and most clearly positioned home in relation to the larger polity, encouraging reform and municipal housekeeping. In practice, 'household arts' was used in primary education, 'domestic science' in secondary schools and 'home economics' in college and graduate work (Stage and Vincenti eds., 1997, pp.5-6). However, the different characteristics of 'domestic subjects' in English girls' high schools are described in detail in each chapter and the transformation of 'domestic subjects' is summarised in Chapter 8.

When looking at the transformation of 'domestic subjects', I will also look at the changing aims and content of the curriculum of middle-class girls' high schools in general. I will

examine the points made by Watson (2000) and Webber (2009) in detail. I will fill in the gap from Turnbull's work (1983) by conducting case studies of three key girls' schools under the six headmistresses over the period 1871-1914. My aim is to re-examine the arguments of the feminist historians, namely Delamont (1978s, 1978b) and Dyhouse (1981) about 'double conformity' and 'separatist' headmistresses, referred to above.

This focus on the transformation of 'domestic subjects' is the main originality of my doctoral research work. This perspective on 'domestic subjects' will be seen as a framework which contains various changing individual subjects related to household tasks such as Cookery, Dressmaking or Needlework. As I will clarify in the following chapters, 'domestic subjects' as a general framework had always existed in the reformed middle-class girls' curriculum after the 1850s, although its contents had been continuously changing reflecting the ideas of headmistresses, local conditions or requirements of society.

My research questions are: How did headmistresses work together through the Association of Head Mistresses (AHM) and in their own schools to develop academic curricula and 'domestic subjects' for girls' education? What were the specific characteristics of instruction in 'domestic subjects' such as content, aims, staff and pupils/parents involved? Were 'domestic subjects' actually only taught to middle-class girls with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds?

1.11. Contents.

Part I is an introduction to this thesis. The next chapter is the guide to my research approach. My research methods, the three case study schools (NLCS; CSG and MHSG) and their six headmistresses (with Miss Buss and Miss Burstall) including their direct and close networks and sources are introduced.

Part II shows the changing views and values of the professional educators of the girls, namely their headmistresses. Chapter 3 focuses on the changing debates on the girls' school curriculum, including the introduction of 'domestic subjects' within their national association, AHM.

Part III is about the 3 individual schools (NLCS, CSG and MHSG) and their curricula developments. Changing school organisation and curriculum, the detailed process of the introduction of 'domestic subjects' and its contents, aims and members are presented. The

wider socio-economic and educational changes of middle-class women and girls are reflected there. Chapter 5 examines NLCS under Miss Buss (1871-1894). Chapter 6 is about NLCS under Mrs Bryant (1895-1914). Chapter 7 deals with CSG under its two headmistresses, Miss Elford (1871-1882) & Miss Lawford (1882-1914). Chapter 8 focus on MHSG under its two headmistresses, Miss Day (1873-1898) & Miss Burstall (1898-1924).

Part IV provides my final analysis and conclusions, drawing the threads together. Changing features of the transformation of domestic subjects in middle class girls' education over the 50-year period are summarised and answers to research questions are given, namely that the move from Miss Buss to Miss Burstall was not as dramatic as had hitherto been argued. Domestic subjects had always played a part in the curriculum of middle class girls' education.

Chapter 2: Research approach.

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter is about how I approached my research questions and decided upon an in-depth set of case studies of three schools and their headmistresses. First I explain the relevance of my research methods and second I explain why I decided to focus on these particular headmistresses, their pupils and the parent/guardians. Third, having justified this overarching approach, I present some basic background information on the three case study schools and the six headmistresses that leads into the introduction of my archival source materials.

2.2. Presentation of my research.

2.2.1. Historical documentary research.

My research is based on both primary and secondary literature, and deals with both public and private documents in the first category. However, as McCulloch (2004, pp.25-28) points out, it is important to identify some difficulties in categorising and handling documentary sources. Firstly, the distinction between primary and secondary is relatively loose considering the overlapping character of sources. Primary sources consist of original documents created during my research timeframe, from the 1870s to the 1910s, and secondary sources were books and articles produced by later researchers and historians after the 1920s. Public reports and books written by scholars from the 1870s to the 1910s served as secondary sources originally, though, I categorise them loosely as primary sources in this research for they provide first-hand evidence based on researchers' lived experience of those times. Secondly, I used both public and private documents, though this distinction is also broad. I used a variety of sources containing official reports and letters published by national and local governments, publicly and privately circulated publications of individual schools and educational associations and personal letters and records of individuals. Thirdly, we need to be conscious of the problems attached to each document. Documents may be biased by the producers' attitudes and views, and the reliability of each document needs to be scrutinised according to its survival rate. In order to overcome such problems, it is required to use a wide range of different kinds of sources created from different representative viewpoints (McCulloch, 2004, pp. 35-37).

2.2.2. Memoirs.

Among the historical documentary sources, the use of memoirs written by some of the headmistresses and pupils requires special attention. Scholars of the history of women's and girls' education have often relied on female memoirs as their source materials since evidence were often not found among official reports and were only recorded in women's writings. Feminist critiques of literary autobiography initially criticised the absence of women's voices and perspectives in the canon, often written from privileged white male-centred perspectives. 'Researchers must be self-reflexively aware of relationships with their 'subjects'; knowledge is not objectively 'there', but is produced by subjects situated in particular social relations and historical discourses' (Cosslett, Lury and Summerfield, 2000, p.2). Cosslett, Lury and Summerfield (2000) focused on three main features of female memoirs: 1) genre, 2) intersubjectivity and 3) memory. In this thesis, various kinds of female writings ranging from autobiographies, books, journals articles to headmistresses' reports could be seen as a 'genre' of female memoir because the information therein was often drawn from their personal experiences. Focus on 'intersubjectivity' raises the points that the relationships between personal narratives and public stories available and between narrators and audience could both be 'composed' and that experience in memoir could be narratively or dialogically organised (Cosslett, Lury and Summerfield, 2000, p.3, 7).

When reading female memoirs we need to be careful when, where and to whom they were written to since the writers could 'perform' and thereby present a most desirable story. Memoir is 'to do with recovering a past (as well as with the projection of a future), and depends on the deployment of an often shifting, partial and contested set of personal or collective memories'. This recovery of the past by writing involves two 'selves'- the self then and the self now- and gaps between the two selves could be seen (Cosslett, Lury and Summerfield, 2000, pp.4-5, 8). . In conclusion, it is not wise or sufficient to use female memoirs as the only source materials of analysis because writers may forget things or do not list certain areas of information. This also raises the question of objectivity and accuracy of the female memoir as reliable sources. To avoid such difficulties, the use of a variety of sources from the contemporary periods is also required to test the information.

2.2.3. Curriculum history.

Franklin (1999) reviewed the research trends among curriculum historians in USA, UK and Canada from 1960s onwards by focusing on two aspects of the curriculum: 1) curriculum as

a social construct consciously reflecting the prevailing beliefs, attitudes and standards of behaviours of the members of the society and 2) curriculum as an instrument of social regulation and control. Firstly, curriculum was neither pre-given nor developed in a straight-forward way but was a social conduct reflecting the struggle 'among different individuals and groups, each with their own understanding of how the curriculum should be selected, organized and distributed to students' (Franklin, 1999, p.476). This 'struggle' is well examined in Kliebard's scholarship, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893-1915* (1st ed. 1986, 2nd ed. 1995, 3rd ed. 2004) which saw the curricular formation in USA during the period as a conflict and negotiation among four different interest groups. It was important to acknowledge that 'the curriculum...has emerged out of the conflicts among contending individuals and groups holding different beliefs and values. Whatever the consensus, common ground or curricular agreements that have been attained were more than likely to be precarious and unstable'. What was often seen here was the back-and-forth shift between the academic and practical/vocational curriculum (Franklin, 1999, p.474, 476). Secondly, seeing curriculum development as a means of social control helps explain why curriculum formation frequently caused conflict among different individuals and interest groups. The idea of social control was often linked to larger issues of polity. 'Differences over how the curriculum should be constructed actually point to larger political differences about such important topics as the organization of society, the constitution of the polity, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship'. In USA the problem of how to create a uniform American citizen by integrating growing number of immigrants from East and South Europe and those belonging to non-European race was an urgent problem underlying educational policies. In UK whether to maintain the 'tripartite' system of secondary schooling was always conflicting when educational entity and link between academic ability and social class were questioned. In conclusion, curriculum history enables to clarify a necessary 'context' for interpreting curricular issues, 'the politically charged and conflict-laden social landscapes in which attempts at constructing the curriculum have taken place' (Franklin, 1999, p.476).

Franklin (1999) also well-illustrates changing methodology approved by curriculum historians and the historical contexts underlining them. In the USA 'a highly decentralized system of schooling' was formed where the state represented only one player in curriculum formation. 'Significant curriculum development activities occur outside of the direct supervision of the state' in universities, philanthropically sponsored commission, private organizations, etc. lead by various professional field of curriculum, University professors, superintendents, etc. Biographical approach was often taken to examine how 'proponents of efficiency-oriented curriculum reform sought to transform the then popular industrial

practices of scientific management into a theory of curriculum making'. The development of a more functional course of study was linked to a more effective teacher employment aiming to prepare students for their ultimate work and citizenship roles in society. In contrast, in UK and other countries where a more 'centralized system of state schooling' were seen, 'key players in curriculum planning have often been the nameless government bureaucrats' and prominent public leaders who chaired various governmental committees (Franklin, 1999, pp.459-463).

Focus on such 'rhetorical curriculum' or 'policy talk' planned and defined by influential individuals or groups who defined and planned the curriculum did not have 'much to say about the implementation of curriculum within schools and classrooms'. Therefore, from the 1970s in USA, historical case study research emerged to identify 'the specific factors, especially those affecting local schools, that have shaped the construction of the curriculum' (Franklin, 1999, p.463-465). 'Although case study research is often seen as representing an alternative to the study of the 'rhetorical curriculum', these two approaches actually complement each other' to present 'a more accurate and nuanced account of curriculum history that captures better than either approach alone the incompleteness and ambiguity surrounding efforts over time to construct the curriculum' (Franklin, 1999, p.468). After the 1990s, some USA scholars started to focus on discourse and language used in 'policy talk' to see how educational ideas were reproduced with link to the wider socio-economic changes, especially around the changes in practical/vocational education and newly formed collective mass labour. The 'linguistic turn' also enabled curriculum historians to examine how language and discourse in textbooks served as 'vehicles for conveying both subject-matter content and an array of religious, moral and political lessons'. Here, 'curricular materials...have been used to connect academic instruction with the shaping of political and social values as well as the formation of conduct' (Franklin, 1999, pp.471-475).

However, Franklin (1999) left out reference to the gendered aspects in curriculum history. The usefulness of curriculum history in gendered analysis is also acknowledged. Watts (2007, p.283) refers to women's contribution to science education as follows: 'What forms of knowledge are deemed worth possessing in any period and who is allowed access to them are crucial questions for the historians of education.' Furthermore, Turnbull (1983, p.277) points out in her thesis on the national development of the domestic subjects movement that 'the curriculum was the focus for arguments about what kind of society was wanted. The belief that the sex should have separate but complementary adult roles found expression in every aspect of schooling.' Therefore, when considering the curriculum history of

middle-class girls' schooling, it is important to identify the decision-makers, headmistresses, educational authorities or parents/ guardians, and what were taught to whom in schools because such questions are deeply related to educational, social and gendered contexts.

2.2.4. Historical case study.

When interpreting the data gained from documentary historical research, I have followed the methods of case study. Bassey (1999) defined educational case studies as empirical enquiries conducted within a localised boundary of space and time into interesting aspects of an educational phenomenon for the purpose of collecting reliable data for later judgements or policy-makers. Such data are used '(a) to explore significant features of the case, (b) to create plausible interpretations of what is found, (c) to test for the trustworthiness of these interpretations, (d) to construct a worthwhile argument or story, (e) to relate the argument or story to any relevant research in the literature, (f) to convey convincingly to an audience this argument or story, (g) to provide an audit trail by which other researchers may validate or challenge the findings, or construct an alternative argument. Furthermore, Bassey categorised three types of educational case studies: theory-seeking and theory-testing case studies; story-telling and picture-drawing case studies; and evaluative case studies (Bassey, 1999, p.58).

My research fits into the second category. Story-telling case study is 'a narrative account of the exploration and analysis of the case, with a strong sense of a time line', and picture-drawing case study is 'a descriptive account, drawing together the results of the exploration and analysis of the case'. Both studies require theoretical insights, expressed as a claim to knowledge. The important aspect of the picture-drawing case study is that by concentrating on the complexities of educational practice, it can modify both educational policies and comparative theories of educational systems (Bassey, 2004, pp.62-63). Therefore, by conducting new empirical research on practice at the school level, this type of case study enables researchers to revisit the research theme, that is, the introduction of 'domestic subjects' into girls' secondary schooling, which have previously been analysed by Hunt (1991) at the level of educational decision-making.

When conducting educational as well as historical case studies, three skills, presented by Jordanova (2000, p.173), viz technical skills, source-based skills and interpretative skills, are necessary. Technical skills are important to carve out a historical problem for study, and to consider and then evaluate the range of ways of approaching it. This includes various

research methods such as quantitative and qualitative data collection, prosopography, palaeography, and skills to create footnotes and to understand contexts of sources. Source-based skills are required to identify the useful sources, to read sources precisely and critically, and to evaluate and integrate sources historically. It is also needed to understand the source as a text and to reconstruct the circumstances of its generation with an eye on 'the source's makers, their situation, including the pressures and structural constraints upon them...in order to appreciate both its fruitfulness and its limitations'. Interpretative skills mean to use 'historical materials and ideas in a coherent argument, showing their significance, especially in the light of other accounts, making convincing, plausible claims based upon research findings, and employing concepts, theories, frameworks appropriately.' Such skills also include academic writing, critical reading and making connections between different sources (Jordanova, 2000, pp.177-185).

By using these three skills, historians are 'able to imagine how sources are constructed and using those very processes, as well as their manifest content, to reach sensible conclusions' (Jordanova, 2000, p.33). Historical work can take different forms, though most often they involve some kind of comparison of sources, case studies, secondary accounts and theories which provide a context for the question and is at the heart of historians practice (Jordanova, 2000, p.174). The same thing could apply to my research which is a comparison between existing research understandings and results of new archival research.

2.3. Three case schools: North London Collegiate School (1850-1914), Camden School for Girls (1871-1914) and Manchester High School for Girls (1874-1914).

It is useful to conduct case study research on several schools in order to explore educational aims and changing curricula in detail. Summerfield (1987) examined the process of cultural reproduction in girls' secondary day schools in two Lancashire towns from the 1900s to the 1950s. She chose six schools: two high schools (Preston and Blackburn High School for Girls established in 1878 and 1883); a municipal secondary school (Preston School for Girls established after 1902); and three convent day schools. Summerfield critically analysed the notion of whether schools prepared girls to become 'wives and mothers of the bourgeoisie' by asking three questions: were the schools aiming to produce middle-class women; were they intending to turn out potential wives; if not, then what sort of women did they want to produce. To answer these questions, Summerfield examined three aspects of schooling (the academic objectives they defined as important, the post-school destinations they wanted for their pupils and their prescriptions for their pupils' sexuality) in three different types of girls'

day schools (two high schools, one municipal secondary school and three convent schools). Summerfield concluded that all secondary schools aimed to foster girls for membership of middle-class by providing lessons of femininity, however, there were challenges to gender-differentiation by promoting intellectual equality with boys. Interestingly, Summerfield also clarified the curricular difference between the schools. Although all schools held similar academic curricula and sat in university examinations, when 'domestic subjects' were introduced after 1904, high schools and convent schools were uncompromising in their aims to secure liberal education while the municipal secondary school was more willing to introduce the subject. However, Summerfield noted that all schools relegated a secondary position to domestic subjects, and this view was also inherited by pupils. Summerfield's work provided an inspiring example of comparison between different types of high schools using the framework of historical social analysis.

Therefore, in this thesis detailed analysis of three case study schools has been conducted: NLCS (1850-1914), CSG (1871-1914) and MHSG (1874-1914). The schools were chosen first because they all are girls' high schools, day schools influenced by the needs of local communities. Second, all the schools are linked by educational trajectories of headmistresses including Miss Buss and Miss Burstall as we will see in the later chapters. Third, while all three schools were famous for their academic achievements, they also introduced 'domestic subjects' in their own ways, therefore being suitable examples to examine the balance of academic and 'domestic' subjects in their curricula. See Appendices for images and maps of the three schools.

North London Collegiate School for Ladies, the model for successive girls' high schools, was founded in 1850 as a family business of Frances Mary Buss. Miss Buss aimed to provide liberal education based on religious principles to daughters of broad middle-classes with limited means in the neighbourhood to prepare them to become future mothers of families, and collected modest fees. Pupils were 'the daughters of retired gentlemen, doctors, artists, clerks and the more 'respectable' tradesmen in the neighbourhood. The school consisted of 35 pupils at its opening, but the number rose to over 100 by 1851 (Kamm, 1958, pp.41-43; Watson, 2000, p.14). Watson (2000, p.14) pointed out that Buss appealed to her customers by emphasising the poor state of middle-class education compared to that of the working-class, by stating the need for their daughters to live economically independent lives, and by recommending the education offered in her school to foster 'mothers, sisters or governesses'. NLCS transformed from a family venture to a public trust in 1871, 21 years later, and changed its name to North London Collegiate School for Girls (NLCS). The school

sought support from public endowments, although there were difficulties in the fund-raising campaign until the school finally managed to get support from Brewers' Company and Clothworkers' Company (Watson, 2000, pp.22-23). After the 1870s, NLCS moved further out to the northern London suburb as the buildings became too crowded and the atmosphere of the neighbourhood changed. NLCS moved from 46 Camden Road to 202 Camden Road by the 1870s, to Sandall Road by 1880 as the newer buildings became too packed, and finally to Canons Park, Edgware in 1939 when the population of the neighbourhood changed. The move to Canons Park had been planned since 1917, though, the London County Council (LCC) disagreed with this move until 1937 for LCC was giving funds to the school (Kamm, 1958, p.128; Watson, 2000, p.14, 22, 28, 79).

Miss Buss' second school, the CSG, was established in 1871 under its own headmistress, Miss Elford, with Miss Buss as a superintendent. It aimed to provide a liberal education to girls from lower middle-class backgrounds for a more modest fee than NLCS. Occupations of pupils' fathers 'included clerks, tailors and civil servants as well as two builders, two grocers and two clergymen; there were also an engineer in the British Museum, a cattle salesman, a boarding house keeper, an accountant, a bookmaker, an inspector of police, a city missionary, a pianoforte tuner, a jeweler and a dealer in works of art. Two mothers were included in the list: one who described herself as a widow and the other as a companion to a lady' (Burchell, 1971, pp.1-2). Pupils were expected to stay in the school until they sat for the Cambridge Junior Local Examination at the age of 15, and girls with superior marks such as Miss Burstall were offered scholarships to continue their studies at NLCS after graduating from Camden (Watson, 2000, p.22). The school opened in January 1871 with 40 pupils at 46 Camden Street. It moved to Prince of Wales Road, to the former building of the Asylum held of Governesses' Benevolent Institution, in 1876 when the premises became too small to keep the number of pupils. CSG moved to Sandall Road, the former building of the NLCS, in 1939 (Kamm, 1958, p.128; Watson, 2000, p.22, 28, 79).

MHSG was established in 1874 by the Manchester Association of Promoting Higher Education of Women as a proprietary high school of civic origin. MHSG aimed to provide education equal to boys' education to the daughters of the Manchester middle-classes and was well supported by the nearby Owens College, a higher education institution set up in 1851 (later to become the Victoria University of Manchester). MHSG received grants from the Hulme Trust after 1884. It established two satellite schools to respond to the local needs for girls' secondary education in distant areas of Manchester: Pendleton High School was built to serve as a preparatory school from 1885 and North Manchester High School was

built in 1892. The colours of the three schools differed as the North Manchester favoured Music and Art education while the others followed the academic trend (Burstall, 1911, Chapter 7). MHSG started from 369 -371 Portland Terrace, Oxford Road in 1873. In 1875, the next door building - 373 Portland Terrace - was added and in 1876 the fourth, the building across the street, 274, for preparatory school. The 276 house was soon obtained for the dwelling house of Miss Day and staff. As the school size increased by 1877, the plan to build a new school building in Dover Street buildings were set up and a fund-raising campaign started. In 1881 MHSG moved to the Dover Street building. 369, 371 and 373 buildings were sold but the 274 and 276 buildings were kept. MHSG stayed in the Dover Street buildings until it was evacuated in 1939. MHSG is now placed in Grangethorpe Road, south of central Manchester (Burstall, 1911, p.33, 41, 66; Manchester High School for Girls, 1974, p.20).

Purvis (1991, pp.77-82) demonstrated five characteristics and ethos of NLCS that were adopted by successive girls' high schools such as CSG and MHSG. Firstly, NLCS was tolerant of religious differences. It offered Anglican religious instruction, although parents were able to remove daughters from the class, and Jewish students were permitted to enter the school. Secondly, lessons were mainly offered during the 'long morning hours'. 'Free afternoons' were preserved to receive family influence, and pupils were recommended to better their 'domestic and social virtues'. Thirdly, the school developed an efficient and carefully organised administration structure, such as well-planned content of courses and timetabling, appointment of form teachers, staff subject specialisation, as well as the appointment of monitors and prefects. Fourthly, NLCS helped to nurture a schoolgirl community by recommending games, publishing a school magazine, and organising the Old Girls' Reunion. Finally, it emphasised the notion of social service to the community, and the Dorcas Society, the sewing society of NLCS, played an active part in philanthropic activities.

2.4. Primary source materials.

The originality of this thesis lies in the use of new sets of materials that have not been used comprehensively by previous scholars. I have used different levels of sources obtained from individual school archives, local and national archives, and online materials. School archival materials and sources of AHM are analysed in detail for the first time in this thesis. All of the primary source materials used in this thesis have been collected by myself directly from the archives or online. I conducted a broad and detailed survey on all the sources listed in the bibliography to find information on the educational aims of headmistresses and curricula

changes, especially around the introduction of 'domestic subjects'. Detailed references will be given in later chapters.

2.4.1. Individual school archives.

The core primary sources are held in the individual school archives.

- NLCS keeps the full records of itself from its establishment to present, and some also refer to the CSG. Sources that I used are varied: prospectuses, external examination records, special examination records, inspectors' reports, examination papers, headmistresses' reports to the governors (HR), minutes of governing body of two schools, Prize Day Reports (PDR), pupils' records and pupils' admission register, school magazines, photographs and documents produced by headmistresses, etc. The NLCS Archive employs a full-time archivist, as well as a part-time archivist, all Library staff at NLCS work with archive material, thereby ensuring full-time coverage. All archival sources are well categorised and listed.
- CSG also maintains its own archive to store its historical documents from 1871. The primary sources used are: prospectuses, examination records, headmistresses' reports to governors (HR), Founder's Day reports and pupils' admission register, etc. The CSG Archive employs a part-time archivist and research is available only on Tuesdays in the Autumn and Spring Terms.
- MHSg also has its own archives. While some of the MHSg sources have been lost, a series of *School Reports (SR)*, *School Magazines (SM)* and the full Register of Applications give valuable information. Most of the sources are hand-written except for some official circulations and school reports. The MHSg Archive employs a part-time archivist. Archival materials are well categorised and examined by the archivist.

2.4.2. Records of the Association of Head Mistresses.

The second important primary source is the records of AHM held in the Modern Records Centre (MRC), University of Warwick. The Minutes of the Executive Committee (MEC) from 1874 to 1894 and *Annual Reports (AR)* from 1895 to 1914 helped follow the national debates among headmistresses. The minutes of the Executive Committee are hand-written but the ARs are typewritten.

2.4.3. Other archives.

In addition, reports and records of the central British educational administration and government which are mainly held at the National Archives, Kew (TNA) or are accessible online were used. Materials such as *RSIC*, *RRCSE* and *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* provide information on the case study schools and on the general state of girls' secondary education. Sources of the BOE such as *RSS* were used to see the influence of grants and regulations on each school. Most of the reports and records are typewritten.

The Institute of Education of the University of London (IOE) holds the records of the GPDSC schools from 1871 that have also been used support my argument. Such sources produced in the nineteenth century are mostly hand-written and later materials are typed. Newspaper and journal articles were also used when necessary.

2.5. Focus on headmistresses, pupils and parents/guardians.

The headmistresses of each school played crucial roles in the introduction of 'domestic subjects' between 1871 and 1914 because the curricula of such middle-class girls' schools were primarily determined by them. As we have seen in Chapter 1, NLCS was seen to be the model. In general, girls' schools taught more subjects in 'morning schools', shorter school hours than boys' schools, often resulting in problems of over-pressure (Milburn, 1969, 229-231.)

Delamont (1978a) and Dyhouse (1981) had divided headmistresses and female educators in the Victorian and Edwardian period into two groups: 'the uncompromising' group such as Miss Buss and Miss Davies, and 'separatists' such as Miss Burstall. Delamont and Dyhouse saw the introduction of 'domestic subjects' as a major activity of 'separatist' headmistresses led by Miss Burstall. However, the women listed here experienced different educational and career trajectories which must have led to different educational attitudes towards the introduction and middle-class girls' education. While Miss Buss and Miss Davies belong to the first generation of headmistresses and female educators taking a leading role from the 1850s and the 1860s, Miss Burstall became the headmistress only after the 1890s. A detailed and careful investigation of the generational differences of such women is therefore required.

Following Banks' (1986) study, Martin (1991) conducted a detailed analysis of the

generational differences of female School Board members. Martin divided these women into three cohorts according to their birth dates and examined their families' political activities, family backgrounds, educational experiences, resources and supports. Martin (1999, Chapter 4) also analysed in detail the social networks among these women. In this thesis, drawing on Martin's detailed analysis, comparisons between the work of six headmistresses including Miss Buss and Miss Burstall will be conducted. The generational differences, educational and career trajectories will be considered when analysing the attitudes of the six headmistresses towards the introduction of 'domestic subjects'. The social networks among headmistresses were also examined.

Another factor to keep in mind is the needs of pupils and parents/guardians towards the curricula offered in schools. Previous studies have not clarified how pupils and parents/guardians responded to the introduction of 'domestic subjects' laid down by headmistresses. Pedersen (1987, p.181) pointed out that headmistress of so-called 'reformed' girls' secondary schools gained new authority over parents/guardians in the 'teacher-client relationship'. Those headmistresses of bigger sized girls' schools were seen to have been freed from parental control often seen in small-sized home-based schools after raising their status as teaching professions. However, Miss Burstall (1933) noted in her autobiography that she had to consider the needs of pupils and parents/guardians to secure a certain amount of fee-paying pupils when MHSG was suffering from poor school management. As Delamont (1978a) noted that headmistresses of new or reformed schools still depended on fee-paying parents/guardians to maintain a sound school management, it seems plausible to think that the requirements of parents/guardians also affected the curricula arrangements set out by the headmistresses.

2.6. Biographical information of six headmistresses.

I now move on to provide brief biographical information of the six headmistresses who served in the three case study schools during the period 1871 to 1914. Their life histories, educational and career trajectories are presented. A certain amount of scholarly work has been done for Miss Buss, Mrs Bryant and Miss Burstall, and therefore, only a brief summary from secondary sources is given here. For Miss Elford, Miss Lawford and Miss Day, information is drawn from the CSG and MHSG original archive materials. However, owing to the lack of sources, some are very short. See Appendices for the images of the six headmistresses.

2.6.1. Frances Mary Buss (1827-1894). Headmistress of NLCS (1850-1894).

Miss Buss was born and brought up in a London middle-class family. Because her father's income as an artist was low, her mother set up a private school to increase family income in which Miss Buss started her teaching career. Alongside teaching, Miss Buss received teacher training from the Home and Colonial Institute and attended evening lectures of Queen's College, London. Miss Buss launched her own school, NLCS, in 1850 as a family business with the help of her father, mother, brothers and the Rev. David Laing (1800-1860), one of the main supporters and founders of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution. She was one of the few women questioned by the SIC in 1864-65 to provide data for the state of girls' secondary education.

Miss Buss transferred NLCS to a trust school in 1871 by gaining public endowments, and at the same time founded her second school, CSG. NLCS became the model for successive girls' high schools in England, and its academic curriculum, school system and ethos extended to other schools. Miss Buss supported Miss Emily Davies's campaign to widen female access to university examinations and women's colleges, and linked secondary education with higher education. As she was also deeply concerned to raise the professional status of female secondary teachers, Miss Buss established AHM in 1874, and supported teacher training colleges such as the College of Preceptors and Maria Grey Training College. She resigned from her post as headmistress in 1892 on the grounds of ill-health, having served as headmistress for over 40 years. She died in 1894 (Couts, *ODNB*, 2004).

2.6.2. Sophie Bryant (1850-1922). Headmistress of NLCS (1895-1918).

Mrs Bryant (née Willock) was born in Dublin in 1850 to a father, a fellow and tutor of the Trinity College, Dublin. She was at first taught by her father, but after the family moved to London in 1866, she gained a scholarship to attend Bedford College, London from 1866 to 1869. She married Dr William Hicks Bryant in 1869 (aged 19), but her husband died a year later. Mrs Bryant was appointed as a member of staff in NLCS from 1875 to teach Mathematics, Psychology and Moral Science, and eventually came to serve as the deputy headmistress under Miss Buss. Mrs Bryant had already sat for Senior Cambridge Local Examination in 1867 (Class I) and for Cambridge Higher Local Examination in 1875 (English, Class I. Mathematics, Class I. Natural Science, Class II. Logic & Political Economy, Class I), but she furthered her higher education to gain a BSc (London) in 1881, and finally became

the first woman to be awarded a DSc in 1884.

Mrs Bryant took over the post as the second headmistress of NLCS in 1895 after the death of Miss Buss. As the headmistress, she was engaged in school business and organisation generally, and in addition, taught Mathematics, Scripture, and occasionally Logic, Ethics and Political Economy. Mrs Bryant joined AHM in 1896, and became a member of the Executive Committee from 1897. She also served as Chairman of several Sub-Committees and as Representatives, and was the President of AHM from 1903 to 1905 ('Complete list of the past and present Head Mistresses of Endowed and Proprietary Schools', *AHM Report 1895*; Glenday and Price, 1974, p.149). Her other educational career positions included those in the Technical Education Board of the London County Council from 1893, in the College of Preceptors, and other educational associations. Mrs Bryant was also well known as a supporter of Home Rule (for Ireland) and of the National Union of Women's Suffrage. She retired from her post as headmistress of NLCS in 1918, having served as headmistress for 23 years, or almost a quarter of a century. She died in a mountain accident near Chamonix in 1922 (Willock, 1922; Fletcher, *ODNB*, 2004).

2.6.3. Emma Jane Elford (Dates unknown). Headmistress of CSG (1871-1882).

Miss Elford was the first headmistress of CSG from its beginning in January 1871 until 1882, a period of 11-12 years. She was said to have been educated at NLCS for some time before becoming the headmistress (but I have not been able to find precise details of her background or birth). She organised the school through its first difficult years under the supervision of Miss Buss who served as the 'Honorary Superintendent' of CSG. Miss Elford is said to have brought discipline and punctuality into the early CSG. She is counted as one of the earliest members of AHM from 1874-75 (*AR 1895*). However, she did not serve on the Executive Committee, and therefore, is not considered to have taken a leading part in AHM. Miss Elford left the school in the summer of 1882 for marriage (Burchell, 1971, p.1, 11, 32).

2.6.4. Fanny Lawford (1852-1940). Headmistress of CSG (1882-1914).

Miss Lawford was born in 1852. She was educated at NLCS in 1869 and attended the Home and Colonial College in 1870. She started teaching in CSG as an Assistant Teacher from September 1871. She is recorded as having served as a Second Mistress until 1880, but the precise date is not given. From January 1881 to July 1882 she was appointed as the Head of Maria Grey Practising College.

Miss Lawford was appointed as the second headmistress of CSG from August 1882 and, returning to CSG, she remained in the post until April 1914. She was, in other words, headmistress for 32 years or almost a third of a century. Her work was 'General organising, supervision, and all the responsible duties attached to the post of Head Mistress' (Staff Hours Timetables 1871-1925; Staff Registers 1. 1892-1921, CSGA).

She became a member of AHM from 1885. However, the AHM Records also show that Miss Lawford did not take a leading part as an Executive Member nor Representative (*AR 1895*). Miss Lawford was a sincere Churchwoman. 'Her educational ideals instinctively lay in the traditional path of 'godly living and sound learning', and she had the capacity to create and sustain a school community where both teachers and taught felt that they were striving to the same good end and where high standards of work and courtesy were expected and attained.' Her great dignity and the kind, but firm, manners run CSG well. Her passionate love and well-dressed fashion was also remembered by the old girls. Miss Lawford resigned in 1914 when the debate on an appropriate Church education under the guidance of the Board of Education and LCC were discussed (Burchell, 1971, p.30, 46, 54).

2.6.5. Elizabeth Day (1844-1917). Headmistress of MHSG (1873-1898).

Miss Day was born in London as a daughter of a managing clerk to a Government Coal Contractor. In addition, what was unique about her was that she came from 'a teaching stock'. Her mother, before marriage, and her two aunts were private governesses, and so were Miss Day's father's three sisters. Miss Day comments that 'I cannot remember a time when I did not look forward to a life as a teacher my destination'. She went to several private schools: to a dancing class in the neighbourhood for two years, to a small private day school for about four years and to a 'very peculiar boarding school' kept by her mother's friend for two months.

Miss Day began her career as a private governess at the age of fourteen in 1858 and continued it for the next seven years. At the same time, she was also having lessons in Latin, Italian, Drawing, and German, and studied English with her mother. Miss Day considered that 'both my father and mother taught me far more than any of my school teachers'. Miss Day went to Queen's College to take German classes in 1861 while her two sisters received scholarships to study there as full-time students. In 1866, she started working as a pupil teacher in the school attached to the College in return of receiving lessons at the College.

She was not allowed to take the Queen's College General Certificate because she did not fulfil conditions of being there for two years as a compounder, a pupil taking the full course. Therefore, she sat for the Cambridge Local Examination for Women in 1871 with the support of her friends who paid for her examination fee and preparation courses. She sat for Group A, which contained Divinity, Arithmetic, English History, and English Literature, and passed in the 1st class with a distinction in Divinity. In 1872 she gained a 1st class in Group B, with distinction in French and Greek, and passed in Political Economy and received some prizes. In 1873 she took another 1st class in Languages, gaining distinctions in Italian and in English Literature. While she was staying in Rugby to take the examination, she was persuaded to apply for the new headmistress post in MHSg. At first she refused, however, after being encouraged by her friends she changed her mind.

Miss Day was appointed as the first headmistress of MHSg in the autumn of 1873 and remained in the post until the summer of 1898: in other words for 24 years or almost a quarter of a century. During her period of service, MHSg developed as one of the most influential academic girls' high schools in northern England. She was also one of the nine original members of AHM and took a leading part as an Executive Committee member and a Representative to external conferences until her retirement.

After retiring from the headmistress post in 1898, she lived quietly in Walmar, Kent until her death in 1917. However, letters from old girls and staff recollections show that Miss Day retained a certain influence through letters by offering help and advice when needed. After her death, *The Manchester Guardian* described her as 'Intolerant of the least suggestion of slackness, averse alike to show and to pretence, Miss Day set before staff and girls the ideal of whole-hearted concentration on work and strenuous, regular mental discipline. She never spared herself; she had the power of inspiring real enthusiasm for study in most of her staff and pupils.' ('Miss Day's Account of Her Life'. *SM*, December, 1917, MHSgA).

2.6.6. Sara Annie Burstall (1859-1939). Headmistress of MHSg (1898-1924).

Miss Burstall was born in Aberdeen to a modest middle-class family engaging in commercial industry. After the family moved to London in 1871, she entered CSG aged about 12 and stayed there until 1875. Then, she was offered a scholarship to continue her study in NLCS from 1875 to 1878 (aged 16-18/9). She sat for several external examinations including the Cambridge Local Examinations and the University of London Women's Examinations. She was able to further her study in the relatively new women's college in Cambridge - Girton

College - with another scholarship. Miss Burstall read Mathematics there from 1878, and gained a Mathematical Tripos, Class II in 1881 (although as a woman she was not formally awarded a Cambridge degree). Soon after, she was appointed a member of staff of NLCS from January 1882. In addition to teaching at NLCS, she attended University College, London from 1883 to 1885, gaining a B.A. in 1884 and to sit for a Scripture Examination in 1886.

After serving as a deputy headmistress under Mrs Bryant at NLCS from 1895 to 1898, Miss Burstall herself was appointed as the second headmistress of MHSG. She taught Divinity, English Literature and History in her school, and also gave 5 to 10 lectures annually as a Senior Lecturer of the University of Manchester. Miss Burstall joined AHM in February 1899, was selected as a member of the Executive Committee from 1901 and worked as the Chair of several Sub-Committees and Representatives. She was the President of AHM from 1909 to 1911 when the debate about the introduction of domestic subjects was of great concern among AHM members. Miss Burstall was also appointed as one of three women members of the newly formed education committee of Manchester City Council in 1902.

After resigning her post as headmistress of MHSG in 1924, Miss Burstall moved to London, and became the first woman member of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. She published and edited seven books on girls' education including her autobiography; all of which were used as valuable sources of girls' secondary education in her days (Staff Registers Vol. I. 1878-1911. MHSGA; 'Executive Committee. February 11, 1899', *AR* 1899. MRC; Delamont, *ODNB*, 2004).

2.7. Links of the six headmistresses of the three schools.

2.7.1. Links within AHM.

One of the Links of the six headmistresses, viz Miss Buss, Mrs Bryant, Miss Elford, Miss Lawford, Miss Day and Miss Burstall, is seen within the official activities of the AHM. AHM itself was set up under the strong leadership of Miss Buss in 1874. It started with eleven members, including Miss Buss and Miss Day, and its first meeting was attended by seven members, including Miss Buss, Miss Elford and Miss Day (*AR* 1895; Glenday and Price, 1974, pp.2). AHM was formed by Miss Buss to bring together headmistresses who had 'lived and worked in strange conditions of isolation' and to exchange views and information.

AHM held annual conferences in different cities after 1876, and improved their organisational structures. Early headmistresses fought to improve weak financial management of schools, the variety of academic levels of pupils, and unqualified skills and knowledge of staff. Until the 1890s, AHM was mainly concerned with fostering adequate teaching staff for their schools by supporting women's colleges and teacher training colleges. AHM also worked to set up a system for the registration of teachers, improve staff welfare through pension funds, organise school hours, examinations, curriculum, and discussed problems related to health, prizes, and punishments (Glenday and Price, 1974, pp.12-24, 30-37).

During the early years of AHM a great part of its time was occupied in considering questions of school organisation and routine, for the headmistresses had no traditions either to guide them or to hamper them in their new sphere of work. Accordingly, many interesting and instructive discussions on matters such as the relations between headmistresses and their staff, curriculum, time allotted to the different subjects, pupils' home work and home time tables, prizes, rewards, punishments, matters of school hygiene, the conduct of school examinations. On all these points the deliberations of AHM were most helpful to the headmistresses, who, in those early years of the movement, were called upon to organize some of the first Public Secondary Schools for Girls, and to begin the work which has since so greatly developed and has proved so signal a success (*AR 1895*, pp.5-9). Although AHM did not have the authority to compel any decision onto its members, it served as a body that helped to maintain a unity in educational decision—making and trends in girls' secondary schools, in particular the shape and content of the curriculum.

Milsom (2012) analysed how AHM helped headmistresses form corporate and individual identity and acted as a platform for gendered professionalization. 'Such an Association may be seen to provide a powerful network: the wide ranging body could provide a space-place for the headmistresses to come together to form a collective identity and assert their power. At the same time, each could enhance her own individual identity (Milsom, 2012, p.11). AHM had a hierarchical structure consisting of ordinary members, headmistresses of 'public schools' (schools holding public governing bodies). Ordinary members may be elected to become executive members, chairs of Sub-Committees, Vice Presidents and finally Presidents. However, as AHM was 'a close knit of élitist group', new members had to have the respect of current members. This closed hierarchical structure reflected the aims and goals of AHM as a body enhancing professionalization (Milsom, 2012, p.12). AHM displayed three markers of professionalization described by Jacobs (2003). First, examination and

certification were encouraged through AHM to raise academic standards of both teachers and girls. Second, AHM served as a professional organisation which membership was important to work together and promote a professional status. Third, AHM was a new élite association asserting a new professional autonomy of headmistresses and teachers (Milsom, 2012, p79-80).

Milsom (2012) further noted the middle-class characteristics and ideals found in AHM. Headmistresses were members of middle-classes, who had already held independent and powerful occupations. AHM itself, together with the individual headmistresses, carved out their own trajectory in 'the production of social, economic and educational change affecting the lives of many girls and women, both past and present' (Milsom, 2012, p.12).

The table below shows during when the six headmistresses belonged to AHM and the years they held special positions there.

Table 1. Six headmistresses and the years they held special positions in AHM.

	Schools.	Membership.	President.	Executive Committee.
Miss Buss	NLCS	1874-1894.	1874-1894.	1874-1894.
Mrs. Bryant	NLCS	1896-1918.	1903-1905.	1897 June -1901 June. President 1903-1905. Vice President after 1905.
Miss Elford	CSG	1874-1881.	-	-
Miss Lawford	CSG	1881-1914.	-	-
Miss Day	MHSG	1874-1898	-	1874-1898. Vice President after 1882.
Miss Burstall	MHSG	1899-1924	1909-1911.	1900 June- 1904 June. President 1909-1911. Vice President after 1911.

(Information taken from MEC and AR after 1895).

All six headmistresses were members of AHM while they were headmistresses. Some of them held leading positions as President, Vice President or members of the Executive Committee. Miss Buss, the headmistress of NLCS and the founder of AHM, was the first

President of AHM from its establishment in 1874 to her death in 1894. Miss Elford and Miss Lawford, the first two headmistresses of CSG, and Miss Day, the first headmistress of MHSG, never served as the President. After Miss Buss's death, Miss Beale of Cheltenham Ladies' College took over the role and the Presidentship of AHM came to be shared by other headmistresses each holding the position for two years. Miss Bryant, the second headmistress of NLCS, and Miss Burstall, the second headmistress of MHSG, also held the position later. All four headmistresses except Miss Elford and Miss Lawford of CSG were members of the Executive Committees in which various discussions and agreements were made on the future of AHM and girls' secondary schools. This difference between the statuses of headmistresses seems to have arisen from the different status of schools themselves. CSG was a middle-school catering for younger girls and those from lower social backgrounds than other two high schools.

The positions that the six headmistresses held within AHM show that while following the agreements in AHM, they themselves were also able to arrange and lead the discussion when doing so. As we will see in Chapter 3, the names of Miss Buss, Mrs Bryant, Miss Day and Miss Burstall frequently appeared in the arguments around arranging suitable girls' secondary curricula and the introduction of 'domestic subjects'. Certainly Miss Burstall took a leading position within AHM towards the introduction of 'domestic subjects' after the 1900s, however, the other three also held their opinions, influenced the discussions and agreed to follow the consensus formed in AHM in their time. Detailed analysis of their individual attitudes toward 'domestic subjects' is made in the following chapters.

2.7.2. Links around Miss Buss and NLCS.

Another important and influential link of the six headmistresses centred around Miss Buss and NLCS. NLCS and CSG were clearly linked because they were set up and operated under the strong leadership of Miss Buss. However, MHSG was also linked to the two schools by some of the headmistresses. The table below shows the educational and career trajectories of the six women as pupils, staff and headmistresses in the three schools.

Table 2. Educational and career trajectories of the six headmistresses.

	Dates.	1850	1860	1870	1871	1874	1875	1878	1880	1882	1890	1895	1898	1900	1910	1914
Miss Buss	1827–1894.	Head of NLCS (1850–94).														
Mrs Bryant	1850–1922.	Bedford College (1866–69).			Staff of NLCS (1875–94).				Head of NLCS (1895–1918).							
Miss Elford	No data.	Pupil in NLCS (Dates unknown).		Head of CSG (1871–1882).												
Miss Lawford	1852–1940.	Pupil of NLCS (1869)		Home and Colonial Institute (1870).		Staff of CSG (1871–80).			Head of Maria Grey Practising School (1881–82).		Head of CSG (1882–1914).					
Miss Day	1844–1917.	Private governess (1858–). Queen’s College, London lectures (Dates unknown).			Head of MHSG (1874–1898).											
Miss Burstall	1859–1939.			Pupil of CSG (1871–75).		Pupil of NLCS (1875–78).		Girton College (1878–1881).		Staff of NLCS (1882–98).		Head of MHSG (1898–1924).				

(Information taken from secondary sources and Staff Registers).

It is clear that most of the headmistresses belonged to NLCS, under the headship of Miss Buss, in the early stage of their educational or career experience which subsequently affected their later educational careers. Mrs Bryant joined the staff of NLCS in 1875 and succeeded Miss Buss in 1895. Miss Elford was a former pupil of NLCS before becoming the headmistress of CSG (1871-1882). Miss Lawford was also a pupil in NLCS, became a member of the staff of CSG (1871-1880) and the headmistress of CSG (1882-1914). Miss Day was the first headmistress of MHSG (1874-1898) but she is the only exception who did not belong to NLCS or CSG either as a pupil or staff. Miss Burstall, the second headmistress of MHSG, is especially important for she belonged to all three schools. Miss Burstall first became a pupil of CSG (1871-75), continued her study in NLCS (1875-1878), became on the staff of NLCS (1882-1898) and finally became the headmistress of MHSG (1898-1924).

Another common feature shown here is that most of the headmistresses had learned in higher educational institutions of their times before becoming a member of the staff or headmistress. Miss Buss and Miss Lawford attended the lectures provided by the Home and Colonial Institute early in their careers. Miss Bryant attended lectures of Bedford College (1866-69) and Miss Day of Queen’s College (dates unknown) which are the first two women’s colleges set up before the establishment of Girton College, Cambridge in 1870.

Miss Burstall, the last generation, attended Girton College before starting her career in 1882.

The recollections of the headmistresses and staff written by old girls, who could also have become staff or a headmistress, indicate the contrasting personalities and friendship of the headmistresses.

V. Molly Hughes (1991 [1936]) recalls her days in NLCS and makes a clear contrast between Miss Buss and Mrs Bryant. While her memory under Miss Buss was noted in the chapter 'II. Under Law, 1883', the days under Mrs Bryant was titled 'IV. Under Grace'. Molly's episodes show the strict, sometime fierce, personality of Miss Buss.

Thus, oddly enough, it was in my first encounter with Miss Buss that I saw several different phases of her strange personality: her insignificance of stature and attire (*natura et arte*), her pomposity when she desired to impress, her kindly good temper, and her instantaneous and delighted recognition of any who was quite at ease with her. These points didn't strike me at the moment, of course, but on recounting the incident to a seasoned schoolfellow afterwards

I learnt that Miss Buss positively loved anyone who was not afraid of her, who would look her in the eyes and speak out. (Hughes, 1991 [1936], p.164).

Molly had entered NLCS at the age of sixteen and located in the Upper Fourth in 1883, however, she was soon transferred to the Upper Fifth Form and to the Sixth Form because she was able to do Latin. When Miss Buss questioned Molly where she had learned Latin, Molly clearly felt the 'unpleasant mode' of Miss Buss, who must have been sensitive about the academic advancement of her rival schools. Miss Buss was seen to be relieved after Molly answered that it was her mother who taught her Latin from the age of six (Hughes, 1991 [1936], pp.196-197).

Mrs Bryant was described as having a completely different personality.

More attractive to some of us was Mrs. Bryant, who was by no means a clear teacher, but had the rare quality of inspiring us to work and think things out for ourselves. With her Irish sense of humour and kindly sympathy she gave a good balance to the masterful spirit of Miss Buss. (Hughes, 1991 [1936], pp.201-202).

A similar observation of Mrs Bryant was made by Miss Burstall, recollecting her days under Miss Buss and Mrs Bryant as a pupil and member of staff at NLCS. The two women were close friends complementing each other in various ways.

They were indeed friends, a very beautiful friendship, the older women learning from the younger who had advantages she, the pioneer, lacked; what Mrs. Bryant wanted in school was done and it was right. Mrs. Bryant loved and revered Miss Buss. They went on holidays together abroad, occasionally, with Miss Buss's relatives and other friends; and, to use the modern phrase, Mrs. Bryant was second mistress. But we never called her that, nor was she what it to-day means: we knew, without a word being said, that she was meant to be Miss Buss's successor, and we on the staff had one loyalty to the two who ruled us. And so when in July 1895, Rose Day, as it came to be called, we welcomed our new Head, we knew the future of the School was safe, linked on to its past. (Burstall, 1922, p.16).

Then, Edith Mumford (the late Mrs Alfred Mumford) (1952) provides an interesting episode to see the differing characters of Mrs Bryant and Miss Bustall as staff which suggests their attitudes towards middle-class girls' education. While Miss Burstall valued the emotional display of Edith, Mrs Bryant preferred a more objective manner.

On one occasion a debate on Socialism had been arranged. Grannie [Edith] was opening in favour of Socialism, and Miss Burstall, a teacher who had specialised in history, was speaking on the other side. Grannie, with her emotional nature, waxed eloquent in her speech 'is it the fittest who survive?' she urged. 'No', she answered herself, it is the strongest, the hardest, those who care least for their fellows who survive in the struggle for existence! Grannie had studied elocution, and was accustomed to recite at concerts, and her voice could 'thrill' when she was strongly moved, and she was moved then as she pictured the condition of the 'downtrodden masses' in the industrial cities of that day. After the meeting, Miss Burstall passed Grannie in the corridor, 'I congratulate you', she said. 'Yours was a splendid paper.' Mrs. Bryant happened to pass at that moment: 'Don't congratulate her' she said, 'she ought to be ashamed of herself for having written such a paper!' Then, turning to Grannie, she pointed out that educated women were going to play an important part in the future as citizens and workers for their country, and they needed training to equip them for they 'tended to be too emotional'. Grannie was especially inclined that way, and emotion clouds judgement. A knowledge of facts was essential and

Grannie, in her speech, had not given a single fact. (Mumford, 1952, p.26) [My emphasis].

The influence among headmistresses, staff and pupils was also maintained in informal ways. Miss Izabella Drummond, the third headmistress of NLCS, commented that 'It was largely by her frequent informal talks that Mrs. Bryant was kept in touch with, and, indeed, inspired all that went on in the school' (Drummond, 1922 p.20). Edith maintained a close relationship with Mrs Bryant after leaving school, even naming one of her sons Bryant.

In these far-back memories of life at North London School, memories of Mrs. Bryant stand out more vividly than all others. Later on she meant so much to Grannie, that when her children were born she named one of her sons Bryant after her. One of Mrs. Bryant's outstanding characteristics was the respect which she instinctively showed when talking with the girls, undeveloped as their thoughts naturally were, Mrs. Bryant talked with them almost as they were mentally on an equality, consequently they were very careful in the expression of their opinion. Her attitude made them hesitate either to voice prejudices or merely echo the opinion of other people. Many a time Grannie accompanied Mrs. Bryant after school towards her home in Hampstead, and this out-of-school talk with a sympathetic and wise thinker laid a foundation on which Grannie was able to build. (Mumford, 1952, pp.27-28).

Miss Burstall recalls that she was influenced by Mrs Bryant not only when she was a pupil but also in her later life in the early 1920s. 'As a VI form girl, I learnt from her the philosophic basis of spiritual religion; and little over a year ago I brought to her problems of the Faith for her sure solution.' (Burstall, 1922, p.15).

The recollections of pupils, staff and headmistresses show that the named headmistresses, Miss Buss, Mrs Bryant and Miss Burstall, had different personalities which affected their attitudes towards the introduction of 'domestic subjects'. While Miss Buss took it for granted that NLCS girls study 'domestic subjects', her successor Mrs Bryant seemed less willing to guide girls for that direction. However, the case study on NLCS shows that Mrs Bryant also introduced 'domestic subjects' in a new form during her period.

The official and personal network of the six headmistresses in AHM and around Miss Buss and her schools suggests that they were able to share their opinions and experience of 'domestic subjects' teaching. However, as we will see in Part III, all three schools had

different trajectories of introduction. Once introduced, 'domestic subjects' instruction continuously changed over the period even under the same headmistress. In Part III, detailed case study of three schools are presented followed by the last concluding chapter examining the similarities and differences of the introduction.

Part II: The changing views and values of professional educators of girls: 'Live mathematics' or 'dead housecraft'?

Chapter 3: 'Live mathematics' or 'dead housecraft': Changing views of the Association of Head Mistresses (AHM) on the curriculum of girls' secondary schools.

3.1. Introduction.

Between the 1870s and the 1910s, the curriculum of individual girls' secondary schools reflected the educational views of headmistresses and requirements of parents and guardians. However, AHM, established in 1874, served as a platform to form a certain consensus among the members nationally, and later, across the British Empire.

This chapter first analyses how the joint decisions were reached among headmistresses on the girls' secondary curriculum, especially around the introduction of 'domestic subjects' between 1874 and 1914. The changing opinions are analysed chronologically. Then the research questions are revisited following the results of analysis. The main sources used in this chapter are AHM records from MRC. Some quotations not inserted in this chapter could be found in Appendix 5.

3.2. Views before the 1890s.

According to the Minutes of the Executive Committee (MEC) the Association's main concerns during the 1870s and the 1880s were the training of assistant mistresses, pension schemes for assistant mistresses, pupil exchange with French schools and negotiation with the University Local Examination Board. The only case related to the introduction of 'domestic subjects' was the introduction of a Needlework certificate of the London Institute of Plain Needlework to skilled girls in 1887 ('June 18th, 1887', MEC).

After the late 1880s, headmistresses were aware of the growing public attention towards technical and commercial education. As early as in 1888, 'Commercial & Technical Education' was suggested as a subject to be discussed at the Annual Conference to be held in June that year. At the same conference, a Sub-Committee on Secondary Education was appointed to draw up a scheme for general use in girls' high and middle schools. The

Sub-Committee served to consider the problem around secondary education and curriculum afterwards and considered the teaching of shorthand and the respective merits of the different systems in Cheltenham Ladies' College the next year ('March 10th, 1888'; 'October 27th, 1888'; March 30th, 1889'. MEC). In 1890 Miss Buss attended a school to see the scheme for training girls for domestic work. She also mentioned the opening of new types of women's work 'one being in the case of girls with artistic talent- illustrator for the press' or teachers for physically disabled pupils. Miss Buss also stated that in her introduction to the Dorcas Meeting, the sewing society of NLCS, in connection with her school's occasional instruction in millinery ('March 8th, 1890'; 'May 17th, 1890'. MEC). The Minutes show that individual experiences of the members were reported and shared there.

3.3. Growing interest on 'technical education' in the 1890s.

After the passage of the Technical Instruction Act (1889), AHM reacted immediately to secure the right of girls to receive grants to improve their technical and science education. The need for 'domestic subjects' instruction began to be considered. A special meeting of Executive Committee to discuss the subjects of Grants for Technical and Secondary Education was first held in November, 1890. There headmistresses agreed to take action for the use of such grants for girls ('November 22nd, 1890'. MEC. See Appendix 4).

Furthermore, several points were made for future action.

Miss Hadland pointed out that the chief things to be noted in the scheme, (of which she had made in clear and careful abstract) were;

- 1.Public opinion on what she called domestic testimonial education.
- 2.the help afforded to head-work, by hand-work.
- 3.the utilization of public grants to make domestic technical instructions an integral part of the curriculum of institution for technical education.
- 4.the importance of giving elementary scientific training.
- 5.the establishment of continuation and evening technical classes for girls.
- 6.the securing a fair proportion of grants, for girls. ('November 22nd, 1890'. MEC).

They also considered cooperating with the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education on this line ('November 22nd, 1890'; 'December 6th, 1890'; 'February 7th, 1891'. MEC. See Appendix 4).

AHM was also aware of the establishment of the new Polytechnics providing technical instructions to girls and women. In February 1891, a letter was received from the late Battersea Polytechnic asking the AHM to draft a scheme for the Women's side of the Polytechnic. However, after careful consideration, they agreed not to make any official recommendation.

A letter from Miss Cooper of Edgbaston was read asserting that she thought it inadvisable to give the imprimatur of the Association to the work of a Committee not elected by the Association or to publish any scheme of Technical Education which had not been laid before the members of the Association. Miss Hadland proposed that the scheme should be sent to the Battersea Polytechnic with the names of individual members attached, and the Secretary should be informed that it did not come from the Association as a body.

It was moved by Miss Gadesden seconded by Miss Ottely.

"That the scheme be sent out as proposed it be sent to the London Members of the Exe. who had been present at the meeting where it was discussed, for signature" ('February 7th, 1891'. MEC. See Appendix 4).

The quote shows that the headmistresses held differing views toward the introduction of technical education, and because the Association valued such differences, it was careful in expressing a public statement as one body. As we can see later in the cases in the 1910, the varieties among headmistresses and schools were continuously maintained and valued.

By being involved in the establishment of Polytechnics, the Association moved on to discuss the definition of 'technical education' by the Special Committee to draft a scheme for technical education.

Miss Buss pointed out the difficulties in the way of coming to an unanimous decision on the subject of a scheme for a Polytechnic Institute the views of members of the Association varying so widely as they appeared to do as to what subjects would properly come under the head of 'technical Institution' ('April 11th, 1891'. MEC).

However, AHM was unable to define 'technical education' clearly because of the 'various views' held by its members. After making some general recommendations it was resolved that the matter concerning technical education should be discussed in a wider arena to include wider opinion from women of all classes.

Miss Cooper suggested that the following resolution be submitted to the Conference; "That this Committee having given much time and consideration to the subject of a scheme for the Battersea and other Polytechnic (Institutes) find it impossible to reconcile the various views of the members respecting Technical Education sufficient to draft a definite scheme-; in the place of such a scheme they therefore subject to the Conference a few general recommendation on the subject of Technical Schools& Classes.

- 1.that in Technical Schools & Classes of the United Kingdom both sees be admitted on equal terms.
- 2.that in addition to the subjects usually offered, systematic instruction should be given in the domestic Arts& Sciences.
- 3.that the special need of localities be carefully considered in the scheme of instruction of all technical schools.
- 4.that it is desirable that steps be taken to train a body of teachers competent to give instruction in the Domestic Arts& Sciences.

It was resolved "that the Secondary Education Committee be asked to report on Technical Education to the Annual Conference in 1892.

A short discussion followed on the difference between general and technical education, and on the question how technical instruction can be introduced into general schools....

It was moved by Miss Cooper, seconded by Miss Gadesden and carried ...

"that the subject of Technical Education being one which deeply concerns women of all classes it seems desirable that any organisation dealing with the provision of Technical Training for women should have the widest possible scope, and should not be confined to a special class or see as is the case with the Association of Head Mistresses ('April 11th, 1891'. MEC).

In spite of their varying views, AHM worked to send a draft scheme to the Polytechnics and County Councils. 'The desirability of establishing a large central college for the training of Technical teachers was generally admitted' and Holloway College was selected as the suitable institution. It was also suggested that 'Polytechnic Institutes should be asked to lend rooms for Technical Classes to be held in the day time for students of a higher social grade, than those who usually attend the evening classes' ('May 5th, 1891'. MEC).In the December meeting, 'Miss Hadland reported that according to the instructions she had received, a

circular letter, enclosing the resolutions respecting Technical Education passed at the Conference of June 1890, had been sent to County Councils' ('December 5th, 1891'. MEC).

The discussion around 'technical education' continued in 1892. The Agenda for the Joint Conference with Association of Assistant Mistresses clearly states that 'this meeting is of opinion that if Technical Education be introduced into Girls' Schools, it should be introduced for the sake of its educational value, and in no way as a direct preparation for the after pursuit of any Art or Trade' ('April 9th, 1892'. MEC. See Appendix 4).

The interesting statement made here is the emphasis of the completely educational value of 'technical education', not the vocational value. Memorials were sent to County Councils or County Borough Councils 'praying them to make grants of money for certain specified subjects connected with the teaching of technical subjects in Girls' Schools.' However, in some cases, headmistresses did not present enough knowledge on the matters discussed around the 'technical education' of girls under County Councils ('October 22nd, 1892'. MEC. See Appendix 4).

After the establishment of the Technical Education Board (TEB), especially that of London in 1893, headmistresses became more interested in securing the representation of women experts in the Board. For example, Mrs Bryant, the second headmistress of NLCS, was also one of the female members of TEB and The London TEB covered a wide variety of fields in technical education by holding Sub-Committees, including the Domestic Economy Sub-Committee which Mrs. Bryant belonged to. The Domestic Economy Sub-Committee mainly dealt with 'domestic subjects' in girls' elementary education (Bremner, 1898; Summerfield and Evans (ed.), 1990; Roach, 1991, Chapter 10), but CSG also benefitted from the grants given as we will see in Part III.

Miss Buss pointed out that a new Technical Education Board was established for London and that as it would materially affect endowed schools for girls she thought that some effort should be made to secure the proper representation of those schools in the board ('February 11th, 1893'. MEC. See Appendix 4).

To discuss the matter in detail, the Sub-Committee of Head Mistresses of London Endowed Schools was held on February 16th, 1893. In the next Executive Committee it was reported that:

1. We observe with surprise and regret that the London County Council has declined to give any representation on the Technical Education Board to that branch of the educational profession concerned with the work of secondary schools for girls.
2. Since it is of great importance that the Technical Education Board should have the advice of women acquainted with the secondary schools in London, we express our hope that the woman, or women who are to be coopted by the Council on the Board shall be chosen on the ground of educational knowledge, and acquaintance with schools ('May 13th, 1893'. MEC).

3.4. Headmistresses' answers to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1894-1895.

When the Royal Commission on Secondary Education (RCSE) was formed to collect information on the state of secondary education, it included three female members, Dr Sophie Bryant (NLCS), Lady F. Cavendish and Mrs Henry Sidgwick, among its seventeen members, and five female Assistant Commissioners among the total of fourteen. Besides that, some headmistresses were asked to express their view towards technical education and 'domestic subjects'. Miss H. M. Jones of Notting Hill High School and Miss E. Day of MHSG were chosen to be interviewed on 2nd October 1894. The main points asked there were the registration of teachers, teacher training and acceptance of Elementary School scholars in secondary schools, while questions around the curriculum were not discussed. The answers show the information on 'domestic subjects' instructions offered at that time and its desirability in the future.

Miss Cooper answered that girls' secondary school 'have not the right teachers for our technical education yet' and 'domestic arts and crafts' were also undeveloped. In her opinion the latter mainly consisted of Needlework related to art education.

2144. (Mrs. Bryant.) Does the same remark apply to domestic arts and crafts?—That has not been developed.

2145. I should like to know whether you think that a good deal of attention ought to be paid in high schools at this side of the domestic arts and crafts, or whether you think that the subject ought to be taken up later, after the school course is complete. I do not know whether you differ from me, but I am assuming that it should be taken up somewhere?—I think a certain portion of it should be taken up in high schools

from the very beginning, and the method of how it should be taken up is at present under consideration by a Committee of the Head Mistresses' Association, so that the matter is being thrashed out and best means considered carefully.

2146. Then would you rather reserve your observations?—Yes. My private opinion is that a way may be found.

2147. (Mr. Llewellyn Smith). Can you tell me what kind of subjects you would include under the term "Domestic Arts and Crafts". I do not want you to give me a full list, but will you tell me what class of subjects?—Sewing of course is one which is not simply a handicraft, but may be linked with art teaching; and all the varieties of sewing may lead to something else. I myself in the final development of our needlework for women hope to see that the historic side of it should not be forgotten ('Interview with Miss Cooper (High School for Girls, Edgbaston)'. *RRCSE*, Vol 2, pp.177-217, 215, 217. See Appendix 4).

Miss Buss and Miss Creak also provided their answers to the question whether 'technical instructions' be given in separate schools or in 'a distinctive technical department' of the same school. Miss Buss was 'rather in favour of the separate technical school, or at least separate technical department of a school'. 'The average girls' were to receive 'ordinary literary and scientific education', but 'girls below the average intellectually' could benefit by 'manual work'. Therefore, 'manual work' should enter into 'every school course up to a certain point' ('Answers received from various persons to a Circular from the Commissioners prefixed thereto: Miss F. M. Buss (NLCS)'. *RRCSE*, Vol 5, pp.398-402, 399-400. See Appendix 4). In contrast, Miss Creak was of opinion that 'all girls to be taught needlework (including dressmaking), cooking, domestic economy, and hygiene as part of their regular school coursing, other technical subjects should be taught in technical schools—there is a waste of apparatus and of teaching power in teaching them in ordinary schools'('Answers received from various persons to a Circular from the Commissioners prefixed thereto: Miss E. E. M. Creak (King Edward's High School for Girls, Birmingham)'. *RRCSE*, Vol 5, pp.441-446, 442. See Appendix 4).

The headmistresses' answers provide information on three main points: the present state of technical education for women and secondary school girls; whether such instructions be given inside girls' secondary school; and the possible contents of the instruction. For the first point, Miss Cooper clearly answers that technical education for women 'does not the right teachers for our technical education yet' and that 'Domestic Arts and Crafts' instruction 'has not been developed'. The answers given to the second point differs among headmistresses,

but all except Mrs. Bryant seems to agree in giving some portion of instruction within girls' secondary schools. Miss Cooper notes that while 'a certain portion of it should be taken up in high schools from the very beginning', its methods and contents should be decided by headmistresses. Miss Buss is 'rather in favour of the separate technical school, or at least separate technical department of a school', however, she considered it useful for 'girls below the average intellectually'. Miss Creak also agreed to give instructions in some areas of 'domestic subjects'. The third point also differed among headmistresses. Miss Cooper named sewing linked with art, and Miss Creak added Cookery, Domestic Economy and Hygiene to it.

3.5. Responses to the Board of Education's move to include 'domestic subjects' in girls' secondary curriculum in the 1900s.

After 1896, while AHM became more concerned about including women representatives in the Central and Local Educational Authorities which were to be established by the Secondary Education Bills, resolutions carried at the Annual Conference of 1898 shows how headmistresses draw lines between secondary education and 'domestic subjects'. Here, Mrs. Bryant and Miss Day consider that 'domestic subjects' should be taught to Elementary School girls who do not proceed to secondary schools.

(i.) "That, in the opinion of this Association no solution of the Educational problem is possible until a clear differentiation is established between the functions of Secondary and Primary Schools.

(ii.) "That, as regards Primary Schools, after pupils have passed the Fifth Standard, a distinction should be made between (a) girls who are destined for handicraft and domestic work and (b) girls whose tastes and abilities mark them out for Secondary School studies with a corresponding life career.

It was moved by Mrs. Bryant (NLCS), seconded by Miss Day (MHSG):--

(iii) "That to provide for the first and larger of these two Classes, there is an urgent need of Domestic Economy and Handicraft Higher Primary Schools, with a curriculum on strictly practical lines as sketched in the accompanying scheme (*AR 1898*, p.13. See Appendix 4).

However, after the national BOE started to provide block grants and regulate girls' secondary curriculum by the *Regulations for Secondary Day Schools (RSS)*, active debates about suitable curricula for secondary school girls, especially around Science and 'domestic

subjects', were seen within AHM. *RSS 1902-03* (p7, 17) divided secondary schools into Division A (former Schools of Science) and Division B (not Public Elementary Schools), and set that grants be claimed if 'provision is made for not less than nine hours per week of Science instruction, including not more than five hours' Mathematics' (*RSS 1902-03*, p.7, 17).

AHM immediately saw this change as a serious problem because it was difficult in girls' timetables to secure the regulated amount of hours. At the Annual Conference of 1902, the President, Miss Conolley referred to the new *RSS* issued by the BOE 'regarding the time to be allotted to Science and Mathematics in Secondary Day School were then referred to, and the question was raised whether on ordinary girl such division of time would be beneficial' (*AR 1903*, p.8). After a detailed discussion, a resolution, moved by Miss Gadesden and seconded by Mrs. Woodhouse, was carried unanimously on the suggestion of minimum hours for girls (*AR 1903*, pp.11-12). At the Executive Committee meeting held a week later, a sub-committee was formed to consider the Science and Art Regulations, 1903, and then draw up a Memorandum to the Board of Education as to the Regulations for Science Grants. Miss Burstall, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, and Miss Lawford were included there (*AR 1903*, p.14). In December, the Sub-Committee reported that as a result of sending a Memorandum to BOE, the President of AHM and Miss Gadesden were invited to meet Sir William Abney and Mr. Bruce in a private interview (*AR 1903*, pp.33-34).

In November 1902, a Memorandum drawn up by the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the Science and Art Regulations, 1903 was sent to BOE. AHM opposed to the point that 'a compulsory minimum of nine hours per week to be given to Mathematics and Science as a condition of the Grant' and introduced that resolutions passed at the Annual Conference as follows.

That the Association of Head Mistresses desires to bring before the Board of Education the serious injury to girls' education in Secondary Schools which must result from requiring that 9 hours out of a maximum of 20 (the number of school hours in the majority of Girls' Day Schools) shall be devoted weekly to Science and Mathematics' as the condition of a grant, and desires the Executive Committee to draw up and forward a Memorandum on the subject to the Board of Education (*AR 1903*, pp.34-38).

The need for Science grants to girls' secondary schools were emphasised and suggestion

for an alternative requirement was placed.

The Association, therefore, hopes that the Board of Education may be able to modify its regulations for girls' schools, either by allowing a proportional grant of half or two-thirds for 4 1/2 or 6 hours weekly given to science, or by recognizing 9 lessons of 40 minutes, instead of 9 hours weekly, in science and mathematics as qualifying for grants (*AR 1903*, pp.34-38).

Then, AHM explained in detail the need for 'long morning school session' to support their alternative requirement, frequently using the words of parents. Free afternoons were needed by three reasons: claims of home, going home early and health of girls. Firstly, the high school ideal has always been 'the combination of home and school life'. Therefore, afternoons should be left for social and domestic duties and the study of music. The Memorandum specially noted the opposition from mothers to keep their daughters regularly during afternoons. Secondly, for the safety of girls, they must get home during daylight. It was explained that in some day schools girls had to commute long hours. Thirdly, free afternoons were required to secure the health of girls. 'The paramount importance to the community of physical health and vigour in those who are to be the mothers of the next generation will, in our opinion, necessitate recognition of the fact that girls should not be expected to do as much work as boys, or to spend such long hours in the schoolroom.' In conclusion, it repeated that they 'believe we are expressing the opinion of parents in strongly deprecating any change which would lead to lengthening the school day for our girls' (*AR 1903*, pp.34-38. See Appendix 4).

The following *RSS 1903-04* changed the regulation as 'provision is made that not less than nine hours per week, or one-third of the total number of hours of instruction per week, which ever shall, will be devoted to instruction in Science and in Mathematics' (*RSS 1903-04*, p.14). In July 1903, Miss Burstall drew attention to *RSS* of 1903-04 that met the alternative requirements of the Association expressed in the Memorandum on the subject of Science Grants. Therefore, it was decided not to re-appoint the Science and Art Sub-Committee (*AR 1904*, p.6).

As a consequence of the debate on the need for Science grants in girls' secondary schools, AHM decided to examine the true cost of secondary education for girls. Miss Burstall took the lead in the discussion by pointing out to the difficulties to 'secure a balance in the right side' with cheaper fees in the North of England (*AR*

1904, pp.12-13. See Appendix 4).

RSS of 1904-05 changed the requirement for a certain minimum number of hours to be given to four groups of subjects and for four consecutive years and most important, required the introduction of 'Housewifery' in girls' education for the first time.

Subjects of Course.

4. The Course should provide for instruction in the English Language and Literature, at least one Language other than English, Geography, History, Mathematics, Science and Drawing, with due provision for Manual Work and Physical Exercises, and in a girls' school, for Housewifery. Not less than 4 1/2 hour per week must be allotted to English, Geography and History; not less than 3 1/2 hours to the Language where only one is taken or less than 6 hours where two are taken; and not less than 7 1/2 hours to Science and Mathematics, of which at least 3 must be for Science. The Instruction in Science must be both theoretical and practical.

Special provision for girls' schools.

5. In a girls' school in which the total number of hours of instruction in less than 22 per week, the time given to Science and Mathematics may be reduced to one-third of that total, provided that at least 3 hours are given to Science (*RSS 1904-05*, p.18) [My emphasis].

Another Memorandum was sent from AHM to BOE responding to this *RSS 1904-05*.

Regulation 5 decrees that one-third of the total number of hours of instruction must be given to Mathematics and Science, and that not less than three hours must be given to Science.

The Head Mistresses, which emphatically to state that they consider three hours' Science teaching a week for four consecutive years excessive (*AR 1905*, pp.16-20).

To support their opposition, AHM referred to the favourable reports given by inspectors and excellent results obtained in public examinations by girls under the present time table offering less than three-hour Science lessons a week. Then, the usefulness of free afternoons was again claimed. Free afternoons were needed for girls to study and for 'accomplishments, essential to develop women's ability to enhance recreational and social side of life. Therefore AHM 'greatly regret the introduction of any scheme of education less

broad than that which they have hitherto carried out' (*AR 1905*, pp.16-20. See Appendix 4).

On the introduction of 'Housewifery', AHM clearly valued Science-based instructions and stated that 'Domestic Arts and Sciences should be deferred till the general course has been completed.'

The Head Mistresses agree with the principle that girls should be instructed in Domestic Arts and Sciences: but, inasmuch as

(a) The foundations for instruction in these are laid in the Science and Art Classes (including needlework generally taught in the Schools) and

(b) Specialisation should only be carried to a certain point. They are of opinion that in Secondary Schools for Girls of the higher type the specialised study of the Domestic Arts and Sciences should be deferred till the general school course has been completed (*AR 1905*, pp.16-20)..

RSS 1905-06 stepped in further to regulate the contents of 'Practical Housewifery'.

Subject of Course

...Such provision as the Board may require must be made for instruction of the scholars in Manual Work and Physical Exercises, and as regards girls, in Practical Housewifery with or without other Manual Work...

Minimum time to be allotted to certain subjects.

...and not less than 7 hours to Science and Mathematics, of which at least 2 must be for Science. But in girls' school which does not meet regularly in the afternoon as well as in the morning, the Board, if satisfied that adequate provision is made for instruction in each of the subjects named in paragraph 4, may relax these requirement as to hours in the case of any particular form or class (*RSS 1905-06*, p.2).

Manual instruction.

(e.) Unless special exemption is given by the Board, Manual Instruction must form part of the first and second year of the Course for each scholar, and a minimum period of 1 1/2 hours per week must be given to it. For boys, Manual Instruction must be in the use of the ordinary tools used in handicraft in wood or iron; for girls, the instruction may take the form of Cookery, Laundry Work, Dairy Work, Needlework, or

of a practical course on Housewifery including one or more of these subjects (*RSS 1905-06*, p.4).

In February 1906, the Educational Administration Sub-Committee was appointed to deal with the *RSS* of 1905-06 (*AR 1906*, p.7). At the Annual Conference in June 1906, headmistresses required three-hour Science lessons a week for four successive years, the desirability of maintaining free afternoons and omitting Housewifery from the compulsory subjects (*AR 1906*, p.8. See Appendix 4).

The next year, two Memorandums were sent to BOE: A Memorandum with reference to Afternoon School and a Memorandum on the teaching of Domestic Subjects to girls leaving school at 16. Subsequently, members of AHM were interviewed by BOE President, Mr. Morant (*AR 1907*, p.4). When discussing the introduction of compulsory afternoon schools at the Annual Conference held in June 1906, Miss Burstall strongly opposed to its introduction. She stressed that 'head mistresses of each school was the best judge of the needs of the locality' and that girls required more hours outside school than boys do.

'The ideal of the High Schools was freedom and responsibility- responsibility of the girls for her work, of the mistress for her teaching, of the head for the management. The High Schools had inherited this tradition- they must be true to the trust' (*AR 1907*, p.15. See Appendix 4).

RSS 1907-08 made revision as to allow Science to be wholly replaced by Housewifery for girls over 15.

8...;and in order to emphasize the importance of practical training for life in the case of girls, a provision has been inserted allowing Science to be wholly replaced by an approved scheme of instruction in Practical Housewifery for girls over 15 years of age (*RSS 1907-08*, p.ix).

As the BOE strengthened the regulations over the introduction of 'domestic subjects' into girls' secondary curriculum, AHM responded critically to this move. In 1907, Miss Burstall's ideal of freedom and responsibility was repeated in Mrs Bryant's comments on the paper 'The Educational Value of the Curriculum for the First and Second Years of the Four Years' Course arranged by the Board of Education' read by Miss Leahy at the meeting next year. Mrs Bryant said that it was important not only to decide the subjects to be taught but also to

decide 'the exact number of hours or quarter hours that should be allocated to each subject'. She also proposed

That this meeting desires to record its emphatic disapproval of the very definite manner in which the curriculum and time table of secondary schools are now regulated by codes as promulgated from time to time by the Board of Education. It is profoundly convinced that the destruction of the initiative of the teacher which is thus being attempted must result in much stagnation of educational thought at its principal sources (*AR 1908*, pp.23-25).

In the 'Memorandum re Domestic Training for Girls Leaving School at 16', while admitting 'the fact that it would be a great advantage to the nation at large if all girls attending Secondary Schools could receive a thorough training in the Domestic Arts on scientific lines', AHM stated that such training to be given as late as possible in the school career. However, for the case of girls leaving school at 16, which were then ones who need to earn their own living after leaving schools, it was undesirable to give them such instructions. Firstly, it was opposed from the vocational points because 'domestic work, as at present organised offers no career to the middle-class girls who has to earn her living outside her own home, although it may be work which in itself would attract her.' Secondly, it was opposed to this from the perspective of school management. 'The parents of such girls will certainly rebel if any attempt is made to force domestic subjects, when every minute it wanted for those on which their daughters' start in life depends.' As a consequence it was feared that girls 'will be driven from the schools to the Business Colleges, where full time can be given to subjects specially important.' In conclusion, three reasons were given in a milder tone.

(1) A large number of girls clerk help in their homes from their earliest days. They have, therefore, as school girls, a practical, though not a scientific, knowledge of domestic duties.

(2) The parents of the poorer girls in Secondary Schools often grudge the time now spent on cookery and needlework, subjects they consider they can teach themselves.

(3) As long as girls are expected to pass the same examinations as boys, at the same age, the compulsory addition of domestic subjects, which do not appear in the boys' curriculum nor in the examination syllabus, would be an ill-advised step and certainly prejudicial to health (*AR 1906*, pp.65-66).

The year 1908 marked a difference by the establishment of the Home Science and Economics course at the Women's Department of King's College. AHM provided one or two representatives to its Executive Committee from the beginning and the progress of the Course was fully acknowledged by the members. At the Annual Conference held in June 1908, papers on 'Home Science and Economics' were read by Miss Bramwell, Miss Burstall, Miss Gilland and Miss Leahy and active discussion followed. Miss Faithfull, 'who was instituting a Home Science Course at Cheltenham on the same lines' opened the discussion by supporting the establishment of the Home Science Course at the university level which had 'an academic basis, which basis was one of pure science' (*AR 1909*, p.7, 11-12. See Appendix 4).

Then, Miss Faithfull called attention on the need of good teachers raised by such purely academic education. She criticised the existing 'Domestic Science Course' where 'a great deal too much of what was known as "high-class" cookery'. According to her opinion, Home Science Courses would especially be 'valuable to girls who were not equal to University work and left school with no great desire to continue the study of History, Literature or Mathematics' and 'would provide a resource for their whole lives a full year's course in Domestic Science was absolutely necessary' (*AR 1909*, p.7, 11-12).

Mrs Bryant also introduced the instruction given in her school (NLCS). However she stated that she had 'made a very small experiment in this direction owing to the small room and imperfect equipment, but found that good work could nevertheless be done.' The Domestic Science Class, an alternative to the other Upper V Classes, was a class where 'girls who without much reputation for ability entered that class often because quite brilliant in the course of a term. They looked bright and happy having at last found something that could do well, and in which they could hold their own with the clever girls.' She sympathised with the institution on a university degree, but reminded that 'a great deal depend upon practice and the development, not only of a particular kind of skill, but of a particular kind of strength and habit of labour.' To conclude, Mrs. Bryant supported the introduction as a means to develop the whole personality of the girl, to give 'a backward girls self-respect, while it might give the clever girls humility' (*AR 1909*, p.12, 14).

3.6. Shaping suitable curricula for 'Non-College girls' after the 1910s.

By 1910, headmistresses had to face a major transition in the way of categorising girls by their intellectual ability and future careers. It is well expressed in the Presidential address by

Mrs. Woodhouse that they had to place 'Non-College' as the standard model in girls' secondary schools, therefore, needed a new curriculum which will fit for their future lives in home and outside homes. 'College girls', the ones who pioneering headmistresses considered as model high school girls, no longer were the central model of girls' secondary education.

...we must differentiate between the future "College girls," the pupil who will proceed either to a university, or to a professional career, and the "Non-College" girls, as I now describe her- the pupil who leaves her School to take up one of the varied lines of line that lie before her, either in the home, of outside the more defined limits of what it called "Home Life". We are bound to remember that the majority of our girls do not proceed to College, and we need carefully to consider that for them we need a differentiated curriculum, and even perhaps a different kind of teacher. The Course of Home Economics at Kings College has, as we know, given a strong lead on these lines..... Within the last half century our efforts have been concentrated on syllabuses and courses that would facilitate a college career, and this was at first essential if we were to secure the higher education of girls. But this preparatory state we may now consider accomplished in the main; and we are free to devote our attention and effort to these other claims with which we are confronted (*AR 1910*, p.23. See Appendix 4).

'Domestic subjects' had gained a certain place in girls' secondary schools by this time. However, no consensus had been made on its name and contents. Mrs. Woodhouse, President, was against the use of the term "Domestic" since it seemed to narrow the possibility of the subject.

I am aware that experiments on these lines are being made in different parts of the country under different names—experiments now made possible by the greater elasticity of the regulations of the Board of Education. I refrain from using the word "Domestic" as it has unfortunately been somewhat narrowed in its application... (*AR 1910*, p.24).

Therefore, in the Report 1909, Mrs. Woodhouse used the term 'Applied Science' to cover a wider field when discussing the matter. She looked forward to the co-operation of theoretical lessons given at school kitchen laboratories and 'practice at home' taught from mothers to realise 'a course as truly educational as the Cambridge Science Tripos'. Referring to

Edward Thring's words, she noted that as 'the whole mankind was influenced in its first ten years by the mother; such a place must therefore be found for home sciences that every girl should understand them' (*AR 1910*, pp.30-31. See Appendix 4).

The Domestic Sciences must be given an assured position, and without tests that could not be done until the day came when examinations could be dispensed with. She hoped they would see the desirability of some practical teaching, bearing directly on the work of the future mothers and their homes (*AR 1910*, pp.30-31).

Then, Miss Burstall seconded it to consider the academic side of the question, the link between 'domestic subjects' and university examinations. She was of the opinion that to alter the existing Science examination, originally planned for boys and men, therefore, 'had no direct relation to the girls' later work in life' and 'only useful to the exceptional girl', with those of Domestic Science so that Science teaching would reflect the reality of girls' lives. Biology had relation to the girls' future, but physics and chemistry as they had been taught were too abstract. They must be altered, and worked into living relation with her future life... Specialisation in girls' education was a great national question, and head mistresses should be the first to ask for the needed reforms, instead of waiting till they were forced upon them from outside. The new universities should be approached on the matter, a university degree in Domestic Science, like the men's degree in Engineering, was wanted, to add to the dignity of the whole subject (*AR 1910*, p.31. See Appendix 4).

In conclusion, AHM decided to send a Resolution to chief university examination boards and BOE and LEA to ask them to consider the needs of Domestic Science examination for girls (*AR 1910*, p.32. See Appendix 4).

To this first resolution, Miss Leahy made an interesting criticism. She pointed out that the use of the word 'of typical secondary schools' leads to a misconception because: 'Many schools had not yet organised any definite domestic science department, nor had they re-organised their Science Scheme in order to fit in such work. No resolution was proposed.' She further suggested of omitting the words 'girl candidates' considering the 'gender-equality' of the examinations.

If any alternative syllabus were given, let boys take it too. They did not wish to give too narrow an interpretation to the science household. It was as important for the future master of the house to know something about it as for the future mistress. She

proposed leaving out “for girl candidates.” They did not ask for a Course of Cookery in boys’ schools, but that the Science Teaching should apply to everyday life (*AR 1901*, p.33).

Finally, the amended resolution was carried on a show of hands in the following form:

That application be made to the chief University Examination Boards, the Board of Education, and the Local Authorities which give examinations in Science for Scholarships, to receive and consider the Science Syllabuses of typical Secondary Schools, and to set papers with a wide range of alternative questions in Applied Science in accordance with the movement to give courses in Home Economics in girls’ schools, and other efforts to relate Science Teaching to life (*AR 1910*, p.33).

In the Correspondence sent to the London University Board, it was also made clear that ‘it would be a retrograde step in “Science” Teaching’ if ‘the logical methods of practical investigation which have been in use of late year, were sacrificed’ for the sake of connecting Science and ‘Domestic Science’ (*AR 1910*, pp.99-100).

The science work must not become subservient to the domestic work, but the latter must be built on a thorough ground-work of chemistry and physics. The subject of domestic science must vary in different school according to the special needs of the girls. Should it become stereotyped, the value of the subject will be greatly reduced, as it would not be possible to adapt it to particular conditions (*AR 1910*, pp.99-100).

During this period, AHM was also at the last stage of publishing the report of girls’ secondary schools. One of the major points discussed by the Curricula Sub-Committee was ‘How best to prepare girls during the last part of their school life for their duties towards the Home’ using instructions in ‘domestic subjects’. Miss Ottely commented that because the school life had weaned children from the duty owed to the home, it was important to teach ‘domestic sciences’ in schools to remind them that ‘above all the children must be made to realise that the parents and brothers and sisters must play the first part in their life. Adding to this line, ‘Miss Walker (Road School for Girls, Greenwich) spoke on “How best to prepare girls during the last part of their school life for their duties towards the Community and the State”, showing that the main things at school is to train the character of a girl so that in after life thoroughness, industry and honest endeavour should permeate all work undertaken’ (*AR 1911*, p.32).

In 1912, 'Training in Domestic Subjects in Secondary Schools' were again discussed in detail and following resolution were moved, seconded and passed.

This Conference fully realised the importance to the Community of giving training to girls of all classes in Domestic Subjects: and desires to place on record its conviction that:

i. A consecutive and definite training in scientific method through elementary science should precede the training in domestic arts: and that illustrations in experimental science should be mainly drawn from every-day life.

Proposed by Miss Lowe. Seconded by Miss Hewett.

ii. Training in Domestic Arts should supplement and not replace the general subjects of a liberal education as given in public secondary school for girls.

Proposed by Miss Douglas. Seconded by Miss M.E.Gardner.

iii. The examination in Domestic Science (so called) by the Universities in the Junior and Preliminary Local Examinations is to be regretted insomuch as (i) Elementary Science and Arts should be inspected rather than examined, and (ii) stereotyped syllabuses are a hindrance rather than a help to the best training and its development.

Proposed by Miss Leahy. Seconded by Miss Ainslie (*AR 1912*, p.33).

When discussing the ii of the resolution, Miss Douglas proposed that '*all* girls should have training in domestic arts, and that it should be one of the subjects of a liberal education'. She chiefly thought of Housewifery and Cookery, and taking granted that Needlework, including cutting-out, taught in the large number of schools (*AR 1912*, p.39. See Appendix 4).

For resolution iii, Miss Ainslie seconded that 'what should be aimed at in the Domestic Course was the creation in the girls not so much of the scientific attitude of mind which ought to have been already obtained, but of the ethical impulse. Home Science appeared to her almost as far reaching a term as the Art of Living' (*AR 1912*, p.41).

The resolutions quoted above were seen to serve as the conclusion for the time over the past discussion in AHM on the introduction 'domestic subjects' into girls' secondary schools. Here, 'domestic subjects' instruction was considered to form a part of girls' liberal education, and was even hoped to be the 'Art of Living' for girls. In spite of these additional comments, it had been judged by the literature that resolution i and ii are the clues of the preference of

general education over 'domestic subjects'.

However, by considering the three resolutions with the view expressed in the Presidential address of Miss Burstall spoken at the same Annual Conference, a different picture could be seen. Miss Burstall referred to the disappointments shown to the book published by AHM in 1911 because it did not draw a typical curriculum for girls' education. Then, she opposed to such criticism as follows:

The monotony of a general scheme is what we must most avoid; a weal endeavour to secure little bits of everything for everybody.....I am not one who approves of much mathematics for all girls, but live mathematics, flowing from the zeal and energy of an enthusiastic head, is better than dead housecraft, imposed to satisfy the requirements of a code of regulations or the prejudices of parents. I would say to each of you, the youngest and least experienced make the school the expression, intellectually as it is morally, of your own personal initiative. Do not fear either the Local Authority or the Board of Education, though they are indeed lions in the way... This differentiation of curricula is valuable in itself, but it is especially needed in the England of the 20th century because of the great variety of character, of powers, of social types that are found in our Secondary Schools. This variety has probably always existed to some extent, owing to our racial peculiarities. We could never have endured the German system, even with its five types of Secondary Schools...As a woman teacher, I make bold to say that this consideration of each child as an individual is our contribution as women to modern educational progress. We cannot, any more than can the mother with her children, be satisfied with any herding or classification of pupils as mere units in a group, uniform and standardized like bits of a machine... (AR 1912, pp.16-19).

To Miss Burstall, what must be most valued was the variety of curriculum of each school based on the variety of individual girls and reflecting the differing localities. The tone of her expression is vivid and strong. Miss Burstall is well known as the supporter of 'domestic subjects' who valued the subject more than Mathematics, however, here she clearly values '*live mathematics, flowing from the zeal and energy of an enthusiastic head*' more than '*dead housecraft, imposed to satisfy the requirements of a code of regulations of the prejudices of parents*'. (My emphasis) In order to realise the suitable curriculum for the school, headmistresses were encouraged to choose Mathematics and drop 'domestic subjects'. Her address was also a sympathetic statement to other headmistresses trying to

realise their best curriculum under the pressure of central and local educational authorities and the demands of fee-paying parents or guardians.

The paper on 'The importance to the community of giving training to girls of all classes in Domestic Subjects' was read at the Annual Conference in June 1914 and similar conclusions were drawn again. What was newly discussed there was the need of facilities for training girls to become Institutional Housekeepers. Miss Burstall 'referred to a letter which had appeared in April in the "Queen" on the matter, signed by Matrons and Head Mistresses, calling attention to the need in England of educated women as housekeepers on a large scale in hospitals and schools'. Miss Burstall suggested that the Openings for Girls Sub-Committee should take the matter up and work for some method of training (*AR 1914*, p.39). Later in the Report, the Sub-Committee reported that it had considered the matter with the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects in February. They planned the Scheme of Training for Institutional Housekeepers and the qualifying examinations for admission to a Domestic Science Training College.

Scheme of Training for Institutional Housekeepers.

The course is supposed to extend over one year (approximately 25 hours per week for 39 weeks).

- I. Cookery, marketing, arrangement of meals, preservation of food.
- II. Laundry work.
- III. Housework, house management, use of labour-saving appliances, duties and management of servants.
- IV. Care, management, repairing of household linen and bedding.
- V. Simple upholstery.
- VI. First aid, sick nursing, hygiene.
- VII. Account keeping.

Note 1. About half of the time allowed for the full course should be devoted to Section I.

Note 2. Training on these lines would be good for girls leaving school who wish to be qualified to manage their own homes. But it is difficult for girls under 25 to obtain responsible posts as Institutional Housekeepers on account of their youth and inexperience.

On the Sub-Committee's recommendation the Executive Committee decided to attach the following note to the scheme:--

It is considered most desirable that students entering this Course of Training should furnish evidence from the Head Mistresses of their schools that they have undergone some training in scientific method through a study of Chemistry or Physics.

Head Mistresses are therefore urged to recommend their pupils who intend to enter on this Training Course to study some Science at school. Students who can furnish the evidence suggested will be at a greater advantage than others. Facilities will be offered during the Course for a study of Science, but the length and expense of the Course of Training will in that case be proportionately increased.

Further consideration of this matter will engage the attention of the Sub-Committee in the autumn (AR 1913, pp.43-45. See Appendix 4).

3.7. Establishment of Home Science and Economic Course, King's College, London in 1908.

The growing interest among AHM members towards the profession related to 'domestic subjects' could also be seen in the report of the Representatives on the King's College Board of Home Science and Economic Course. From its establishment in 1908 to 1914, one or two AHM members served as Representatives in the King's College Board and reported the progress of the course annually. The aim of the Course was presented as follows in their reports of 1908 and 1910.

These Courses are intended to provide for the higher education of women in "the principles underlying the proper management of the home and of young children, in the hygienic and business-like conduct of institutions and in the last and economic conditions affecting home role, life in larger and more highly organised households, and other spheres of civic and social work (AR 1908, pp.52-53).

Possibly the Courses would provide a new type of Science Mistress, to work side by side with the graduates of the two Universities. The aim of the Courses, however, was not in the first place intended to produce teachers, but to qualify women for many posts for which proper training had not been formerly provided (AR 1910, p.17).

Representatives also shared the interest on the careers of students graduating from the Course by listing them in detail every year.

Besides providing science teachers with methods for application of their knowledge, it is hope that these courses will fit women for important and responsible work, such as Inspectorship of Factories and Workshops, Housekeeping large institutions, and organisation of social and philanthropic work (*AR 1909*, pp.45-46).

Of last year's post-graduate students, two have been appointed Science Mistresses in school in England, one has obtained a post in South Africa as teacher of Domestic Science, and two have been engaged in confidential work for Government. Enquiries have been made by heads of English and Colonial Schools, asking what students will be available to teaching posts at the end of this session. It seems that the courses provided will prove valuable as preparation for various fields of work (*AR 1910*, p.59).

Many important posts of a varied nature are filled by Old Students. For example, one Student is occupied in rent-collecting in Walworth; another has started a Home Science School in Athens; another is Assistant to the Professor of Economics in Otago University; another is working on the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Estate I Southwark (*AR 1912*, p.61).

In 1911, Course altered its curriculum to increase the lessons in the practical field reflecting the 'increasing demand for students trained on these lines, as housekeepers in institutions and hostels'.

It has been thought that it would be more advantageous to eliminate much of the experimental work from the first and second years, and to concentrate more especially on giving a practical knowledge of the fundamental processes practiced in the household arts (*AR 1911*, p. 50).

In 1913, the University of London agreed to take over the course, which changed its name to the 'Faculty of Household and Social Science' as the first attempt to realise a university course concentrating on the organisation of households.

The University of London has agreed to take over the Department of Household and Social Science...The opening of a Household and Social Science Department of the University of London...will mark a new departure in the education of women in this

country. It is the first attempt which has been made to introduce a Science Course of university standard bearing upon matters connected with the organisation of household, the care of young children, and the general health of the home....While some members of the Executive Committee have regretted the separation of the Faculties of Arts and Science from the new Faculty of Household and Social Science (*AR 1914*, pp.60-61. See Appendix 4).

3.8. Changing views of headmistresses on the introduction of 'domestic subjects': A conclusion.

The AHM records show how discussion around 'live mathematics' and 'dead housecraft' and on the introduction of 'domestic subjects' had changed during the period to form a consensus among headmistresses of girls' secondary schools.

Firstly, the periods, the early 1890s and the early 1900s, marked major transitions in the attitudes of the AHM towards the introduction of 'domestic subjects'. From the late 1880s, headmistresses were concerned with the introduction of 'technical education' in girls' schools reflecting the growing national needs towards technical and science education. Headmistresses were eager to involve women representatives in the TEBs and County Councils to secure the grants for girls. However, at this point, they had not introduced those instructions in their schools and therefore, were sometimes not aware of the reality of 'technical education' given by the County Councils. The interviews of headmistresses for *RCSE* in 1894 and 1895 also show that most of the headmistresses had not introduced such instructions then. *ARs* note that headmistresses still saw such introduction to be linked to the elementary schools, not to secondary education. Therefore, it was not until the introduction of *RSS 1902-03* by BOE had interfered with the time-table of girls' secondary schools by introducing a block grant that the introduction became a major concern for AHM as a whole. Memorandums were sent to the educational authorities to express AHM's views towards 'domestic subjects'. After the 1910s, Sub-Committees were launched to shape suitable curricula for girls' secondary schools, especially for the 'Non-College' girls. The topic was frequently discussed in detail in the Annual Conferences.

Second, the aims of technical education and 'domestic subjects' instruction changed from the educational and moral one to the more directly vocational one. In 1892, AHM agreed that if technical education should 'be introduced into Girls' Schools, it should be introduced for the sake of its educational value, and in no way as a direct preparation for the after

pursuit of any Art or Trade' ('April 9th, 1892'. MEC). Gradually after the mid-1890s, headmistresses began to consider the introduction of 'domestic subjects' in their schools to provide a more suitable and useful education for 'Non-College' girls who were then becoming the new standard in girls' secondary schools. By the early 1910s, the consensus had been made to base the instructions in 'domestic subjects' on a scientific base, and to specialise girls into that direction after they had finished their general liberal education around the age of 14 or 15. After the 1900s, AHM were also interested in the careers of women related to 'domestic subjects'. Professions other than teaching were researched with the link to courses given in King's College, London Women's Department. However, when pursuing the commercial education for girls who leave school at the age of 16, 'domestic subjects' were seen difficult to provide.

Thirdly, while the economic, educational and social environments had changed, an unchanging policy was shared by the headmistresses: their desire for autonomy to preserve individual school curriculum reflecting the localities. From the first instances in the early 1890s when asked to define what 'technical education' meant, AHM members were careful whether to express their opinion towards the matter under the name of AHM or under that of individual members and did not force to make a definite consensus. As late as in the early 1910s, AHM still valued the freedom of headmistresses to decide the suitable curriculum for their schools which ideal was strongly expressed in the words of Miss Burstall, the then President, as the conflict between 'live mathematics' and 'dead housecraft'. Difficulties were constantly seen as AHM had to make their way through the pressure of BOE regulations which came side by side with the block grants on the curriculum. Interestingly, when protesting the BOE to secure their free afternoons, AHM supported their opposition by referring to the parent's needs. However, fee-paying parents were also described as preventing headmistresses from setting their own curricula. In other words, headmistresses' struggles can be interpreted as the fight to secure the variety of girls' secondary schools within a sound financial environment supported by external authorities and parents/guardians.

What we have seen in this chapter is an overall consensus made within AHM. What were the realities of the introduction of 'domestic subjects' within individual schools? What were the aims of the instructions given? How did headmistresses cope with the pressure from external authorities and the demands of parents/ guardians? Developments at the school level are traced next to see differences and similarities with focus on the above three points.

Part III: Case studies of the three schools.

Chapter 4: North London Collegiate School under Miss Buss (1871-1894).

4.1. Introduction.

This chapter examines the introduction of 'domestic subjects' in NLCS under its first headmistress, Miss Buss between 1871 and 1894. First the general state of the academic curriculum is noted with reference to NLCS's link with external examinations and women's colleges. Then Miss Buss's views of 'domestic subjects' instruction is examined. Third the 'domestic subjects' instruction offered will be presented in chronological order: Needlework, Domestic Economy, Cookery and 'various branches in technical education'. Finally the attitude of Miss Buss to the introduction of 'domestic subjects' is reconsidered. The sources used are mainly from NLCS Archive.

4.2. School organisation and curriculum.

NLCS maintained a well-bound intellectual curriculum during the period. According to the prospectuses of 1872, the 'Course of Study' consisted of a wide variety of subjects: Religious Instruction, English Language and Grammar, History and Literature, Geography, Arithmetic and Mathematics, French, German, Latin, Laws of Health, Drawing from models, Ornamental and Free-hand drawing, Elements of Experimental and Natural Science, &c., Class singing, Plain Needlework, Writing and Book-keeping, Calisthenics, Political and Domestic Economy. The Course of Study remained unchanged until March 1894. We can also see that while girls in the Senior department were prepared for the Examination for Women of the University of London and Cambridge Local Examinations, girls in the Junior department were taking the Cambridge Local Examinations and examinations of the College of Preceptors (Prospectus 1872, p.3).

The timetables of the Easter Term 1889 (see below) give detailed information on the hours given to each subject for the 6th, 5th and 4th Forms. The 6th Form preparing for University education received instruction from 9.30am to 1.30pm, and their average age was 17.5. The 5th Form received instruction for the same hours, and their average age was 17. However, they seem to have studied completely different subjects as the 6th Form was taught more

specifically and narrowly (Album 1).

Table 3. TIME TABLE. Hours, 9.15to 1.30. Form VI. Average Age, 17 1/2.

Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.
Geometry.	Dynamics.	Algebra.	History.	German.
Chemistry.	French	Chemistry.	Heat.	Algebra.
Calisthenics and lunch.				
Latin	English Language.	Hydrostatics.	Geometry.	French.
	German.	Latin Grammar.	Latin.	Dynamics.
		Religious Service		

Table 4.

TIME TABLE FOR EASTER TERM ONLY. Hours, 9.15 to 1.30. Form V. Average Age, 17.

Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.
Physical Geometry.	German.	Domestic Economy.	Political Economy.	Arithmetic.
Laws of Health.	Political Economy.	Arithmetic.	Latin.	English Essay.
				French.
Calisthenics and lunch.				
French.	Latin.	Botany.	Arithmetic.	German.
Scripture.	Singing.	English Composition.	Laws of Health.	
		Religious Service.		

Table 5. TIME TABLE. Hours, 9.15 to 1.30. Form Upper IV. Average Age, 15.

Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.
Science.	Dates.	Botany	History	French.
Geography.	Arithmetic	Physical Geography	French.	Literature
English Poetry.			Mental Arithmetic.	French.
Calisthenics and lunch.				
History.	Grammar.	Latin.	Arithmetic.	German.
German.	Singing.	Dictation.	Scripture.	Arithmetic.
		Religious Service.		

Table 6. TIME TABLE. Hours, 9.15 to 1.30. Form Upper III. Average Age, 12 1/2.

Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.
History.	French.	Geography.	Grammar.	Botany.
French.	Arithmetic.	History.	German.	Arithmetic.
Arithmetic.	Dictation.		Dictée.	Poetry.
Writing.				Dictation
Calisthenics and lunch.				
Object Lesson.	Reading.	Science Lesson.	French.	Physical Geography
Singing.	Drawing.	Religious Service.		Needlework.

NLCS and Miss Buss supported Miss Emily Davies's campaign to include girls and women in University Local Examinations from its start in 1863. When the first experimental Cambridge Local Examination for women was held in December 1863, NLCS girls formed a certain portion of the eighty-three candidates and the number rose steadily after girls' admission to the Cambridge Local Examination were made permanent from 1865. Following the openings of other University Local Examinations, NLCS girls sat for Oxford Local Examinations, University of London Women's Education, etc. In the first years girls' performances in Arithmetic were rather poor, but their performances soon improved as the standards of teaching and learning rose. Jacobs (2003) pointed out that girls' success in the examinations gave confidence to staff and pupils since they were achieved under the same condition with boys. Jacobs also notes that the process of professionalization of girls'

secondary school teachers also went hand in hand with the requirement of a high level of qualification proved in the form of examination results (Jacobs, 2003, Chapters 3&4).

NLCS also maintained a strong link with women's colleges in Cambridge and Oxford from the 1870s by sending old NLCS girls to Colleges and employing such girls as school mistresses later. The highest Form, the First Class or the 6th Form, prepared girls for University entrance and not only their curriculum but also their discipline and freedom were different from girls in lower Forms. NLCS also provided several Scholarships for old girls to learn in Women's Colleges or Universities as Miss Burstall, the second headmistress of MHSG, became one of the scholarship candidates to study at Girton College, Cambridge. NLCS played a leading role in this link as Howarth (1985) points out that the number of old NLCS students at colleges in Cambridge and Oxford (18 girls) was the biggest of all women students from girls' secondary schools during 1891-93 (Howarth, 1985, p.70).

4.3. Miss Buss's view of 'domestic subjects'.

From the outset of the NLCS in 1850, Miss Buss aimed for a balanced curriculum pursuing both academic goals and nurturing femininity. She is quoted in her first Prospectus as follows:

It becomes of the greatest importance that the future mothers of families should be so educated that they may be enabled to diffuse amongst their children the truth and duties of religion, and to impart to them a portion of that mass information placed by modern education within the reach of all (Prospectus, 1850 quoted in Scrimgeour, ed., 1950, p.30).

Miss Buss further described the aims of NLCS education in her first Prize Day Report given in Christmas.

The course is calculated to give a liberal and rational education in which usefulness and ornament are sought to be united, by which it may be hoped that the pupils may be prepared for the high and serious duties expected from the mothers of families, as well as to bear their part in the lighter elegancies of the drawing room (Prospectus 1850 quoted in Scrimgeour, ed., 1950, p.44).

In her mind 'liberal and rational education' given in NLCS was useful to prepare girls 'for the

high and serious duties expected from the mothers of families' and for their roles as daughters and wives 'in the lighter elegance of the drawing room'.

Miss Buss is known to have given weekly addresses to NLCS girls. Her idea of the 'serious duties expected from the mothers of families' are seen in some addresses. In 'Domestic Love and Household Duties' Miss Buss referred to the duties of middle-class daughters. 'Our duty is that which we owe to others; hence our duties to our parents, brothers, sisters, teachers, friends, servants, etc. All have capacity for these duties'. The duty of a 'good daughter' is referred to as serving the others, giving help and comfort in the household and making good use of her father's money. She even quotes from Coventry Patmore's *Angel in the House* here (Toplis, ed., 1896). In 'Useful and Useless Expenditure' a more practical address towards practices in household management is given. Miss Buss requires girls to think of a wise way to meet the income and expenditure, employing servants and purchasing daily goods by giving examples and figures. To Miss Buss such household activities also consisted of a part of all-round education for girls.

The end of all production is expenditure, as a means of attaining happiness and enjoyment; physical expenditure is for the attainment of bodily health and vigour; intellectual expenditure is for the benefit of others and for the growth of our own character (Toplis, ed., 1896, p.161).

As NLCS School History Book (1950) notes, Miss Buss aimed for 'the fullest possible development of each girl, the goal being the training of the character'. She believed that 'all subjects had their part to play; the value lay in the study and mental discipline which came from an all-round curriculum in which religion and the humanities, science, art, music, and practical subjects were in just relationship' (Scrimgeour, ed., 1950, pp.44-45).

Difficulties experienced by pioneering headmistresses obtaining both goals, academic achievements and feminine quality, were acknowledged by scholars as Delamont (1978a) described it as the 'double conformity' in middle-class girls' education. Scholars had interpreted Miss Buss's pursuit of middle-class femininity as displaying feminine outlook and manners suitable for academic girls' secondary schools via disciplines, as devoting themselves in voluntary work via school activities and vaguely as raising middle-class mothers and wives. However, when considering the fact that 'domestic subjects' other than Needlework were involved in the NLCS curriculum under Miss Buss, a different, a more practical, interpretation of the pursuit of middle-class femininity expressed in Miss Buss's

words is available.

4.4. Plain Needlework 1871-1894.

Needlework instruction was offered under the name 'Plain Needlework' in NLCS under Miss Buss. First, Plain Needlework was one of the required knowledge and skills listed in the 'Qualification for Admission'. All girls entering the school, those from ages 12 to 16, needed to show their ability to sew. M. V. Hughes's (Molly's) recollection of her entrance exam for NLCS in 1882 well describes this point.

'Now, dear, just make a buttonhole before you go.'

This was a quite unexpected blow. I confessed that I hadn't the faintest ideas how to set about it, and thought that buttonholes just 'came'. Up went Miss Begbie's hands in shocked surprise.

'What! A girl of sixteen not know how to make a buttonhole!'

'Can't I come to the school then?' I asked in dismay.

'Well, possibly dear. We shall see. But you must go home, learn to make a buttonhole, and come again this day week to make it.'...On the appointed day I appeared, was given a piece of calico, made my buttonhole, and went home. It seemed absurd to take the railway journey just for that, but it was a rule of the school that no girl should enter who couldn't make a buttonhole (Hughes, 1991 [1936], pp.154-155).

The last sentence in the above quotation proves the rigorousness of the rule for when Molly entered NLCS, she was 16 and had already sat for the Oxford Senior Local Examination of 1882. However, an academic girl like her could not escape taking the entrance examination, which she found the academic subjects 'piffling easy', including Plain Needlework to enter NLCS.

Plain Needlework was listed in 'The Course of Study' in the school prospectuses from 1867 to 1894 (Prospectus, 1867, 1871, 1872-1894).

Compulsory Plain Needlework classes were taken only by girls in the Lower School. According to the Inspector's report in 1876, the subject was taught to girls belonging to the Lower School, Class III (ages of pupils vary from 12 to 16) to Class VIII (ages of pupils vary from 7 to 9), once a week (1876 Report). The timetables of 1889 noted in the previous

section also prove this fact for one Needlework lesson is listed in Friday afternoon for Class III girls (Album 1).

The prospectuses also show that a Special Prize for Needlework was given during 1867 and 1894 constantly under the name of Mrs. David Laing or Miss Ridley among other academic subjects. In addition, they were given especially to girls in Class I from 1874 to 1876 (Prospectus, 1867, 1871, 1872-1894). However, some Needlework instruction was included in Domestic Economy classes offered to girls in Upper School as M. V. Hughes recall her days in NLCS in Upper Forth Form in 1883.

Girls in NLCS were, however, more engaged in Plain Needlework in the way of voluntary work. First, the Dorcas Society founded in the 1850 had a long tradition of encouraging NLCS girls into voluntary Plain Needlework to serve the local poor. The first volume of *OM* published in December 1875 explained the character of this society briefly. The Dorcas Society connected with the School has been successfully working during more than twenty years. It has been entirely supported by subscriptions from former and present pupils, and by small donations from friends. The Dorcas Meetings, which are held the last Wednesday of every month, are the means of forming a pleasant bond of union between pupils and teachers, besides being useful in the practice of needlework. It is earnestly hoped that all pupils will become annual subscribers, as funds are needed for the purchase of material. The Treasurer will gladly receive the annual subscription, which is half-a-crown, on the last Wednesday in January, 1876.

Articles of clothing, amounting to nearly 550 made during the past year, will be distributed among the neighbourhood clergy and among friends- The Rev. J. Back, of St. George the Martyr; the Rev. R.P. Clemenger, of St. Thomas's; the Rev. E.L. Cutts, of Holy Trinity; the Rev. H.J. Carter-Smith, of St. Andrew's; the Rev. J. Fitzgerald, of St. Stephen's; Mrs Storrar, Mrs. Laing, Mrs. Edward White, &c.

The thanks of the Society are offered to Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Sheppard, and many other friends for gifts of list, pieces, flannel, remnants, &c (*OM* December, 1875, pp.60-70).

The voluntary purpose and the pleasant bond between girls and staff are also shown in Molly's memory of the jolly Dorcas afternoons in the mid-1880s. The Dorcas activity seemed to be more of an enjoyment for a girl like her because they were relieved from the strict daily disciplines in those hours, allowed to chat with each other a little while the form

mistress read aloud some jolly books to them..

Whether Miss Buss, like my mother, had been so overdosed with it herself that she did not care to inflict it on the young, or whether she considered it a feminine and feeble pursuit, easily picked up at home, the result was a joyful enough for me. And yet, much as I hated the sight of a needle, sewing was the cause of some of my pleasantest memories of the school. Turning her back on the frivolities of embroidery, Miss Buss encouraged both plain sewing and Christianity by ordaining a Dorcas meeting once a month. To most of us it was a treat, providing a change from the usual routine.

(Hughes, 1991 [1936], pp.187-188. See Appendix 5).

Then, girls were also required to make toys and doll dresses for the Founder's Day Bazaar held every spring. According to the Prize Day Reports written by Miss Buss, the Hall or the Gymnasium were carefully decorated using flowers by girls for this purpose, and hundreds of toys, doll dresses and articles of clothing were displayed on the tables. The earnings gained from their sales, some 18 to 30 pounds, were sent through the local clergies and societies to help the unfortunate children in hospitals or workhouse schools (PDR 1870-1880, 1881-1894; HR II).

The 4th of April of the present year was our 31st Anniversary. On honour of the occasions, the girls took great trouble to decorate the Hall, which looked very pretty indeed. Miss Marshall kindly gave a Lecture on "acting, reciting & reading" in the morning, and in the afternoon a large number of the parents were present at an exhibition of toys, made by the girls at home, for the purpose of being distributed amongst the various children's hospitals ('29th June 1881', PDR, pp.15-16).

Girls in Sixth Forms, not studying Plain Needlework nor Domestic Economy, also contributed in this voluntary work.

A large amount of needlework was contributed in honour of our 36th Anniversary. The toys were more various and ingenious than in preceding years. Besides plain needlework, there was a large number of dolls. The dolls dressed as peasants by girls in the 6th Form were especially interesting. ('July 6th, 1886', PDR, pp.105-106).

The Foundation Day was celebrated on the 16th of April. The gymnasium had stalls filled with toys & useful articles, which were afterwards sent away to the various institutions for children in London...

The VI Form devoted its efforts mainly to providing outfits of clothes for poor girls, to be sent to the women's University Settlement in Southwark. The Upper VI specially made one complete outfit with several changes of each garment ('June 25th, 1891', PDR, pp.228-229. See Appendix 5).

Such results of the Dorcas activities and Founder's Day sales were noted in Prize Day Reports and Head Mistress's report to governors annually, which shows the constant interest of Miss Buss into their voluntary work (PDR; HR).

As it is shown, under Miss Buss, Plain Needlework was a knowledge and skill required to all girls in NLCS. It was taught as a part of the compulsory curriculum to girls in Lower School and Upper School. Moreover, Plain Needlework was strongly encouraged to all girls including university aspirants in the Six Form as a means to serve the neighbouring poor in various voluntary activities.

4.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1894.

Domestic Economy was another compulsory 'domestic subject' taught in NLCS from 1872 to 1894. It was included in 'The Course of Study' in the prospectuses from 1872 to 1894. The special prizes for Domestic Economy were offered under the name of Mrs Newmarch from 1872 to 1873 and the Earl of Dartmouth from 1875 to 1877. The prize was revised to be given according to the results of both Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health (Physiology) from 1879 to 1893 under the name of the Earl of Dartmouth and from 1893 to 1894 under the name of Miss Prance (Prospectus 1867, 1871, 1872-1894). The prizes were mainly given to girls in upper forms, Class I or the Sixth Form (PDR).

The Inspector's report of 1876 shows that Domestic Economy was taught to girls in the Upper School, all three divisions in Class I (ages of pupils vary from 15 to 17 and 17 to 19) and II (ages of pupils vary from 14 to 17), once a week. However, the times spent differed among both Classes. While Domestic Economy was taught to the higher classes, Class I, in a short course of six lessons in the Spring Term, the lower classes, Class II, had about twelve lessons in the course of the year. Besides, the highest class, Class preparing for the General Women's Examination of the University of London, did not receive the instruction

(1876 Report).

What kinds of instruction were given in Domestic Economy lessons could be seen from the list of questions asked in the examination papers from Easter 1874 to Easter 1886 and on Easter 1893. The examination took place at the end of Easter Term (March), and 5 to 13 questions were asked each year. The areas of study were: Cookery (Constitutions, nutrition, influence on human bodies, food combination and digestion), Cookery (Ways of cooking such as boiling, roasting, frying and how to make home-made bread), Housing (Healthy home, cleanliness, purchasing, furnishing and over-crowded dwelling), Ventilation and knowledge of air, Heating (Differences between stoves, fuel and economy, stoves and open fire), Hygiene (Sick care, disease, precaution, washing body and avoiding damp), Lighting (Advantages and disadvantages of using different apparatus and different flames of candles), Water (Water supply, different types of water and cistern), Cleaning (Dusting, scrubbing, sweeping, bed-making, giving directions to housemaids and precautions), Planning Dishes (Dinner party, dinners for 20 children, course dinner in March, Board School meal, family of 7 including 2 servants), Economy (The best is the cheapest, definition of Domestic Economy and how to live on £250 a year), Clothing (Materials, influence on health and choosing clothes), Laundry (Washing cotton and woollen), Infant care (Making food) and First Aid (Dealing with scald and sprain) (NLCSL Special Examinations. 1874-1887).

Table 7. NLCS. Contents of Domestic Economy examinations 1874-1886, 1893.

Numbers of questions and their fields of knowledge.																						
Years	Easter 1874	Easter 1875	Easter 1876	Easter 1877	March 1879	Easter 1879	March 1880	March 1881	March 1881	Easter 1882	Easter 1882	Easter 1883	Easter 1883	Easter 1884	Easter 1884	Easter 1885	Easter 1885	Easter 1886	Easter 1886	Easter 1893 Course I	Easter 1893 Course II	Total
Cookery (constitutions, nutrition, etc).	1	3	1	6	2	2		3	3	2	1		1	1	1	3	2	2	2		2	38
Cookery (ways of cooking).	2	1	1	2	1		2	1	2	2	1		3		3	1	1	1	1		2	27
Housing.	1	1					2		1	1		2	1	1				2	2	1	1	16
Ventilation and knowledge of air.	1	1	1		1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1	2					14
Heating.	1	1			1			1		1	1	1	1			1	1		2	2		13
Hygiene.		1	1	1	1	2		1	1		1	1	1			1		1				13
Lighting.								1		2	1			1	2	1	1	2		1		12
Water.	1	1					1	1		1	1		1			1	2		1			11
Cleaning.		1			1	1		1		1	1			1			1		1		1	9
Planning Dishes.					1	1					1	1		1		1					1	7
Economy.																1				1	2	4
Clothing .	1				1									1						1		4
Laundry.			1												1		1					3
Infant care (Making food).						1	1															2
First Aid .																1						1
Total	8	10	5	9	8	6	7	8	11	8	9	8	8	7	8	10	8	13	7	8	8	174

(Domestic Economy examination papers.

NLCSL Special Examinations, 1874–1887& *Examiners' Reports* 1891–1903).

As the table shows, a wide variety of questions were asked in the Examination papers. However, most of the questions were based on the theoretical knowledge of household management of the middle-classes. The most frequently asked questions were those of Cookery, based on the knowledge of food and human bodies and on the way of cooking. Questions on Housing, Ventilation, Heating, Hygiene, Lighting and Cleaning were also common. On the contrary, questions on Laundry or Infant Care were seldom asked. This may have resulted from the fact that these areas of household work were mainly done by servants or nurse maids in middle-class households. Another interesting class-based feature of the questions asked were that some questions on Economy and Planning dishes clearly indicated the life-style of middle-class families by suggesting to make a living on the income of £250 a year or including 2 servants in a family of 7.

The reports of examiners from 1875 to 1894 show how well the NLCS girls answered questions on Domestic Economy. Firstly, most of the examiners were satisfied to note that the average marks gained by the pupils were fairly good. The examiners considered this as the result of a combination of effective and careful teaching of staff and enthusiasm of the girls. However, it was often commented that the answers were vague, unclear and imperfectly answered because candidate avoided the precise points. The most fairly answered questions were those on Cleaning, Laundry, Housing, Lighting and Cookery. The most poorly answered questions were those on Ventilation, Hygiene and making home-made bread, questions which required some knowledge of Chemistry and Physiology (Examinations 1881; 1882; 1884; 1886 and 1889. See Appendix 5).

The questions on the whole were accurately answered. The least satisfactory part was the essay on Disinfectants, very few of the papers showing any real knowledge of the way in which the substances acted as Disinfectants. It is, however, fair to add that such knowledge can scarcely be acquired without a general acquaintance with the elements of Chemistry (Examinations 1881).

This paper was well done by both Forms. The Fifth obtaining a higher average than in any other subject. Question 9 (a.b) was the weak point in the most, but this is not to be wondered at as the question strictly belong to Chemistry (1886 and 1889).

Then the examiners also commonly note how important the knowledge of Domestic Economy was to girls. Some examiners required higher marks in the subject because they considered it to be more suitable area of study for girls.

The Domestic Economy was very fair, but in a study so specially suited for girls, a higher standard is expected than in the other subjects. The question on ventilation & making home-made bread did not call forth very satisfactory answers (Examinations 1881).

I enclose the results of the Domestic Economy papers- the average is very good (57 percent), but on the whole I am not quite so pleased with this result as with that of the Physiology. Partly, I may have been spoiled by the other paper, & partly, I may have expected more from such a peculiarly girls' subject (Examinations 1882).

Thirdly, the examiners emphasised the usefulness of Domestic Economy for girls by stating that the scientific and theoretical knowledge of the subject 'cannot fail to be of real practical use to the pupils' (Examinations 1883). Girls gained well knowledge of household management such as ventilation, water supply, disposition of income, preparation of foods which they had answered fairly well reflecting the interests of girls (*Examiners' Reports*, 1891, 1892, 1893 and 1894. See Appendix 5).

Some useful lessons had been given on the management of a household, the distribution of an income, the preparation of particular kind of food, &c. I need hardly say that these lessons had proved very popular, and my paper was answered with a zest that did equal credit to the skill of the teacher and the enthusiasm of the class. The children all wrote with an assurance of knowledge that seemed based on years of experience. As a rule they showed very good sense (*Examiners' Reports*, 1892).

However, the practical usefulness of the instructions in reality needs to be questioned because Molly held a rather negative view on the usefulness of Domestic Economy lessons received in the early 1880s. Molly presented a good knowledge of Cookery but her mother was only pleased with unfamiliar key words and notions used. Molly herself admitted that 'the lessons were entirely theoretical, as there was neither kitchen nor laundry in at our disposal' but at the same time she had 'darkly suspected that our teachers had never entered such places'. Molly's suspicion grew stronger when one day her mother made such a good rice pudding without any knowledge of theoretically planned recipe and pleased the visitor.

The curious part about this recipe was the complete satisfaction shown by the visitor, who nodded her head at each item of information, for mother took care to emphasize the really important point. Nothing whatever remained to me of those recipes at school, nor of the elaborate menus for a family of seven, and I never had any idea whether my sons were consuming nitrogen or carbon or what (Hughes, 1991 [1936], pp.186-187. See Appendix 5).

In conclusion, Domestic Economy instruction given in NLCS during this period shows that the subject constituted a part of the compulsory curriculum for older girls in the school. Like other academic subjects, Domestic Economy was taught in theoretical and scientific manners to improve girls' knowledge and skill in middle-class household management. The subject was examined by examiners and higher marks were required.

The fact that Domestic Economy employed a certain method of 'grading' and 'examination' is significant when considering its place in the academic curriculum. Kliebard (1996) examined the shift of teaching in late 19th century USA from recitation from ununiformed textbooks to ensemble teaching based on a certain curriculum planned by external professional intellectuals. Kliebard concluded that 'grading (classification of students) implied anticipated levels of achievement for each grade or form; anticipated levels of achievement implied examinations to determine the appropriate grade and appropriate progress; and, all together, this implied a curriculum above and beyond what amounted to a place marker in a textbook' (Kliebard, 1996, pp.130-132). Domestic Economy in NLCS clearly developed to fulfil this line and later 'domestic subjects' courses also follows by securing a certain position in the changing girls' secondary curriculum.

4.6. Cookery 1876-1882.

A special fee-paying Cookery course was run during 1876 to 1882 at NLCS under Miss Buss. It is not clear from the existing school archival materials why Miss Buss had decided to establish a Cookery course at this point. However, a demonstrative Cookery course was popular in the mid-1870s among London middle-class ladies and Miss Buss's idea might be considered as a quick response to this trend. Bremner (1897, pp.188-189) points out in her book that the National School of cookery was doing a great and needed work to train a good cook since its establishment in 1873. The school was an outcome of a series of lectures delivered by Mr. J. C. Buckmaster, of the Science and Art Department, at the International Exhibition of 1872. Bremner notes that 250,000 persons attended these lectures, illustrated by four women cooks, and that this fact showed the need for methodical and scientific instruction in Cookery. Therefore, the School was established the following year, 1873, at South Kensington. The school facility consisted of 'an excellent series of kitchens for giving lessons to children from elementary schools; cooks studying artisan, middle-class, and high-class cooking; rooms for laundry work, dress-making, and millinery.' Large number of ladies attended the classes, especially ladies on the eve of their marriage. When the London season opened, girls came for parts of the course that attracted them, and cooks also worked up certain departments. The feature of the School was that its diploma proved that the person was qualified to teach cookery, and as a result of the efforts of the School, large numbers of town succeeded in establishing similar schools holding such diplomas.

At the governors' meeting held in October 1885, Miss Buss suggested setting up a Cookery

course at NLCS by sending one of the staff to the National Training School of Cookery to be trained as a certificated teacher. She also had a quite detailed plan how to utilise the existing school facilities and what kind of instructions to offer.

I have been carrying on a correspondence with the secretary of the National School of Cookery, in order to ascertain the best means of getting a class formed in connection with our school. It seems best to send some one to the school to be trained, after which she might get a certificate and come back here to teach.

I think we might utilise our kitchen on Saturday, and I am glad to say that many of the girls are very desirous of going through a course. We could arrange for a small number at a time to attend a course. So that if once established we might have different classes on Saturday Mornings each term. The class would be self supporting but at first starting it is probable we should require a few saucepans be ('October 18th, 1875'. HR).

In December 1875, Miss Buss reports that the staff, Miss Mary Smith is about to obtain a certificate from the National Cookery School at South Kensington by the end of next term. Then, Miss Buss explains what her planned cookery course will look like. She seemed to have a clear idea of the size and hours of the class, class fees, teacher's salary, and the need of taking a certificate exam at the end of the course.

I beg to propose that the experiment of starting the course of lessons on Cookery be trained on some such terms as the following:-

1. That the Class consist of 20 pupils;
2. The fee to be £1.10.0 for each pupil, for the course of 12 lessons of 2 hours on Saturday Morning, and some (say 4) afternoon's- Morning, practice in the more difficult examples, if needful
3. The average cost of material each day to be 13s/- (including that provided for the pupils' practice) per term £8.0.0.
4. The teacher's salary to be 25s/- per day or £15 per term.

Balance sheet per Term.

Expenditure		Income	
Teacher's salary	15.0.0	Pupils' Fees	30.0.0
Materials for Cooking	8.0.0		
Balance in hand	7.0.0		
	30.0.0		30.0.0

There would thus be a balance of £7.0.0 per Term, to pay off by instalment, the debt incurred at first in purchase of machinery, and a margin left besides for losses occurring in other ways. E.g. falling off of pupils in class, new machinery being required, &c &c. ('December 6th, 1875'. HR).

Another point clear in Miss Buss's suggestion is that she was quite careful how to make the ends meet. She had calculated the estimated expenditure and income carefully as the above quote shows.

The syllabus of the Cookery course shows what kinds of instruction were given.

Figure 1. NLCS. Class for Cookery 1876.

E1

North London Collegiate School for Girls,
202, CAMDEN ROAD.

CLASS FOR COOKERY.

It is proposed to open a Class for teaching cooking, in January next. 1876
The course will consist of twelve lessons, to be given on Saturday mornings, at
Ten o'clock.

Each lesson will be of two hours' duration.

Syllabus of 12 Lessons, with practical demonstrations of as many examples as time will allow.

FEE FOR THE COURSE £1 10s.

LESSON I.—FISH (fried and boiled).—Filleted soles—sole au gratin—boiled cod and oyster sauce—
lobster cutlets—turbot—haddock—whiting, etc.

„ II.—PASTRY.—Puff paste—tarts—tartlets—patties—cheese straws—Genoese pastry.

„ III.—STEWING.—Rump steak.
GRILLING.—Steaks and chops.
BRAISING.—Breast of veal.
How to make use of scraps of cold meat, etc.—hashes—haricot—shepherd's pie, etc.

„ IV.—OMELETTES.—Savoury and sweet.
SOUFFLÉES.—Baked cheese—lemon—steamed vanilla—omelette.

„ V.—ROASTING.—Joints of meat—puddings usually cooked with meat—how to truss a fowl.
BAKING „
BOILING.—Meat—how to truss a fowl.

„ VI.—JELLIES.—Calf's foot—aspic or savoury.
CREAMS.—Vanilla—Charlotte russe.

„ VII.—SOUPS (How to make stock).—Vegetable soup—purée—tapioca cream—clear soup.

„ VIII.—PASTRY.—Short paste for tarts—suet paste for puddings.
CAKES.—Plum—pound—rock—rice.

„ IX.—ENTRÉES.—Mutton cutlets—curry—rissoles of meat—mince meat—veal grenadines—
quenelles of veal.

„ X.—PUDDINGS.—Lemon—cabinet—brown bread—custard—apple Charlotte—plum—rice—macaroni.

„ XI.—VEGETABLES.—Potatoes, boiled and fried.
„ Croquettes.
Cauliflower au gratin—Brussels' sprouts—spinach—turnips—carrots—greens—artichokes.

„ XII.—SICK ROOM COOKERY.—Beef tea—mutton broth—gruel—arrowroot—corn flour—barley water—
chicken broth—apple water—lemonade.
The process of bread making will also be shown.

Only twenty pupils can be received each term.

The class for the first term of 1876 will be formed upon the entry of twenty
names.

The course consisted of twelve two-hour lessons taught on Saturday morning for the fee of £1 10s. per term. 20 pupils were expected to form a class. The lessons were to be as demonstrative as possible. As the menus on the Syllabus indicate, the class was intended for middle-class girls ('Class for Cookery' circulated before January 1876). A similar type of syllabus remains for the year 1876, 1878 and 1879.

Miss Buss happily reported to the governors in February 1876 that the first Cookery course was a big success attracting not only pupils but parents as well. Since there were more applications than had been expected, Miss Buss had divided the course into two classes, one to be run in Saturday mornings and the other in Saturday afternoons. She had also suggested of setting up a course for mothers, but it is not clear whether this course for mothers came into being. (I could find no confirmatory evidence).

I am glad to be able to report the success, so far, of the class for Cookery. In accordance with the plan sanctioned at the last meeting two classes have been formed- one which meets on Saturday morning at 10- and the other on Saturday afternoon at 2. The member in attendance is 42.

Great interest is felt in the course- several parents have expressed their approach- and several mothers even have requested permission to join.

This of course has not been done, but I venture to ask whether the Board would sanction- should circumstances seem to justify it- the room being lent to Miss Mary Smith for the purpose of conducting a class for a few of the mothers, a lady friend on their own responsibility- she, of course paying all expense of gas, cleaning & attendance upon the class ('February 14th, 1876'. HR).

In May 1876, Miss Buss reported that an examination was conducted under the guidance of the National School of Cookery on the 10th of April and 'thirty-two candidates from the Cookery Class were entered for the Examination, of whom thirty-one obtained certificates- 14 1st grade, 13 2nd grade, & 4 3rd grade.' Miss Buss concluded that this was 'Really highly satisfactory'. Interestingly, she also praised that 'brain culture will produce good results even in Cookery'. In the latter part of the report in the section of the 'General remarks of the history of the work done within the last years', Miss Buss noted that 'The chief novelties have been the opening of the cookery Class, which so far has been a very successful experiment' ('May 29th, 1876'. HR).

However, the size of the Cookery classes kept dropping from the next year. It was reported

in 1877 that 'A Cookery class was formed last term, at which there were present twenty-two girls. Of this number thirteen presented themselves for the South Kensington Examination, and all obtained the certificate, four in the first grade & nine in the second' ('July 4th, 1877'. HR). The number of girls attending the Cookery course kept declining since 1877. Miss Buss considered this drop to be caused by the competition with the nearby schools and suggested to reduce the course fee to attract more girls.

Since our class for Cooking was established many other Cooking Classes have been opened, and it has occurred to me that our fee is now so high as to be almost prohibitory. I recommend therefore that the fee be diminished from 30/- to 21s/- for the course of 12 lessons. We have paid for all the starting expenses, stove, crockery, pans &c. The cost of each lesson now only includes the fee of the teacher, and a trifle for service & for gas.

I think it possible that if the fee were lowered the class would be larger ('February 11th, 1878'. HR).

The syllabus for the year 1879 shows that the course fee was changed from £1 10s. to 1 guinea (£1 1s.) a term ('Class for Cookery' circulated before January 1879). Though, the drop in number seems to have continued. In the report for July 1879, Miss Buss only notes that 'A small Cooking class was at work last term' and the number of candidates taking the exam was nine (July 9th, 1879'. HR). In October, she reported that 'Eight candidates from our Cookery class entered themselves for an examination in connection with the South Kensington School of Cookery- but I am not able to state the results, because some of the Examination papers were lost in the transit' ('October 13th, 1879'. HR).

The Cookery course offered in NLCS seemed to have been reorganised from January 1881. There was no report on the Cookery class for the year 1880 and 1881, and a new printed syllabus appeared in December 1882 with a new teacher's name, Miss Tegetmeier, on. The course consisted of eleven lessons and the articles cooked in each lesson were able to be purchased by pupils. The course fee was the same, £1 1s. but pupils were allowed to pay and attend a lesson for 2/6 this time ('Class for Cookery' circulated before January 1882). Again Miss Buss must have been aware of making the ends meet as the changes were made in the payment of fees and pupils were allowed to purchase the foodstuff, which should have covered the expense of purchasing materials. The examining body also changed from the National School to the Society of Arts from 1881 (NLCSG External Examinations), though, the reason for this change is unexplained.

Figure 2. NLCS. Class for Cookery 1882.

North London Collegiate School for Girls,
202, CAMDEN ROAD.

CLASS FOR COOKERY.

MISS TEGETMEIER.

Fee for the Course, £1 1s. Single Tickets, 2/6.

TO BEGIN FRIDAY, JANUARY 20th, 1882, AT 2.30 P.M.

Each Lesson will last about Two Hours.

LESSON I.—MILK.—Its constituents—Its great value as food—The various foods made from it. *Recipes* :—
Jan. 20th. Thick milk—blancmange—junket—cornflour pudding—custard pudding.

LESSON II.—MEAT.—Its composition—Different kinds—beef, mutton, veal, lamb, pork, poultry—How to choose
Jan. 27th. butchers' meat—Rules for roasting, boiling, &c. *Recipes* :—Fowl, trussed and boiled—egg
sauce—meat baked in batter—stewed kidneys.

LESSON III.—FISH.—Its value as food—To recognise fresh fish—The difference between white and oily fish—
Feb. 3rd. General rules for cooking *Recipes* :—Boiled fish—oyster sauce—lobster cutlets—salmon pie.

LESSON IV.—SOUP.—Remarks on kitchen fires—On boiling and reducing—The meat and vegetables best
Feb. 10th. adapted for soup—Mode of preparation. *Recipes* :—How to make stock—leg of beef soup—
tapioca cream—colouring for soup.

LESSON V.—FLOUR.—Its constituents—Different kinds—Why so valuable. *Recipes* :—Bread—unfermented
Feb. 24th. bread—seed cake—rock cakes—Madeira cake.

LESSON VI.—VEGETABLES.—The necessity of eating fresh vegetables—How to prepare the different kinds
March 3rd. before cooking—To preserve the colour of green vegetables. *Recipes* :—Potatoes, boiled and
baked—potato croquettes—haricot beans, with sauce—Spanish onion—mashed turnips.

LESSON VII.—PASTRY.—Different ways of mixing it—Short, flaky and suet paste. *Recipes* :—Puff paste, for
March 10th. patties—short crust, for fruit tart—Genoese pastry—cheaper pastry, for ordinary use.

LESSON VIII.—SICK ROOM COOKERY.—A few important rules for the management of the sick room—The
March 17th. value of good fresh food to invalids. *Recipes* :—Beef tea—meat paste—savory custard—
lemon syrup—barley water.

LESSON IX.—PUDDINGS.—General directions for boiled puddings. *Recipes* :—Plain plum pudding—wine
March 24th. sauce—almond puddings—sweet sauce—chocolate blancmange.

LESSON X.—ENTRÉES.—Rules for cleaning kitchen utensils. *Recipes* :—Croquettes of chicken—kidneys à la
March 31st. reine—curried veal.

LESSON XI.—JELLIES AND CREAMS.—The properties of gelatine—How to clarify jelly stock. *Recipes* :—
April 7th. Wine jelly—Charlotte Russe—custard cream—trifle.

The articles cooked at each Lesson can be purchased at cost price.

Upon describing the Cookery course restarting from 1881, Miss Buss simply reports that a Cookery course was in operation and 5 candidates each sat for the examinations of the Society of Arts in May 1881 and in May 1882. In June 1883 Miss Buss also notes that 'In the winter term, there was a class for Cookery, as usual but the numbers in attendance were very small' ('July 12th, 1882', 'October 2nd, 1882', 'June 11th, 1883'. HR).

The numbers of the candidates who sat for the external Cookery examinations from 1876 to 1882 and their marks are listed below. The figures show that though the course was quite popular in the first two years, it became less and less popular.

Table 8. NLCS. Numbers of Cookery class students 1876-1882.

Years.	Numbers in class.	Numbers of pupils taking examinations & results.		Examining bodies.
1876	42	32	31 passed (1 st grade 14; 2 nd grade 13; 3 rd grade 4)	National Training School of Cookery, South Kensington
	(2classes)		1 failed	
1877	22	13	13 passed (1 st grade 4; 2 nd grade 9)	
1878		9	8 passed (1 st grade 1; 2 nd grade 5; 3 rd grade 2)	
			1 failed	
1879		7	6 passed (1 st grade 2; 2 nd grade 4)	
			1 failed	
1880	-		-	
1881		5	4 passed. 1 failed	Royal Society of Arts
1882		5	5 passed	
(NLCSG External Examinations).				

After 1883, there were no reports on the Cookery course by Miss Buss until a new series of 'technical classes' started in the Easter Term 1885. There were constant advertisement for the Cookery class during 1881 and 1885, but we cannot see whether they were actually run.

Class for Cookery.

A Class for Cookery will be formed upon the entry of twenty names.

The course will be given on Friday Afternoons, next Term.

Each lesson will be of two hours' duration.

Fee for the Course, One Guinea. (The printed advertisements appeared in December 1881, December 1882, December 1883 and in December 1885. Album1).

4.7. 'Various branches of technical education' 1885.

Courses in Scientific Dress-Cutting & Dress-Making, Art Needlework and Cookery were established after Easter Term 1885 as parts of the 'various branches of technical education' ('July 6th 1886', PDR).

The first set of classes offered were those of Book-Keeping, Scientific Dress-cutting and Dress-making, Wood-Carving and Art Needlework. The classes were not restricted to present or former pupils of NLCS, although all students must be above 16 years of age to be admitted. Since the classes formed a separate school operating under Miss Buss, Superintendent, and Miss Braham, Head Mistress, they were listed in a separate pamphlet as special fee-paying courses and did not appear on the ordinary prospectuses. The details are listed below:

Table 9. NLCS. 'Various branches of technical education' January 1885.

The Classes for Book-Keeping, and for Scientific Dress-Cutting and Dress-Making, will re-commence as follows:-

		Fees per Term
Dress-Cutting and Dress-Making	Tuesday and Friday Afternoons, 2.30 to 4.30; commencing January 30 th .	Dress-Cutting...£1 10 0 Dress-Cutting and Making ...£2 0 0
Book-Keeping	Thursday Afternoon, 3.30 to 4.30; commencing Jan. 29 th£0 10 6

Classes for Wood-Carving, and for Art Needlework, taught by Teachers from South Kensington, will also be opened, if six names are entered. Names may be entered

as soon as possible; not later than January 22nd.

		Fees per Term.
Wood-Carving	Monday Afternoon, 2.30 to 4.30; commencing Feb. 2 nd£1 10 0 The cost of tools and materials for each pupil will be from £0 10 0 to £0 15 0
Art Needlework	Thursday Afternoon, 2.30 to 4.30; commencing Jan, 29 th£1 10 0

(‘North London Collegiate School for Girls. Classes in connection with the Above School.’, Album 1. Circulated before January 1885).

The pamphlet advertising a similar set of classes was circulated again before September 1885. This time the whole set of classes offered were: Classes for Cambridge Higher local Examination, Civil Service Examination, Scientific Dress-Cutting and Dress-making, Art Needlework, Book-keeping, Wood-carving, Dancing, Cookery, Modelling in Clay, Wax, or Terra Cotta and Botany. The classes were run under Miss Buss and Miss Braham gain, though, they made change in the attendance requirement so that attendance were not restricted to present or former pupils of the school, or to any age. The details of the courses are listed below:

Table 10. NLCS. 'Various branches of technical education' January 1885.

The Classes for Scientific Dress-Cutting and Dress -Making, Art Needlework, Book-Keeping and Wood-Carving will re-commence as follows:-

		Fees per Term.
Dress-Cutting and Dress- Making	Monday and Thursday Afternoons, 2.30 to 4.30, commencing Sept. 24 th .	Dress-Cutting...£1 10 0 Dress-Cutting and Making, 1 st term... £2 0 0 2 nd & foll. terms...£1 0 0
Art Needlework	Friday Afternoons, 2.30 to 4.30, commencing Sept. 25 th1 st term £1 10 0 2 nd & foll. Terms... £1 5 0
Book- Keeping (with special reference to banking and general accounts)	Tuesday Afternoons, 3.30 to 4.30, commencing Sept. 22 nd .	£0 10 6
Wood-Carving	Tuesday Afternoons, 2.30 to 4.30, commencing Sept. 22 nd .	1 st term... £1 10 0 2 ^{ns} & foll. terms £1 5 0 The cost of tools and materials for each pupils will be from £0 10 0 to £0 15 0

Classes for Dancing, Cookery, Botany, and Modelling will also be opened if sufficient names are entered. Names may be entered at once.

		Fees per Term.
Dancing	Friday Afternoons, 2.30 to 4.30, Commencing Sept. 25 th .	£1 10 0
Cookery (elementary and advanced)	Wednesday Afternoons, 2.30 to 4.30, commencing Sept. 23 rd .	£1 1 0
Modelling in Clay, Wax, or Terra Cotta	Thursday Afternoon, from 2.30 to 4.30, commencing Sept. 24 th .	£1 10 0
Botany (to prepare for South Kensington Examination)	Tuesday Afternoons, 2.30 to 4.30, commencing Sept. 22 nd .	£1 10 0

(‘North London Collegiate School for Girls. Classes in connection with the Above School.’, Album 1. Circulated before September 1885).

We can see that all three classes in the area of ‘domestic subjects’, Dressmaking, Art Needlework and Cookery, were conducted as a two-hour afternoon lesson once a week by the fee of £1 to £1.0.0 per term.

Miss Buss explained the purpose of establishing this in her Prize Day Report as:

On the question of employment for women is daily becoming of more importance, we have lately tentatively opened a few classes for girls who,- having completed their school period,- have a certain amount of leisure on their hands, and need special training to enable them to get employment (‘July 6th 1886’. PDR).

According to her judgement, the Civil Service Course was ‘doing well’, and ‘The Dressmaking class taught on scientific principles is very popular’. The total number of girls and ladies attending these classes during the year was 139.

There is little evidence of how long such courses lasted or who had actually attended such ‘domestic subjects’ courses. However, some classes continued to the 1890s. Miss Buss reported to the governors in April 1885 that pupils attending the Scientific Dress-Cutting and Dress- Making had donated dresses they had made for the Founder’s Day Bazaar that year (‘April 27th, 1885’ HR). In June 1889 and In February 1890, Miss Buss reported that there was a Cookery Class at work that term (January to March 1890). It was also reported in February 1890 that a few lessons in millinery were offered to the members of Dorcas Society, which turned out to be ‘very popular’ (‘June 7th, 1890’, ‘February 10th, 1890’. HR). In 1892 and in July 1893, Miss Buss reported in the ‘List of Honour & Prizes Gained during the Year ending May, 1892’ that an old NLCS girl had gained diplomas from the National Training School for Cookery (‘July 4th, 1893’. PDR).

The interesting point about these classes is that under the name ‘technical’, it tried to serve the enlarging growing female employment market. In this sense, the term ‘technical’ may be translated as ‘vocational’. Then, when we look at the components of these ‘technical’ courses, we could find that they varied much, containing preparation for university examination and civil service examination, scientific dressmaking and cookery, artistic needlework, wood-carving and clay modelling and commercial book-keeping.

The case of NLCS clearly shows that different forms of 'domestic subjects' instruction besides Needlework were already given under Miss Buss between 1871 and 1894. First Needlework and Domestic Economy was taught as compulsory classroom subjects. Plain Needlework was compulsory to young NLCS girls as lessons and it was also valued as a voluntary activity involving all girls. Domestic Economy was compulsory to all NLCS girls in the Upper Forms except those in the Sixth Form, which was the University course. Instruction was given in scientific and practical manners involving a variety of fields in middle-class household management, and girls were tested and examined annually as other academic subjects. Second, special fee-paying lessons provided instruction in demonstrative Cookery lessons and classes in 'various branches of technical education' of which Scientific Dress-Cutting & Dressmaking, Art Needlework and Cookery were important. These special classes were intended for Upper Form girls and women outside NLCS. External examinations and certificate qualifications were also used to measure the achievements of girls attending the earlier Cookery lessons, but lessons were not directly related to female employment at this period. After the mid-1880s, classes were linked with female employment.

4.8. Staff and pupils.

According to the lack of sources, there are only small biographical information on the 'domestic subjects' staff during this period. Needlework seemed to have been taught by NLCS mistresses, but 'various branches of technical education' was taught by visiting mistresses supervised by outside ladies. In the case of Cookery, the first Cookery Mistress seemed to have been the member of NLCS who were sent to the National Training School of Cookery by Miss Buss to be trained as Cookery mistress.

One example of the pupils who commented on 'domestic subjects' under Miss Buss was Edith E. R. Mumford. Edith's case shows how a girl with an academic talent accepted 'domestic subjects' in her later life. She was born in 1869 as a second daughter of a Doctor in Essex. The family soon moved to northern London, the neighbourhood of NLCS and CSG. After being taught by her mother with the brothers, Edith went to small private schools in the neighbourhood, "Dame School' near her home, went to a boy's private school in King Henry's Road', within the walking distance. In 1880 at the age of 12, she changed to NLCS in Sandall Road, about half-an-hour walk from home. Later her four sisters also went to NLCS. When the time came when girls were about to leave school, girls and parents were

required to meet Miss Buss to discuss the future of girls. Her recollections show that Miss Buss had a certain influence over girls and parents over girls' future even as housewives.

'What is your daughter going to *do* in her future, now that she is leaving? She [Miss Buss] would enquire, and there were few parents who were not sufficiently impressed by the arguments adduced by Miss Buss in favour of the girl earning her own living that they dared go against her considered judgment. Even the plea, occasionally put forward by the parents, that after so many years at school, it would be 'nice' to have the girl at home for a while before continuing with further education, was not allowed to pass. If the girls married, Miss Buss maintained, they would be better housewives as the result of a good education, and more capable helpmeets for their husbands. If they did not marry, then it was even more essential that they should be trained to take a position in the outside world which would widen their interests.

'A slack year at home would, she knew well, be far too likely to lead to a postponement altogether of their further necessary training. Until training had been completed there must be no break in the girls' education, Miss Buss insisted. Not only girls, but parents also were being 'educated', as you can see- directly or indirectly- at Miss Buss's School (Mumford, 1952, pp.13-14).

Edith did well in her study at NLCS and went to Girton College, Cambridge from 1888 to 1892. She chose Mathematics as her subject of study and became the 25th Wrangler at the end. After graduation, she obtained a paid post as a clerk on the Royal Labour Commission from 1892 to 1894. Edith aimed for a post as a lecturer at Cambridge, but was rejected because she was too young and feminine to teach young male scholars. Therefore, she got married to a doctor from Manchester in April 1895 and started her new life there. Her autobiography tells how she felt the task in household management interesting, however, was poor in doing so. During her days as pupil and student, it was her mother who managed her family household. Edith certainly was taught Domestic Economy in NLCS, but she states that the lessons were not useful in the actual household. Therefore, after marriage she had to gain help from housekeepers for the household management. When the housekeeper left, Edith had to learn to manage the maids.

When Grannie married, her ignorance of what constituted the running of a home might well have been described as abysmal! Her mother had fed her, clothed her- even darned her stockings for her- leaving her free to live the fullest intellectual life

possible. They had maids who lived with them as friends. They, together with her mother, had done all that was needed in the house. At school Grannie once earned a special prize for Domestic Economy, but she had no practical knowledge whatever, as far as the management of a house was concerned....At the beginning of her married life she had a capable housekeeper who gladly did all that needed to be done, even treating Grannie on all occasions as if she- Grannie- were the Mistress, instead of (what she really was) a permanent, though very welcome guest! Unfortunately this housekeeper was obliged to go further North to take care of a brother two years after Grannie's marriage, and Grannie had to start getting and managing maids.(Mumford, 1952, pp.70-71. See Appendix 5).

Some years after 'she had three children under four years', with the help of the nurse, Edith attended lectures in Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery in Manchester to improve her skills. Edith seemed to find Cookery an interesting 'creative' work and eventually found household management being an interesting task requiring 'mathematical' ideas.

she now attended course of Extension Lecturers on cooking, dressmaking and even millinery. Soon after her first housekeeper had left, she had engaged a housemaid and a young maid in the kitchen who worked conscientiously under Grannie's directions- glad to learn under Grannie who had by this time acquired sufficient household knowledge. So, for some while, Grannie, with the help of the little maid, took on herself the responsibility of cooking for the whole family- doing the planning, the preparing and the dishing up of food, and directing the maid in connection with the details of the work. Cooking gave Grannie many a thrill. To her it was creative work...

In cooking, as in individuals and social development, the 'whole' was seen to be greater than the sum of the 'parts'. The intricacies of cutting out a pattern of a dress which would fit exactly, though only a few measurements had been taken and dealt with according to a certain mathematical computation fascinated Grannie in somewhat the same way. And it was the same with the other things which were done in the house. (Mumford, 1952, pp.75-76. See Appendix 5).

4.9. Headmistress's approach to 'domestic subjects': A conclusion.

As the school archival materials of NLCS clearly demonstrate, NLCS gave various instructions in 'domestic economy' other than Needlework from the days of Miss Buss. Plain

Needlework was a required skill for all girls entering NLCS and was valued in compulsory school activities as a means of voluntary contribution to the neighbourhood. Domestic Economy was a compulsory subject taught within the ordinary curriculum to girls in upper Forms except the 6th Form. Its instruction was science based, and girls were tested and inspected in the same intellectual manner as other academic subjects. Contrastingly, Cookery and 'various branches of technical education' formed special fee-paying courses outside normal school hours mainly for older NLCS girls and old girls. Examinations and certificate qualifications provided by external authorities were often used and courses were sometimes linked to female employment.

The above cases of the introduction of 'domestic subjects' show that Miss Buss aimed to include such knowledge and skills of middle-class household management in her pursuit of 'liberal and rational education'. 'Domestic subjects' were introduced from the early 1870s when NLCS was also strengthening its link with women's colleges, sending girls to external examinations. The introduction did not contrast with the pursuit of academic goals. As Domestic Economy was the compulsory subject for all NLCS girls in upper Forms, Miss Buss did not limit its teaching to girls with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds. The next chapter examines how the introduction changed over time under the second headmistress, Mrs Bryant.

Chapter 5: North London Collegiate School (NLCS) under Mrs Bryant (1895-1914).

5.1. Introduction.

In this chapter I examine the introduction of 'domestic subjects' in NLCS under its second headmistress, Mrs Bryant, between 1895 and 1914. First, Mrs Bryant's educational views will be analysed from published and private sources. Then, the general school organisation of NLCS and its major changes will be seen. Third, the actual procedure of the introduction of the subject during the period will be placed in chronological order. Finally, some biographical information on staff and pupils will be noted. The main sources are drawn from the NLCS Archive.

5.2. Changes in school organisation and curriculum after 1895.

Miss Buss passed away in December 1894, and the former deputy mistress, Mrs Bryant, was appointed to be the new headmistress of NLCS. The changes made are seen from the prospectus of 1896. The list of staff shows 24 names specialising in specific subjects including those of the headmistress and the deputy headmistress, Miss Sara Burstall, 13 of form mistresses, a General Superintendent and a lady gymnastic instructor. Individual staff names were given in Classics, Mathematics, Science, English, French, German, Scripture etc., Pianoforte, Violin, Solo Singing, Drawing and Painting, but neither in Needlework or Domestic Economy (Prospectus, 1896 February, p.3).

The subjects for 1896 are listed below. The contents did not change except for including Greek in 1900.

Table 11. NLCS. The course of study 1896.

Religious Instruction	Political Economy
English Language and Grammar	Domestic Economy
History and Literature	Drawing from models
Geography	Ornamental and Free-hand drawing
Arithmetic and Mathematics	Experimental and Natural Science, &c.
French	Class singing
German	Plain needlework
Latin	Writing and Book-keeping
Laws of Health	Calisthenics

No pupil will take the whole of this course at one time; selections have to be made at the discretion of the Head Mistress.

The pupils prepare for the Examinations of the University of London, for the Higher Cambridge Examinations, for the Cambridge Local Examinations, and for those of the College of Preceptors (Prospectus, 1896 February, p.4; Prospectus, 1900 July, p4).

The examiners' reports provide information on which Forms were taught what subjects. For example, for the academic year of 1895-96, the Upper Forms were examined in Domestic Economy, Laws of Health, Physiography, Arithmetic, Economics, English Literature, and Latin. Middle Forms were examined in the Laws of Health, Domestic Economy, English Literature, and Duties of a Citizen. The Forms categorized as Middle Forms were Forms Upper Remove A, V Remove B, V, IV Remove A, IV Upper, IV. Reports on Mathematics, French, German, Botany, Drawing, Music and Harmony were made separately by one examiner each.

The major change in the curriculum offered is seen in the prospectus of 1904. As we have seen in the previous section, the subjects included in the Course of Study were reduced to meet the requirements of the University of London examinations. Here Needlework and Domestic Economy were eliminated from compulsory subjects. By 1904, the staff number included in the list had increased to 42.

Table 12. NLCS. The course of study 1904.

Religious Instruction.	Arithmetic.
English.	Mathematics..
English Literature.	General Elementary Science.
Geography.	Chemistry.
History.	Botany.
(blank)	(blank)
French.	Drawing and Painting.
German.	Class singing.
Latin.	(blank)
Greek.	Gymnastics.

No pupil will take the whole of this course at one time; selections have to be made at the discretion of the Head Mistress.

Pupils who pass satisfactorily thorough a course of study including not less than two languages, besides Arithmetic and Mathematics and the subjects on an English education, are qualified to enter for Leaving Certificate Examination of the University of London (Prospectus, 1903 March, p4).

The first inspection report of the Board of Education in 1903 provides important information on the state of NLCS ('1903 Inspection'). NLCS was described as a well conducted first-grade school. Though the nature of its neighbourhood was not quite suitable for a school of this level, its accessibility from wider London areas were appreciated

The Inspection observe that since the date (1875) of the Scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, for the North London Collegiate and Camden Schools for Girls, the character of St. Pancras as a residential neighbourhood has changed, and "though fairly well adapted to a second grade School, such as the Camden School for Girls, it is now less suited to a first grade School, such as the North London Collegiate School".

On the other hand, "the School is only a few minutes' walk from the important suburban railway centre of Camden Town, and is also close to several tram and omnibus route. It is thus easily accessible from most parts of Central and North London, and can be reached by day scholars from a large number of outlying suburbs. Scarcely more than a sixth of the day scholars are from the adjacent

parishes of Islington and Hornsey, and there is also a large contingent from Hampstead. The rest are from various places in London and the suburbs, and the area served is a very wide one, stretching from St. Albans and Enfield on the north to Chelsea on the south, and from Ealing on the west to Poplar on the east (1903 Inspection, p1).

The financial state of the school was fine but "Speaking generally the buildings may be pronounced satisfactory, except in respect of the size and in some cases the suitability of the class-rooms, though they do not possess the beauty and charm which so frequently characterise the latest examples of Girls' Day Schools" (1903 Inspection, p.2).

In 'Curriculum and Teaching', inspectors judged that the timetables appear to be well organised, lessons varying from 30 to 60 minutes according to the ages of pupils. However, it was also pointed out on teaching German and Latin that 'The syllabus of work adopted in the School appears to be open to criticism on open point only, viz: the very large number of subjects which it embraces' the general educational questions, whether to teach a wide variety of subjects or to specialise in less subjects, are questioned by the inspector. The wider debates on the suitable curricula for girls' secondary schools are seen here.

It will always be an open question, answered differently according to the different views of educationists, whether a general acquaintance with many subjects or an intimate knowledge of a few, be the better basis of education. It may be stated that, granted that the former view is correct, the syllabus is suitable to (1) scholars now in the School, and (2) to the needs of the locality."

The methods of teaching cannot be improved, and the standard attained is as high as can be expected in the circumstances, but it is not in all respects a very high standard (1903 Inspection, pp.3-4).

The headmistress had the chance to comment on the inspection report. In her remarks, Mrs Bryant emphasises that NLCS is aiming for 'an all-round education' including a variety of well-balanced subjects.

The number of subjects in the curriculum is criticised as too large. German and Latin, to each of which great attention was naturally paid by the Inspectors are said to be suffering from the claims of rival subjects. The proposals as to German on p.6 would, however, bring them into the much more dangerous position of rivalry to each other.

Our plan of work provides for an all-round education in every case, neither Languages, Science, nor English culture being allowed to monopolise attention ('Headmistress's Remarks on the Board of Education Report, May, 1903'. Included in 1903 Inspection).

After 1906, a more detailed prospectus appeared reflecting the changes made in the school organisation. In 'Origin and Development of the North London Collegiate School.', it officially noted that from 1904 NLCS had strengthened the connection with the University of London while maintaining links with old universities. 'In II. Term 1906-7, School hours, Fees.', it was noted that they had still maintained 'the long morning hours' as a rule.

2. School Hours are from 9.15 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. every day except Saturday.

Girls also attend for such extra classes as they take between 2.30 and 4.30 p.m. home Lessons also, if parents so desire, can be prepared during those hours at school, instead of at home (Prospectus, 1906-07, pp11-12).

The curriculum offered is also described differently after 1906. Special attention is paid to the difference between 'two sets' within one Form, Six Form and Technical Class.

IV. Curriculum of Studies.

The school is not divided into a **Classical** and **Modern** side, but at each stage above the three lowest Forms the scholars are classified into at least two sets according to curriculum, **Classics** being limited to one of the two. Girls who take the whole course from eight or nine to nineteen years of age attain a good junior standard in **French** and **German** before beginning Latin. The aim is, by a stratification of studies, to lay a foundation in the two modern as well as in the two classical languages without taking more than two at a time. Attention is given throughout to **Science**, first as Nature Study, then as General Elementary Science, merging in chemistry or Botany, and leading up to the Sixth Form Science Course for those who specialise in Science. Mathematics, other than Arithmetic, begins in the lower fourth form, and is studied throughout the School. All girls have the opportunity of obtaining at the end of their School Course the Leaving Certificate of the University of London either at the Matriculation or Higher Standard.

In the **Sixth Form** the work is specialised. Some girls take the London Intermediate Arts and some the London Intermediate Science Course, while others, generally with a view of further studies at Cambridge or Oxford, specialise more particularly in

Classics, Mathematics, Modern Languages or History.

Class Singing and Art are taught throughout the School.

Girls over seventeen years of age are allowed to join the **Technical Class** in which the first half of the School morning is given to ordinary lessons, and the second half to the study and practice of Domestic Arts. The work of this class is directed towards making a girl, so far as time allows, able to turn her mind and her hand with considerable intelligence and some skill to home keeping in all its phases.

Religious Instruction is given throughout the School girls can be exempted from attending this instruction at the desire of their parents, which should be stated in writing (Prospectus, 1906-07, p14).

The 'Curriculum of Studies' and the list of staff show that subjects became to form groups such as Languages, Science, English and Art. And, as the result of the idea of bifurcation examined in the previous section, the Technical Class for less academic girls was launched as a school course for older girls.

5.3. Mrs Bryant's view of 'domestic subjects'.

The new headmistress, Mrs Bryant's opinion on the curriculum of a girls' school can be seen in the Special Reports published in 1898 (Bryant, 1898). Before discussing a suitable curriculum for girls, she emphasises that one of the first duties of a good school is to recognise the variety of human types among its pupils, and to develop and increase such varieties. According to her opinion, pupils varied in 1) range of ability, 2) in physical strength, 3) in variety of taste, 4) in diversity of purpose, and 5) in moral force and idiosyncrasy of character. A good education must realise such variety, and also needed to raise pupils according to their diverse social experience or industrial ends (Bryant, 1898, p.99). This diversity arose chiefly from the diversity of occupations, and therefore, was wider among boys than girls. Since girls were expected to become home-makers, she also notes that girls' curriculum should meet such social needs.

...it should be noted. That, first, that the chief special function of women is the making of the home and the preservation of the social side of society; and, secondly, that the wealth-making business proper to the men involves more diversity of purpose and training than the home-making business proper to the women. This reflection suggests, in the first place, that respects should be paid in the girls' school scheme to ultimate efficiency in the housewifely and social art, and, in the second

place, that we may here expect to see the ideal curriculum in its simpler and more universal form (Bryant, 1898, p.100).

Mrs Bryant was aware of 'the great diversity of intellectual talent and physio-moral vigour with which the school has to deal'. When setting a curriculum, Mrs Bryant recommended 'to maintain the central ideal of a balanced scheme of culture, and make particular exceptions, classifying under secondary ideals, when necessary' since it was easier to deal with diversity individually. Girls were to be classified according to their working power, mental and physical abilities, intellectual interests and their 'home influences' (Bryant, 1898, pp.100-101).

What Mrs Bryant proposed was a scheme of 'bifurcation', to establish a full complete course for intellectual girls and a limited course for the others for the sake of both types of girls.

A girls who can- or can be taught to- cook a dinner, make a dress, order a household, entertain a company, and carry on the family correspondence well, ought not to be dulled by devoting her whole working time to a prolonged and well-nigh hopeless struggle with a mass of intellectual mystics. Nor should her clever sister, to whom these mystics are as plain daylight truths, be restrained from their study because they are too high for some (Bryant, 1898, p.101. See Appendix 5).

This idea that 'the most ambitious girls' school' should also have 'a simple un-ambitious course' must have originated from her own headmistresship in NLCS. However, Mrs Bryant considered the model of girls' secondary education to be the more academic course and saw that such 'un-ambitious course' would 'no doubt diminish as improvement in educational organisation and public opinion eliminates the large number of girls in secondary schools to-day whose education has been neglected up to the age of 12,13,14, or even 15' (Bryant, 1898, p.101. See Appendix 5).

In 1898, while admitting the need of teaching 'domestic subjects' in girls' secondary schools, Mrs Bryant was not eager to introduce it into the ordinary curriculum. Such instruction was considered suitable for less intellectual girls in the second class, and as Mrs Bryant aimed to integrate the second class to the first, all girls were to learn a fully academic education in the end. The report of the Annual Conference of AHM in 1897 also shows that Mrs Bryant saw 'domestic subjects' as belonging to girls' elementary education.

It was moved by Mrs. Bryant, seconded by Miss Day (of Manchester), and carried:--

(i.) "That, in the opinion of this Association no solution of the Educational problem is possible until a clear differentiation is established between the functions of Secondary and Primary Schools.

(ii.) "That, as regards Primary Schools, after pupils have passed the Fifth Standard, a distinction should be made between (a) girls who are destined for handicraft and domestic work and (b) girls whose tastes and abilities mark them out for Secondary School studies with a corresponding life career.

It was moved by Mrs. Bryant, seconded by Miss Day (Manchester):--

(iii.) "That to provide for the first and larger of these two Classes, there is an urgent need of Domestic Economy and Handicraft Higher Primary Schools, with a curriculum on strictly practical lines as sketched in the accompanying scheme (*AR 1898*, p.13).

AHM records show that Ms Bryant was more involved in the action responding to the Education Bill of 1902 or the female membership in local and national educational authorities as she became the Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee in 1902 (*AR 1899*, p.13; *AR 1902*, p.7; *AR 1903*, p.18). Still, in 1907 when BOE set *RSS* to regulate girls' secondary curriculum, Mrs Bryant opposed to the requirement of minimum hours in Mathematics and Science lessons.

That this meeting desires to record its emphatic disapproval of the very definite manner in which the curriculum and time table of secondary schools are now regulated by codes as promulgated from time to time by the Board of Education. It is profoundly convinced that the destruction of the initiative of the teacher which is thus being attempted must result in much stagnation of educational thought at its principal sources (*AR 1908*, p.25).

One feature of educational aims held by Mrs Bryant was that she valued the process of seeking knowledge. Her presidential address given at the Annual Conference of AHM in June 1905 delivered following message that "Educational Ideals" was 'a reasoned whole'.

I venture to criticise a current view as to the end of intellectual education- a view which is often supposed to represent reformed educational opinion- a view, also, which is frequently expressed in direct appeal to the practical genius of the English race.....The ideal of knowledge is a reasoned whole, in which each truth appears

in its vital connexion with other truths, so that knowledge of any truth included the operation of the mental process by which that truth is reached. To know included to know how we know- how the original knower knew. Nothing less than reasoned knowledge can satisfy the appetite for truth... (*AR 1906*, pp.15-16. See Appendix 5).

Mrs Bryant had introduced 'domestic subjects' lessons in NLCS after 1904 as we will see in the next section, her experiment was reported to be 'a very small' one. When the Annual Conference of AHM held in June 1908 discussed 'Home Science and Economics' as its major topic, conducts in NLCS was also reported. Mrs Bryant 'had made a very small experiment in this direction owing to the small room and imperfect equipment, but found that good work could nevertheless be done'. The 'Domestic Science Class' was an alternative to the other Upper V Classes serving for girls over 17. Mrs Bryant stressed that academic classes and the 'Domestic Science Course' went hand in hand to respond to different needs of girls.

The girls who without much reputation for ability entered that class often became quite brilliant in the course of a term. They looked bright and happy having at last found something that could do well, and in which they could hold their own with the clever girls. She laid stress on the effect of the work of this class on the rest of the school. A great deal of interest was taken in it by the other girls. A girl in the Sixth who gained a scholarship in the middle of the term would ask to spend the rest of the term in the Technical Form. The effect of the class on the rest of the school in raising the dignity of the subject was remarkable. She heartily sympathised with the institution on a university degree, but reminded the meeting that a great deal depends upon practice and the development, not only of a particular kind of skill, but of a particular kind of strength and habit of labour (*AR 1909*, pp.12-13. See Appendix 5).

To Mrs Bryant, 'domestic subjects' instruction was a part of the process of seeking knowledge as a whole. Mrs Bryant saw the goal of girls' education as 'opening' girls' minds towards different educational fields or futures. In order to find the most suitable areas of study, girls needed to receive 'an all-round education' including 'domestic subjects'.

Mrs. Bryant believed strongly in an all-round general education for girls, and is opposed to specialisation at an early age. She feels that education should be a means of "opening" the girl's mind to the beauties of the world in which we dwell, and should point the path rather than reach a summit. If girls leave schools with a desire

to continue their education, they are better educated in the true sense of the word than if they were full facts of every kind. Hence Mrs. Bryant advocates a wide curriculum which will give the girl an opportunity of finding out her bent and developing it. She by no means thinks that the University is to be put forward as a goal for all girls, and is strongly in favour of teaching domestic subjects to the elder girls ('Womankind in the Making', 1909).

When making a speech on 'The Necessity for Variant Types of Education', Mrs Bryant also showed her satisfaction for:

the development in modern education of variant types, alike as regards the particular aims pursued, the details of the methods used and the scheme of study followed in different schools, or as alternative course in the same school (*AR 1911*, p.33. See Appendix 5).

An interesting episode is recorded in Edith Mumford's biography on Mrs Bryant's attitude towards 'domestic subjects' and the pursuit of knowledge. When Edith had forgotten to continue her study while devoting to household management after marriage, Mrs Bryant warned her not to forget 'reading'.

At the beginning of her [Edith] married life [the late 1890s], she had found satisfaction almost wholly in home details- mending, darning, cleaning and so forth- so much so that, when she was telling Mrs. Bryant of the joy she was finding in her new domestic life, Mrs. Bryant had said, 'Yes, I understand, but- what are you doing about your reading? However fully occupied you are with your husbands and children's needs, if you don't manage to read some worthwhile book, if only for half an hour a day, you 'll find that you will lose the companionship of your children by the time they are twelve years old...(Mumford, 1952, pp.77-78. See Appendix 5).

Edith followed Mrs Bryant's advice and returned to reading, becoming the 'happiest of women' in the end.

The quotations show how Mrs Bryant changed her opinion towards 'domestic subjects' between the late 1890s and the 1910s. She was at first not willing to introduce it into NLCS, although, circumstances made her to launch a course of 'domestic subjects' after 1904. The introduction formed a part of 'an all-round education for girls' which needed to give a variety

of options to girls choosing their educational areas and futures. The next sections see how the process and contents of 'domestic subjects' instruction in NLCS changed under Mrs Bryant.

5.4. Needlework 1894-1914.

Needlework was included in the general course of study of prospectus until 1903. However, its main educational value lay in the field of charitable work engaged by almost all girls in NLCS. Prize Day Report of the headmistress contained detailed information on the annual contribution of the Dorcas Society and Founder's Day Bazaar (HR; PDR). Such activities were described as 'the social and domestic side of our school life' ('June 25th, 1903'. PDR) and their results were constantly presented to parents and pupils on annual Prize Days. There, skills in plain and fancy needlework were praised to serve for charitable purposes. The head mistress proudly noted that the 'excellence of the needlework, both as to manual dexterity and intelligence, was very creditable to the pupils' (PDR 1906, p.108). The pursuit for a combined intellectual and practical achievement is seen here.

The prospectuses of NLCS also contained information on the instructions given in this field after 1906. Under the section 'XIII. School charities', Dorcas Society and Founder's Day activities were listed alongside Nurse's Fund (Prospectus, 1906-07, p20).

The actual Needlework instructions given as compulsory lessons are seen in the Schemes of Study of 1909-10. While Needlework was not taught systematically throughout the school, every girls was, 'however, expected to take advantage of her home opportunities to acquire some skill in the use of the needle, and all Forms except the Sixth are examined in **stitchery** each term'. It was again noted that a considerable amount of needlework was also done at the meeting of the Dorcas Society, to which practically all the girls belonged, to improve girls' manual skills and social concerns.

The **contributions of work** for charitable purposes, on Founder's Day and other occasions, tend to the growth of **initiative in handwork** as well as development of **social motive** (1909-10.Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study, p19.)

However, while Needlework was not taught throughout the school, a systematic one year's course of needlework was provided for girls in Forms Upper Fourth and Fifth.

A **systematic** one year's **course of needlework** is, however, provided as an afternoon subject, not compulsory in Form Upper IV. And V. Girls who are known to be unskilful with the needle are advised to join this class, but it is formed more especially for those who for any reason require to reach a definite standard of proficiency in the subject. The course includes a knowledge of all **stitches** use in needlework, and many of the different **parts of garments** are made and joined together. A certain amount of instruction in **drafting** is also given (1909-10. Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study, p19).

Information shows that the actual instruction had furthered into the area of simple dressmaking, dealing with drafting and cutting and making of pants and skirts, patching and darning, etc. However, the instruction given was not high enough and girls were required to enter the Domestic Arts Class to further their study (Handwritten memo included in 1909-10. Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study).

According to the Schemes of Study for 1913-14, Needlework was still not taught systematically throughout the School. Therefore, home opportunities, contributions to the Dorcas Society and the Founder's Day Bazaar, were seen important. A one-year systematic afternoon course continued, and girls interested in this area of study were recommended to move on to the Home Craft Course to learn Needlework, Dressmaking, and Millinery (1913-14. Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study, p19).

Three Inspections of the Board of Education took place during 1895 and 1914, in May 1903, in May 1910 and in December 1914 (1903 Inspection, Second Inspection 1910; 1914 Inspection). However, the report on the first Inspection in 1903 was mainly concerned with the intellectual side of the NLCS curriculum, and contained no information on the state of Needlework teaching.

In the report of the second Inspection on 1910, information on Needlework was noted in the section 'Domestic Economy' alongside the conducts of the Domestic Arts Course. Apart from the instructions given in the Technical Class, which is the Domestic Arts Course, very little was done as 'domestic subjects'. Needlework continued to be the general charitable activities engaged by almost all girls in NLCS, but systematic teaching in Needlework was not taken.

Domestic Economy.

At present, outside the special Technical Class recently instituted, very little definite instruction is given in Domestic Economy.

For the mass of girls, for whom a crowded curriculum has to be covered in a morning session, the School does not attempt the systematic teaching of Needlework, but through the monthly meeting of the Dorcas Society, to which almost every girl belongs, and by terminal examination, effort is made to ensure that the girls shall acquire knowledge of stitches and elementary processes and receive a little training in drafting patterns and cutting out. The work of the three classes seen was generally of fair, if not good, standard, although the material was somewhat difficult for unskilled needlewomen to handle (Second Inspection 1910, p.29)

Then, more detailed information on Needlework could be seen in the Report of the third Inspection in 1914.

Needlework is compulsory in two Forms of the Junior School, in the Domestic Arts Form and in the case of girls who have become Bursars. For all other Forms it is a voluntary subject always taken in the afternoon (1914 Inspection, p.14).

It could be seen that a more systematic Needlework teaching has developed by the time of the 1914 Inspection. In 'Housecraft' of the inspection report, girls were required to take examinations at the end of each term, and its results were the interest of Form Mistresses. The afternoon Needlework class provided by the Domestic Arts Mistress worked fine, and the Inspectors recommended involving more girls in these afternoon classes. Methods of teaching became more organised influenced by modern developments.

Some pressure is exerted by requiring all girls to take an examination test each term, and encouragement is afforded by arranging that each of the four sections into which the School is divided should have a two-hours lesson one a month from the Domestic Mistress. Moreover, the interest shown by the form Mistresses in the results of the test, and in the form done in connection with various charitable societies is a further encouragement. At the moment about 40 girls are availing themselves of the sound teaching in drafting, cutting and stitchery given by the Domestic Mistress, and at least as many more join the afternoon practices under the guidance of various members of the staff. While it cannot be claimed that all girls receive adequate instruction, very many are efficiently taught, and among the work seen much was of good standard.

The work in plain needlework done by the majority of members of the domestic class was in all respects good, as was also the dressmaking. In both branches the note-and draft-books contain clear and sensible work.

The methods of teaching employed in the Junior School have been to some extent influenced by modern developments. The stitchery is generally satisfactory, but it is strongly recommended that the scheme partially followed should be adopted thoroughly, so as to make each child responsible for measuring, cutting and placing as well as for stitchery (1914 Inspection, pp.13-14).

In conclusion, Needlework teaching in NLCS took three directions. Firstly, almost all NLCS girls used their Needlework skill in the Dorcas Society activities and the Founder's Day Bazaar for charitable and social purposes during 1895 and 1914. Then, while Needlework was not taught systematically throughout the school, a one-year afternoon course was open to girls in the Upper Fourth and Fifth Forms after 1906. Finally, after a systematic Domestic Arts Course was established, upper girls were able to receive special instructions in Needlework, Dressmaking and Millinery.

5.5. Domestic Economy 1894-1903.

Domestic Economy remained as a compulsory subject for girls in Forms Upper V, V, Upper IV and IV during 1894 and 1903. It was included in prospectuses and examination records during 1894 and 1903. From 1899, the internal examinations were divided into two sections, general subjects and Special Courses, the latter containing Domestic Economy. However, this subject seemed to have been eliminated from the curriculum after 1904, since its name do not appear in succeeding prospectuses after 1904 (Prospectus, 1894-1914) and examiners reports do not exist for years after 1904. This change is confirmed by other facts that information on Domestic Economy is not included in the reports of Inspectors from the Board of Education held in 1903, 1910 and 1914.

Domestic Economy examination papers, which do not exist now, seemed to have covered a wide variety of subjects such as cookery, nutrition, first aid, physiology, wise consuming, ventilation as is judged from the remaining examiners reports. In some cases, the subject was tested alongside questions in the Laws of Health (*Examiners' Reports*, 1895. See Appendix 5).

Form Upper IV. (Elementary).- The pupils enter very fully into detail in answering

some of the questions. I am inclined to think that so much detail must very quickly be forgotten, and that it would be well with so young pupils to teach them the reasons why fresh air is desirable rather than the minute changes that are effected in the atmosphere of a crowded room....

Form VB.- Where all the work is so good, it is difficult to criticise, but I would suggest that in this Form the pupils should be encouraged to use simple expressions in describing soils, methods of ventilation, &c.

Form VB.- The work is very good, but it would be still better if the pupils had a greater knowledge of practical matters. I cannot but be struck by the very small number in the class understood how to make a mustard plaster (*Examiners' Reports*, 1900).

Form V.- The work done in this Form shows that the students have been thoroughly grounded in their work. The answers to the questions on emergency difficulties have been well dealt with (*Examiners' Reports*, 1901).

Form Lower IVA.- The work in this Form is on the whole good. I could wish, however, that vaccination as a protective agent against small-pox had been more thoroughly impressed upon the minds of the pupils (*Examiners' Reports*, 1902).

According to the reports of the Examiners, girls generally did well in this subject, but the older girls were likely to do better than younger girls. Its features were the good average marks and less number of failures compared to other subjects such as Literature, Arithmetic, Duties of a Citizen and the Laws of Health. By presenting thorough and intelligent answers, girls also proved the efforts of teachers. Therefore, in 1895 examiners concluded that 'Comparing the five subjects together, we see from the percentages that "Domestic Economy" yields the best results' (*Examiners' Reports*, 1895).

The report of the examination in Domestic Economy in 1896 shows that while girls showed improvement and high average marks in 'The Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health', they were less likely to do well in areas requiring a more specialist knowledge such as Physiology.

There was more inequality in the answers to the Physiography questions. As this is a subject which requires more sustained study, the shortness of the course places it at a disadvantage. Though perhaps lacking in detail, yet the general ideas on the

subject, as far as they went, were clear and correct (*Examiners' Reports*, 1896. See Appendix 5).

Examiners observed that when answering the Domestic Economy papers, girls benefited from their practical knowledge and every-day experience. However, girls were sometimes criticised for the lack of observation and for not answering the questions precisely (See Appendix 5).

The marks in this subject are - with the exception of one Form - higher than those in Laws of Health. This is explained by the fact that this is a subject about which all know something, and the questions were framed on the assumption that knowledge is gained, not only from lessons, but also from observation in the pupils' own homes. In the best papers- and these are excellent- there is evidence of practical knowledge, and it is fair to conclude that such knowledge is the outcome of the stimulus given by the lessons. In other cases, again, the lack of observation by the writers of the papers is very noticeable (*Examiners' Reports*, 1899).

There is a tendency in this Form on the part of the pupils to crowd in all the knowledge they have of hygiene irrespective on the limits of the question (*Examiners' Reports*, 1901).

The papers received in Domestic Economy from Form Upper VB. are very good, but those in Laws of Health do not reach the same standard. In many cases matter not required was introduced, whereas the real answer was omitted, (*Examiners' Reports*, 1903).

In order to improve the conducts in Domestic Economy, examiners made several suggestions. The examiner in 1895 recommends in his 'General Report on the Upper forms' that girls should receive a more detailed and specialised instructions in either Domestic Economy, Political Economy or Physiology (Laws of Health) to gain 'solid foundation' of knowledge rather than studying all three at the same time. 'The useful information, which I by no means undervalue, might, I think, be just as well imparted by occasional lectures on shopping, clothing, exercise and so forth' (*Examiners' Reports*, 1895. See Appendix 5).

The similar suggestion for a less extensive syllabus is repeated in the report of 1899. Further, girls are asked to be more thoughtful in their daily life to deepen their knowledge and skills in

the subject.

On the whole, it seems to me it would be well if a less extensive syllabus were attempted, seeing the course is a short one, so that more time could be spent in making the ground covered more thoroughly known and more practically understood. At the same time, it is quite clear that want of thought in many daily life must be known to all, yet many give very incomplete answers to this part of one of the questions, indeed in three papers there is not attempt to answer this, and six pupils forgot to mention that water is used to drink, while a large number omit its uses for sanitary purposes (*Examiners' Reports*, 1899. See Appendix 5).

In conclusion, girls in the Upper Forms who were taught Domestic Economy generally did well in the subject. Girls were seen to benefit from their daily experience when answering the questions. However, as the time passed, more opinions arose from examiners about the need for more academic and specialised instruction in Domestic Economy. As was shown in Section 6.3.4., Domestic Economy lessons were substituted by lessons provided by a certificated Domestic Arts staff after 1904.

5.6. Cookery 1895-1898 and 1904.

Alongside the compulsory Needlework and Domestic Economy teaching, records show that demonstrative Cookery courses were also introduced in the afternoons under the instruction of teachers from the National School of Cookery during 1895 and 1898 and again in 1904.

First, Mrs Bryant noted in her report to the Governors in February 1895 that 'We have started a Cookery class this term to be held in the afternoons... The teacher is Mrs. Sewers of the National School of Cookery and 21 girls have joined ('February 13th, 1895'. HR). In the March 1895 report, this Cookery Class is described to be 'most successful', run in a financially balanced state. Therefore, the class was continued on in the next Summer Term including remaining pupils.

The Cookery Class is most successful. We hear that Cays gas stove on hire; an excellent teacher from the National School of cookery had 36 pupils. One demonstration lesson is given on Friday Afternoon. And the class is divided with 3 parts for practice lessons on Tuesday, Wednesday & Thursday. The expenses will mainly covered with a balance, and the girls most excellently and are much

interested ('March 20th, 1895'. HR).

The work of the Cookery class continues this term with a smaller number, ie, 14 of them who joined last term and desired to carry their skill to a higher joint ('June 19th, 1895'. HR).

The Cookery Class was again opened in the Spring and Summer Term in 1896, but this time with smaller number of pupils.

In the Cookery Class this term there are 17 pupils. It is satisfactory to note that the class last year paid its expenses with a balance of £6.19., although we were very gracious with lessons, in the last term were especially ('February 10th, 1896'. HR).

14 pupils attend the Cookery Class this term, the prize recently given to us by the Clothworkers' Company is awarded to Marietta Fay one of the Technical Education Board scholar ('June 15th, 1896'. HR).

An interesting event which took place during this period was the Curry Prize held in December 1896. It is not certain whether this competition was fought among girls attending the Cookery Classes, but NLCS and girls seemed to have used the knowledge and skills gained from Cookery in a happily manner. In addition the involvement of the Indian Civil Service also suggests that the competition had an upper middle class aspect.

A prize to be awarded for the best Indian curry was offered at the beginning of the term by W. J. P. Goodridge of the Indian Civil Service. The judges came to lunch and the 13 competitors having worked in fan brought up their curries for judgment previously. The prize was awarded to Winifred Bay and Kati Maxwell as extra prizes in consideration merit were awarded to the two curries next best ('December 7th, 1896'. HR).

After 1897, the Cookery Class seemed to become less popular as the spaces given in Headmistresses Report diminished and no other sources could be found. However, the reports show that the class somehow lasted until 1898.

Cookery class.

The cookery class continues to be very small. The number of pupils this term is 16

('February 8th, 1897'. HR).

Extra Classes.

12 learn Cookery. 98 girls use the Cookery and the new Science room ('December 5th, 1898'. HR).

Then, the information on afternoon Cookery Class reappears in the 'Extras per term' in the prospectus of 1904 (Prospectus, 1904 March, p.4). This extra Cookery class was opened alongside classes in Drawing from the Life, Painting and Orchestral Practices. The Class was again run by a teacher from the National School of Cookery, and old pupils were also able to attend. This 'Extra Classes' does not give the information on dates. However, since the information on same extra classes with same fees is listed in the general prospectuses for the year 1904, I observe that the classes were held on 1904.

Demonstration in Practice Lessons in Plain and High-Class Cookery, are given by Mts. Severs (Dip. National Training School of Cookery).

Demonstration Lessons on Friday. Practice arranged. Fee, 15s.

Old Pupils are invited to join these Classes ('Extra Classes', probably 1904).

However, the evidence suggests that compulsory and extra classes in the areas of 'domestic subjects' undergone major changes after 1904. While Needlework continued to be an important compulsory charitable activity for NLCS girls, Domestic Economy disappeared from the curriculum. Cookery which was conducted as extra fee-paying afternoon classes became a part of a new school course as will be seen in the subsequent sections.

5.7. Domestic Arts Course 1904-1909.

As has already been noted in the previous section, 1904 was the period of major transition in the general curriculum of NLCS. While the general curriculum shifted toward a more academic line to suit the requirements of the Matriculation Examination of the University of London, which were taken in Upper Forms, Mrs Bryant was also aware of the needs of 'Non-College' girls. It is interesting to see that NLCS had launched a formal Domestic Arts Course at the same time, after January 1904, under a more professionally trained staff. The newly established Domestic Arts Course did not appear in the prospectuses until 1906. However, evidences wer found in the Staff Register and pupil's notebooks that the Course

had actually started from January 1904 ('No. 28. Macrae, Charlotte'. Staff, Register 1893-1924; Housewifery 1904; Cookery 1904).

The information on this Domestic Arts Course first appeared in the general NLCS Prospectus of 1906-07. Miss Macrae, the Domestic Arts mistress, was for the first time enlisted among the NLCS staff as having '1st Class Certificate for Domestic Economy, Battersea'. Then, under Section III, 'Extra Classes' and Section IV, 'Curriculum of Studies', details of the Course were given. Girls over seventeen years of age were allowed to join the 'Technical Class' in which the first half of the School morning were given to ordinary lessons, and the second half to the study and practice of Domestic Arts. However, old girls were also able to join the Course as taking either the 'half-time Technical Class for Cookery or the full course'. (Prospectus, 1906-07, p4, 12, 14) According to the Headmistress's reports, three girls attended the half time class by July 1906 and four by July 1907 ('July 24th, 1906'; 'July 23rd, 1907'. HR).

The instruction given here were (1) Dressmaking and Millinery; (2) Cookery; and (3) Laundry Work or Housewifery. The Fees for Cookery was £2 2s, and £4 4s for the full course. The work of the class was directed towards 'making a girl, so far as time allows, able to turn her mind and her hand with considerable intelligence and some skill to home keeping in all its phases' (Prospectus, 1906-07, p.12). Later in October 1906, when recommended changes on the prospectus were proposed, 'Laws of Health & Domestic Economy' was suggested to be included under the name 'Hygiene' ('October 23rd, 1906'. HR). The contents and aims of teaching noted here show that the instruction was given not only towards a practical goal of mastering the useful skill of household management but also towards cultivating the intelligence of the girls by way of Domestic Arts.

Violet Steadman, a pupil of NLCS, attended the very first Domestic Arts Course and her notebooks of Cookery Classes and Housewifery classes are kept in NLCS Archive (Cookery 1904; Housewifery 1904). Her Cookery notebook consists of various recipes of general and seasonal dishes starting from January 1904 and ending in December 1904. For example, her notes taken on the first day of the lesson, 22nd January 1904, consists of 'Different ways of coking meat' such as veal, beef, mutton, gravy, 'Chief Rules for Roasting', ingredients and method of cooking 'Yorkshire Pudding', ingredients and method of cooking 'Milk Soup' ('January 22nd 1904', Cookery 1904). The notes were taken by pupils during the class, and were checked afterwards by the mistress. Mistakes made and the lacks of information are pointed out by the mistress in red letters.

Miss Violet Steadman's Housewifery notebook shows that instruction was given in Housewifery from January to May 1904, in Laundry from June to July 1904, in Mending from September to October 1904 and in Dressmaking in November 1904. Therefore, it could be seen that various instructions in the field of 'domestic subjects' including Housewifery were given during 1904. In Housewifery, she learnt how to clean different kinds of metal, how to live with a limited income of £200 or £600, use store room, choose house, wash utensils and furniture, engage with servants or a servant, do cleaning, clean different types of stoves and floors. In Mending, she had actually attached different types of cloth such as line, calico, hedge years, and noted the ways of patching them. In Laundry, she was taught how to make and use soap and wash different types of cloths. As she had also done in her Cookery notebook, Miss Steadman made notes on the instruction given during the lessons. Then, again, the headmistress checked the contents of the notebooks, and corrected mistakes and marked it (Housewifery 1904).

Quotation from the first pages of her Housewifery notebook shows that the lessons aimed to produce an able middle-class mistress. The phrase defines that Housewifery was the skill of managing a household to be comfortable, clean and healthy. In order to realize such household, the mistress should acquire some useful skills and knowledge as noted below. The main feature seen here is that the mistress of the household was not only responsible for this management but was also expected to 'have done' the work herself. The Course instruction seemed to have a practical use as were given in previous demonstrative Cookery lectures. Therefore, the 'best' as well as the 'easiest' ways of doing were sought (First page of Housewifery 1904).

The sources analysed in this section show that from January 1904, a course teaching a wide area of 'domestic subjects' had been launched under a specially-certificated mistress. Judging from the contents of the instruction given, this course gave similar instruction as had been given in Domestic Economy lessons. The details point out that middle-class household was continuously thought to be the model which pupils should learn about. Another interesting point is that pupils were not tested by internal or external examinations, and were tested individually by the headmistress. The actual class size of this Domestic Arts Course is not listed, but it suggests that the number of pupils involved were relatively small compared to the previous numbers engaging in compulsory Domestic Economy lessons.

5.8. Home Craft and Household Business Course 1909-1914.

The Domestic Arts Course was renamed the Home Craft and Household Business Course from 1909. This was a part of the bigger reorganisation of the school structure and curriculum. The new course extended the areas of instructions given and was run by the cooperation of several specialist mistresses.

The new Home Craft and Household Business Course entered the NLCS general prospectus after 1909. The previous Domestic Arts Course also served as an alternative route to University examination courses. However, it was at this time that the prospectus officially stated that the course was provided without extra fee for girls in the school as an alternative to the regular course of study in the Upper Fifth and Sixth Forms. The course was also called 'Form Upper V3', which stood alongside general Upper V1 and V2 Forms. Again, it could be taken also as an after school course by girls who have left, and others (1909-10.Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study, p13).

'Special Course of Study in Home Craft and Household Business' notes that the subjects treated were: (1) Cookery; (2) Laundry Work and Housewifery; (3) Dressmaking and Millinery; (4) Hygiene; and (5) Household Business. The full prospectus of the course was attached at the end of the general prospectus. There, further information such as the names of mistresses and their responsible areas of instructions are given as follows. In Cookery, Miss Stern, the Science Mistress, taught the Laboratory work and Miss Macrae taught the Kitchen work. In Housewifery and Laundry, Miss Stern taught the Laboratory work and Miss Macrae the Kitchen work. Dressmaking and Millinery were taught by Miss Macrae only. Hygiene was taught by Miss Drummond, the Science Mistress. Household Arithmetic as taught by Miss Dobbin, the Mathematic Mistress. While the previous course was taught only by the certificated Domestic Arts Mistress, Miss Macrae, the instruction in the new course was provided by four mistresses, one certificated and the others being University graduates. Therefore, the level of instruction became more extended, academic and detailed. At the same time, the detailed syllabus of instruction shows that the course work was planned carefully to be comprehensive and to combine theoretical and practical work together. The Laboratory work and the Kitchen work in Cookery and Housewifery and Laundry were written in the way that contents related were easily acknowledged by the readers (1909-10.Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study, p21).

The achievements of the Home Craft and Household Business are recorded in the Report of Second Inspection conducted by the Board of Education during the 10th and the 13th May,

1910. In the report, the course was frequently called 'the Technical Class' and the instruction given in the areas of 'domestic subjects' were generally called 'Domestic Economy'. According to the inspector, 'outside the special Technical Class recently instituted, very little definite instruction was given in Domestic Economy. As it had already been noted in the section dealing with Needlework, this was caused by girls' overcrowded curriculum (Second Inspection 1910, p.29). Therefore, NLCS had reduced the target of Domestic Economy teaching in general. The reports on 'Science' shows that girls studied either Botany of Domestic Economy. ('Science', Second Inspection 1910, p.26. See Appendix 5).

This Technical Class was opened in the Academic Year 1909-1910. Since it served also as the Upper V3 Form, 'The class comprises 14 girls, not one of whom under 15 years of age, and 10 of whom have had at least three years' training in Secondary Schools'. This special class was open to all, though it was intended to meet the needs of particular students, those who were to enter home life directly, as it was noted in the prospectuses. The course was intended to last for one year and to enable girls to obtain the standard for the Preliminary Certificate. However, the course did not aim to train Domestic Economy teachers, so girls who desire to become qualified in this direction were recommended to attend a longer course outside the school, unless they had entered the Course after attending such longer courses. At the time of the May 1910 Inspection 26 girls attended the course.

The inspector happily notes that systematic teaching was done in this course by integrating Science and Domestic Economy under 'well-qualified teachers who are keenly interested in this experiment.'

With the exception of one weekly lesson in English Literature, French, Scripture, Singing, and Drill, the course consists of lessons in Cooking, Laundrywork, Dressmaking, Millinery, and Household Mending. Hygiene (personal and social), and general Household Management, including Household Finance. The great interest of the class lies in the fact that in association with the Cooking, Laundry, and Hygiene Work, systematic study in Chemistry and Physics is taken under well-qualified teachers, who are keenly interested in this experiment (Second Inspection 1910, p.30).

However, difficulties of combining scientific and practical teaching were also pointed out. First, the differing experience of girls' scientific training affected the level of understanding. Then, the practical work given by a certificated- not graduate- Domestic Economy Mistress,

were not enough scientific according to the inspectors. This opinion was to reflect the wider educational debate on the professionalization of subjects teaching.

At the beginning of such a course there are, naturally, many difficulties to be faced, from some of which this class is not exempt. Among them lies the disparity in scientific training previously received by the girls, and another is due to the fact that different teachers are responsible for the Laboratory and Kitchen Work respectively. The Kitchen Work is carried on with the aim of qualifying the girls to produce satisfactory results as regards dishes, &c., but the methods adopted and their effective results are not superior to those of the ordinary Cooking and Laundry Schools. This most interesting experiment would gain in value were the training given in the Laboratory in observing cause and effect maintained also in the Kitchen (Second Inspection 1910, p.30).

As the Inspectors in 1910 were also aware, the Technical Class was only at its beginning, and constant changes were made later on to improve its teaching. In October 1912, the Headmistress suggested to develop a Senior Class, 'co-operating in part with the Home Craft Course and ranking with the Sixth Form', to suit girls for Municipal Services and social work.

As regards future developments, three suggestions present themselves for further deliberate consideration.

(i) Recent development in the government and Municipal Services offer to women new occupations in the field of social work, e.g. in Labour Bureaux, under the administration of the Insurance Act, in connection with aftercare committees. Education leading up to interest and ability in such work is needed. This suggests the development of a Senior Class co-operating in part with the Home Craft Class and ranking with the Sixth Form, to specialise in a course of study concentrated on (i) Economics, (ii) Political Institutions as bearing on the regulation and development of civic life, (iii) Theory and Practice of Home making and management of Income, (iv) Hygiene, (v) English Literature or General history of other Humanistic study. The course of study should be followed by a year's apprenticeship under the good leader in some definite social work involving acquaintanceship with the home life of the poor and the problems connected with the organisation and remuneration of labour ('October 15th, 1912'. HR).

The new course also aimed to combine theoretical and practical training. However, the practical training was not given inside the classroom but took the form of a year's apprenticeship in social work to help the poor outside school after taking the course.

By November 1912, the plan for the Social Service Training Course was furthered in the ways of apprenticeship and was linked with higher education. This time the Social Service Training consists of three years. In the first year, girls are required to attend the course at NLCS. In the second year, while having some practical experience among the poor, girls also need to attend lectures given at the School of Economics or the National Health Society. In the third year, further voluntary assistant in social service in connection with Nursery Schools & Schools for Mothers, Care Committees or Girls Club and women's settlements were planned. Mrs Bryant aimed to open a new career for girls in the field of social work, therefore, apprenticeship was seen to be important. In addition, in order to guarantee the quality of training, she tried to establish a diploma which is linked to a higher education authority.

It is very desirable as one of service means to success in opening up career that a diploma in recognition of the whole course should be granted by some authoritative body ('November 27th, 1912'. HR).

Reports of BOE's Inspection conducted during 8th and the 11th December 1914 shows how 'domestic subjects' teaching had developed by that time. In the Junior School 'the small amount of definite handicraft done'. In the Upper School, the 'School has thus a very strong intellectual life. Outside of this it finds scope for some girls whose tastes are neither linguistic nor scientific in a housecraft course, in some opportunities for advanced art work and in music' ('Curriculum and Organisation', 1914 Inspection, p.8). Here, Inspectors categorise the Home Craft Course outside 'the intellectual life' or university aspirants and see girls in the Course neither 'linguistic nor scientific'.

The combined feature of the instruction given in the Home Craft Course could again be seen in the 1914 Report. In History, 'the Industrial English history taken by the Domestic Form is most clearly stimulating the thought and interest of the few girls who form the division'. In Science, 'a recently appointed Mistress, who holds the M.Sc. of Manchester University, and is responsible for botany and the chemistry of Housecraft'. In Art, 'girls in the Home Crafts division of the School would profit by a practical course bearing on the decoration and furnishing of the home' ('History', 'Science' and 'Art', 1914 Inspection, p10, 12-13).

A detailed report could be seen in 'Housecraft' section. 'With the exception of needlework, the study of Housecraft is confined to the Form of elder girls who specialise in home craft and household business, though three or four girls from other Forms join some of the classes'. The class number was 9, but it was rather small compared to 22 in the former years. Again, the different educational background of the girls in the Class is seen problematic.

The disparity in previous training to which reference was made in the last Full Inspection Report still exists. Of the nine girls, three have passed into this Form from the Upper Fourth, four have come from higher Forms, while two have been admitted from other Secondary Schools ('Housecraft', 1914 Inspection, p.13).

The contents of instruction given consisted of Cookery, Housewifery and Laundry work, Dressmaking and Needlework, Hygiene, and Household Business. In general, combination of 'The craft part of the work...by the Domestic Science Mistress' and 'the laboratory work by the Mistress who teaches botany' was maintained and improved to make clear to pupils the practical bearing of the work done in the laboratory in connection with the chemistry of food and laundry work('Housecraft', 1914 Inspection, pp.13-14. See Appendix 5).

The Housewifery syllabus was 'a thoroughly practical one' but the Cookery syllabus included

not only the ordinary dishes, but a number which would come under the heading of high class cookery' where some insufficient understanding by girls were found('Housecraft', 1914 Inspection, p.14. See Appendix 5).

Needlework was 'compulsory in two Forms of the Junior School, in the Domestic Arts Form and in the case of girls who have become Bursars' including 'about 40 girls'. many others joined 'the afternoon practices under the guidance of various members of the staff'. Also some pressure was 'exerted by requiring all girls to take an examination test each term, and encouragement is afforded by arranging that each of the four sections into which the School is divided should have a two-hours lesson once a month from the Domestic Mistress'. Form mistresses were also noted to show interest towards examination results and afternoon activities. Therefore, it was concluded that 'While it cannot be claimed that all girls receive adequate instruction, very many are efficiently taught, and among the work seen much was of good standard. In addition, the work done in the Class was described as follows:

The work in plain needlework done by the majority of members of the domestic class was in all respects good, as was also the dressmaking. In both branches the note-and draft-books contain clear and sensible work.

The methods of teaching employed in the Junior School have been to some extent influenced by modern developments. The stitchery is generally satisfactory, but it is strongly recommended that the scheme partially followed should be adopted thoroughly, so as to make each child responsible for measuring, cutting and placing as well as for stitchery ('Housecraft', 1914 Inspection, p.14. See Appendix 5).

As NLCS was eager to combine scientific and practical instruction in 'domestic subjects', it also carefully planned to create a friendly atmosphere between girls in the Home Craft Course and the others. In February 1914, when girls in the Upper Fifth and Six Forms organised a Dance, girls in the Home Craft Course helped in serving dishes. The headmistress stresses that this achievement gave confidence to girls in the Home Craft Course, and showed the educational value of the Course to other girls. It is also possible to think that all attending the Dance, girls, old girls, staff and the public, saw this educational value to some extent ('February 4th, 1914'. HR. See Appendix 5).

The changing content of 'domestic subjects' instruction in NLCS between 1895 and 1914 reflect the changes made in NLCS school organisation and curriculum. Until 1904, Needlework and Domestic Economy remained compulsory subjects listed in the Course of Study. When NLCS introduced the external examination of the University London as its standard examination in 1904, Domestic Economy ceased to be a part of the subjects that were examined. Needlework, which had also served for charitable purposes, continued to serve for this purpose. The Cookery lessons show an interesting procedure of transformation from extra classes to a legitimate school course. After 1904, a course specialising in the fields of 'domestic subjects' for Senior School girls was established and kept changing to include knowledge and skills in the extending fields of 'domestic subjects' such as Laundry, Hygiene and Household Business.

To conclude, two major features could be seen in the changing state of 'domestic subjects' instruction given in NLCS. Firstly, it can be seen as responding to 'divided aims' of girls future; University study, female employment and home life. Then, the changing content and ways of teaching reflects the move toward a more professional training requiring knowledge and practical apprenticeship experience.

5.9. Staff.

The newly employed staff who took charge of this Domestic Arts Course was, Miss Charlotte Macrae (1869-?). Miss Macrae was born on 16th March, 1869. She attended the Camden School for Girls (CSG) between 1878 and 1885, and obtained the 3rd Class College of Preceptors and took Junior Cambridge Examination. She was supported by her widowed mother until she started working in a telephone company at the age of 16. In December 1894, at the age of 25, Miss Macrae became one of the candidates of the London Technical Education Board Scholars and was trained in the Domestic Economy Teacher Training Department of Battersea Polytechnic during 1896 and 1897. Previous to her training she only had experience in a 'little home cooking and dressmaking' and 'now for the first time possible to spare time for training'. She was recommended to the Board by Mrs Bryant. At the Battersea polytechnic, she obtained the 1st Class Diplomas in Cookery, Landry, Dressmaking and Needlework and the 2nd Class Diploma in Housewifery in 1897, and added High Class Cookery Diploma in 1899. She further obtained the 1st Class City & Guilds Certificate in Millinery in 1905 ('No. 28. Macrae, Charlotte Staff Register 1893-1924. NLCSA; 'Report of the Domestic Economy Sub-Committee. December 5th, 1894'. LMA).

The date of her definitive appointment in NLCS was 14th January, 1904. However, she had been teaching Cookery in Camden School (CSG) since 1897, which lasted until April 1916. She also taught in several other schools such as the Deaf & Dumb School, Fitzroy Square in 1898, St. Mary's College, Paddington, during 1889 and 1900, and in various classes under the London County Council. According to the Staff Register of NLCS, Miss Macrae was expected to teach Cookery, Laundrywork, Dressmaking, Millinery and Housewifery to Technical Classes. The contents of her instruction are noted in detail later. After April 1901, she also supervised the buildings. Her salary as £100, part time, was noted at the beginning of her employment. After July 1916, it rose to £120 and continued rising till 1923 ('No. 28. Macrae, Charlotte Staff Register 1893-1924).

5.10. Headmistress's approach to 'domestic subjects': A conclusion.

The NLCS records show how Mrs Bryant changed the form of 'domestic subjects' instruction over time, especially before and after 1904. Plain Needlework remained to be the required skill for all NLCS girls and continuingly used as the means of voluntary contribution. Domestic Economy instruction remained until 1903, but ceased to be a compulsory subject

after 1904. Cookery lessons were given as special fee-paying course before 1903, but it consisted a part of the Domestic Arts Course after 1904. Domestic Arts Course consisted of Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery and Laundry Work or Housewifery lessons taught by a Domestic Economy Mistress trained at the Polytechnic. When it changed to the Home Craft and Household Business Course after 1909, lessons in Hygiene and Household Business were added under the help of Math and Science Mistresses.

Changes in 'domestic subjects' instruction formed a part of NLCS's general shift in the curriculum after 1903. The main course of curriculum shifted to a more academic line to suit the requirements of the Matriculation Examination of the University of London, which were taken in Upper Forms. While Mrs Bryant was rather unwilling to introduce 'domestic subjects' in 1898, by 1903 she was also aware of the needs of 'Non-College' girls and introduced the courses for 'Specialisation' including 'domestic subjects' classes. Mrs Bryant tried to offer 'domestic subjects' instruction in academic manners by using theoretical and scientific approach to the fields. By including social work, the Course strengthened its link with female employment in a more professional manner.

It is also important to see that 'domestic subjects', the compulsory Domestic Economy offered until 1903, ceased to form a part of general compulsory curriculum and became to be taught to a limited proportion of older NLCS girls after 1903. During the years of Mrs Bryant, 'domestic subjects' changed its character from a necessary knowledge and skill which should be taught to all NLCS girls to a more specialised subject aimed to meet the needs of a limited number of girls with special interests.

Chapter 6: Camden School for Girls (CSG) under Miss Emma Jane Elford (1871-1882) & Miss Fanny Lawford (1882-1914).

6.1. Introduction.

In this chapter, I examine the process of the introduction of 'domestic subjects' from 1871 to 1914 under its two headmistresses, Miss Elford (Head 1871-1882) and Miss Lawford (Head 1882-1914) who guided CSG for 43 years altogether. The whole period is to be covered in one chapter. First, we will see the general curricular development of CSG. Then the influence of Miss Buss on CSG will be examined. Third, the actual process of the introduction of various 'domestic subjects' will be analysed in chronological order. Fourth, pupils' views towards such instruction will be examined. Additionally, the development of Civil Service training will also be briefly noted. The sources used are mainly drawn from NLCS Archive (NLCSA) and CSG (CSGA). Information is given individually.

6.2. School organisation and curriculum.

The first prospectus of 1871 shows that CSG also aimed to provide an academic education similar to NLCS. The curriculum listed there consists of 'English, Arithmetic, French, Drawing, Plain needlework, Class singing, Physical training, and the elements of Natural Science'. The aims for the girls in CSG were also 'at preparing the pupils for the Junior Local Examinations of the Universities, for those of the College of Preceptors, &c.'. In CSG, Holy Scripture formed part of the regular course. The hour for this religious instruction was, however, fixed at such a time as to allow parents to withhold their children from it, should they wish to do so. Prospectuses of the CSG were combined with those of NLCS from 1871 to 1905. After 1906, the two schools used separate prospectuses ('Secondary Instruction for Girls in Camden Town. July, 1871', Prospectus, 1871, NLCSA, pp.3-4).

A more detailed Course of Study could be found from the prospectus of 1872.

Table 13. CSG. The course of study 1872.

Religious instruction	Book-keeping
Reading	Plain needlework
Grammar and composition	Class singing
History	Drawing
Geography	Elements of Experimental and Natural Science, &c.
Writing	Laws of Health
Arithmetic	Calisthenics
French	Political and Domestic Economy

The Religious Instruction is fixed at such a time as to allow parents to withhold their children from it, should they wish to do so.

The pupils are prepared for the junior Local Examinations of the Universities, for those of the College of Preceptors, &c. (Prospectus, 1872, NLCSA, p.6).

4. The Curriculum provides instruction in the English Language and Literature, French and German, Geography, History, Mathematics, the Elements of Natural and Experimental Science, Class Singing, Drawing and Household Hygiene. Practical Instruction in Needlework is given in all forms, and in Cookery and Dressmaking to some (Prospectus 1912-1913, CSGA, p8).

Surprisingly, the subjects listed in 'The Course of Study' of the prospectuses hardly changed from 1872 to 1912. This means that CSG as well as NLCS had developed a wide variety of academic curriculum from its beginning. However, in 1898, some revisions were made around the teaching of Political Economy, and Domestic Economy. The two subjects were divided into separate subjects, Economics and Domestic Economy (Theoretical and Practical). The latter change owed much to the employment of a specialist Domestic Economy Mistress which will be fully examined in following sections (Prospectus, before 1899 January, NLCSA, p.9). From 1904, German was added, though, as a subject for advanced pupils only (Prospectus, 1904 March, NLCSA, p.9).

The 'Report on the Inspection of the Camden School for Girls, Lent Term, 1900' gives actual information on the conduct of each form.

From the lowest form throughout the School, the following subjects are taken:- English, including Reading, Writing, Dictation, Recitation (which is the bass of the literature beginning in the Fourth Remove), French Divinity, English History, Geography, Arithmetic, Botany, Drawing, Drill Class-singing, Needlework. In the Upper III., to these subjects, Experimental Science is added. In the three highest forms, Botany is dropped to make room for more language and literature work, but Experimental Science is retained.

The main material of instruction from this extended curriculum consists of English Literature and History, French, Arithmetic. The relative length of time given to these subjects in actual lessons at its maximum and minimum is as follows:-

Hours of teaching per week. [Table 14.]

	Maximum in Form.	Minimum in Form.
English	Nearly 9 hrs. Lower II.	About 3 hrs. IV. Remove.
French	4 hrs. IV. Remove.	1 1/2 hrs. Lower II.
Arithmetic	5 hrs. Lower IV.	2 1/2 hrs. V.

The Arithmetic is well organised throughout the School and is taught with care (*Examiners' Reports*, 1900, NLCSA, p.18).

The *Examiners' Reports* for 1901 records the favourable state of education in CSG. The curriculum was fit for the pupils, and developed both physical and mental culture.

2. The number and nature of the subjects of the curriculum appear to be well adapted to the objects of the School and the character of its clientèle.
3. The quality of the work of the School, as revealed to my inspection, appears to me satisfactory homogeneous, due regard being had to the graduation of forms.
4. I did not observe any striking weakness in any division of the School...
5. I discovered no signs of overpressure in the pupils of cramming in the answers, of one-sided development in the curriculum.
6. The general teaching power of the Staff and the administrative ability of the Head Mistress were repeatedly demonstrated by the test I applied, and the general good moral tone and orderly discipline of the School were constantly apparent during my inspections...

With regard to the pupils, the discipline seemed to me to combine general control

with personal freedom, and I found ample evidence that every care is taken to foster physical development *pari passu* with mental culture (*Examiners' Reports*, 1901, NLCSA, p.19).

After 1906, the names of individual Form Mistresses, Specialist Mistresses and Visiting Mistresses became listed in the prospectuses. The three mistresses of cookery, Hygiene and Dressmaking remained employed until 1913.

Cookery...Miss Macrae, Diploma, Battersea Polytechnic; and Certificate for High-class Cookery, National School for Cookery.
Hygiene...Miss Duncan, National Health Society's Medal for Hygiene.
Dressmaking...Miss Young, First-class Diploma for Dress-cutting.
(Prospectus, 1906 July, CSGA, p.3)

The *Examiners' Reports* of 1898 and 'Curriculum Studies' of the prospectus of 1912-1913 summarises the changing aims of the curriculum in CSG during 1871 and 1913.

The Camden School was established to provide education of a type intermediate between the Elementary and the High Schools. It has in view the needs of those girls who, for the most part, do not go on to University work, and whose school work ceases at seventeen years of age (*Examiners' Reports*, 1898, NLCSA, p.22).

The Curriculum gives an education complete in itself up to the age of 17. At the same time it is adapted to girls who intend to become teachers in Elementary Schools, and, in the case of girls of special ability, to fit them for passing on to higher education if they and their parents so decide. There is a class arranged for those who wish to enter the Civil Service as telegraphists, sorters, or girls clerks, to take up clerical work (Prospectus 1912-1913, CSGA, p8).

The curriculum was originally designed to serve for girls whose 'education complete in itself up to the age of 17'. As the situation of middle-class girls education changed over the time, the curriculum also had to serve for girls 'who intend to become teachers in Elementary Schools' or for those 'of special ability' who wished to pass on to higher education and for girls preparing for employments in Civil Service, etc. The second point makes clear that CSG had to serve for girl's 'divided aims' for home, employment and university education.

6.3. Influence of Miss Buss on CSG.

Since CSG was established as a sister school of NLCS under the initiative of Miss Buss, the school was considered to follow the lines of NLCS. To what extent was CSG independent from NLCS? Some traces of the influence of Miss Buss on CSG can be seen in the Head Mistresses' Reports of CSG. Miss Buss appears in the reports more than 30 times between 1870 and 1894. Miss Buss made decisions on the management of CSG such as organising new classes, appointing new teachers, arranging lectures and special courses of lessons and withdrawals of CSG pupils. However, after 1880s, Miss Buss was more often seen to invite older CSG girls to NLCS for tea or lecture, to supply CSG with furniture or books (HR 1872-1894. See Appendix 5).

Miss Buss has arranged for a Course of Lessons on the "Laws of Health" to be given by Miss Chessar ('September 1871', HR, CSGA).

Miss Buss and I, after due consideration, advised the friends of two girls, who had been in the School one since Jan 7, 1871, & the other since Jan, 1872 and whom conduct was troublesome, and progress unsatisfactory, to remove them at the end of the term. In consequence of this, Miss Buss received unpleasant note from one mother and a younger child was withdrawn ('October 20th, 1873'. HR, CSGA).

Mathematical teaching

As a means of training, and as a help to some of our more promising girls I have with this new year introduced a little mathematical teaching into the curriculum. Miss Mary Benett who has been for some years attached to the staff of the N.L.C.S. and is recommended to me as an excellent teacher by Miss Buss, is doing this part of our work...('February 11th, 1890'. HR, CSGA).

However, in most cases the headmistress of CSG was able to make her own way.

I have arranged for a course of lessons on Economics to be given by Miss Weller to the first & two second classes one hour a week ('June 28th, 1875'. HR, CSGA).

It is clear from the general course of study that CSG maintained an academic culture similar to its sister school, NLCS. However, the detailed process of the introduction of 'domestic

subjects' in CSG shows that CSG took quite different steps in developing practical subjects, 'domestic subjects' and commercial subjects. CSG was a Middle School serving girls whose education finished at the age of 17, and the different strategies it took will be examined in the next section.

In the following sections, I will clarify the actual procedure for the introduction of 'domestic subjects' in CSG for the 43-year period being studied (from 1871 to 1914). What was taught to whom as 'domestic subjects'? Why were the subjects introduced? Who were involved in the move? The sub-sections will be presented in chronological order, starting from compulsory Needlework and Domestic Economy lessons that started in the early days. Then, information on a short-term extra Cookery follows. Thirdly, major changes in Science teaching, including lessons in Cookery and Dressmaking, occurred after the 1890s under the influence of the London Technical Education Board and the Board of Education (BOE). Finally, compulsory Domestic Arts Course established in the 1910s will be explored.

6.4. Needlework 1871-1914.

Needlework was an important subject for CSG either as a compulsory subject listed in the Course of Study or as a means of voluntary activities. First, 'Plain needlework' continued to be included in 'The Course of Study' in the prospectuses from 1871 to 1914 as a compulsory subject. In the beginning, special staffs were appointed to assist the teaching of Needlework.

Appointment of Assistant, Miss Annie Elford who is also to help in needlework.

As Miss Begbie gives us much less time, in consequence of her service being required at the N.L.Coll.School, Miss Buss finds it necessary to give me an assistant secretary, who will make up lists of attendance, send out forms for entry etc, and who will also undertake to give several hours a week to the planning of the needlework. Miss Buss has therefore appointed my sister, Annie Elford ('December 7th, 1872'. HR, CSGA).

Appointment

My sister, Annie Elford, as assistant secretary and superintendent of the needlework has entered ('February 10th, 1873'. HR, CSGA).

It is stated that Miss Buss was involved in the employment of the staff, Miss Annie Elford

who was to serve both as assistant secretary and the Needlework superintendent. Since Miss Annie Elford was the sister of Miss Elford, CSG's headmistress, this suggests that CSG was also supported by the headmistress's family network in its early days.

Who actually received instruction in Needlework? The Examiner's Report for 1901 notes that the subject was taught to girls in all forms, and girls shows favourable abilities.

Needlework...Form I. and Lower II., very fair; Upper II., Upper and Lower III., Remove and Lower IV, good especially the button-holing in Upper II.; Upper IV. And V., very good (*Examiners' Reports*, 1901, NLCSA, p.22).

Aside from the general school lessons, Needlework was also done as the Holiday Work.

The Holiday work this year was done by 147 pupils, several of whom worked at two subjects and some at three. It is satisfactory to find that there is an increase over last year of 67 girls in the number of those who attempted the work. I am glad to say that nearly one-third tried for a needlework prize. The total number of prizes awarded is 163. 26 for needlework. 10 for drawing... ('October 2nd', 1882. HR, CSGA).

Holiday work were attempted by 102 girls, 132 subjects were worked at. In the lower part of the Sch. it consisted of collections of shells, of flowers, specimens of needlework, drawing of flags. The upper part of the school took ordinary subjects ('October 4th', 1897'. HR, CSGA).

Needlework, as well as other academic subjects, was under constant testing of external examiners in Easter Term during 1879 and 1890. Contents of examinations show that girls were asked to make baby's (long) flannel for 5 times, baby's (long) night dress twice, and baby's gown, a night jacket, boy's shirt or girl's dress each. The number of girls listed in the section of Needlework was smaller than the actual size of the class (probably the highest class, Class 1 or Form V), and the participants in the examinations were much smaller (Camden School 1874-1890. Examination for extra prizes. CSGA). The popularity of making baby's cloth indicates that girls were seen to become future mothers.

Second, Dorcas Society activities and Founder's Day Bazaar were also valued

Our Dorcas funds were very materially assisted last term by the pupils of the

Camden Road School who gave a concert for our benefit, the proceeds amounted to £18.11.0.

About 600 articles of clothing, including some quilts and pillows, were made and given to the local clergy ('February 10th. 1873'. HR, CSGA).

CSG founded its own Dorcas Society which engaged in activities similar to that of NLCS. The society held meetings from 1871 once a month in the afternoon attended by all the pupils, and aimed to provide articles, which amounted to 700 to 800, for the poor in the neighbourhood at Christmas time. It was funded by staff, pupils and the friends from outside schools, but the fundraising were often assisted by pupils' concerts ('December 4th, 1871'; 'February 10th, 1873'. HR, CSGA). The reports of the annual contribution made were reported by the headmistress to the Governors, and printed reports were circulated to the members of the society. Comments on Dorcas Society appears almost annually in Head Mistress's Reports from 1871 to 1902. Printed reports of the Dorcas Society are also enclosed between the headmistress's reports for the year 1872, 1874-78, 1881-83, 1885-88, 1890-93, 1896-97, 1899-1904.

Founder's Day was first celebrated at Camden School in 1884 and reports in the Bazaar are seen in the Head Mistress's Report till 1905 ('June 7th, 1884'. HR, CSGA. See Appendix 5).

...An Exhibition of work and toys was held in the afternoon to which parents and friends were invited. Although the number of articles shown was not quite so large as last year, the variety was greater and as much time and skill had been expended in their manufacture.

The work chiefly from the upper Forms of the School included specimens of craft work, painting on terra cotta and china, children's dresses and every kind of fancy work.

The toys were sent to the children's ward of Act hospitals ('June 8th, 1885'. HR, CSGA).

Founder's Day was kept on the 2nd April. There was the usual sale of work with the addition of a stall of Cookery made by girls attending the classes ('June 14th, 1897'. HR, CSGA).

Girls used their skills in Needlework to make toys, children's dresses or fancy articles to be sold or directly sent to children's hospitals and other similar institutions. Later, after the

establishment of Cookery classes, girls also contributed in the area. In 1888 it was made clear that the Founder's Day activities aimed to awaken 'in the girls of an interest outside themselves and the supplying them with a subject of wholesome thought and occupation', to serve for voluntary purposes ('June 4th, 1888'. HR, CSGA. See Appendix 5).

In conclusion, Needlework in CSG was also given in two ways. First, it was offered as a compulsory subject which was examined as other academic subjects and included in Holiday Work. The activities emphasised its mother-like features by guiding girls to make goods for small children. Secondly, it also served to enhance girls' interest in voluntary work as all girls were required to contribute in the Dorcas Society and the Founders Day work. An interesting comment on the Needlework Exhibition is noted in the Headmistress's Report of 1914: it points out that CSG was to some extent operated under the influence of the London County Council in 'domestic subjects' instruction. However, this point will be examined in greater detail later.

An Exhibition of Needlework promoted by the L.C.C. is being held during the month of February at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. It includes exhibition from elementary, secondary, trade, Domestic Economy Schools, Training Colleges for Teachers, Technical Institutes and Arts and Craft Schools. I sent the Scheme of needlework followed out in the Camden with specimens of the work done ('February 4th, 1914'. HR, CSGA).

6.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1909.

Domestic Economy was also taught as an academic compulsory subject from 1872 to 1909 as 'The Course of Study' in the prospectuses show. However, the influence of the London Technical Education Board and the Board of Education is also seen in the changes made in teaching of this subject after the mid-1890s.

Domestic Economy in the 1870s was taught by several mistresses to the upper forms. The subject was probably first taught in 1872 by Miss Leicester who gave 'a course of lessons on Domestic Economy, to the third, fifth, and sixth classes' ('June 10th, 1872'. HR, CSGA). Then in 1873 'Miss Buss has kindly arranged a course of lessons on Domestic Economy to be given by Miss Derrick to the first three classes' ('June 9th, 1873'. HR, CSGA). In 1876 the name of the staff is not noted, but 'Domestic Economy has been taught to about 130 pupils' ('May 29th, 1876'. HR, CSGA). In 1877, Domestic Economy, with Economics and the Laws

of Health, were taught in the Upper half of the School ('June 4th, 1877'. HR, CSGA). Besides ordinary lessons, special Physiology lectures including knowledge of food stuff, etc, were given to CSG pupils ('February 10th, 1879'. HR, CSGA).

The attitude of the headmistress, Miss Elford, toward Domestic Economy can be seen from the additional School Prize given to the subject after 1888. It was first offered by Mr and Mrs Lubbock and was 'much valued'. Therefore, when it was withdrawn with that for the Laws of Health, Miss Elford regretted that 'It unfortunately happens that two special prizes are withdrawn this year. The above (Laws of Health) and Mr. and Mrs Edgar Lubbock's for Domestic Economy'. ('June 19th, 1893'; 'July 13th, 1893'. HR, CSGA) The prize was, however, soon altered after 1894 by Miss Buss and Mrs Alfred Buss ('June 19th, 1895'. HR, CSGA). However, when the death of Mrs. Alfred Buss required the changes of prizes given, Domestic Economy was dropped from the list because 'the prizes for Laws of Health and Domestic Economy are not so much required for in the upper part of the school it is difficult to fit in these subjects since the Science has made such inroads upon the time-table'.

I have much pleasure in reporting that Mr. Buss has founded prizes in his own name and in Mrs Buss's Memory. Hitherto, the prizes paid at pleasure have been for Swimming, Laws of Health, Cookery and Domestic Economy...

the prizes for Laws of Health and Domestic Economy are not so much required for in the upper part of the school it is difficult to fit in these subjects since the Science has made such inroads upon the time-table ('June 7th, 1904'. HR, CSGA. See Appendix 5).

Examination papers used during March 1874 and Easter 1890 show that Domestic Economy was taught to the same number of girls who took other academic subjects such as Laws of Health, Social Economy or Drawing. This shows that Domestic Economy was a compulsory subject at least to girls entering for examinations. In the early years, it is not clear that girls from what form participated, but examinations were taken by girls in the highest class (Form V) after Easter 1881. In most of the years, prizes were given to the girls who obtained the highest marks as were given in other academic subjects.

Examination papers also provide detailed information on the contents of instruction given. The first paper for March 1874 contains the name of NLCS which was crossed out and suggests that the two schools used the same examination papers. After Easter 1875, Camden School used its own examination papers. Five to eleven questions were asked

each time which girls had to provide written answers. The total 145 questions asked could be divided into several areas: most frequently asked were 28 questions on knowledge of Cookery (especially on constituents, nutrition, diet, appropriate food for different climates & localities', etc) and 27 on practise of Cookery (cooking different recipes, making home-made bread, planning dishes from existing materials, etc.); 19 on Heating (use of different types of stoves for heating and cooking purposes, etc.); 18 on Housing (purchasing, health housing, drainage, etc.); 18 on ventilation and knowledge of air; 14 on knowledge and use of water; 6 on Hygiene (how to disinfect the room after sick care, etc.); 5 on clothing (different materials, influence of health, etc.); 4 on Physiology (how to heat bodies, exercise, effect of boots and shoes); 2 on cleaning (different ways of cleaning giving directions to maids); 2 on laundry (how to wash different types of materials, using soap, etc.); and one question each on planning dishes for 20 children and practise of Domestic Economy (Camden School 1874-1890. Examination for extra prizes). When comparing the contents of instructions with those given to NLCS girls, questions around Lighting (use of different types of candles), Infant care and First aid are missing from those asked to CSG pupils.

Comments from Examiners between 1891 and 1903 show some images of Domestic Economy. Domestic Economy was a special subjects taken by girls in Form V, class size around 38 girls and average age around 15 years. Instructions were given in sick room and cases of accident, connected with Laws of Health, Foods, Cooking, Clothing, Water Supply, Ventilation and Drainage, Food stuffs and water (Form Upper IV) and Food adulterants()Form V (*Examiners' Reports*, 1891, 1892, 1896, 1901. NLCSA).

The examiners seemed to be satisfied with the work done by girls. The answers given were 'generally thoughtful and practical, and showed that the lessons had been carefully designed with a view to systematic study of the subject' (*Examiners' Reports*, 1894. NLCSA, p.17) and 'useful knowledge 'had been acquired on each branch of the Course' (*Examiners' Reports*, 1896. NLCSA, p.17). Ways of teaching and facilities also improved (See Appendix 5).

This subject had been very efficiently taught. The answering showed that the class was well equipped with the knowledge of recent improvements in house sanitation, heating, lighting, and cooking, the means of infections (mistype?) diseases, and the general arrangements for the sick room (*Examiners' Reports*, 1895. NLCSA, p.17).

Since my last visit very important structural improvements have been made, and

more than half the pupils are now receiving very useful practical training in Physics, Chemistry, and Domestic Economy in the well-equipped Laboratories that have been erected (*Examiners' Reports*, 1897. NLCSA, p.21).

However, the report in 1902 questions the effectiveness of Domestic Economy teaching which is not based on a solid Science-based knowledge and recommends to convert hours spent for the subject to that of English Literature considering the limited time-table.

I doubt whether it is wise to take both Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health in the same term. I confess my experience as an examiner has made me somewhat sceptical as to the value of such special subjects, resting as they do on no solid foundation or scientific knowledge (*Examiners' Reports*, 1902. NLCSA, p.20. See Appendix 5).

In conclusion, Domestic Economy teaching in CSG had a long tradition starting from 1872 and lasting at least until 1909. It was introduced under the initiative of Miss Buss in 1872, and was taught in academic manners, inspected and examined as other academic subjects. However, unlike the teaching in NLCS, its situation was greatly influenced and benefitted from the London Technical Education Board (TEB) and the Board of Education (BOE) after the mid-1890s. At first, Domestic Economy Teaching benefitted from the newly built Science Room and Science grants from TEB. Then, when CSG needed to reorganise its school structure and curriculum after the 1906, the compulsory Domestic Economy lesson was dropped from the general course of study. It was substituted by a more specialist and specific course consisting of Cookery and Dressmaking as we will see in the following sections.

6.6. Cookery 1876.

As we have seen in Chapter 5, NLCS had been planning to introduce demonstrative Cookery lessons from the Autumn of 1875. The Head Mistress's Report of Camden School also shows that a similar move was taking place in CSG, however, the process and outcome of this attempt followed a different approach

In October 1875, the headmistress, Miss Elford, suggested introducing Cookery lessons in Camden School. Miss Elford saw this introduction 'very desirable' and 'believed, be very popular'.

Class for Cookery.

It seems very desirable that a class for Cookery should be formed in the School. It would, I believe, be very popular, and the kitchen of No.14. which is now unoccupied would be an excellent place for practice, and could be adapted with little difficulty. The class could meet on Saturday mornings ('October 18th, 1875'. HR, CSGA).

However, in the next report written in February 1876, Miss Elford notes that the attempt to introduce Cookery lessons were turned down because only 8 pupils had applied out of 400 syllabuses sent to present and former pupils.

The Cookery Class has fallen thorough. Although upwards of 400 syllabuses were sent to the present and former pupils of the school, 8 only gave in their names expressing a desire to join the class ('February 14th, 1876'. HR, CSGA)

The Syllabus, 'Class for Cookery' gives detailed information on the content of this class. CSG aimed to open a class for teaching Cookery in January 1876. 12 two-hour lessons were to be given on Saturday mornings from ten. The lessons aimed to contain '*practical demonstrations of as many examples as time will allows*'. The fee for the whole course was £1 5s. the content of the 12 lessons show that it consisted of recipes for middle-class cooking ('Class for Cookery' included in 'February 14th, 1876'. HR, CSGA). It is clear from the information given that the Cookery class, to be offered in the afternoons or on Saturdays with extra fee, was situated outside the general curriculum.

No following information on Cookery lesson could be found in the Head's Report. Therefore, the first introduction of Cookery lessons in CSG shows an interesting contrast with that given in NLCS at the same time. While lessons were quite popular in NLCS as Miss Buss described it as a great success, the course in CSG could be considered a failure when it was first planned. A more consistent teaching of Cookery took place after the mid-1890s alongside teaching of Dressmaking when Camden School obtained grants from the Technical Education Board as will be examined next.

6.7. Cookery& Dressmaking courses and Domestic Science after 1894.

'Domestic subjects' instruction changed greatly after CSG introduced Science grants from the London Technical Education Board (TEB) and the Board of Education (BOE) after the

mid-1890s. Cookery and Dressmaking course were established by using the Science grants, and new Science Room was built. In this section, I will explain the procedure of developing the courses and curriculum offered.

The move towards receiving Science grants from TEB for building and apparatus started in March 1894. After referring to the needs of a Science room for 'elementary Physical Science in which children would have an opportunity of doing practical work of a simple kind for themselves', Miss Lawford, the second headmistress, suggested to use it also for 'developing the Science teaching especially the domestic sciences of cookery and dress cutting'. She was aware of the already improved 'domestic science' instructions given in neighbouring Board Schools and this rivalry with the neighbourhood schools must have become the impulse of the instruction.

I do not know what sized room could be built with the funds at disposal, but I would suggest that we have as large a room as possible with a view to developing the Science teaching especially the domestic sciences of cookery and dress cutting, for which one end of the room would be arranged. There are some Board Schools in our neighbourhood admirably fitted for the purpose. There is a gas stove in combination with a table for practical work, an arrangement of desks for the girls while demonstrations are proceeding and a water supply to the room.

As so many more learn cookery under the Board than would probably be the case at the Camden School accommodation for teaching from 16 to 20 at a time might sufficient ('March 19th, 1894'. HR, CSGA).

The new Dressmaking class started a year ahead of the Cookery class in 1895. After calculating the fee paid to the Science Mistress, which leave £46 an year, in a separate sheet of paper titled 'Science and needlework', Miss Lawford gave plans for the new class.

I should very much like to start a class in dressmaking and cutting with the view of doing this I have been examining two of the systems used in Schools and would recommend at any rate as a commencement that we should adopt the one worked out by Miss Parrons of 15 Henrietta Street WC. It has been introduced into the Princess Helena College at Ealing with favourable results and the Maria Grey Training College at Brondesbury holds classes for teaching it to its students. I could get it taught to a class of girls for £25 the year. I believe the Tech. E. B. forbids the charge of a fee where grants are made to Schools, but we could meet the expense

out of the £46 and still have a small margin ('June 19th, 1895'. HR, CSGA)

After Miss Lawford had learned the state of Dressmaking instruction given in other schools and tried to make the ends meet, the class for CSG girls was at work from October 1895.

The dressmaking class is now at work. There are 55 girls who are receiving instruction. A short demonstration lesson of half an hour is given to the whole but together and afterwards they form two divisions, each of one and for practical work a quarter hours, so that each girl gets one hour and three quarters a week. In order to give this amount of time the last set works until 4.30 with the consent of the parents ('October 9th, 1895'. HR, CSGA).

The course of dressmaking given by Miss Simstats which was to extend over a year finished in July. I have now made arrangements for a course to be completed in a term. The girls in the class given four hours a week to it and as they are between 26 & 17 they take to the work much more readily than the younger ones did last year. Another Mistress on the Staff been qualified herself to teach it on the Tailors' cutting system which is used in the City and Guides of London Institute. She holds a 1st cl. Diploma and will receive an addition to her salary of £15 ('October 5th, 1896'. HR, CSGA).

The Dressmaking class went under certain improvements in the first two years. Demonstrations and practical work continued in the afternoons. The first class which lasted for a year, starting in October and ending in July, was shortened to term-length class from the next year. It was firstly taught by a visiting mistress, but a CSG mistress was qualified to take her place from the second year. While the class was planned to teach 16 to 20 girls, 55 girls actually attended. The ages of pupils rose as older girls were seen more fit for the class.

By June 1896, the Cookery classes for CSG girls were started after the completion of the new Science Room.

I am happy to say we are now able to use the new Science room...On 3 afternoons a week cooking lessons are given to 30 girls, who take the demonstration together and divided for practice. Miss Turner, diplomée of the National School of Cookery is taking the lessons for this term rate fee of £10 ('June 15th, 1896'. HR, CSGA).

Last term a course of lessons in Cooking was given by Miss Turner, who was appointed for the term only, until Miss Macrae an old pupil should be ready to fill the post. The latter was admitted to the Battersea Training Polytechnic in a Scholarship and now has a first class diploma. She is an excellent teacher. Her salary is to be £30 a year ('October 5th, 1896'. HR, CSGA).

Classes were also held in the afternoons, and the instruction consisted of demonstrations and practice. The first teacher, Miss Turner, trained at the National School of Cookery, was appointed only for a year. She was succeeded by Miss Macrae, an old Camden girl trained at the Battersea Polytechnic.

Then, targets of both classes were extended to old girls and girls from outside school after December 1896.

I should like to arrange for lessons in Cooking and dressmaking for old pupils and others. There is nothing to prevent this in the regulation applicable to Secondary School receiving grants from the T. E. Board. If a fee of 15/ a term for each course be charged I think we can cover expenses. The lessons would have to be given in the evening or on Saturday (ordinary during mornings, unless pupils were able to come ('December 7th, 1896'. HR, CSGA).

Domestic Science was introduced in connection with the extension of Science teaching funded by grants from the TEB after 1886. Specialist Science mistresses taught Elementary Practical Science, Domestic Science and Botany. A new Domestic Science prize was introduced which proves that this subject was also treated academically. However, we cannot see what kind of lessons were given then since examiners' reports or examination papers do not exist in CSG Archive.

In connection with the Science Room I have to report that Mr. Alfred Buss as kindly offered a prize for proficiency in domestic science ('December 7th, 1896'. HR, CSGA).

In accordance with the suggestion of the Tech: Ed. Board that we should have more Science teaching in the School I have arranged for her to give very elementary lessons in three of the lowest forms which have not hitherto had them. She is also

teaching Botany in two forms...No part of the Science teaching is now done by the Mistresses of forms but is entirely in the hands of Science teachers ('October 22th, 1900'. HR, CSGA).

...The Science teaching for which we get a grant from the Tech: Ed: Board amounts £165. This included the teaching for Elementary practical Science, Domestic Science and Botany and does not seem excessive. ('February 4th, 1901'. HR, CSGA).

The instruction given in the newly introduced lessons of Cookery, Dressmaking and Domestic Science were inspected by TEB members, especially by members from the Domestic Economy Department, and other School authorities several times between 1896 and 1904 (HR, 1896-1904. See Appendix 5).

The new Science room was opened by Lord Hobhouse on Monday Oct. 19th. Many of the parents and other friends were present including four representatives of the T.E.B. All seemed interested in and pleased with the room, where some of the girls were cooking, others taking a lesson in dressmaking. Since it was opened Dr. Rimmins has paid us a visit of inspection from Dr Garnett, chiefly for inquiring as to the various members using the room for practical Science and other subjects taught in it.

We hoped we should have no objection to showing the room to School authorities about to set up a similar one, sent by the T.E.B. ('December 7th, 1896'. HR, CSGA).

Miss Pycroft of the Tech. Ed. Board visited the school May 16th and heard a Cookery demonstration by Miss Macrae. She considers her a very good teacher and has given her several classes in technical schools from time to time.

Mr. Ward the Head of the Junior department of the Polytechnic, Langham Place and the Head Mistress of the Girls' School in connection with is were recommended by the Tech. Ed. Board to come and see our Science room before making changes in their own ('June 9th, 1902'. HR, CSGA).

On December 15th Miss Gordon paid a visit to the School as representative of the Dom: Economy Dept. of the Tech. Ed. Board. She saw all the needlework which had been done through the year and considered it a well graduated and practical course ('February 3rd, 1903'. HR, CSGA).

As the above comments show, the instruction given was seen to be favourable from inspectors and visitors. The Cookery mistress, Miss Macrae was praised as 'a very good teacher' and the Needlework lessons were considered to be 'well graduated and practical.'

CSG also followed the guidance of BOE from the 1900s. Since 'domestic subjects' were also given as a part in Science teaching, influence of the regulations on Science and Mathematics were seen here. Hours spent and contents became ruled by the regulations, and annual inspections of the new Scheme of Science teaching were also introduced.

The syllabus of work in Science, Arithmetic and Elementary Mathematics are now ready to submit to the approval of the Board of Education. They are drawn up in accordance with Section LXXIII of the Directory. The timetables being so arranged as to give four hours' teaching in Science and five hours' in Arith & Math:

The Science included a course of Elementary experimental Science and a course of Botany. I propose that the course shall begin in the upper third form and continue through the fourth and fourth remove ('October 12th, 1901'. HR, CSGA).

The Inspection on annual Exam. of the School should take place next term, and arrangements are usually made prior at the meeting with the adaptation of the new Scheme for Science teaching, the School will be held to come under the Board of Education for inspection. ('December 9th, 1901'. HR, CSGA)

Mr. Buckmaster and Miss Wolter, Inspectors of Science teaching for the Board of Education visited the school on the 13th June ('October 20th, 1902'. HR, CSGA).

...the recently appointed Inspector of the Board of Education for the N.W. district visited the School. He was the arrangements made for the teaching of Science... ('February 3rd, 1903'. HR, CSGA).

The influences of the *RSS* on the curriculum are also seen in the headmistress's reports. The quotes below show how Miss Lawford tried to cope with the *RSS 1904-05* which required a certain amount of Science and Mathematics teaching to earn grants (See Appendix 5).

It is true that the time allotted to English subjects in the Upper 3rd Form is too little. It

is the first one which begins the 9 hours' course of Science and Mathematics.

The Regulations of the Board of Education recently issued seem to allow rather less time to be so applied. The distinct Inspector will not take the responsibility of so interpreting them and I have therefore written to the Board to ask. If the reply is favourable it will meet the difficulty raised...

In many points the Report was very suggestive and helpful. The criticisms are on the whole, fair and on lived hints and are valuable as coming from those who have expert knowledge to guide them ('Remarks on the Report of the Inspectors of the Board of Education. Inspections on 1st, 2nd 3rd of July 1904.' Included after 'February 2nd, 1904.' HR, CSGA).

The new regulations of the Board issued in August show that the conditions for earning grants are entirely altered. In Secondary Schools which have hitherto been getting them on Science and Mathematics they will now be given on the whole curriculum. This is a move in the right direction.

Schools are required to submit a 4 hours' course in all subjects for children of the ages from 12-16.

Specific directions are given as to the time to be devoted to certain subjects.

4 1/2 hours for English, Geography & history.

6 for languages where 2 are taken.

7 1/2 for Science & Mathematics, with due provision for drawing, physical exercises and housewifery.

In order to allow for these subjects and for prayers and Scripture lessons another 6 1/2 hours are necessary, so that the working school week, apart from preparation, will be 24 1/2 hours for the upper part of the School ('October 18th, 1904'. HR, CSGA).

While CSG had some difficulties adjusting its teaching hour and instructions to the RSS at first, it seemed to favour the change as 'a move in the right direction' in the end. As CSG become more involved in the inspection of BOE by 1906, the influence of L.C.C. seems to have lessened. In 1906, the 'dual inspection system by the Board & L.C.C.' became questioned. ('December 6th, 1904'. HR, CSGA). In 1908, it was proposed whether CSG should receive an annual inspection from BOE.

The last inspection of the School by the Governors' arrangement was in 1906... Should the Board of Education make this periodical inspection this year no other

would be necessary. I have not heard yet who they this is their intention. It would be desirable to defer it till the new plans and consequent reorganisation have been carried out ('January 28th, 1908'. HR, CSGA).

The courses in Cookery and Dressmaking continued after 1909.

A division of the same form, 6 in number, who are not likely to enter for a clerkship and are unequal to taking the second language are giving 5 hours a week to Cookery and dressmaking ('November 2nd, 1909'. HR, CSGA).

Under 'Domestic Economy' in the report of the second inspection by BOE in 1910, information on 'Needlework', 'the short Dressmaking course' and 'Cookery lessons' are seen.

Needlework is taught throughout the School, one hour a week being devoted to it. An experienced mistress on the regular Staff takes charge of the work in all but the lowest Forms. The teaching is on sound lines, and the results obtained are satisfactory. Some of the work shown was decorated with embroidery made from their own designs, the short Dressmaking course (on the construction of a simple blouse and skirt) given to some of the girls in a valuable addition to the ordinary Needlework course.

The Cookery Kitchen is well fitted but somewhat small. A well-qualified and competent teacher of Domestic Subjects given two afternoons a week (or two hours each) to the School. Her time is at present spent in giving short courses of Cookery lessons to girls from the middle of the School, her class being selected sometimes from one Form (or Forms) and sometimes from another. Many girls pass through the School without receiving any instruction in this subject, whilst others attend the same course of lessons twice over. This arrangement can hardly be considered satisfactory; moreover the course is too short to be of much practical use, and the syllabus of work needs reconsideration. (Second Inspection 1910, NLCSA, pp.50-51).

While the inspectors praised the instruction in Dressmaking 'valuable', those in Cookery required more revisions. The instruction given was too short to be practical and the size of the class too small. Moreover, the fact that not all girls received Cookery instruction was 'hardly be considered satisfactory'. Therefore, the extension of the Cookery teaching was planned soon after the report.

I propose to give, in the coming year, a rather larger number of girls the opportunity of leaning to cook. One form only has had this as a class subject. I propose to extend it to divisions of three forms. To do this I should require two hours more on the time of the present mistress. I ask for £10 for her salary ('July 25th, 1911'. HR, CSGA).

The report of 1914 shows under 'Housecraft' that courses in Needlework (including Dressmaking), Cookery and Hygiene are arranged separately for girls in different Forms. Improvements were made on the line set in 1910.

Needlework was taught to all girls from Form I to Form V. The contents varied from simple stitches to special dressmaking and embroidery, the latter studied specifically by older girls above Form V. Cookery was taught to girls in Form IIIs 'through which the majority of girls in the School pass' by a visiting mistress (Miss Macrae). Girls taking Cookery courses were 'rather young', though, they understood both 'the manipulative side of the work' and 'intelligent understanding' underlying it. The headmistress was pleased with the Cookery class and considered to substitute some hours dedicated to Dressmaking in Form V Rem. to Cookery. The information on Cookery is given in the most detailed ways, suggesting the interests of school and inspectors. A short Hygiene course was also taught to girls in Form IIIs 'for the purely practical end of building up good habits' (1914 Inspection, pp.22-23. See Appendix 5).

In conclusion, the teaching of Cookery and Dressmaking developed greatly after the introduction of grants from TEB after 1894 and those of BOE in the early 1900s. The funding of TEB enabled CSG to build a suitable Science Room needed for the teaching of Cookery and to cover the fees of both mistresses. Cookery and Dressmaking classes were taught by visiting mistresses from outside the school, then by CSG mistresses and the NLCS Domestic Arts Mistress (Miss Macrae). It is interesting to note that similar to the case of NLCS, the required training for Cookery Mistress also transferred from the certificate of the National School of Cookery to the diploma of Domestic Economy Training Department of the Battersea Polytechnic in the late 1890s. The state of teaching was constantly inspected by officers of TEB and content and methods of teaching developed hand in hand with those in other schools. After CSG introduced BOE grants, its curriculum and hours of teaching became influenced by the RSS.

Interestingly, CSG did not establish a formal 'domestic subjects' course for 'Specialisation' before 1914. The BOE inspection report for 1914 shows that separate classes offered instruction in Needlework (including Dressmaking), Cookery and Hygiene. The classes catered for almost all girls in CSG, but more advanced instruction was given girls in higher Forms. This difference in the forms of 'domestic subjects' instruction will be considered in following sections with link to staff and pupils and commercial education.

6.8. Staff.

Information on three 'domestic subjects' mistresses are found in Staff Register of CSG.

Miss Marion Duncan (1855-date unknown) served for CSG between 1876 to 1915. She 'was trained in' CSG for three years (dates unknown) before becoming the staff. She taught 'Class Singing, Hygiene, Needlework& undertake supervision. Secretarial work' ('No.5. Duncan, Marion', Staff Registers 1. 1892-1921, CSGA).

Miss Harriet Eliza Young (1858-date unknown) served for CSG between 1885 and 1920. She was also the pupil in CSG (dates unknown) before becoming staff. She held '1st Class Diploma for dress cutting 1906. (Tailor cutting system)' and '1st Class, for dress cutting 1908 (Gilbert draying system)' and taught 'Needlework, Cutting out and Dressmaking. Teaching Scripture' ('No.22. Young, Harriet Eliza', Staff Registers 1. 1892-1921, CSGA).

Information on the Cookery visiting mistress, Miss Macrae (1896-date unknown) is given in the previous chapter for NLCS. She was also a former CSG pupil. She taught various fields of 'domestic subjects' in NLCS as the Domestic Arts mistress after 1904, however, she only taught Cookery as a visiting mistress in CSG. ('No. 11', Staff Registers 1. 1892-1921. CSGA).

6.9. Pupils aiming for 'domestic subjects' teaching after the mid-1890s.

One pupil's attitudes toward instruction in 'domestic subjects' can be found in the autobiographical document of Mrs Doris Fison Hopkins. The afternoon Dorcas Society activities were sometimes seen as useless and boring. Doris entered CSG in May 1897 at the age of 8. She was a daughter of a provable widow, and had a sister in the school (Register of Applications). Her memoir consists of memories of classroom activities, homework, staff and Jubilee ceremony. There, she refers to the afternoon Dorcas activities

as below:

In our dreary needlework classes, one girl would read aloud - she was the lucky one! But this was not enough to relieve the boredom of making shirts and petticoats for the Dorcas Society- a worthy course no doubt, but we pitied the unfortunate men and women who had to wear those horrible garments. So our brains were very active in finding some relief - and we achieved the wonderful idea, of trying to undo some of the row of buttons on the back of one mistress' dress! No easy matter, but great admiration for the one who succeeded. I was never lucky.

How very tame this must seem to the young generation of today! (Hopkins, 'Life at School in Queen Victoria's Days'. Not dated).

After the establishment of Cookery and Dressmaking courses in the mid-1890s, 'domestic subjects' courses were clearly linked to teacher training. Reports on Student Teachers are found in headmistresses' reports after February 1872, though, after the mid-1890s, they were also referred to as receiving instructions in 'domestic subjects' in return for their work.

Two other old pupils are filling the other two posts for this term in return for lessons in dressmaking and cooking ('February 8th, 1897'. HR, CSGA).

Two Student Teachers finished their apprenticeship in May stayed to assist till July. May Winckley is now working at the Battersea Polytechnic having obtained a Domestic Economy Scholarship ('October 4th, 1897'. HR, CSGA).

According to Miss Lawford, 'domestic subjects' classes also helped to recruit sufficient number of Student Teachers in competition with outside Civil Service training schools or teacher training colleges.

I find some difficulty in filling vacancies among the Student Teachers.

The Civil Service as recently opened a new branch for girl clerks. Girls from Secondary Schools such as ours seem fitted for such posts, as in addition to the ordinary English subjects French or German is required....Then again several girls enter the School Board after having passed their Junior Camb: exam: with us.

A three years' apprenticeship in the Camden does not now, as it once did, suffice to procure a situation or appointment in a good school. The requirements of a teacher are so much higher than they used to be, and a year at a Training College is

essential unless very high attainments are offered.

From these causes I am often obliged to give up vacancies for a term or more with girls who as Junior Assistants do the work of Student Teachers in return for lessons. This is the case just now- Kate Satchwell is a probationer, Gertrude Sabey and Mary Jones are giving their time for the present in return for lessons ('October 4th, 1897'. HR, CSGA. See Appendix 5).

However, classes taken at CSG were not sufficient enough to produce 'domestic subjects' teachers directly. Therefore, girls entered Battersea Polytechnic, National Training School or other institutions after finishing their term.

Brenda Strachan and Mary Bowness are now acting as (Student) Junior Assistants for a year. Both are to become teachers of Domestic Economy and to enter the Battersea Polytechnic when old enough. They are capable girls and the experience they will get at the Camden in discipline & organization will be valuable to them later. In the meantime they are to have lessons in Cookery, Dressmaking, French and Drawing ('October 3rd, 1898'. HR, CSGA).

Three others, acting as Student Teachers though not apprenticed for three years attend French and other lessons and the Cookery and Dressmaking classes. The last are especially useful to two of them who, when old enough are to enter the Battersea Polytechnic to train as Teachers of Domestic Economy ('February 6th, 1899'. HR, CSGA).

Jessie Dunford has gained one of 5 appointments as Student Pupil Teachers in Domestic Economy under the London Tech. Board given for the first time this year. She enters upon the same terms as the ordinary pupil teachers but must pledge herself to attend the National School of Cookery to complete her training towards the fees of which a part of £10 will be made by the Board ('February 5th, 1900'. HR, CSGA).

Between 1897 and 1905, in nine cases, Student Teachers were reported to have received 'domestic subjects' training in return for their work or as preparation for entering outside 'domestic subjects' training colleges ('February 8th, 1897'; 'October 4th, 1897'; 'February 7th, 1898'; 'October 3rd, 1898'; 'February 6th, 1899'; 'February 5th, 1900'; 'October 22nd, 1900'; 'February 4th, 1901'; 'October 17th, 1905', HR, CSGA). Some interesting facts are found here.

First, similarity between the process of general teacher training and that of 'domestic subjects' teachers are seen here as they both needed to attend teacher training colleges after receiving instruction in secondary schools. The professionalization of teacher training also affected the training of 'domestic subjects' teachers in girls' secondary school. Second, these cases show that 'domestic subjects' were under competition with Civil Service examination from the 1880s.

After the 1880s, focus on the Civil Service examination increased as more girls were constantly reported to ask to withdraw from CSG before completing the school courses to prepare for the Civil Service examinations. In February 1888, 7 were reported to withdraw for this reason when an 'unusually large number left at Xmas'. Miss Lawford noted that 'Girls desiring of entering Junior Branch of the Civic Service or of becoming pupil teachers under the School Board find it to their advantage to leave school before the age of 16. Eight girls left under these circumstances at the end of last term' ('February 5th, 1888', HR, CSGA). The examination results of old girls were also reported at Governors meetings after 1888 ('June 4th, 1888'; 'July 13th, 1893'; 'February 12th, 1894'; 'June 11th, 1900'; 'October 20th, 1908'; 'January 19th, 1909'; 'May 27th, 1913'. HR, CSGA).

The number of CS girls preparing for the Civil Service examinations increased by the end of the 19th century ('October 4th, 1897'. HR, CSGA). Since CSG did not provide courses for this purpose, girls prepared for Civil Service examinations in outside training schools. In several cases, parents wrote and asked for permissions use their daughters' scholarships for training for Civil Service examination because those scholarships were originally offered to receive higher education in NLCS or similar academic institutions ('March 11th, 1901'; 'December 9th, 1901'; 'March 8th, 1904'; 'June 7th, 1904'; 'June 6th, 1905'; 'March 27th, 1906'. HR, CSGA). Miss Lawford normally agreed to transfer the scholarship to be used for Civil Service training. She may disagree if the girls were too young to be withdrawn, though, she also understood the financial difficulties of the girls ('March 27th, 1906'. HR, CSGA). While old girls were constantly reported to enter Civil Service clerkships from the late 1880s, it was not until 1906 that CSG started to provide such instructions and in 1909 a course for Civil Service training was established (Prospectus, 1907 July, 'November 2nd, 1909'. CSGA).

The 1914 BOE inspection report shows that many pupils got employment in commercial sections directly after graduation. The lower social background and lower academic interest of CSG girls are noted.

Table 15. CSG. Social backgrounds of pupils 1914.

(a) Class in life from which pupils are drawn:-

	Percentage.		Percentage.
Professional	15	Domestic Service	2
Wholesale Traders	5	Artisans	28
Retail Traders& Contractors	24	Labourers	7
Clerk & Commercial Agents	12	Occupations, none, or unknown	1
Public Service	6		

(1914 Inspection, NLCSA, p.18).

The reasons for these unique trajectory of CSG in 'domestic subjects' instruction and in Civil Service training are well noted in the BOE report of 1914. First, since CSG catered for girls 'very largely from the lower, middle and artisan classes' and 'a great majority of the girls are obliged immediately on leaving to find some means of earning a livelihood', a more direct training for female employment was required. 12% of old CSG turned to teacher training and over 40% took up office or clerical work. Second, CSG had to provide instruction to 'a large number of girls whose tastes and capacity do not seem to find full scope in the usual form of linguistic, mathematical, and scientific curriculum'. they were seen as 'a permanent part of the School'.

Something has already been done in this direction by the establishment of a commercial class and a Civil Service class, and by the greater attention which is now being given to domestic subjects. (1914 Inspection, NLCSA, p.19).

6.10. Headmistresses' approach to 'domestic subjects': A conclusion.

The changing 'domestic subjects' instruction in CSG shows that the process of introduction was influenced more directly by the changing economic position of middle-class women. While Needlework remained a compulsory subject and a means of charitable activities throughout the period, Domestic Economy, Cookery, Dressmaking lessons were introduced into the curriculum. Four features could be seen. First, two major periods of change are apparent. The mid-1890 was the time when CSG introduced Cookery and Dressmaking as

special afternoon courses. Second, what was unique about the case of CSG was that the changes made were significantly influenced by external educational authorities concerning technical education, TEB and BOE, which provided grants. Third, the instructions given were clearly linked to 'domestic subjects' teacher training, as a way to earn their own living. However, this last aspect was seen more strongly through the introduction of Civil Service training in CSG. Finally, 'domestic subjects' instruction in CSG was intended for all CSG girls throughout the period. Domestic Economy ceased to be a compulsory subject after 1906, Needlework/Dressmaking, Cookery and Hygiene were taught to girls in Form IIIs (average age 12.8), Forms where almost all girls belong to in CSG.

When comparing the process of introduction in NLCS and CSG, evidence clearly shows that CSG made its original decision-making there. The influence of Miss Buss in CSG was visible through the way she appeared in HRs of CSG, especially in the early days, but Miss Elford and Miss Lawford, the two headmistresses, were able to direct operations more as time went on. When the first Cookery course was planned in 1876, the structure resembled that of NLCS. However, CSG was not able to open a Cookery course at that time because of the lack of support from parents/guardians. Contrastingly, while NLCS kept its distance from the London TEB, CSG was active in gaining support from it after the mid-1890s. CSG was also slow to reorganise its school structure and curriculum to establish a comprehensive Domestic Arts Form which came 3 or 5 years after NLCS had done.

One major reason for the difference between NLCS and CSG lay in the fact the CSG was a middle school, not preparing girls for University entrance but for female employment. In 1906 when asked what proportion of girls be benefited by receiving 'domestic subjects' instruction in the last year of school, Miss Lawford clearly answered that:

When the rather to low average age of the leaving age is considered I do not think much time should be given to Housewifery. The intelligent girls does it very quickly later on. If girls staged at school from 16 to 17 they could of well do it with other subjects.

The type of School may somewhat affect the question my experience is that very few in such a school as the Camden remain at home, they take employment as a rule.

In May 1907. F. J Lawford

('Memorandum (Mr. Mackail) to H.M.I.'s Mr Trayer, Edwards, Miss Crosby, and Secondary Schools in London and Middlesex dated 25.3.7 re difficulty of including an adequate amount of Practical Housewifery in Secondary Schools on account of

number of girls going in for G.P.O. Clerkships with replies to same'. ED 12/42 File3 1907-08, TNA.).

The age differences are clearly shown in the 1914 Inspection.

Table 16&17. NLCS& CSG. Ages of pupils in schools 1914.

NLCS. Distribution of Pupils according to age on 30 November 1914, and sex:-

	Under 9	9 and under 10.	10 and under 11.	11 and under 12.	12 and under 13.	13 and under 14.	14 and under 15.	15 and under 16.	16 and Under 17.	17 and under 18.	18 and over.	Total
Boys	1	1										2
Girls	3	1	5	18	45	45	50	51	54	40	26	338
Total	4	2	5	18	45	45	50	51	54	40	26	340

CSG. Distribution of girls according to their age on 31 July 1914:-

	Under 9	9 and under 10.	10 and under 11.	11 and under 12.	12 and under 13.	13 and under 14.	14 and under 15.	15 and under 16.	16 and Under 17.	17 and under 18.	18 and over.	Total
Girls	12	12	7	36	55	36	62	69	12	1	-	302

(1914 Inspection, p.6, 18).

Therefore, first, 'domestic subjects' in CSG were more linked to female employment as pupils and Pupil/Student Teachers attending the lessons moved onto the 'domestic subjects' teacher training. This trend was more evident because preparation for Civil Service examinations was more valued in CSG. Second, since 'Specialisation' in girls' secondary education aimed to prepare different courses for girls above 14 or 15, it seems difficult for CSG to establish 'domestic subjects'. Third, the unique social background of CSG, catering for lower middle-classes and artisans was reflected in the introduction. Sarah King (1990,

pp.86-87) emphasised that parents of Central School girls in the 1920s and the 1930s were seeking for commercial- vocational- education for their girls which relates directly to financial profit. A similar tendency of parents/guardians is also seen in CSG.

Chapter 7: Manchester High School for Girls under Miss Elizabeth Day (1874-1898) & Miss Sara Burstall (1898-1914).

7.1. Introduction.

This chapter focuses on the introduction of 'domestic subjects' in MHSG under its first and second headmistresses, Miss Day (Head 1874-98) and Miss Burstall (Head 1898-1924). First, the general course of study and school organisation are examined. Then headmistresses' views of 'domestic subjects' will be considered. Third the different areas of instruction in 'domestic subjects' are analysed chronologically with reference to BOE grants. Secretarial Courses which run alongside 'domestic subjects' course is also be referred to. Finally the process of introduction will be summarised and headmistresses' attitudes towards the introduction will be reviewed. The main sources are drawn from MHSG Archive.

7.2. School organisation and curriculum.

School Reports (SR) of MHSG show that the school offered what they considered was a well-balanced academic curriculum from its beginning and had revised it afterwards. In its first year, 1874, the 'School Course of Instruction' included English Grammar, Language, and Literature, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry, French, German, and Latin, Calisthenics, Drawing, Plain Sewing, Class Singing, and Harmony. Religious instructions were given in the afternoons as preparation for University Local Examinations (*SR 1874*, pp.19-20). In 1880, Greek, Botany, Chemistry, and Geology were added to the curriculum (*SR 1884*, p.4). The timetable of 1881 shows a good example of the curriculum offered in each form. Political Economy appeared in examiners' reports from 1887, although it was not added to the prospectuses until 1883 (*SR 1877*, p.6; *SR 1883*, p.6). The table from the *RRCSE* shows the subjects taught and hours spent for each subject for Fifth and Second Forms. It is interesting to point out that while Domestic Economy and Book-keeping are included in the table, neither of the Forms learned the two subjects in 1894 (*RRCSS*, vol.6., p.265).

Governors and headmistresses of MHSG also valued examinations to maintain its academic standard. Pupils were required to pass its entrance examinations to be admitted to MHSG. The work of the school and scholars were tested periodically by independent and competent examiners from the Cambridge Syndicate. The examiners' reports were open to all persons interested. Reports of the progress and conduct of each pupil were sent to parents at the

end of every term. Exhibitions were also given to girls who gained highest marks in examinations. Girls sat for Cambridge Local Examinations from its early days (*SR January 1875*, pp.19-20). The examiners' reports showed the favourable standard of girls' work. For example, in 1881 it was reported that:

Since Christmas, 1874, the School has been periodically examined by Examiners commissioned by the Cambridge Syndicate for the Examination of Schools. The reports of these gentlemen to the Syndicate have been regularly printed in full in the Annual Reports of the School. They bear testimony to the soundness of the teaching, the competence of the mistresses, and the constantly improving character of the work done (*SR 1881*, p.13).

Another feature of MHSG was its link with the local Owens College (established in 1851), especially in Science teaching. Since MHSG was located next the Owens College, the school offered rooms for students in the women's departments in return for science teaching. Mrs. Kitchener, in her report for the RCSE (1895) noted that:

It is needless to dwell on the excellence of the education given in the high schools, after describing the successes of the girls educated in them. On page 265 the work of two forms in the Dover Street High School, viz., the second and fifth, may be seen. In the first, or highest form, a much larger proportion of time is given to science, some girls having six hours of theoretical, and four hours of practical work, per week. An arrangement has been made with Owens College, which is greatly cramped for room, by which the science courses for the women's department are given in the Dover Street laboratories by the Owens women students. By this plan the girls receive the best science teaching that can be had, thanks to the goodness of their laboratories (*RRCSE*, 1895, Vol.6, p.372).

MHSG maintained a well-organized intellectual curriculum from its start in 1874 to the 1890s. It also used external University examinations to test girls' standards. However, it was its link with the local Owens College allowed it to offer a highly advanced Science lesson to girls. Interestingly, MHSG never offered Domestic Economy or Book-keeping lessons during the time of Miss Day. However, it still taught compulsory Needlework and later added technical instruction as we will see in the next section.

The major change under Miss Burstall was to adjust its curriculum to the growing needs of

'Non-College' girls. In her books Miss Burstall explained it as the measure to improve the poor financial state caused by the declining fees. From her experience in NLCS, she had realized that while the quality and number of girls in upper forms did not change much, there was a tendency of pupils leaving school at the age of 15 or 16. Because such pupils with average academic standard normally enjoyed Christmas at school and left before the start of Cambridge Local Examinations, Miss Burstall guessed that the strictly academic curriculum was the cause of pupils leaving early (Burstall, 1911, pp.165-169; Burstall, 1933, pp.140-146).

Miss Burstall first tried to ease the strictly academic burden and to create more attractive school life for average girls. The system of examinations and inspections was reconsidered with the cooperation with the local college and university. Arrangements for the school examinations were reconsidered after February 1899 by the Examination Sub-Committee. As the result, higher forms (Forms V and VI) were to be examined by the Cambridge Syndicate, Natural Science was examined and inspected by Yorkshire College, Leeds, the Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board was asked inspect the Middle and Lower Forms and the lowest forms were inspected as before by a Special examiner ('February 1st, 1899'; 'March 1st, 1899'. MGM). In May 1899, she suggested conducting examinations and inspections on Science teaching by the members of the Victoria University ('May 3rd, 1899'. MGM). In February next, Victoria University was proposed to undertake the Annual Inspection and Examination of the Manchester and Pendleton Schools and the details were settled by the Chairman and Head Mistresses ('February 7th, 1900'. MGM). Games and social activities were also introduced to enrich the school life (Burstall, 1911, pp.169-173).

Miss Burstall also reorganised the Form structure to introduce 'Bifurcation' and 'Specialisation' to fit for girls' divided futures in universities, home and employment. Bifurcation had already been introduced in NLCS under Miss Buss and Mrs Bryant. According to Mrs Bryant, Bifurcation was to divide the Forms into two classes by considering the health and ability of individual pupils. The upper Class, which would be the model, would learn a complete curriculum including Latin and Mathematics, and the lower Class would learn only a part of the curriculum. Specialization was invented by Miss Burstall to 'introduce into the curriculum subjects which would be of as much definite practical value to the girls who was to be at home, as preparation for college and examinations were for girls who was to enter a profession'. The establishment of the Housewifery Course in 1900 and that of the Secretarial Course in 1901 was undertaken under this aim (Burstall, 1911, pp.173-175).

As a result of these reforms, the numbers of pupils in MHSG rose after 1900. In July 1900, the Chairman reported that 'as it was found necessary to re-occupy the rooms in the extension at present used by the Women's Department of the Owens College, he had arranged with the Principal of the College to terminate the tenancy as from the half quarter day falling in August.' Miss Burstall also stated that 'it may be necessary to engage additional assistance in the Junior School next term should the number of pupils increase' ('July 4th, 1900'. MGM). In the Free Trade Hall Meeting of July 1910, the Chairman clearly stated in front of governors, staff, parents and pupils that the school number was as large as ever before in spite of the competition with neighbouring schools.

...the total number of girls under the charge of the Governors of the Manchester High Schools was never so great as at present. The numbers in the Manchester School exceeded 400, those in the North Manchester School exceeded 160, and those in the Pendleton School were little, but very little, short of that. That was in spite of the several excellent schools which had been founded on similar or the same lines since the foundation of the High School within the are from which it drew its pupils.- (Applause.) (*SM*, November, 1901, p.92).

Again in the Meetings of July 1902, Dr. Wilkins, the Chairman of MHSG Governing body, celebrated the success of the Housewifery and Secretarial classes and emphasized that by adding varieties to girls' later-stage education, the classes had contributed to keep girls in school longer.

...They had also to record the marked success which had followed the introduction of what he might venture to call the technical classes in connection with the Manchester High School. It had been a satisfaction to the Governors to observe the remarkable success of the classes, all the more so because they had added to, and not taken the place of, the ordinary school education...nothing could be more welcome than that the girls who would otherwise have left the school should remain for a year or two longer to learn the principles of those domestic duties which formed so large a part of their future life (*SM*, December, 1902, pp.106-107. See Appendix 5).

By 1911, the school number had risen to a sufficient level, and the Chairman of the Governing body, Professor T. F. Tout proudly wrote in the preface of the school history book of the 'success' of MHSG to gain sufficient number of pupils despite many difficulties.:

When she [Miss Burstall] took charge of the High School thirteen years ago its numbers were declining, and the best educational experts told us that this falling off was likely to be permanent, since it was due to no shortcomings of the school, but to such natural causes as the flight of the population to the remoter suburbs, the setting up of good schools in those suburbs, and in most of the neighbouring great towns, which in early days supplied the Manchester school with so large a contingent of its pupils, and more recently, to the establishment of new girls' schools in the city itself... Nevertheless, the High School has been of late fuller than in ever was before... Numbers, however, are a gross test of success, almost as gross as examination successes (Burstall, 1911, pp.xii-xiii. See Appendix 5).

The curriculum of MHSG and its two satellite schools, Pendleton and North Manchester School, could be seen from the report of the Conference of Head Mistresses, November 1902. The three schools were managed under the same governing body, but detailed decision-making was done in each School Committee. The report shows that the three schools had different characters reflecting the educational views of headmistresses. 'The chief difference' was that while North Manchester School offered more lessons in English, History and French, Manchester and Pendleton Schools spared more time in Latin. German was also favoured in North Manchester and Manchester, but Pendleton did not teach German as 'Miss Butcher [headmistress] does not experience any demand for this subject on the part of parents'. For Science, while Pendleton and Manchester Schools instruction to meet the requirements of 'the Victorian Preliminary Standard', North Manchester School only taught Geography ('December 3rd, 1902'. MGM. See Appendix 5).

A clear contrast among three headmistresses were seen in 'Latin and Mathematics' and 'domestic subjects'. This also reflected their view towards 'bifurcation'. In order to keep a common standard, 'It was agreed to hold a Meeting of the teachers of Latin... to draw up Standards; and towards the end of January a conference of teachers of Arithmetic and Mathematics in the 3 Schools' ('December 3rd, 1902'. MGM. See Appendix 5).

Latin and Mathematics. Both Miss Butcher [headmistress of Pendleton] and Miss Clarke [headmistress of North Manchester] make Latin compulsory for every girl for at least one year. Miss Burstall disapproved of this for dull and backward girls, and considers that the exchange of such from the Latin Classes makes it easier to keep up the Standard.

A year of Mathematics is also compulsory in the Pendleton and North Manchester Schools. In the Manchester School the duller girls concentrate on Arithmetic, French and English subjects.

The system of parallel A and B forms for different types of girls which obtains in the Manchester School was discussed. Miss Clarke does not approve of this system. Miss Butcher approves of it when possible. It is obviously much easier to manage in a large School.

Cookery, Shorthand. It was agreed that these should be postponed to the later years of School life. Miss Clarke deprecated their introduction even then. Miss Butcher thought it desirable to teach Shorthand and Cookery at Pendleton if means allowed. Sewing in North Manchester is taught in forms I, II & III B, not in the other forms. It is taught throughout the other Schools being optional in the higher forms.

(‘December 3rd 1902’. MGM. See Appendix 5).

At the same time, MHSG governing body formed a Sub-Committee to seek for the better cooperation of three schools, however, its aim was to strengthen the authority of MHSG and its headmistress over the other two when deciding the curriculum and educational arrangements.

That it is desirable when vacancies occur in the Head Mistress-ship of the Pendleton & North Manchester Schools that the Head Mistress of the Manchester School should have a general supervision over the educational arrangements of the other two Schools (‘March 25th, 1903’. MGM).

The Sub- Committee met on March 11th, 20th and this day and had interviews with the three Head Mistresses and considered the condition of the three schools, their relation to each other and best mode of working them efficiently.

1. That it is desirable that the School Committee of the Pendleton and North Manchester should consult the Head Mistress of the Manchester School upon the curricula and educational arrangements of the Pendleton and North Manchester School with a view to the better coordination of all three schools.

2. That the Committee are of opinion that there should be a limitation of subjects in the Pendleton and North Manchester Schools and that advanced pupils should be encouraged to come to Dover Street (‘March 25th, 1903’. MGM).

In 1904, the headmistress of the North Manchester School, Miss E. M. Clarke, resigned in

Autumn 1903. Miss Clarke opened her own school, Broughton and Crumpsall High School, and the majority of staff and pupils followed her to the new school. Therefore, a new Rules and Regulations were added to the Assistant Mistresses in the three schools that 'No Assistant Mistress or Teacher shall within twelve month after the termination of her, or his engagement enter into any new engagement in any other school within seven miles of the Manchester Town Hall, without the express sanction of the Governors' ('July 26th, 1904'. MGM). The headship of North Manchester School was succeeded by Miss Rosa Patterson, the then deputy head in MHSG, though, Miss Patterson soon moved to the post of the headmistress of Pendleton School in 1905 when its first headmistress, Miss Butcher resigned. Therefore, North Manchester School was closed in midsummer 1905, and its pupils were moved to Pendleton and MHSG. In 1911, the new Scheme of Administration was passed, and Pendleton School began operating under a different governing body from MHSG (Burstall, 1911, pp.152-153; 'March 8th, 1905'; 'February 22nd, 1911'. MGM).

7.3. Miss Day and Miss Burstall's views of 'domestic subjects'.

The unwillingness of Miss Day to teach 'domestic subjects' can be seen in the report of RCSE. In July 1894, just when Technical Classes in MHSG were under operation, Mrs Kitchener, H. M. Honorary Assistant Commissioner for Secondary Education, had an interview with the Manchester School Committee. According to Mrs Kitchener's report, 'In all schools above those for the industrial class "technical" must be taken as covering all kinds of "practical" instruction, as technical education in the shape of direct preparation for any trade would be obviously out of place.' However, she further states that 'As a rule high schools give very little time to manual instruction in my district' (*RRCSE*, 1895, Vol.6, p.285). Mrs Kitchener points out that 'plain needlework' was the most common subject offered in high schools, though there were controversies between mothers and staff over who was to be responsible for its instruction.

In the timetables one finds one or sometimes two hours put down to it in the lowest forms, after which it is optional, and taken by small percentage of the school, thorough it nearly always consists of plain needlework. This is often rather a sore subject between parents and headmistresses. Several mothers complained that their daughters had very little notion of using their needles, while headmistresses contended that needlework was not a school subject, and that the mothers ought to see that their daughters learnt it on Saturdays and in the vacations. Whichever side is right in the abstract, it is certainly true that a high school mistress who is expected

to teach a great number of subjects and to present a large proportion of her pupil for examinations, has considerable difficulty in fitting it in, and if other "manual" instruction were attempted the difficulty would be increased (*RRCSE*, 1895, Vol.6, pp.285-286).

As Mrs Kitchener's report shows, Miss Day was on the side that it was not the responsibility of the high school to offer needlework and other 'domestic subjects' instruction.

But apart from the practical difficulty, much diversity of opinion exists as to the advisability of this kind of instruction during a girl's school life. Miss Day, of the Manchester High School, holds that such subjects had better be learnt after a girl has left school, and has had lectures in cookery and dressmaking for her pupils the year after they have left her, which have been much appreciated. A good many headmistresses of large experience hold the same opinion (*RRCSE*, 1895, Vol.6, p.286).

Contrastingly, Miss Burstall had been considered as the pioneer supporter of 'domestic subjects' in girls' secondary education as we saw in Chapter 1. Miss Burstall wrote several books on girls' secondary education in England and in the United States, but the books written in 1907, 1911 and 1933 are most frequently referred to by scholars.

One of her books (Burstall, 1907) was most frequently used of the three books. It was written while Miss Burstall was the headmistress of MHSG to 'endeavour,...to sketch the characteristic aims, organisation and methods of a modern English High School for Girls as these have grown up during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and as they are developing to suit the wants and difficulties of to-day' (Burstall, 1907, p.v) The book frequently uses Social Darwinist and Eugenist terms to support her argument. In Chapter 1 'The Aim of Girls' Education', when referring to the future direction of education, she emphasises 'the special duties of women as such to the community, on the basic value to the social organism of the family and the home, on the reality and importance of biological and sociological differences between men and women' (Burstall, 1907, p.12) However, she is of opinion of the need of a same liberal education for boys and girls because they both are human beings and liberal education would 'fit' girls for their future roles as wives and mothers.

However, even if these inductions from experience are true, they do not form a

substantial basis for differences in educational programmes. After all a girl is a human being, with a right to complete development, to a share in the spiritual inheritance of the race, to the opportunities of making the best of her faculties, of pursuing even advanced studies if she has the ability.

It is when we come to consider the work of education in fitting young people for life that the real difference comes. We see clearly now that the normal work of women is to be the maker of a home, to be a wife, and above all a mother. Does a liberal education fit her for this? The answer is surely yes, if it makes her a better woman, abler and stronger in body, in intellect, and in character (Burstall, 1907, p.13).

'The problem of how far definite technical instruction should be given to girls in school to prepare them for home life' (Burstall, 1907, p.14) was a burning question at her time. Chapter 13 'Direct Preparation for Practical Life, especially in the Home' considers the question in detail. The chapter starts with the following statement emphasising the need of 'domestic subjects' education to girls in all classes for national efficiency.

The teaching of cookery and the domestic arts to girls of every class is advocated on national grounds, as is the teaching of military drill and marksmanship to boys. The emergence of this view is of great interest philosophically. It has a scientific, biological basis, the idea that there are specialised functions in practical life for which the sexes should be separately prepared in the school—functions so basic in national existence that the State is not safe unless its young people are specially trained to fulfil them efficiently (Burstall, 1907, p.194).

The natural duty of a man was to defend his country and he needed training in school to fulfil this duty. Therefore, a girl also required training for 'domestic subjects' in her school to fulfil her natural duty to do housework. The following sections introduced various branches in this field such as 'domestic subjects in girls' education', Handicraft, Art and music and secretarial work. Housewifery and Secretarial Courses in MHSB were introduced to give examples, but the process of introduction was not noted.

The process of introduction was explained in Burstall (1911, 1933). The book of 1911 was written when Miss Burstall was the headmistress, and the other, her autobiography (1933) was written nearly 10 years after she retired from being a headmistress. Therefore, different information and explanations are given on the introduction in the two books.

Burstall (1911) describes that the introduction was a measure to make school life more attractive to ordinary girls. When Miss Burstall became headmistress in autumn 1898, the school management of MHSG was suffering from the declining number of fee-paying pupils which arose from competition with other schools and the declining population in the neighbourhood. From her experience as staff of NLCS, she noticed that in Manchester there was a tendency of girls leaving school earlier at the age of 15 or 16 than those in same types of schools in London. The chief cause appeared to be the lack of special reason to stay in school after girls finished their general education at the age of 14. The first measure taken was the reorganisation of school examinations and inspections. The strict burden of taking Cambridge Local Examinations was eased and examinations and inspections were to be done by the support of local Owens College or Victoria University. School activities and games were also introduced to realise a co-operative school life. The second measure was the 'Specialisation'- establishment of Housewifery Course in 1900 and that of Secretarial Course in 1901 (Burstall, 1911, pp.140-151). 'Specialisation' was to divide school courses for girls over 15 and 16 to prepare them for their different futures such as University entrance, Civil Service Examination, Arts, Music or home life (Burstall, 1907, pp.47-48).

The two measures led to success as school numbers became bigger than ever by 1911. Therefore Mr. Thomas Frederick Tout (1855-1929), one of the Governors of MHSG, praised Miss Burstall's work in the 'Preface' of Burstall (1911).

High School has been of late fuller than it ever was before, and only recently the governors have been compelled to set limits to this growth by a self-denying ordinance to the effect that not more than six hundred pupils should be taken. Numbers, however, are a gross test of success, almost as gross as examination success (Burstall, 1911, p.xiii).

Different explanations were given for the 'Specialisation' in Miss Burstall's autobiography written in 1933. She explained the two methods taken and concluded that 'it justified itself in lengthening school life, in encouraging every type of girl to do her best'. However, she also notes that 'Specialisation' was done 'to introduce subjects that would seem to the parent of practical value and worth paying for, for the girls who had no interest in academic studies'. She was influenced by her visit to the United States in 1894 (Burstall, 1933, pp.146-152).

Another point stressed by scholars about Miss Burstall's views was her negative attitudes towards teaching Mathematics to girls. Dyhouse (1980) pointed out that Miss Burstall

favoured a general 'feminisation' of the curriculum for all girls in secondary education, irrespective of educational ability or social class. In Burtall (1907), while English, History and Science were seen as important Mathematics was required to be 'kept at a minimum for girls because it did not underlie their industries as it does so many of the activities of men' (Burstall, 1907, pp.106-111; Dyhouse, 1980, p.164). An episode in her autobiography also stresses this point. When Miss Burstall was at Girton College, Cambridge, she was forced to study Mathematics by College authorities even though she preferred to study History. She bitterly comments that 'the individual instinct was sounder, as so often is the case: the pupil or student knows what is best, like an animal with food, and the imposition of external rule acts badly' (Burstall, 1933, p.74). The texts in her books give impression that Miss Burstall valued 'domestic subjects' – a feminine subject- than Mathematics- an academic subject-. However, we saw in Chapter 3 Miss Burstall actually preferred 'live mathematics' rather than 'dead housecraft' when it suited the needs of schools and pupils. Therefore, a more careful examination of the introduction under Miss Burstall and her arguments is needed.

Curiously, Miss Burstall never mentioned in her books that NLCS and CSG had offered 'domestic subjects' instruction prior to her introduction in MHSg in 1900. She stayed in CSG as a pupil from 1871 to 1875, went to NLCS as a pupil from 1875 to 1878 and was employed in NLCS as staff from 1882 to 1892. As we saw in Chapters 5 and 6, NLCS and CSG offered a variety of 'domestic subjects' instruction during these periods which Miss Burstall must have known. In addition, as the next sections show, MHSg also provided some lessons in 'domestic subjects' under Miss Day, the first headmistress.

7.4. Plain Sewing 1874-1898.

Needlework, noted as Plain Sewing, was a compulsory subject for girls in MHSg. It constantly appeared in 'School Course of Instruction' in the Prospectus from 1874 to 1898 (*SR 1874-1898*).

The detailed timetables of 1881 show how Plain Sewing was taught to girls in MHSg. The Lower Division, Lower I, Middle I, upper I, Lower II, Middle II and Upper II, consisting of girls mostly under 12, had one 'Needlework' lesson a week in the morning hours. The girls in the Upper Division, mostly over 13, had one or two lessons a week in the afternoon. While III Lower, Lower Probationary, Middle Probationary and Upper Probationary had two 'Sewing' lessons, III Middle and III Upper had one 'Sewing' lesson a week. The girls in IV Lower, IV Middle, IV Upper, Intermediate, V Lower and V Upper, seemed to take one 'Sewing or Writing' lesson in the afternoon. However, girls in VI Lower and VI Upper had no lessons in

Plain Sewing ('Time Tables', *SR 1881*, pp.45-51).

Plain Sewing was also inspected by Examiners. However, in contrast to the favourable comments given toward the general academic work in MHSg, examiners' reports on Plain Sewing are rather bitter. They point out that the lack of time spent on the subject is the cause of its unfavourable standard.

The results fully justify the recent changes in the methods of teaching this subject. The work is much better done, and the interests in it more intelligent. Marked proficiency, however, is rare; but this can hardly be wondered at, considering how little time is given to the subject, and how many girls enter the School at a late age utterly untaught (*SR 1877*, p.26).

In the early 1890s, work in Plain Sewing was examined by Examiners of the London Institute of the Advancement of Plain Needlework and girls were offered Certificates. Examiners' comments show that girls were only tested in their skills of simple needlework such as hemming, seaming, making button-holes, etc. It is striking to see how Miss Chessar, the examiner, bitterly commented that the works were 'very weak' and generally below the required standard even when they were taught with great care (*SR 1891, 1893, 1894 and 1895*. See Appendix 5).

Much good work has been sent for Examination, which shows careful teaching. Gathering, stroking, and setting-in are very weak indeed. Larks have been thus post, so that many Certificates are lower than they would have been if all the work in garments had been equal (*SR 1893*, p.38).

The work sent this year showed improvement in the preliminary stitches, but the advanced stitches, such as gathering, stroking, setting-in, and button-holes, remain very weak. The Certificates sent in Grades VI., V. and IV. are much lower in consequence of that (*SR 1894*, p.50).

MHSg girls also undertook sewing activities both as a class instruction and voluntary work. First, 'Plain Sewing' instructions were offered by different Sewing Mistresses in each school, although, sometimes with the cooperation of Housewifery Mistresses in MHSg. In 1900, the three schools were inspected by the London Institute for the advancement of plain Needlework separately (*SM*, February, 1899, p.22).

The resignation and appointment of Sewing Mistresses appears in the Minutes of Governors Meetings as a constant problem handled by Sub- Committees and headmistresses. In 1901 May, in MHSG, the Sewing Mistress, Miss Duffield, resigned by ill health, and Miss Smales asked for permission to attend 2 days a week. Therefore, it was recommended by the Head Mistress that from next September 'Miss Henry assisted by Miss Moore shall undertake the Teaching of Sewing' and that 'part of Miss Smales' work shall be distributed, Miss Montgomery shall be engaged as a staff teacher to give full time and Miss Grace Ashworth shall become an assistant to Miss Henry without salary, receiving lessons and training in Housekeeping in exchange for her services for one year'. Further financial re-arrangements to be left in the hands of the Chairman and Treasurer with the Head Mistress ('May 1st, 1901'. MGM). However, soon after in November 1901, the Lady Visitors were requested to examine and report to the next meeting the Governors on the system of teaching Sewing, and to take such temporary steps to relieve Miss Henry as may be necessary ('November 6th, 1901'. MGM). The report was approved and adopted and Mrs. Buller and Miss Gaskell were requested to engage an Assistant to Miss Henry to give all her time, at a salary of £80 a year and board ('December 4th, 1901'. MGM).

The governors and headmistress were also concerned with the teaching of sewing. In July 1902, Miss Burstall was requested to prepare a report on the arrangements for the teaching of sewing and to present to the next meeting of the Governors. It was also recommended by the School Committee that no pupils be sent in for the Sewing Examination next year. After Miss Buss submitted her report, the syllabus of a course of Needlework was approved and adopted ('July 2nd, 1902': 'July 22nd, 1902'. MGM).

In Pendleton School, Miss Duffield resigned as Sewing Mistress and the appointment of a successor was needed ('May 1st, 1901'. MGM) and 'Miss Brown was appointed Sewing Mistress as from 1st September next, to give six hours a week at a Salary of £30 a year' ('June 19th, 1901'. MGM). In March 1903, Miss Burstall and Miss Butcher, headmistress of Pendleton, were requested to arrange for the teaching of Sewing. In May, Miss Howson was appointed as the Sewing Mistress to give two afternoons and one morning a week at a salary of £30 per annum be approved and confirmed. ('March 4th, 1903'; 'May 6th, 1903'. MGM).

In North Manchester School, from December 1901, a temporarily Assistant Mistress, Miss Emily Atkins was appointed to teach Drawing, Brushwork and Sewing at a salary at the rate

of £40 per annum. ('December 4th, 1901'. MGM).

In 1914, a major change in the system of School Housekeeping was realized to separate the responsibility of the Housekeeper and the 'domestic subjects' mistresses. In September 1914, the Report on the Inspection of Needlework by the Joint Matriculation Board was presented, and the letter from Miss Myers proposed to give up her post of Housekeeper. A Sub- Committee was formed to consider the two matter by Miss Ashton, Miss Greg, Mrs. Spence, the Chairman and the Treasurer and that Mr. Burton be invited to join the Committee ('September 23rd, 1914'. MGM).

According to the Sewing Sub- Committee's report in October 1914, it was resolved that the Governors would accept Miss Myers' offer to resign her Housekeeping, and to concentrate on the organisation and teaching of school needlework, her salary to remain at the existing scale. Governors be recommended to appoint a fully qualified institutional housekeeper to take over the charge of the building, household staff, school dinners, etc., and to do no teaching, at a salary of not less than £120 per annum. The lady should have the status and be admitted to the privileges of an assistant mistress, but her holidays should be approximately those of the household staff. ('October 21st, 1914'. MGM). The Sub- Committee was re-appointed with the addition of Mrs. Eckhard, and authorized to advertise for an institutional Housekeeper at a salary of not less than £120 per annum, to interview applicants for the position, and to make the appointment ('October 28th, 1914'. MGM).

The new Housekeeping Sub- Committee decided in November 1914 as follows:

1. Miss K. Dunan be appointed Housekeeper as from the 1st January next at a salary of £120 per annum.
2. Miss Wigley be appointed Housekeeper as from the beginning of the half-term, to December 31st next, at a salary of 25/- per week.

Resolved

That the arrangements as to meals for Miss Duncan, and Miss Wigley, be left to the Treasurer and Miss Burstall to settle.

Memorandum

It was reported that the School Buildings were being lent to the Manchester Education Committee for Domestic Arts evening classes, until the end of the Winter Session of the classes ('November 25th, 1914'. MGM).

Then, sewing was also used in voluntary activities of the Golden Rule Society. The reports of the society were presented in the 'School Chronicles' in *SM* every term. The Society was managed by subscriptions and held sewing meetings several times a term to make toys and garments (shawls, flannel night dresses, shirts, knitting, jackets, etc.) to be donated at Christmas to Hospitals or District Nurses. After June 1910, the Society also started to visit the sick. The Housewifery Classes also contributed in its activities to make Christmas puddings for donation after 1900. Unlike the Dorcas Societies in NLCS and CSG, its membership was voluntary and about 40 to 50 girls attended the meetings and the Society repeatedly required more contribution in its reports. The activeness of the Society was random, sometimes not holding any meetings in a term. However, after 1909, the attendance grew over 100 girls backed by the interest towards dressmaking, and after 1913 became a compulsory activity for all MHSg girls (*SM*, February, 1899, p.25; June, 1900, p.69; March, p.21; March, 1903, pp.33-34; December, 1909, p.59; December, 1913, p.69).

7.5. Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery 1894-1898.

While the books written by the second headmistress, Miss Burstall, give the impression that she was the pioneer in 'domestic subjects' instruction by establishing a Housewifery Course in MHSg in 1900, the Minutes of Governor's Meetings and *SR* from MHSg Archive clearly show that the introduction had started under Miss Day as early as February 1893.

First the introduction of 'domestic subjects' other than Plain Sewing was one of the means proposed by the headmistress, Miss Day, to improve the ill state of school management by letting unused Preparatory school classrooms. In February 1893, Miss Day reported that the number of pupils was falling, and submitted 3 proposals 'with a view to reducing expenditure as well as utilizing still further the services of the reaching staff'. The three proposals were: a) to utilize the services of the teachers of more advanced subjects in all three schools; b) to apply to the Manchester County Council for a Grant towards Science Teaching; c) to the use of the rooms in the Preparatory School, now set free, for Technical Classes, which was the 'domestic subjects' classes. Miss Day had calculated the income and expenditure for this instruction, suggested three different ways of arranging the classes, and made clear that the courses were for older girls over Form V. Miss Day's full proposal of c) is as quoted:

It is proposed to arrange for Classes in Cooking, Dressmaking, and Millinery, Shorthand and Bookkeeping, Wood Carving and Art Needlework, to be held during the afternoons in two of the rooms which have till lately been used for the

Preparatory School.

Clause 19 allows the rooms to be let for such a purpose.

Three arrangements are suggested, either of which would be possible.

1st For the School to let the rooms to the Teachers of the Classes, say for £3.3.0 a term for each class held twice a week= £75.12.0 a year for the eight classes suggested.

The school would then pay the fee for any pupil in the School to join either of the classes when the parents desired it and the Head Mistress approved of the arrangement.

The pupil's fee would be £1.1.0 for all subjects proposed, except practical cookery for which it would be £2.2.0.

2nd For the School to take 1/4 of the fees paid by the students, to remainder to go to the teacher.

3rd The School to take all the fees and pay a fixed Salary to the Teachers, say £7 a Term, no class to be held (except practical cookery) for less than seven pupils or to contain more than 20. Some Mistress in the School should, if this plan is adopted, undertake the direction of the Classes, taking the fees for them, &c.

The classes are especially intended for former pupils, of the School but other ladies may be allowed to join them after affording satisfactory references, and pupils in the V Upper and VI forms may be admitted on certain conditions ('February 1st, 1893'. MGM).

Miss Day's proposals were considered at Manchester School Committee, and it was resolved to institute classes in Cookery, Millinery, Shorthand and Bookkeeping on the plan detailed in the Report of the Head Mistress. This was to be a tentative measure for the next Term, and it was understood that no pecuniary responsibility will fall upon the School ('February 1st, 1893'. MGM). The scheme for establishing these tentative Technical Classes were further resolved by the governors in March next ('March 1st, 1893'. MGM). In October 1894, Miss Day was again permitted to make arrangements for Shorthand, Millinery, Cooking and other Technical Classes for Old Girls ('October 4th, 1893'. MGM).

Curiously, the tentative Technical Classes were continuously offered after 1894. In July 1894, Manchester School Committee agreed to the suggestion of the Head Mistress 'to institute a Class in Dressmaking, and Demonstration Lessons in Cookery, for two Terms in the ensuing School year, at a cost not exceeding £20 for each Class, and that no charge be made for

attendance on the Class in Cookery'. The scheme was also approved by governors, and in October 1894 Miss Day reported the arrangements made by her for Drill, Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery as quoted below ('July 18th, 1894'; 'October 3rd, 1894'. MGM).

Cookery

Miss Lancashire will give a course of ten demonstration lectures to girls in the 5th and 6th forms. The lectures will be given in the afternoon once a week. Miss Lancashire's fees is to be eight guineas for the course.

Dressmaking

Miss Howson will give a course of 20 or 24 lessons of 1 1/2 hours. Her fee is to be 10/6 a lesson. She is strongly recommended by Miss Davies of the Manchester Technical School and by Mr Reynolds.

Millinery

Miss Warren will give a short course of about 10 lessons after the dressmaking course has come to an end. Her fee is also to be 10/6 a lesson ('October 3rd, 1894'. MGM).

Miss Day again made arrangements in October 1895 as quoted below and was approved.

Miss Day suggested the following arrangements for the classes in Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery, and Dancing.

Dressmaking.

THE arrangements to be as last year, i.e. Miss Howson to give a course of 12 lessons this Term and 12 after Christmas, at a fee of £12.12.0 for the 24 lessons of 1 1/2 hours each.

Cookery.

To be postponed until after Christmas ('October 2nd, 1895'. MGM).

In spite of all the efforts made by the governors and headmistresses to overcome the deficiency of the school management, the situation did not improve and the Finance Sub-Committee was appointed from October 1895 to deal with the matter. The governors required the Sub-Committee to consider the serious deficiencies reported by the Treasurer and make definite proposals to the governors'. In the series of meetings held during November, the Finance Sub-Committee first made decision not to allow increases be made in the Salaries of the Assistant mistresses, and considered in detail the state of three schools individually. In the case of MHSG, Miss Day 'offered to take upon herself the salary

of her Secretary - Miss Pollard - as she desired to retain her services though aware that her work could be a large extent be divided among the present staff of Assistant Mistresses'. After careful consideration, this offer was thankfully turned down for the measure to be taken was to terminate two Assistant headmistresses. In the case of Pendleton High School, the resignation of an Assistant mistress was permitted but Miss Butcher, headmistress, also offered 'to make a contribution of (say) half the capitation fees'. For North Manchester High School, expenditure was carefully examined and Miss Clarke, headmistress, also 'proposes that a portion of the Capitation fees due to her, amounting to about £50, should be retained by the Treasurer'. In either cases, the reduction of Assistant mistresses were first considered, or when needed, proposals from the headmistresses were gracefully approved ('November 6th 1895'. MGM).

The lending of unused Preparatory School facilities continued during this period. As I noted above, they were first used to introduce Technical Classes. Then, after March 1896, it was considered to establish a Preparatory School for Boys under the direction of Manchester Grammar School. It was resolved in April 1896 that the Governors will be prepared to let to them that portion of the Building formerly used for the Preparatory Department, viz:-3 class rooms; A small sitting room; The Playground; 2 sets of Lavatories; Large and Small Dressing room; With separate entrance; Including the use of the School furniture, warming, cleaning and lighting for a rent of £200 per annum, together with a proportionate share of the Rates ('March 4th, 1896; 'March 25th, 1896; 'April 15th 1896'. MGM).

Further steps were taken to lend the Preparatory School facilities to the Women's Department of Owens College after October 1896. A Sub-Committee was formed to consider the matter, and by May 1897, it was decided to provided service and space listed bellow for 'the Annual rent should be from £80 to £100 per annum'.

- (1) ...Three class rooms, two sitting rooms, and a Dressing room with the occasional use of the playroom in the basement and of the Chemical Lecture- room, if required, the time of such occasional use to be arranged with the Head Mistress. (It was stated that the gymnasium would be available for three days a week, except from 11.15 to 11.30 and from 1.15 to 2.15 pm.)
- (2) That all service in the rooms should be provided by the College; but the School should supply gas, coal, water and window cleaning, and should provide for dinners at tariff price for the students at separate tables in the School dining room between 1.15 and 2.p.m. daily except Saturday.

(3) that the College be allowed to make some necessary alteration in the ground floor lavatory but must reinstate the lavatory when they give up possession (if required) ('May 12th, 1897'. MGM. See Appendix 5).

The important effect of this agreement on 'domestic subjects' instruction was that Cookery Classes were sacrificed. In May 1897, Miss Day stated that the cooking gas stove might be removed from one of the class rooms if the Governors approved the intermission of the Cookery Classes next year. The governors approved and the Cookery Class was postponed ('May 12th, 1897'; 'June 2nd, 1897'. MGM).

The constant but uneven operation of Technical Classes under Miss Day could be seen in other sources. While the 'School Course of Instruction' in the Prospectuses listed Cookery, Plain Sewing and Dressmaking from 1894 to 1898 (SR1894-1898), the Treasure's report of the expenditure show when the classes were run and fees were paid to the visiting teachers.

Table 18.

MHSG. Fees paid to visiting teachers of 'domestic subjects' per term 1893-1902.

(£ . s. d.)

Terms	Sewing	Cookery	Dressmaking/ Millinery	Terms	Sewing	Cookery	Dressmaking/ Millinery
Autumn 1893	21 0 0			Autumn	18 4 0		6 6 0
Spring 1894	18 0 0			Spring 1899	19 12 0		6 6 0
Summer	19 0 0			Summer	16 16 0		
Autumn 1895	21 0 0	8 8 0	6 6 0	Autumn 1900	18 4 0		6 6 0
Spring	18 0 0		6 6 0	Spring	19 12 0		3 3 0
Summer	18 0 0			Summer	16 16 0		
Autumn 1896	21 0 0		6 6 0	Autumn 1901	19 12 0		
Spring	19 5 0	8 8 0	6 6 0	Spring	21 16 0		
Summer	14 8 0			Summer	21 12 0		
Autumn 1897	16 16 0	8 8 0	6 6 0	Autumn			
Spring	18 4 0		6 6 0	Spring 1902			
Summer	18 4 0			Summer			

(MGM, 1893-1901.)

7.6. Housewifery Course 1900-1914.

The Housewifery Course in MHSG is considered to be one of the earliest formal school courses in this field established in girls' high schools. The plans for the Course arose from the discussion of rearranging the housekeeping of MHSG to reduce the expenditure in early 1900. A Sub-Committee was formed to consider any alternation was desirable in 'the Housekeeping and Domestic arrangements of the School' and to report to the Governors and also to arrange for the improved lighting. The Housekeeping Sub- Committee reported in May that 'the present system on which the household servants live in a house under the charge of the Lady Housekeeper has not sufficient advantages to make up for its cost' and that 'it is very desirable that the Lady Housekeeper should be competent to give systematic

training in Cookery.' The appointment of Miss Walsh, the present lady housekeeper, was terminated at the end of that school year and a gratuity of £60 was given. Manchester School Committee considered the appointment of a new Housekeeper and Cookery Mistress ('February 7th, 1900'. MGM). It was decided that:

...advertisement be inserted in the Manchester Guardian, Manchester Courier, London Guardian, Times and Christian World for a Lady Housekeeper with training or experience in the teaching of cookery. Salary to begin at £90 with partial Board. Application to be made by letter only to the Head Mistress of the Manchester School before June 15th.

That the duties of the Lady Housekeeper be to superintend the domestic arrangements under the direction of the Head Mistress and more especially to engage and discharge servants, to purchase provisions, and give orders for dinner and to supervise the cleaning of the School premises. That the Governors be advised to appoint a small Sub- Committee to assist the Head Mistress in examining the testimonials and to report to the July meeting. ('May 16th, 1900'. MGM).

The Sub-Committee considered applications and testimonials received from candidates ('May 23rd, 1900'. MGM) and in July 1900 Miss Blanche Henry of the Battersea Polytechnic be appointed Lady Housekeeper from the 1st September next at a salary of £90 per annum with partial board. The needful outlay for fitting for the Cookery and Housewifery Classes was sanctioned in the same meeting under the direction of the Treasurer ('July 4th, 1900'. MGM). The opening of the new Housewifery course was reported in the School Magazine as below:

A new class has been formed for the special study of the domestic arts, called the Housewifery Class, which is working with interest at cookery, household needlework, and such practical matters as cleaning silver, &c., as well as at the more ordinary arithmetic, French and history.

We find it very pleasant and useful to have the whole of the North Wing (where the Owens College women Students used to be) back again for School purposes. The Upper and Middle Seconds are there, and the third room is kept for physics. We had a good entry of new pupils, and the full number in school is 388 to date (*SM*, November, 1900, p.114).

Miss Henry's eagerness for Housewifery instructions could be seen in her article, 'The

Importance and Growth of the Teaching of Domestic Economy in Schools' in the School Magazine of November 1900.

I am certain there can be but one opinion, and that it this:- That no girl's education can be considered complete unless it fits her for the career which she is going to take up. Now what is the career that awaits the majority of girls? Is it not something to do with the home? I know that opportunities of entering upon careers, which at one time were considered the special domain of man...are now opening more and more to girls. But, speaking generally, I am right in saying that home life is the life that awaits the large majority of girls after leaving school (*SM*, November, 1900, pp.106-107).

Miss Henry referred to girls' future roles as wives and mothers as a vocation which requires same preliminary trainings as doctors and artist. She also stressed from the cases of Polytechnics in London that Domestic Economy teacher training leads to good appointment in Polytechnics or Technical Institutes. Her salary as Housekeeper and teacher of Cookery and Sewing was increased from £115 to £125 as from September 1901 ('November 5th, 1902'. *MGM*). Soon, an Assistant to Miss Henry was appointed. In March 1903 Miss Ashley Jones, assistant to Miss Henry resigned and Miss Agnes C. Beale was appointed in the place of Miss Jones for one year, from the commencement of next term on probation at a salary of £80 with partial board ('March 25th, 1903'. *MGM*).

The Housewifery class operated successfully. In May 1903, a 'Housewifery Exhibition' was held. 'This consisted of specimens of cookery (from soups to puff pastry), laundry work, burnished pans and washed pottery, and many specimens of needlework required in a household, such as blind-making, darning, mending of fur, &c., which were displayed on long tables in the corridor, and excited much interest in the numerous visitor. The cookery prize was awarded to Marie Burton, and the prize for the best-decorated dinner table to Evelyne Cooper' (*SM*, July, 1903, pp.80-81). In December 1903, there were 24 girls learning cookery, and the Laundry Class was larger than it has ever been (*SM*, December, 1903, p.120). Therefore, the Governors agreed to convert the Old Physics Laboratory into a Biological Laboratory and to make arrangements for the teaching of Cooking elsewhere ('July 15th, 1904'. *MGM*). Miss Burstall was instructed to make the necessary arrangements for teaching Domestic Arts for the coming year and if necessary to suspend some of the classes during alterations ('July 29th, 1904'. *MGM*). In March 1905, the opening of a new Cookery School was celebrated and the Lord Mayor spoke of the importance of knowledge

of housewifery for girls, so that when they left school they might add to the comfort of their homes and the people about them. He then declared the new departments open (*SM*, April, 1905, p.18).

We may now boast that few high Schools in the country possess such a complete equipment for the study of nature according to modern methods. Its advantages can only be appreciated fully by those who have sadly watched their tender seedlings wither away under the baneful effects of the fumes in the Chemical Laboratory. The Cookery School, with its white brick walls, gas stoves, and lift, has afforded equal delight to the members of the housewifery class (*SM*, April, 1905, p.1).

After the Autumn Term 1905, rearrangements in the Housewifery Department staff were made owing to the illness of Miss Henry and the growth of the Department. Miss Henry had been absent thorough illness for four weeks in December 1905 and was expected to be away during the remainder of the term. The Chairman and Miss Burstall were to appoint a temporary assistance next term if desired ('December 6th, 1905'. MGM). In July next, the question of 'the rearrangement of the Staff of Housewifery teachers to meet the increased amount of such teaching in the School' was considered. Miss Katherine Booth was appointed an Assistant Mistress for a year on probation from Sept 1st next at a salary of £100 per annum with partial board. She assisted Miss Henry in the Housekeeping as may be arranged with the headmistress. Then, Miss Lily Myers became entirely responsible for the Sewing to relieve Miss Henry from Sewing classes ('July 23rd. 1906'. MGM). However, by July 1907, in consequence of the increase in the 'Domestic Arts Classes' Miss Booth was unable to give any assistance to Miss Henry in the Housekeeping. Miss Henry was therefore instructed to be responsible for obtaining a young assistant at a cost of from £20 to £30 per annum and partial board ('July 16th, 1907'. MGM). From the Autumn Term, Miss Myers undertook Miss Henry's duties with the help of Miss Edith Kenny, engaged at a salary of 30/- per week ('October 2nd. 1907'. MGM).

In Burstall (1907), the need for the 'Direct Preparation for Practical Life, Especially in the Home' explains in detail the aims and conduct in Housewifery training.

The question of including in the girls' secondary school curriculum subjects of a definitely practical character has of late come prominently before the public.

The teaching of cookery and the domestic arts to girls of every class is advocated on natural grounds, as is the teaching of military drill and marksmanship to boys. The

emergence of this view is of great interest philosophically. It has a scientific, biological basis, the idea that there are specialized functions in practical life for which the sexes should be separately prepared in the school (Burstall, 1907, p.194).

However, Miss Burstall emphasised the need for 'domestic subjects' in girls' secondary school mainly from educational points. While girls in working-classes and upper-classes are not able to receive suitable training from mothers who are busy in employment or in social activities, middle-class girls, especially those in day schools, have time to engage themselves in household management under the guidance of mothers. Therefore, the question arises:

If we grant that every girl should learn how to manage a house, and especially how to cook and clean, is it necessary she should learn this at school? (Burstall, 1907, p.195).

Miss Burstall refers to the negative attitudes seen among pioneer female educators and mothers towards teaching 'domestic subjects' at school..

It has thus happened that organized teaching in the domestic arts for girls was not originally part of the high school tradition in England. The pioneer women, themselves truly womanly, and skilful in household arts did not ignore or undervalue such teaching, but they did not think it their business. That their instinct was at least in part correct is proved by the action of some mothers of high school girls to-day, who declare definitely and firmly they do not want their girls to be taught the domestic arts in school. "I can teach her these", says such a one. "While she is at school, I wish her to learn what I cannot teach her." It is not one head mistress or one type of school that hears such declarations (Burstall, 1907, p.196).

The answers to this question are given in three ways. First, because schools today has come to claim more of girls times, the school 'must do something to redress the balance' between home and school in girls' lives. Second, 'so great is the influence of the school...that is a subject of group of activities is left out of school organization it is likely to be forgotten or even despised.' Third, such instruction is suitable for girls 'to whom ordinary school studies do not appeal' (Burstall, 1907, pp.196-198).

The plan for MHSG in 1907 was as follows. Miss Burstall noted that the 'technical mistress'

should also serve as general mistress by teaching English or History, being form mistress to girls in order to succeed. She also required the course to come at the end of girls' school careers, and admitted girls over Fourth Forms.

Table 19. MHSG. Curriculum of Housewifery Course 1907.

General Subjects.	Periods.	Technical Subjects.	Periods.
Scripture and Address.	2	Cookery.	3
English.	3	Laundry.	3
History.	2	Hygiene.	2
French.	3	Domestic Science.	2
Arithmetic.	2	Dressmaking.	2
German (Optional).	3	Housewifery (1 st year). Household Mending (2 nd year).	2
Total.	15	Total.	14

Final total 27 to 30 Periods. (Burstall, 1907, p.199.)

After May 1908, a constant rearrangement with the senior members of the Housekeeping Staff and servants, including the resignation of Miss Henry, was reported in the School Committee and Meeting of Governors ('May 6th, 1908'. MGM). Regarding to Miss Henry's delicate health, and other matters brought before them, Miss Henry was requested to resign at the end of the school year of 1908 and was proposed to receive £150 which will enable her to take a sufficient long holiday to re-establish her health ('May 5th, 1908'. MGM). In June Miss Henry accepted the resignation and offer. However, as Miss Booth had also given notice of her intention to resign her appointment as teacher of Housewifery, a Sub-Committee was formed for the Housekeeping arrangements of the School ('June 3rd, 1908'. MGM). In July, the Sub-Committee appointed Miss Lily Myers as the Housekeeper as from 1st September next at a Salary of £125 per annum without Board. Miss Chapman be appointed an Assistant Mistress for one year on probation from 1st September next at a Salary of £100 per annum ('July 1st, 1908'. MGM). From May 1909, Miss May Friend was appointed as a full-time 'Teacher of Domestic Science' at a salary of £120 per annum, though she turned down her appointment ('May 18th, 1909'; 'June 23rd, 1909'. MGM).

After 1910, the Housewifery Department extended further. In June 1910, Mr. Moodie and Mrs. Tout, the governors, were requested to prepare a Scheme for advanced classes in Cookery and Laundry for the next Session ('June 22nd, 1910'. MGM). School Magazine for December 1910 noted that:

As the Housewifery form has increased, the Governors have had to provide greater accommodation for them. The Cookery school has been enlarged and improved, affording greater facilities for the excellent work of the form (SM, December, 1910, p.38).

In May 1911, Manchester School Committee had interviews for the appointment of the 'Teacher of Domestic Arts' and Miss Grace Bradshaw were appointed an Assistant Mistress for one year on probation as from 1st September next at a Salary of £120 per annum ('May 22nd, 1911'. MGM). In November, Miss Ellen Moakes was appointed a 'Teacher of Needlework and Dressmaking' for three afternoons a week, at a fee of 5s. per afternoon ('November 29th, 1911'. MGM). Miss Friend, the Domestic Arts Mistress, left in December 1911 to work at the Sir John Cass Technical Institute in London (SM, December, 1911, p.70).

After the 1910s, the aims and teaching methods of Housewifery Department marked some important changes. First, , it was agreed that 'house-keeping requires the use of brains as well as of hands'. Therefore, 'No longer is housewifery treated as a subject to be taught only to girls who are too dull for other work, but as a subject which is a science and which needs intellect to enlighten it'. Second, the system of a 'Gap Cottage' was proposed to train girls in a practical setting (SM, June, 1911, pp.29-30. See Appendix 5).

In September 1912, Miss Burstall submitted the Report of the Senior School Certificate, and Housecraft Certificate, Examination by the Joint Matriculation Board in the Higher Forms of the School. At the same time, a new Sewing Machine for the Housewifery Department, at a cost not exceeding £5 ('September 25th, 1912'. MGM). In 1913, Miss Burstall reported in front of parents and pupils that the most striking change which had taken place in the school during her fifteen years of service was 'the increasing determination of parents that their daughters should be able to earn their own living. Since this is so, parents ought, as citizens, to do their best to open to women the professions which are still closed to them' (SM, December, 1913, p.61).

A more detailed advancement of 'domestic subjects' in MHSG are noted in the *Report of the*

Consultative Committee on Practical Work in Secondary Schools (1913). Miss Burstall as a witness gave evidence before the Committee in December 1909. However, some revisions were made in November 1912. First, Miss Burstall answered that Needlework had been included in the curriculum since 1874. She 'had always felt deeply the value of Sewing, both on general and on practical grounds' but also thought that if connected with the Art instruction, Needlework would possess 'real educational value' (*RSSPWSS*, p.300).

For Housewifery, Miss Burstall first pointed out that 'the solution of the problem of Domestic Instruction depended on the type of the girls' homes, as to how far the schoolgirl was likely to help with domestic work at home' and that there was a great variety among pupils (*RSSPWSS*, p.301). Then, she discussed the way to include Housewifery instruction under 'Bifurcation'. First, for girls aiming for universities, 'The Adaptation of Science to Domestic Work' was suitable. Since it seemed difficult for 'girls going to college and to professions' to find time for 'Domestic work (except Sewing) at school', compulsory 'Practical Science' lessons could include 'the principles of Domestic work'. Middle-class girls' schools originally believed that girls should engage in household management under the supervision of mothers in the afternoons and on Saturdays. However, Miss Burstall was of opinion that 'day schools might do much more than at present to encourage girls to practical Domestic work in their own home'. Teachers should have a closer relationship with what was going on at home, including 'domestic subjects'. The important point was 'to create the right attitude of mind towards the subject' (*RSSPWSS*, p.301).

Then it would not matter so much if the college girl never received Cookery and Laundry instruction in the school at all. She should very soon learn how to keep house if it were put into her mind that it was the right thing to do (*RSSPWSS*, p.301).

As for 'the case of the more backward type of girls', a 'Definite course of Housewifery' had developed since 1900. The course was intended for 'home girls' who amounted to 'quite half the girls (say 55 per cent)' in MHSG. Miss Burstall emphasised that 'No part of the course was wholly technical and practical' and 'time was given to general education, and every teacher of Domestic work would be able to take some general work as well'. Girls in need of 'purely technical work and more specialized training from 18 years of age' must move on to 'the School of Domestic Economy' after graduation. However, even in MHSG it was impossible to make Housewifery course compulsory. Parents sometimes objected to paying fees for instruction which they could give at home. Furthermore, 'Even in the Housewifery course itself it was not possible to make Laundry-work compulsory. Some parents drew the

line at Laundry, and it did not do to fight the parents' wishes too much. There was enough difficulty over the Cookery' (*RSSPWSS*, p.302).

The course contents became more complete and thorough after introducing the 'Housecraft Certificate' by the Joint Matriculation Board of the northern Universities which examined and inspected MHS (*RSSPWSS*, p.300, 303).

Cookery is compulsory, and two of the four options, Laundry, Housewifery, Needlework (with some Art work), and Hygiene (with some elementary Biology). The certificate is now accepted for entrance to several of the Training Colleges for Domestic Economy (*RSSPWSS*, p.303).

Miss Burstall also referred to the lack of related fields of female employment at that period.

...the development of the Housewifery department was somewhat retarded by the fact that at present there was no career in it for the ordinary girls who had to earn her living, unless she was going to be a teacher of Domestic Arts. However, girls who intended to be nurses later did well to take the course (*RSSPWSS*, p.303).

Therefore, while the Housewifery course was of a practical value, girls were unsatisfactory when using the knowledge and skills at home.

There was evidence that the course was of immediate practical value; girls sometimes took part of the Cooking in their own homes even while still at school in the course. It was, however, an unfortunate circumstance that many girls in general did not like housework and did not like staying at home. No doubt this was partly due to the fact that they were not paid for what they did at home (*RSSPWSS*, p.303).

After 1909, Pendleton School also started to organise its own Cookery Class. In March a new Cookery Class was planned to start from September by appointment a new teacher. A Sub- Committee was formed to make enquiries for a 'Teacher of Cookery', to consider whether it was advisable 'to engage a half-time Teacher, or one who would give full time and could give other help, as for example to relieve Miss Patterson of housekeeping duties'. They also made enquiries as to the cost of appliances, and the arrangements necessary ('March 17th, 1909'. MGM). In April, the arrangements for a Cookery Class were discussed, and Miss Patterson was requested to ascertain from the Architect the probable cost of the

necessary structural alteration of the Stables Buildings and purchase of goods, Cooking Gas Stove, etc. Miss Patterson was also empowered to advertise for a teacher 'who will give full time and will assist in the housekeeping at the salary of £90 per annum, without Board and Residence'. The applications were considered by the Sub- Committee ('April 21st, 1909'. MGM). In May, Miss B. W. Greenhalgh was appointed as 'Teacher of Cookery and Domestic Science' for one year on Probation as from 1st September next, at a Salary of £90 per annum, with Dinners at the School ('May 19th, 1909'. MGM). From January 1910, it was decided that the fee payable by outside pupils attending the Cookery Classes, be continued ('January 20th, 1910'. MGM). However, Miss Greenhalgh resigned at the end of the Summer Term of 1910, and a new appointment for a 'Teacher of Cookery and Domestic Economy' who will give full time and assist in the Housekeeping, at a Salary of £90 per annum, without Board and Lodging, was made for the Sub- Committee ('March 17th, 1910'; 'April 21st, 1910'. MGM). Owing to the separation of the governing bodies of the two schools, the conducts in Pendleton School after 1911 are not available from MHS records.

7.7. Staff.

Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery lessons offered during the 1890s were taught by visiting mistresses from outside MHS as the accounts show.

Table 20. MHSG. 'Domestic subjects' staff 1900-1914.

	Years spent in MHSG.	Subjects taught.	Early education.	Teacher training.	Qualification.	Careers before MHSG.	Careers after MHSG.
1	Henry, Branch. Sept 1900- July 1908.	Lady housekeeper & Domestic Arts Mistress.	Private School in Rochester.	Battersea Polytechnic 1898-1900.	Diplomas in Cookery, Laundry, Dressmaking, Needlework, Laundry work, Housewifery (Battersea).	None.	London Polytechnic 1908-.
2	Booth, Katherine. Sept 1906- Dec 1907.	Visiting Cookery Mistress 1905-; Cookery, Laundry, Hygiene, English, History and Scripture to Housewifery Form 1906-.	Cheltenham Lades College.	Gloucester School of Domestic Science 1895-97.	Oxford & Cambridge Local Examinations. Diploma in Cookery, Laundry and Domestic Economy (National Union).	Gloucester School 1896-. School of Cookery, Cheltenham 1901-. Cheshire County	Married.
3	Myier, Lily. Sept 1904- Sept 1905.	Sewing Mistress, Housewifery Mistress.	Private schools in Tarn House and Lausanne 1876-87.	Liverpool School of Domestic Economy 1901-04.	Diplomas for Household Sewing, Millinery, Dressmaking and Advanced Dressmaking (Liverpool).	Private teaching.	Retired.
4	Chapman, Dorothy. Sept 1908- Sept 09.	Cookery, Laundry and Hygiene.	National elementary schools, private schools 1894-1901.	Gloucester Training School of Domestic Science 1904-07.	Diploma for Laundry and Housewifery (Gloucester). Diploma for First Class Oppery (BOE). Diploma in Needlework (National)	None.	Housewifery Mistress, Carlisle High School.
5	Friend, Eleanor May. Sept 1909- June 1911.	Housewifery Form Mistress. Housewifery subjects & English. a private Cookery class one afternoon a week at MHSG for older women in October 1910.	Torquay High School. Royal Holloway College 1892-94.	National Society's Training College for Domestic Arts. Hampsstead 1907-09.	Oxford University Examination for Women. First Class Diploma for Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery and Infants management & Chemistry Hygiene	several high schools from 1894.	Head of the Domestic Arts Department, Sir. John Cass Institute, Aldgate E.
6	Moakes, Ellen Mary. Feb 1883- Dec 1916.	Needlework, Dressmaking.	Higher Grade School in London 1893-99.	Northern Polytechnic, London 1905. Manchester Municipal School of Technology 1906-07.	Dressmaking Certificates (Lancashire & Cheshire Union, City & Guilds of London)	Evening School/Manchester Education Committee 1906.	Sewing Mistress, Southport Secondary School.
7	Darwent, Dorothy Maude. Summer 1911.	Cookery, Laundry.	Private schools. MHSG 1903-08.	Gloucester Training School of Domestic Science 1908-.	No data.	None.	Worthington Secondary School.
8	Bradshaw, Grace. Sept 1911- Dec 1922.	Housewifery Form Mistress. Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery and Hygiene.	Bolton High School 1892-1901.	Liverpool Training College of Cookery & Technical College of Domestic Science 1901-05.	Oxford and Cambridge Local Examination. First Class Diploma and Certificate for Cookery, Laundry and Housewifery, Sewing, Dressmaking & Millinery, Elementary Physiology & Hygiene.	Notting Hill High School; Bolton High School; Burlington High School.	Inspector of Domestic Subjects of Liverpool Education Authority.
MHSG Staff Register I.							

The above table shows the brief information on the eight 'domestic subjects' mistresses found from the MHSB Staff Register. They were appointed between 1900 and 1914, but their years spent in MHSB varied from only a month to more than ten years. However, some clear characteristics are found among these women. First, four women, who attended high schools or took University examinations, had received education at a secondary level. Second, all eight women were trained in 'domestic subjects' teacher training colleges in various parts of England between the 1890s and the 1910s.: three at Polytechnics and Training Colleges in London, three at Gloucester School of Domestic Science and two at Liverpool Training College. Third, all except for one had gained diplomas or certificates at several areas of 'domestic science'. Finally, career records of those women show that they had frequently moved from one school to another, in various areas on England, seeking for better posts. Some had teaching experience in private education, evening schools, training college before appointed at MHSB. After resigning their post in MHSB, some were married or retired. However, more women carried on their work in 'domestic subjects' and became mistresses in other high schools or secondary schools, head or inspector in training colleges and other specialist institutions. In conclusion, while a close examination of the social origins of those women were unable because of the lack of information, most of the 'domestic subjects' mistresses appointed MHSB had experienced similar educational and career trajectories as other teachers and girls of MHSB.

7.8. Board of Education grants for Science teaching.

The literature of girls' secondary education had linked the introduction of 'domestic subjects' with the pressure set by the block grants and the *RSS* of BOE. This section examines the influence of BOE on the introduction in MHSB.

MHSB had applied for the grants offered by BOE from the early stage, however, it was not a straightforward step. In February 1901, the governors had consulted with the headmistress to apply to BOE for the registration of the Science Classes at this School for attendance Grants ('February 6th, 1901'. MGM). The governors had an interview with Mr Hards, the Local Inspector of the Board of Education, on the subject of Grants in future years in respect of Science teaching and drafted the applications ('November 6th, 1901'. MGM). In December 1901, Miss Burstall presented the letter from BOE dealing with the question of Attendance Grants, Inspection of the School and the numbers of hours to be devoted weekly to instruction in Science and Mathematics, and explained the difficulty of complying with the requirements of the Board in respect of the last question. This question and the plan to

appointment of new Science Mistresses were considered by the Science Sub- Committee ('December 4th, 1901'. MGM). In February 1902, a memorial to BOE relating to the conductions of the "Block Grants" was drawn up ('February 5th, 1902. MGM). However, BOE had refused to recognise 'nine periods of science instruction of 40 minutes duration each per week as qualifying for Block Grants' and the appointment of new teachers was ratified ('March 5th, 1902'. MGM). In October 1902, BOE draw attention to 'the want of a properly fitted laboratory in which to carry on practical work in the Biological group of subjects' and enquired for the possibility of providing such a laboratory ('October 1st, 1902'. MGM). As we had seen in Chapter 3, the regulations on the required hours of instructions for girls' secondary schools were changed, and finally by October 1903, MHSG was also to sign an application to the Board of Education for recognition of the School as a Secondary School in Division B (s.31) ('October 7th, 1903'. MGM). After February 1904, the receipt of annual grants and arrangements for inspections of BOE were constantly reported in the Meeting of Governors ('February 3rd, 1904'. MGM).

7.9. Headmistresses' approach to 'domestic subjects': A conclusion.

Between 1874 and 1914 Plain Sewing was valued as a compulsory subject for girls. The timetable of 1881 shows that many Forms were taught this subject. However, the results of examinations were not high enough to please the examiner. In the mid-1890s technical classes in Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery were introduced to make use of the vacant classrooms to improve the poor state of school management. Evidence shows that Miss Day was not so eager to introduce those subjects. Her unwilling attitude to 'domestic subjects' instruction can also be judged from the fact that MHSG never offered Domestic Economy lessons in her day. In spite of the efforts made, the problem of school management, however, remained unsolved during Miss Day's period. When Miss Burstall became the new head in 1898, the discussion of reducing the cost of school maintenance arose again, and the changes in examination system and the establishment of Housewifery and Secretarial Courses were initiated after 1900.

The introduction under Miss Burstall shows some interesting points. First, it took the form of either Sewing activities or special Housewifery Courses. Because MHSG and other satellite schools organised their own curricula under different headmistresses, the changes in MHSG could be seen as a unique and original feature authorized by Miss Burstall. Second, MHSG cooperated well with regulations and block grants offered by BOE from the early 1900s and also benefitted in the Secretarial Department. Third, the aims and characters of Housewifery

instruction also changed from educational to vocational as certificates linked to future teacher training were introduced and 'apprenticeship' in practical settings were brought in. Forth the records show that even Miss Burstall, one of the successful pioneers of 'domestic subjects' in middle-class girls' schools, had difficulties in establishing the course because she had to respond to the needs of fee-paying parents.

While records show that 'domestic subjects' instruction in MHSG originated from the days of Miss Day, this was never recorded in Miss Burstall's books. By not referring to the tradition of 'domestic subjects' instruction in NLCS and CSG from the early 1870s and the temporary attempt in MHSG in the mid-1890s, Miss Burstall's books give the impression that she was the pioneer in this field. In the last chapter the overall characteristics of the introduction of domestic subjects and the answers to the research questions concerning the influence of external authorities and parents/guardians will be analysed.

Part IV. Analysis and conclusion.

Chapter 8: Drawing the threads together: From Miss Buss to Miss Burstall.

8.1. Introduction.

Why were 'domestic subjects' transformed in English middle-class girls' high schools between 1871 and 1914? This chapter offers answers to the research questions presented in Chapter 1, namely: How did headmistresses work together through the Association of Head Mistresses (AHM) and in their own schools to develop academic curricula and 'domestic subjects' for girls' education? What were the specific characteristics of instruction in 'domestic subjects' such as content, aims, staff and pupils/parents involved? Were 'domestic subjects' actually only taught to middle-class girls with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds?

To answer these questions I conducted an analysis of the links between and changing attitudes of the headmistresses in AHM and within the three schools. I showed the results through detailed case studies of three girls' high schools during a 50-year period of six headmistresses. In the following sections, I first summarise these three case studies to explain the changing socio-economic conditions of middle-class women and transforming features of 'domestic subjects'. Second I present the influence of external authorities including BOE in their introduction. Third I analyse the more detailed socio-educational backgrounds of teacher and pupils. Finally I offer my overarching conclusions and reflect upon the argument of my thesis.

8.2. The changing features of 'domestic subjects' 1871-1914.

Milburn (1969, p.246) concluded that the overall procedure taken by AHM on 'domestic subjects' during 1895 and 1914 resembled that taken by pioneers of female education such as 'the establishment of a connection with the universities, incorporation of the subjects in external examinations; provision of suitable careers for women in domestic work; training of qualified teachers'. However, the transformation of 'domestic subjects' between 1871 and 1914 shows more complex images reflecting wider socio-economic changes for middle-class women.

The period 1871-1914 showed some important socio-economic changes for middle-class women reflecting the changes after the Agricultural Depression. Gleadle (2001, p.139) notes that improvements in educational facilities enabled middle-class and elite women to access a range of new occupations in medical, clerical, retailing and educational sectors. Structural changes in the economy and continued notions of gender-differentiation influenced women's choice of employment. She concludes that this was a period of a 'stasis not change'. In the educational sector, reformed middle-class girls' schools became the feeder institutions for women students in higher educational institutions and also places of employment for graduate professional teachers. The growth of elementary schools led to the increase of female teachers. These recruits were mainly from the lower-middle classes. Separate female careers in academic life also emerged after the establishment of women's colleges. In the medical sector, while the number of women doctors was relatively small, a new generation of professional nurses had emerged by the 1900s. It was firstly supported by philanthropic and imperial values, however, it gradually gained state-registration and detached itself from middle-class philanthropic tradition (Gleadle, 2001, pp.145-147). The clerical sector, which required a good standard of personal presentation and literacy, drew upon female characteristics increased dramatically by the 1900s. Companies created a dual labour market: 'lady' clerks hired to do the manual work while male clerk took responsible positions, and women were lowly paid. Skills such as short-hand writing, typewriting and modern languages were needed (Gleadle, 2001, pp.148-149).

However, Gleadle (2001, pp.149-153) points out that for most middle-class women the new academic girls' schools were out of reach and only a small portion of women entered professional careers. Most of them continued in their traditional female roles around the home, though, 'Home...was their place of work' as women ran the household, did childcare, supervised servants, organised lavish entertainments, and followed the ritual codes of female visiting. Their work at home also involved helping their male family members' work, the point often hidden from history. Charitable work continued to be a major activity for middle-class women, however, in more professional ways. By the 1890s, some half a million women were seen to do some unpaid semi-professional philanthropic work. Social work such as visiting and investigations with the poor, criminal or ill, were continued. The range of 'dependant paupers' in need of help expanded from the working-classes to the residents of the Empire. Since philanthropic societies were organised and run by landed and upper middle-class members, they were often ignorant of the real needs of working-classes and others. However, local government gradually took responsibility for such social work during

this period to oversee children, the sick and the elderly. The local School Boards set up from 1870 were a combination of local politics, education and welfare of children and their functions were how women were to have official access to local politics. Governmental control was strengthened by the establishment of Local Educational Authorities after 1903. However, as social work became more professionalised, its responsibilities and authorities were taken over by male professionals in such government bodies (Gleadle, 2001, pp.154-159).

As I have noted in Chapter 1, my research focuses on the continuity of ‘domestic subjects’, the framework, and the changes seen among its contents. When looking at these continuity and change, my analysis shows that there were three stages to the transformation of ‘domestic subjects’ between 1871 and 1914 as can be seen in my summary tables below, reflecting some of the above stated socio-economic changes in middle-class women’s lives. The three tables contain information on 1) the terms used to denote the range of ‘domestic subjects’, 2) the time periods in which they were taught, 3) the aims of instruction, 4) contents offered, 5) teachers of the subjects and 6) pupils/students involved. The information is drawn from research results of the three case study schools: NLCS, CSG and MHSG.

Table 21.

Three stages of the transformation of ‘domestic subjects’ 1871-1914: A summary.

	1871	1874			1898	1900			1914	
NLCS	Miss Buss 1850-94			Mrs Bryant 1895-1922						
	Plain Needlework (1871-)									
	Domestic Economy (1872-1903)									
			Cookery (1876-82)			Cookery (1895-98)				
			Various blanches in technical education (Cookery & Dressmaking) (1885)							
								Domestic Arts Course (1904-09)	Home Craft and Household Business Course (1909-)	
CSG	Miss Elford 1871-82		Miss Lawford 1882-1914							
	Plain Needlework (1871-1914)									
	Domestic Economy (1872-1909)									
						Cookery (1895-)				
					Dressmaking (1896-)					
					Domestic Science (1896-)					
MHSG	Miss Day 1874-98			Miss Burstall 1898-1924						
	Plain Sewing (1874-)									
						Teantatie technical Classes (Cookery, Dressmaking & Millinery) (1894-98)				
									Housewifery course (1900-)	

Table 22.

i) introduction of 'domestic subjects' as individual subjects: The first stage starting from the 1870s.						
Schools.	NLCS			CSG		MHSG
Terms.	Plain Needlework.	Domestic Economy.	Cookery.	Plain Needlework.	Domestic Economy	Plain Sewing.
Dates.	1871-1914.	1872-1903.	1875-1882.	1871-1914.	1872-1909.	1874-1914.
Aims.	Educational& Voluntary values.	Educational& Practical values.	Practical value.	Educational& Voluntary values.	Educational& Practical values.	Educational& Voluntary values.
Contents.	Needlework, Sewing.	Knowledge of household management. Cookery, Housing, Ventilation and knowledge of air, Heating, Hygiene, Lighting, Water, Cleaning, Planning Dishes, Economy, Clothing, Laundry, Infant care and First Aid.	Demonstrative lessons given on Saturdays charging extra fees.	Needlework, Sewing.	Knowledge of household management. Cookery, Heating, Housing, Ventilation and knowledge of air, Water, Hygiene, Clothing, Physiology, Cleaning, Laundry, Planning dishes and Domestic Economy.	Needlework, Sewing.
Teachers.	School Mistresses.	School Mistresses.	School Cookery Mistress holding qualification of the National Training School.	School Mistresses.	School Mistresses.	School Mistresses.
Pupils/ Students.	Required in the 'Qualification for Admission'. Compulsory classes for younger girls. Examination and inspection. All girls engaging in voluntary Dorcas Society activities.	Compulsory classes for older girls. Annual examination and inspection held.	Older girls and old girls.	Compulsory classes for younger girls. Examination and inspection. As Holiday Work. All girls engaging in voluntary Dorcas Society activities.	Compulsory classes for older girls. Annual examination and inspection held.	Compulsory classes for younger girls. Some girls engaging in voluntary Golden Rule Society activities.

i) Individual subjects: The first stage starting from the 1870s.

During this first stage, the three case schools offered instruction as individual subjects under separate titles such as Plain Needlework/Sewing, Domestic Economy and Cookery. Needlework instruction emphasized the word 'Plain' to distinguish itself from the fancy embroidery offered in traditional home education. It was the knowledge and skill required of all girls entering the school, and was valued by its educational as well as voluntary usefulness. Domestic Economy was offered in NLCS and CSG but not in MHSG, probably due to the unwillingness of Miss Day, the headmistress. Instruction given to girls in Upper Forms included various knowledge of middle-class household management. While examiners valued the practical usefulness of the subject, instruction was given theoretically in classrooms without the opportunity to practise the skills. It was treated equally with other academic subjects (e.g. English, Science) in annual examinations and inspections. At this stage, Cookery was also offered to NLCS and probably CSG girls. Girls received demonstration lessons outside normal school hours by paying extra-fees, and some sat for certificate examinations at the end their courses. However, girls attending did not aim to be teachers in NLCS. Aside from the Cookery lessons given by a specialist Cookery Mistress trained in the National Training School for Cookery, Needlework and Domestic Economy lessons seemed to have been given by normal school mistresses.

Table 23.

ii) Introduction of 'domestic subjects' as technical education: The second stage starting after the 1880s.					
Schools.	NLCS		CSG		MHSG
	Various Branches in Technical Education.	Cookery	Dressmaking, Cookery.	Domestic Science.	
Dates.	1885	1895-1898 and 1904.	Dressmaking 1895- Cookery 1896-	1896-	1894-1898.
Aims.	Vocational value.	Practical value.	Educational & practical values. Vocational value for Pupil/Student Teachers.	Educational value.	Educational & practical value. Financial value for MHSG school management.
Contents.	Special afternoon classes charging extra fees. Instructions given in Civil Service Examination, University Examination, Book-Keeping, Scientific Dress-cutting and Dress-making, Wood-Carving and Art Needlework, Cookery, Dancing, Botany, Modelling in Clay & Wax, etc. or Terra Cotta.	Demonstrative lessons. Special afternoon classes charging extra fees.	Demonstrative lessons. Supported by TEB grants (new Cookery kitchen).	Within the regular school curriculum. Supported by London TEB grants after 1895 and by BOE grants after the early 1900s. Instructions given in Elementary Practical Science, Domestic Science and Botany, etc.	Special afternoon classes charging extra fees. Instructions given in Cookery, Dressmaking & Millinery. Originally planned to provide Cooking, Dressmaking, and Millinery, Shorthand and Bookkeeping, Wood Carving and Art Needlework lessons.
Teachers.	Visiting mistresses.	Visiting Cookery mistress holding qualification of the National Training School.	Visiting Cookery Mistresses trained at Battersea Polytechnic (becoming Domestic Arts Mistress of NLCS after 1904). School Mistress trained for Dressmaking.	Science mistresses.	Visiting mistresses.
Pupils/Students.	Older NLCS girls. Old girls. Girls/ women from outside school.	Older NLCS girls. Old girls. Girls/ women from outside school.	Older CSG girls. Old girls. Girls/ women from outside school.	CSG girls.	Older MHSG girls. Old girls. Wigr/ women from outside school.

ii) Technical education: The second stage starting after the 1880s.

This second stage was when domestic subjects were taught as a part of a special 'technical education' programme reflecting the growing interest towards 'technical' education in the middle-classes after the 1880s referred to in Chapter 1. In this stage, special fee-paying Cookery and Dressmaking (sometimes including Millinery or Art Needlework) courses were commonly offered outside normal school hours in all schools. Demonstration Cookery lessons were taught for practical purposes. Dressmaking was also popular among girls. The 'technical classes' were also a response to growing female employment in fields listed. In NLCS and MHSG, such courses were included as part of 'technical' classes alongside others such as Book-keeping and Examination courses. CSG was unique during this period due to the influence of the London TEB in the way its provision was developed. TEB grants were given to CSG to extend its Cookery, Dressmaking and Domestic Science lessons after 1895. At this stage, most 'domestic subjects' instruction was given by qualified visiting mistresses holding certificates from the National Training School of Cookery and other bodies. 'Technical classes' were attended not only by girls in Upper Forms but also by old girls and girls and women outside schools. While such 'technical classes' themselves were not directly a means of teacher training, CSG was also unique in guiding its Pupil/ Student Teachers toward subsequent teacher training in 'domestic subjects'.

Table 24.

iii) Introduction of 'domestic subjects' as comprehensive 'Specialisation' courses: The third stage starting after the 1900s.			
Schools.	NLCS	CSG	MHSG
Terms.	Domestic Arts Course/ Technical Class.	Individual courses in Needlework(Dressmaking), Cookery and Hygiene.	Housewifery Course/ Housewifery Department
Dates.	1904-1909.	Needlework(Dressmaking) 1895- Cookery 1896- Hygiene 1914.	1900-.
Aims.	Educational value (an alternative route for non- college girls). Practical value (to produce able middle- class mistresses).	Educational & practical values. Vocational value for Pupil/ Student Teachers.	Educational value. ('Specialisation' for non- college girls). Educational & practical values (to produce able middle-class mistresses). Financial value (to improve MHSG school management). Vocational value (certificates, girls entering Domestic Economy Colleges later).
Contents.	Provided within the normal school curriculum. Lessons given in Dressmaking and Millinery, Cookery, Laundry Work or Housewifery, Hygiene.	Domestic and theoretical lessons. Supported by TEB grants (new Cookery kitchen).	Provided within the normal school curriculum. Supported by BOE grants. General Subjects: Scripture and Address, English, History, French, Arithmetic, German (Optional). Technical Subjects: Cookery, Laundry, Hygiene, Domestic Science, Dressmaking, Housewifery (1st year), Household Mending (2nd year).
Teachers.	Domestic Arts Mistress holding qualification (Battersea Polytechnic).	Visiting Cookery Mistresses trained at Battersea Polytechnic (NLCS mistress). School Mistress trained for Dressmaking	Domestic Economy Mistresses holding qualifications (Battersea Polytechnic, Gloucester Training School of Domestic Science, etc.)
Pupils/ Students.	NLCS girls over seventeen years of age.	1910 Inspection: Needlework for all girls. Cookery. Many girls not receiving instructions. 1914 Inspection: Needlework for all girls. Dressmaking for Fifth Forms. Cookery & Hygiene for Third Forms (most girls entering these Forms).	MHSG girls above Fourth Forms.

iii) Comprehensive 'Specialisation' courses: The third stage starting after the 1900s.

During this stage a difference is seen to emerge between NLCS, MHSG and CSG. In NLCS and MHSG, 'domestic subjects' were taught under special course names: Domestic Arts Course, Home Craft and Household Business Course or Housewifery Course. Under 'specialisation', such courses served as an alternative route for girls over 14 or 15 not bound for further education – due to their lack of academic abilities but often also due to financial reasons. As 'Non-College' girls became recognised by headmistresses as the majority in girls' secondary schools, these courses attracted more interest of parents/guardians and helped improve the financial state of schools by increasing the number of fee-paying pupils. The courses formed a part of the Upper Forms, and instruction, both theoretical and demonstrative, were given within the normal school hours, dividing the curriculum into general and technical subjects. However, as the consequence of 'Specialisation', 'domestic subjects' ceased to become a compulsory subject in NLCS. 'Domestic subjects' were no more considered as a universal skill and knowledge to be taught to middle-class girls in NLCS and MHSG.

The content of instruction widened and became vocational. Besides Cookery and Dressmaking, subjects such as Laundry, Housewifery and Household Business were added. Grants for Science enabled to build Cookery kitchens which were often seen as important to provide a more practical and scientific instruction. More realistic environments for teaching and learning were sought after the 1910s by introducing the Gap Cottage and social work apprenticeship schemes. As the future careers of MHSG Housewifery pupils shown in the following section, the transition from a purely educational to more job-related teaching are seen. During this period, the tendency to employ specialist 'domestic subjects' mistresses holding several certificates from Polytechnics and other bodies was strengthened. Course instruction was given through the cooperation of Science and Mathematical mistresses. The pupils' future careers became more linked to those in the fields related to 'domestic subjects', mostly 'domestic subjects' teaching, as Certificates were introduced. However, Miss Burstall and AHM members tried to widen the career opportunities related to 'domestic subjects'. It is also interesting to point out that as the contents of 'domestic subjects' widened, a hierarchy among individual subjects came to be apparent. Compared to Needlework, Cookery and Dressmaking commonly forming a part of 'domestic subjects' from the 1870s, Hygiene and Laundry were the last ones to enter the course. As the inclusion of Laundry met opposition from parents in MHSG, the differing preference between individual subjects may have reflected the hierarchy of domestic work in the middle-class households.

The development in NLCS and MHSG were similar, however, they differed in the use of BOE grants. MHSG was supported by the BOE block grants, but NLCS leaves little evidence for applying for them. Instruction in CSG developed differently from the other two high schools. CSG did not establish a comprehensive 'Specialisation' course before 1914. It continued to offer separate courses on instruction in Needlework/Dressmaking and Cookery until 1914. While NLCS and MHSG limited the number of girls receiving 'domestic subjects' instruction during this stage, contrastingly, CSG took the opposite way by widening the number. In 1910 CSG was criticised by BOE inspectors for teaching Cookery to a small number of girls. In 1914, Needlework/Dressmaking was offered to all girls and Cookery & Hygiene instruction were given to girls in the Third Forms (average age 12.8) so that almost all CSG could receive instruction. 'Domestic subjects' instruction in CSG remained compulsory for almost all girls between 1871 and 1914.

There were similarities. The content of instruction in CSG also changed to be both theoretical and practical. Teachers became more qualified as the other two schools. Instruction given became more practical and vocational, but this feature was stronger in commercial education. It is also interesting to add that out of about 30 GPDST schools, seven schools had introduced 'Day Technical Classes' by 1907 as is shown in BOE sources. The seven schools were: Bournemouth, Croydon, Clapham, Greenwich, Notting Hill, Portsmouth and Streatham. The courses were intended for girls over 17 'who have completed the ordinary High School course, whether in the particular school or elsewhere, and will attend the school only for the special work of the Classes for a few hours in the week'. The subjects taught included Needlework and Dressmaking, Cookery, Hygiene, Laundry Work, First Aid, Millinery and Household Management. GPDST schools were managed under a central body, however, this shows that some individual decisions were made at each school level ('Extracts from minutes made in the result of applications for grants under §42 in respect of Domestic Courses given at certain Girls' Secondary Schools.' ED 12 42, TNA).

The results show that the three case study schools, and GPDST schools, operated individually in the transformation of 'domestic subjects' under the consensus reached in AHM and the pressure from BOE and other educational authorities.

iv) Changing terminology of 'domestic subjects'.

The case studies of the three schools also show the changing terminology of 'domestic subjects'. The framework of 'domestic subjects' which is the focus of this research, had also changed, reflecting its role as a comprehensive set of terms including a variety of subjects in girls' secondary education between 1871 and 1914. 'Domestic Economy' had been used from the early 1870s as a term including various fields of middle-class household management, although its emphasis was on instruction in Cookery and Dressmaking, and areas such as Cleaning, Laundry and Hygiene were not popular at first. Lessons were mainly given in classrooms, and it was valued for its educational and practical use to improve pupils' knowledge in household management. However, 'Domestic Economy' was also used in educational Codes set for girls' elementary education from the 1880s, and as the course title of Women's Departments in Polytechnics such as: Training School of Domestic Economy, Battersea Polytechnic; Liverpool College of Domestic Economy; Gloucester School of Domestic Economy; Herefordshire School of Domestic Economy; Manchester College of Domestic Economy (Bremner, 1898; Register of Applications, Teachers' Register, MHSGA ; Minutes of the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects, MRC).

After the late 1890s, 'Domestic Science' became used as a term suggesting a more home-based knowledge of Science. It aimed to be a part of Science and technical education for girls, however, as Manthorpe (1986) concluded, 'Domestic Science' never gained an equal academic position to Science. Some polytechnics used this term as their course titles. In 1896, the national Association of Teachers of Domestic Science was formed to help support teachers holding diplomas and certificates in this field. The Technical Sub-Committee of the National Council of Women was formed in 1896 and transformed into the Association of Teachers of Domestic Science in 1897. The association members were mainly teachers in 'domestic subjects'. In 1909 its title was changed from 'Domestic Science' to 'Domestic Subjects' (Sillitoe, 1933, Chapter XXI).

After the 1900s, terms such as 'Housewifery', 'Housecraft', 'Home Craft' and 'Domestic Arts' became the formal course titles in schools and in *RSS*. At this stage, Cleaning, Laundry and Hygiene also became important branches of the subject and Social Work later entered the course. While 'Domestic Economy' and 'Domestic Science' was shared, and therefore, linked with education for lower social classes, the new terms which came into use after the 1900s were specifically used in girls' secondary and higher education. When the Women's Department of King's College, London, established the course, its title was 'Household and

Social Science' (Blakestad, 1994). The term 'domestic subjects' only came into official use after 1906 by headmistresses and BOE members. One of the earliest examples is seen in AHM's 'Memorandum re Domestic Training for Girls Leaving School at 16' in AR 1906 (pp.65-66). It was widely used after 1912 and became the general term to describe various branches related to household management and the term used by researchers by the 1930s (Yoxall, 1913; Sillitoe, 1933). However, sources show that all terms were continuously used in different cases until 1914, therefore, suggesting there was no fixed consensus about which terms to use.

v) Continuity and change in Needlework instruction.

The continuity and change in Needlework in middle-class girls' education requires special attention. The literature before Watson (2000) and Webber (2009) had concluded that the only 'domestic subjects' offered in middle-class girls' schools before 1900 was Needlework. This is represented by Turnbull's work (1983, Chapter 5) that focused on Needlework instruction given in girls' education in general. For middle-class girls, its justification within the curriculum had changed over time. First, its 'original social and economic justification [was] of providing females with a useful practical skill'. Then, its usefulness was joined by the disciplinary 'significance in developing children's minds and bodies'. Needlework was considered 'useful in producing desirable feminine characteristics and behaviour in young girls', to teach girls values such as 'neatness, cleanliness, tidiness, self-respect and thrift' (Turnbull, 1983, p96, 100). For middle-class girls, its 'practical' usefulness lay not only in acquiring actual tasks but also in serving in 'philanthropic' sewing activities for the poor. However, when 'professionalisation of education' required further merits, the educational emphasis was placed on its historical and artistic qualities (Turnbull, 1983, pp.100-101).

Such changes in the justification and aims of teaching could also be traced from the three case studies. First, the names, 'Plain' Needlework or 'Plain' Sewing, listed in school prospectuses clearly show its change from Fancy Needlework in traditional accomplishments. Qualifications for internal and external Needlework examinations concentrated on practical methods. Its philanthropic use through school voluntary societies are fully emphasised in headmistresses' reports and pupils' autobiographies. Then, under 'technical education' after the 1880s, some aspects of Fancy Needlework came back as Art Needlework and more advanced instructions were given in Dressmaking and Millinery. The focus on the historical and artistic aspects of Needlework instruction can be seen here. However, more clearly seen here is the link between Needlework and female employment.

As all 'domestic subjects' instruction came to be offered as comprehensive 'Specialisation' courses after the 1900s, Needlework could not escape this integration. In other schools where no such courses were introduced, Needlework still existed as independent subject in the curriculum.

Turnbull (1983) sees the continuity of the ideological power of Needlework to girls and women between 1870 and 1914. 'The image of a woman sewing is one of the most persistent in our culture, and even today it is rare to see a man depicted handling needle and thread. Women's affinity for needlework is one of the most fundamental assumptions of domestic ideology' (Turnbull, 1983, p.97). The literature proves that even within the reformed middle-class girls' schools, domesticity of women was never rejected but had been transformed reflecting the changing economic and social positions of women in the changing socio-economic system. Therefore, between 1871 and 1914, Needlework secured its position in middle-class girls' curriculum.

8.3. Influence of external authorities on 'domestic subjects'.

The literature on 'domestic subjects' had expected the English state, through the National Board of Education, to play an important role in the 'introduction' of domestic subjects in girls' education. As David (1980)'s title, *The State, the Family and Education* shows, the state contribution to and regulation of education were clearly seen within working-class girls' curricula. In middle-class girls' education, Hunt (1991) observed the influence of BOE's gendered decision-making through grants and RSSs after 1902 on AHM and the complicated responses arising there among the headmistresses. Therefore, scholars saw the 'introduction' of 'domestic subjects' appearing to place after the establishment of BOE in 1899. They happened to miss the 'transformation' of 'domestic subjects' from Plain Needlework which was a longer term phenomenon arising from the 1870s onwards.

The four case studies on AHM, NLCS, CSG and MHSG show that 'domestic subjects' instruction other than Needlework was seen at school level as early as from the mid-1870s under the influence of external authorities other than the state. However, the three schools reacted differently in attempts to gain support from different authorities, which appear to directly reflect the attitudes of headmistresses to this subject and the schools' particular financial and social contexts.

Cookery lessons in NLCS from the mid-1870s seemed to reflect the boom among London

middle-class ladies for demonstration Cookery lessons. In 1872 the series of lectures given at the International Exhibition of 1872 by Mr. J. C. Buckmaster of the Science and Art Department recorded a huge success in his suggestion about the need for methodical and scientific instruction. In 1873 the National School of Cookery was established in South Kensington to provide lessons for elementary schoolgirls, cooks studying artisan, middle-class and high-class cooking, and to give certificates and diplomas. Its popularity was described in the late 1890s as 'Large numbers of ladies attend classes, especially ladies on the eve of their marriage; when the London season opens, girls come for parts of the course that attract them, and cooks also work up certain departments' (Bremner, 1897, pp.189-190). NLCS planned its Cookery course in 1875, just two years after the School was built, and sent one of the mistresses to be trained as a certificated Cookery teacher. Miss Buss who made these arrangements seemed to be well aware of the needs among her pupils and parents.

Grants offered from TEB helped extend the instructions given in CSG from the mid-1890s while NLCS and MHSG did not seem to apply for local TEB grants. London TEB was established in 1893 and soon after in March 1894, CSG had planned to apply for its Science grants. Miss Lawford, the headmistress, suggested building a new Science Room which could also be used for 'developing the Science teaching especially the domestic sciences of cookery and dress cutting'. She was also aware of the rivalry with the neighbourhood Board School offering 'domestic subjects' instruction, therefore, the improvement was planned as the means to attract more local pupils.

When BOE started to regulate the middle-class girls' curriculum by *RSSs* and grants after 1902, AHM strongly opposed such moves towards a uniform curriculum by sending Memorandums or contacting BOE members as we have seen in Chapter 4. What AHM as a whole valued was the autonomy for each school – the autonomy of headmistresses to freely decide their school curriculum according to local settings.

However, each headmistress and school reacted differently towards BOE grants and *RSSs*. For example, only 7 schools out of some 30 GPDST schools had introduced 'Day Technical Classes' courses by 1907. This also shows that some individual decisions were made at each school level among GPDST schools operating under a central body ('Extracts from minutes made in the result of applications for grants under §42 in respect of Domestic Courses given at certain Girls' Secondary Schools.' ED 12 42, TNA).

As we had seen from Chapters 5 to 7, NLCS, CSG and MHSG, those schools offering 'domestic subjects', reacted differently and the reputation of 'domestic subjects' instruction in each school also differed. BOE's report in 1913 shows the evidence from schools teaching 'domestic subjects'. Detailed examples of school courses were taken from Bradford Girls' Grammar School and Clapham High School for Girls. The first woman to be interviewed as 'Persons engaged in teaching' was Miss Burstall of MHSG, followed by headmistresses and principals of other schools offering 'domestic subjects' such as Clapham High School, Battersea Polytechnic or School of Domestic Science, Gloucester. Headmistresses from NLCS and CSG, which also offered advanced instruction, were not interviewed here, indicating the lower reputations of the courses offered (*RCCPWSS*, p.vi. See Appendix 8).

Looking at conduct at school level, BOE block grants and annual inspections were used for 'domestic subjects' courses in CSG and MHSG after 1904. Both schools seemed to struggle at first to adjust their school curricula to the requirements set in the *RSS*, but then succeeded. CSG and MHSG maintained good cooperation with BOE, receiving annual grants. However, while introducing similar 'domestic subjects' courses, little evidence is found from NLCS sources for the use of annual BOE grants and inspections. All three schools were also supported by grants from LEAs, which required them to offer free places for elementary school girls.

Considering the influence of external authorities over the three schools, it is wrong to see that the 'introduction' of 'domestic subjects' into girls' high schools had started after BOE regulations were set in the 1900s. Schools had offered instruction other than Needlework from the 1870s by gaining support from various other external authorities. Schools had already benefitted from the local grants offered from TEB from the mid-1890s prior to those of BOE. Additional teachers were employed, new subjects were introduced and scholarships were used to enter higher educational institutes. AHM as a whole strongly opposed the pressure from BOE to set up a uniform curriculum for middle-class girls' schools. However, as we saw in case studies, it was left in the hands of each headmistress whether to offer 'domestic subjects' in her school under different local conditions. Headmistresses and governors of the individual schools either accepted or rejected the outside economic, educational and social pressures according to their school conditions from the 1870s as the transforming contents and aims of 'domestic subjects' instruction show. The one concern was the social backgrounds and educational experience of pupils, reflecting parents'/guardians' conditions.

8.4. Social and educational backgrounds of 'domestic subjects' teachers.

A clear professionalization of 'domestic subjects' teachers is seen in the three stages of teaching 'domestic subjects'.

In the first stage when 'domestic subjects' were taught as individual compulsory subjects, the names and biographical information of 'domestic subjects' teachers are hard to find owing to lack of information in reports or to lack of information. In three schools Needlework or Domestic Economy seems to have been taught by their schoolmistresses. This suggests that teaching of above subjects formed a part of girls' curriculum conducted without special notice.

In the second stage when 'domestic subjects' formed a part of 'technical' courses, subjects were taught by certificated visiting mistresses who had received special instruction in courses offered by 'domestic subjects' educational institutions. In the case of NLCS, the first Cookery mistress was originally one of NLCS staff. Miss Buss decided to send her to the National School of Cookery to convert her into a certificated Cookery mistress. Most teachers attended similar courses provided by special institutions and gained certificates which proved their knowledge and skill in the field. However, such courses were initially not directly aimed for teacher training.

In the third stage when 'domestic subjects' were taught as specialist comprehensive courses, its teachers were the products of specialist teacher training institutions in the field. First, in most cases they had attended polytechnics or similar 'domestic subjects' teacher training institutions and held diplomas or certificates to prove their professional knowledge and skills. Furthermore, it is interesting to point out that such teacher training institutions had originally developed to provide 'domestic subjects' teachers in elementary education after the 1870s. When 'domestic subjects' entered girls' secondary education in the early 1900s, it was also able to benefit from the already set 'domestic subjects' teacher training system. Second, where possible, schools employed- or even prepared for- 'domestic subjects' teachers who had stronger links with the schools. The first Cookery mistress of NLCS was one of its teachers sent by Miss Buss, the headmistress, to receive certificated course training to become Cookery teacher. Miss Macrae, the first Domestic Arts mistress of NLCS and the visiting Cookery mistress of CSG, was able to enter Battersea Polytechnic by receiving London TEB grants because of the recommendation of Mrs Bryant of NLCS Third, in most

cases teachers moved around England to obtain better employment. Teachers of MHSG were trained in 'domestic subjects' teacher training institutions in different areas of England, and their after careers were also obtained in different schools and institutions elsewhere in England. While Miss Macrae of NLCS and CSG and Miss Henry of MHSG remained in the posts for more than 10 years, succeeding teachers often stayed for only a short period. Forth, there were circulations between girls' high schools and 'domestic subjects' teacher training institutions. The teachers trained in such institutions taught girls who would later move on to similar institutions and become teachers themselves. The similar kind of link to that between girls' secondary schools and women's colleges were also formed for 'domestic subjects' teaching.

8.5. Social and educational backgrounds of 'domestic subjects' pupils.

What kinds of pupils studied 'domestic subjects' in the three schools? Were these courses mainly taken up by those 'with lower academic abilities and/or lower social backgrounds'? The school archival sources show that the social and educational backgrounds of pupils involved differed over time in the three schools. In following sections, detailed analysis of girls receiving Domestic Economy lessons in NLCS and CSG between 1872 and 1909, Cookery students in NLCS between 1876 and 1882, Student/Pupil Teachers receiving Cookery and Dressmaking lessons in CSG between the 1890s and the 1910s and Housewifery pupils in MHSG between 1900 and 1914 will be examined.

i) Pupils receiving Domestic Economy lessons in NLCS (1872-1906) and CSG (1872-1909).

The cases of NLCS and CSG show that Domestic Economy was a compulsory subject for all girls in upper Forms, except the Sixth Form, from the early 1870s to the 1900s (NLCS 1872-1906, CSG 1872-1909). Domestic Economy formed a part of the general curriculum, and was treated equally as an academic subject under regular inspection and examination. Therefore, Domestic Economy was taught alike to girls who entered University, female employment and home life and not limited to those 'with lower academic abilities and/or lower social backgrounds'. The figures of fathers/ guardians occupations in NLCS and CSG are given in the next section.

ii) Cookery class students in NLCS (1876-1882)

Table 25.

NLCS. Fathers'/Guardians' occupations of Cookery class students 1876-1882.

North Lodon Collegiate School for Girls.				
Sample of Pupils' Fathers'/Guardians' Occupations. a				
	1850-1870	1871-1894	Total	Cookery Class Students Total 1876-82
Professional	49 (21%) ^b	204 (32%)	253 (29%)	19 (37%)
Business	51 (22 %)	223 (35%)	274 (31.5%)	19 (37%)
Tradesmen and Artisans	95 (41% ⁹)	92 (14%)	21.5 (187%)	4 (8%)
Miscellaneous	37 (16%)	117 (18%)	154 (18%)	9(18%)
Total known	232 (100%)	636 (99%)	868 (100%)	51(100%)
Unknown fathers	62	56	118	1
Total sample	294	692	986	52
a. A sample of every fifth student compiled from the North London Collegiate School for girls Admission Books, Vols. I-Iii.				
b. To nearest percent.				
(Pedersen, 1987, p.333).				
				(NLCS Special Examinations; Register of Applications 1871-74, 1875-76, 1877-78, 1879-80, 1881-82).

The case of Cookery class students in NLCS between 1876 and 1882 shows that pupils attending came from families in which fathers were rather wealthy and well educated. The results of the external Cookery examinations from 1876 to 1882 give 70 names of the candidates who sat these examinations. 58 names were found in the Register of Application and other sources from NLCS Archive. The above table compares the occupations of fathers/guardians of NLCS girls in general and those of Cookery pupils. While the percentage of Tradesman/Artisan for Cookery pupils are apparently smaller, figures for Professional and Business are higher. Considering that Cookery pupils had to pay extra fees, £1. 10s. or £1. 1s. per term, to attend that course and that the class was not directly related to female employment, pupils attending must have come from wealthier middle-class backgrounds. It is also interesting to find that Buss family girls also attended the class, showing that Miss Buss and her family had valued the usefulness of such instruction. Then, how academically qualified were the Cookery pupils? Of the 70 names, 19 names (27%)

were found in the Jubilee Calendar published in 1900. They sat the University Local Examinations, gained diplomas or became teachers afterwards. This suggests that some Cookery pupils reached a relatively high academic standard in those days ('Chronicle', *Jubilee Calendar 1900*, pp.139-242).

iii) Student/Pupil Teachers receiving Cookery and Dressmaking lessons in CSG (1890s-1910s).

Table 26.

CSG. Fathers'/Guardians' occupations of Student/Pupils Teachers receiving Cookery and Dressmaking lessons 1890s-1910s.

Camden School for Girls.		
Sample of Pupils' Fathers'/Guardians' Occupations. a		
	General. 1871-1894.	Student/Pupil teachers involved.
Professional.	94 (19%)	2
Business.	152 (30%)	3
Tradesmen and Artisans.	153 (31%)	4
Miscellaneous.	102 (20%)	3
Total known.	501 (100%)	12
Unknown fathers.	58	1
Mothers=Widows?		2
Total sample	559	15
a. A sample of every fifth student compiled from the North London Collegiate School		
b. To nearest percent.		
(Pedersen, 1987, p.324).		(HR; Register of Applications).

The case of Student Teachers in CSG during the 1890s to the early 1910s shows that instruction given in CSG was directly related to teacher training. 15 names were found in the

Headmistress's Reports between 1897 and 1913. The social backgrounds of these 15 girls does not seem to differ greatly from those of the general CSG girls. The interesting point lies in the fact that all 15 girls were referred to as gaining Domestic Economy Diplomas from Polytechnics, receiving Cookery and Dressmaking instructions in return for serving as Student/Pupil Teachers, or becoming candidates of Domestic Economy Training Scholarships, entering trade schools. The link between 'domestic subjects' and teacher training was not seen in NLCS throughout the period, and only found in MHSG after the 1910s.

iv) Housewifery pupils in MHSG (1900-1914).

The case of Housewifery pupils in MHSG between 1900 and 1914 gives more detailed social backgrounds and educational trajectories of the girls involved.

Table 27. MHSG. Housewifery classes and numbers of pupils 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.															
Housewifery classes and numbers of pupils.															
	Housewifery.	Housewifery Advanced.	Housewifery Beginners.	Housewifery 1st year.	Housewifery 2nd year.	IV Upper Housewifery.	Housewifery I Alpha.	Housewifery IA.	Housewifery II.	Technical A.	Technical B	Technical V Upper.	V Technical.	IV Upper Technical.	Total.
July 1901	17														17
July 1902	16														16
July 1903	11														11
July 1904	nd														
July 1905	nd														
July 1906										8	21				
July 1907												8	23	19	
July 1908												13	7		
July 1909	15														15
July 1910	29														29
July 1911		6	22												28
July 1912				21	20										41
July 1913				31	14										45
July 1914						20	15	20	13						68
														Total	270

(‘Alphabetical Class Lists’, *SM*, July 1910– July 1914).

The above table shows the changing Housewifery Course titles and their class sizes. From its establishment in autumn 1900 to the academic year 1902-1903, a one-year Housewifery

Course was offered. It is not clear if Housewifery Courses existed for the following two years because the Course titles were not included in the class lists. Between the academic years 1905-06 to 1907-08, the Housewifery Courses were merged with Secretarial Courses to form 'Technical' classes. After the academic year 1908-09, Housewifery and Secretarial courses were again separated and after Autumn 1910, class organisation changed to give two or three-year instruction. To be precise, analysis for the years 1909-03 and 1909-14 are made. The figures for class sizes show that numbers of girls receiving Housewifery instruction grew steadily in MHSG between 1900 and 1914 as class structures were separated and courses lengthened.

Table 28.

MHSG. Fathers'/Guardians' occupations of Housewifery pupils 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.				
Sample of Pupils' Fathers'/Guardians' Occupations. a				
	General. 1898-1914.	Housewifery Pupils 1900-03	Housewifery Pupils 1909-14	Housewifery Pupils Total
Professional.	105 (24%)	7 (16%)	29 (19%)	36 (18%)
Business.	184 (41%)	27 (59%)	79 (51%)	106 (53%)
Tradesmen and Artisans.	59 (13%)	5 (11%)	18 (12%)	23 (12%)
Miscellaneous.	50 (11%)	4 (9%)	19 (12%)	23 (12%)
Total known.	398 (89%)	43 (95%)	145 (94%)	188 (94%)
Unknown fathers.	28 (6%)	0	7 (5%)	7 (4%)
Mothers=Widows?	15 (3%)	2 (5%)	4 (2%)	5 (3%)
Illegible	3 (1%)			
Total sample	444(99%)	45 (100%)	155 (101%)	200 (101%)
a. A sample of every fifth student compiled from the MHSG Register of Applications. Sampling methods taken from Pedersen (1987). ('Alphabetical Class Lists' in <i>SM</i> July 1900- July 1914; Register of Applications).				

The above table shows the numbers and percentages of fathers/guardians' occupations of MHSG girls. In order to make comparisons with those of NLCS and CSG, the sampling methods for the analysis of general pupils were taken from Pederson (1987), choosing a sample of every fifth pupil compiled from the MHSG Register of Applications between 1898

and 1914. As for the Housewifery girls, about 200 individual names were found both in the 'Alphabetical Class Lists' of the *SM*, July 1901- July 1914, and in the Register of Applications are used (Detailed information is given in Appendix 6).

The results show that there were clear differences of social background/structure between MHSG girls in general and the Housewifery pupils. More than fifty percent of Housewifery pupils came from Business families, which reflects the generally high proportion of girls from Business families (41%). However, the figures for Housewifery pupils are even higher than the general standard. Contrastingly, while almost a quarter (24%) of MHSG girls came from Professional families, only 16% and 19% of Housewifery girls were from Professional social backgrounds. The proportion of Trades/Artisan and Miscellaneous girls were almost stable in general and in Housewifery Classes during the period. Comparing this result with that of Cookery pupils in NLCS between 1876 and 1882, Housewifery Classes in MHSG were more popular among Business families, and were less favoured by Professional families.

The detailed proportions of business and professional families in general and of Housewifery girls are shown in Appendices. Many of the Business occupations of Housewifery girls consisted of agents, merchants, manufacturers, commercial travellers and managers. This reflects the general spread of the business group. Those from Professional families had fathers who were Engineers, Doctors or Civil Servants. Most occupations reflect the general spread of all occupations, but a smaller proportion of girls came from Educators and Clergymen families. In general, girls in Business and Professional families also seem to have come from wealthier social strata.

Table 29.

MHSG. Numbers of years spent by Housewifery pupils outside the Housewifery course 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.			
Number of years spent by Housewifery pupils in MHSG outside the Housewifery Course.			
Number of years.	Housewifery pupils. 1900–1903.	Housewifery pupils. 1909–1914.	Housewifery Pupils. Total.
0		21	21
1	6	32	38
2	15	25	41
3	7	26	34
4	10	25	35
5	2	11	13
6	2	4	6
7	2	1	1
8		9	9
9		2	2
10			
11			
12	1		1
Total.	45	155	200
(Register of Applications; 'Alphabetical Class Lists' in <i>SM</i> , July 1901– July 1914).			

The above table shows the number of years spent by Housewifery pupils in MHSG outside the Housewifery Course (Terms in the same Academic Year, September to July, are counted as one year). For the years 1900-1903, girls were likely to spend two to four years outside the Housewifery course and leave after completing the one-year Course. For the years 1909-1914, a significant number of girls entered only to attend the Housewifery Course. At the same time, other girls tended to stay longer than before, generally one to four years, with some staying longer. The Housewifery Classes were extended to two to three years after 1909 and many girls attended the full course.

Table 30.

MHSG. Ages of girls entering Housewifery classes 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.			
Ages of Girls Entering Housewifery Classes.			
Ages.	Housewifery pupils. 1900-1903.	Housewifery pupils. 1909-1914.	Housewifery Pupils. Total.
13	2	3	5
14	1	18	19
15	15	72	87
16	19	43	62
17	6	16	22
18	2	6	8
Total.	45	158	203
(Register of Applications; 'Alphabetical Class Lists' in <i>SM</i> , July 1901- July 1914).			

The above table shows the ages of girls entering housewifery Classes. As we have seen in Chapter 7, Miss Burstall explained that one of the reasons for establishing the Housewifery Department was to attract more girls over the age of 15. Between 1900 and 1903, the majority of Housewifery pupils entered the Classes at the age of 15 or 16. Between 1909 and 1914, while the number of girls entering at 14 and 17 had increased, many girls still entered the Classes at the age of 15 or 16. The figures therefore prove that Miss Burstall had succeeded in attracting more girls over 15 to stay on at MHSG.

The educational trajectories of Housewifery girls recorded in the Register of Applications clarifies that many girls entered MHSG a few years before proceeding to the Housewifery Courses, moving from Form IV B to the Course and left after completing the Course. Most girls belonged to B Forms, Forms studying a less academic curriculum, in the school which means that they did not intend to go to university after leaving MHSG. The future lives of housewifery pupils recorded in the Register of Applications prove this line of argument. Of the 55 Housewifery girls between 1900 and 1903, one was recorded to have gained a 'domestic subjects' teaching post. Of the 155 Housewifery girls between 1909 and 1914, the future conditions recorded were: 47 girls gained Housewifery Certificates after completing the Course; 23 entered home life; 18 entered Domestic Economy Colleges; 6 proceeded to

Music training; 6 were engaged in Hospital Work during World War I; 4 were trained for or gained Secretarial posts; 3 entered Nursery or Kindergarten training; 3 entered Schools in France and Switzerland; 3 were trained as gymnastic teachers; 3 went to boarding schools; 2 entered agricultural colleges; 1 for Art training; 1 gained Dressmaking post; 1 went to Confectionary; 1 became the Health Visitor; and 1 sat for the Oxford Senior Local Examination. The case of Housewifery girls in MHSG also proves that Housewifery Courses became linked with female employment after 1909 as significant numbers of girls gained Certificates, entered Training Colleges and entered occupations in the field. The figures tell us that while some girls notably entered home life after attending Housewifery Classes, more girls used its lessons for their paid employment albeit that this was prior to marriage.

To conclude, the three case study schools covering the period between the mid-1870s and 1914 demonstrate that girls receiving 'domestic subjects' instruction were not limited to those 'with lower academic abilities and/or lower social backgrounds'. Girls also came from the wealthier Business and Professional families throughout the period. More and more girls came to link 'domestic subjects' instruction in high school with their future employment and teaching posts or related occupations by gaining certificates and entering Domestic Economy Training Colleges. Therefore, 'domestic subjects' instruction served for non-University girls, not only for their home life but also for their future paid employment and higher education in the growing fields of 'domestic subjects'.

8.6. Conclusion: From Miss Buss to Miss Burstall.

Why were 'domestic subjects' transformed in English girls' high schools between 1871 and 1914? My original case study on the headmistresses' shared educational aims and their conduct within the three schools over 50-year period gives answers to how middle-class girls' curricula changed reflecting the changing economic, educational and social conditions of middle-class women over this time period.

First, as I have argued, while the headmistresses held different views and willingness about how to provide instruction in 'domestic subjects', they had agreed, at a certain point, to transform the subject after the 1890s when a growing need of non-academic girls arose. By the 1910s, they had agreed that the majority of high schools girls were 'non-College girls' who would not proceed to university but would seek employment or stay at home after leaving school. Since middle-class girls' school curricula had been modelled after College girls, headmistresses had to reorganise their school curricula to meet the needs of such

non-College girls as Hunt's 'divided aims' shows (Hunt, 1987).

This also reflects the changes in the generations and the links between the headmistresses. The pioneering generation of headmistresses - Miss Buss, Miss Elford, Miss Lawford and Miss Day – made way for the succeeding generations - Mrs Bryant and Miss Burstall. The links between the headmistresses were initially formed around Miss Buss and her school as all the above had either been CSG or NLCS pupils, staff and/or headmistresses at some stage of their educational trajectories. Second, they all shared similar interests through AHM. As already demonstrated, headmistresses' debates around the transformation of 'domestic subjects' changed during the period studied. The aims of technical education and instruction in 'domestic subjects' changed from a focus on the educational, moral, practical, theoretical and voluntary merits to a more directly vocational focus as more and more girls taking up these lessons went onto teacher training in 'domestic subjects' or employment in related fields.

However, while headmistresses had to cope with these changes, they shared an underlying principle: the need to maintain headmistresses' autonomy to preserve individual school curricula which reflected the localities they were situated within, despite pressures from parents/guardians and outside educational authorities. What Miss Burstall said about the conflict between 'live mathematics' and 'dead housecraft' in the annual conference of AHM in 1912 describes their position:

The monotony of a general scheme is what we must most avoid; a weal endeavour to secure little bits of everything for everybody.....I am not one who approves of much mathematics for all girls, but live mathematics, flowing from the zeal and energy of an enthusiastic head, is better than dead housecraft, imposed to satisfy the requirements of a code of regulations or the prejudices of parents. I would say to each of you, the youngest and least experienced make the school the expression, intellectually as it is morally, of your own personal initiative. Do not fear either the Local Authority or the Board of Education, though they are indeed lions in the way...This differentiation of curricula is valuable in itself, but it is especially needed in the England of the 20th century because of the great variety of character, of powers, of social types that are found in our Secondary Schools (AR 1912, pp.16-19) [My emphasis].

Second, while headmistresses operated differently according to their school's local needs, some common trends in the transformation of 'domestic subjects' could be found among the leading academic girls' high schools: NLCS, CSG and MHSB. In them, the transformation took three different stages, each having different educational aims, contents, staff and pupils, either as:

- a) separate compulsory subjects (1870s-1890s),
- b) special classes under the category of 'technical' education (1880s – 1890s)
- c) comprehensive 'Specialisation' courses (after the 1900s).

As my analysis of the changing attitudes of AHM to the instruction suggests, the key moment of change occurred after the mid-1890s. Before the mid-1890s, 'domestic subjects' were taught either as compulsory academic subject in classrooms or as special fee-paying courses outside the normal curriculum. Classes were sometimes not listed in school prospectuses and held irregularly. After the mid-1890s, 'domestic subjects' became a formal course for older 'Non-College' girls as a means of 'Specialisation'. Instruction was given both inside classrooms and in the laboratories. Later, instruction became more related to female employment in the 'domestic' field. Therefore, educational aims and effects of instruction in 'domestic subjects' given in middle-class girls' curricula were not limited to those staying at home. Rather, the instruction served all the goals set out as 'divided aims': university, employment and home.

Third, relating to the above points, the understanding of the literature that headmistresses considered 'domestic subjects' suitable for girls with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds, needs careful revision. Hunt (1991, p.122) concluded that 'domestic subjects' only obtained a second-place position in girls' secondary curriculum after the 1900s because headmistresses generally considered practical training to be appropriate for pupils with lower academic ability and/or lower social backgrounds taking jobs or going into home life after graduation. However, my analysis demonstrates that 'domestic subjects' other than Needlework always formed a part of middle-class girls' curriculum from the inception of girls' high schools.

Considering the academic side, 'domestic subjects' has always been a part of reformed middle class girls' curriculum since the curriculum was formed in contrast with the traditional 'accomplishments'. Needlework was the most common subject taught under this category to girls of all classes. During the first stages of transformation, Cookery or Domestic Economy

were also included in the compulsory academic curriculum in NLCS and CSG and were taught to all girls including future College students. During the third stage coming after the 1900s, 'domestic subjects' was taught in comprehensive 'Specialisation' courses in a more academic and intellectual manner. However, as girls came to be divided between 'College girls' and 'Non-College girls', 'domestic subjects' came to be taught in a limited way to 'Non-College girls'. Therefore, while 'domestic subjects' teaching itself became more 'academic', its recipients became 'less academic' and its importance within the compulsory 'academic' curriculum declined compared to the earlier periods.

Considering the classed aspects, 'domestic subjects' were not limitedly taught to girls from lower social backgrounds. As a part of the compulsory curriculum, such subjects were taught to all girls in the schools. When special fee-paying Cookery courses were founded in NLCS in the 1870s, the social backgrounds of pupils attending were rather high compared to the average. The case of CSG shows some unique contrast to other two high schools. First, CSG did not establish a comprehensive 'domestic subjects' course before 1914 and rather developed Civil Service training courses. Because headmistresses agreed to give 'domestic subjects' instruction to older girls in the schools for 'Specialisation', CSG catering for younger girls' needs did not establish the course. Second, instruction given in CSG was more influenced by that given in girls' elementary schooling because CSG followed the line set by the London TEB to receive grants. Headmistresses' Reports refer to the competition between nearby Board Schools when referring to Cookery and Dressmaking lessons in the mid-1890s. Third, while the other two high schools tried to give advanced instruction to a limited number of older girls after the 1900s, by contrasting, CSG expanded its teaching to almost all girls in the school between 1910 and 1914. Detailed analysis of the social background of MHSG Housewifery Course girls after 1900 gave answers to the educational trajectories and social background of pupils. MHSG girls who entered Housewifery courses were not those who came from lower social backgrounds and a certain proportion of them entered special Domestic Economy teaching schools to become teachers. Most of them stayed in MHSG before entering the course, so Housewifery courses successfully served as a part of MHSG school organisation. Therefore, 'domestic subjects' were less popular among girls from lower social backgrounds, those who attended Middle School and needed to earn their living. However, when introduced, 'domestic subjects' were also related to female employment, especially teacher training.

To conclude, the transformation of 'domestic subjects' reflected the general move around education leadership and provision in girls' secondary education from Miss Buss to Miss

Burstall. In Miss Buss' days, the reformed middle-class girls' curriculum was pursued as a somewhat single model. Middle-class girls' education aimed to achieve academic goals, to enter university, and at the same time, to maintain and nurture feminine qualities such as self-sacrifice and tenderness. Early 'domestic subjects', Plain Needlework/Sewing, was integrated into the academic curriculum in those days as a contrast to traditional female 'accomplishments' which weighed heavily towards Fancy Needlework. The focus was on the academic, practical and moral, what it could teach girls in terms of knowledge for future middle-class household management. In Miss Burstall's day, girls' secondary curriculum was forced to expand or divide into several lines, in order to meet the needs of girls who were not necessarily bound for university. 'Specialisation' divided later-stage school curricula for non-College girls and College girls. The original university course was preserved and courses containing 'domestic subjects' came to run independently alongside. The value of latter was found in its link with female employment, in both teaching and in other related fields. This move, reflecting the changing concepts and aims of middle-class girls' education, from Miss Buss to Miss Burstall influenced all aspects of girls' high school education, not limited to 'domestic subjects'. What Delamont (1978a) and Dyhouse (1981) suggested by dividing headmistresses into two groups - an 'uncompromising group' and 'separatists' - with links to the introduction of 'domestic subjects' with the latter group of school leaders does not, therefore, grasp the overall complexity of the situation. It is impossible to figure out at this stage the extent of 'domestic subjects' taught in middle-class girls' schools. Since only seven GPDST schools out of 30 had introduced 'Day Technical Classes' by 1907, 'domestic subjects' do not seem to have been commonly taught in all schools before 1914. As Zimmern (1898, p.237) wrote that 70 percent of middle-class girls were educated in small private schools in the later 1890s, only a small percentage of girls received instruction in 'domestic subjects' in middle-class girls' high schools. Still, a focus on the transformation of 'domestic subjects' over the 50-year period enables us to see the continuity and change in the conduct and aims of girls' secondary education, headmistresses' leadership, changing systems of teacher training, academic and social backgrounds of pupils and curriculum in general.

The case study methods mainly used in this thesis enabled an original and unique approach to the research questions. Headmistresses were the key figures in the transformation of the subject between 1871 and 1914. However, their views and practices were only to be found in sources linked to AHM and from school archival materials. The case study method allowed me to conduct a more fully detailed empirical piece of research. Turnbull's (1987)

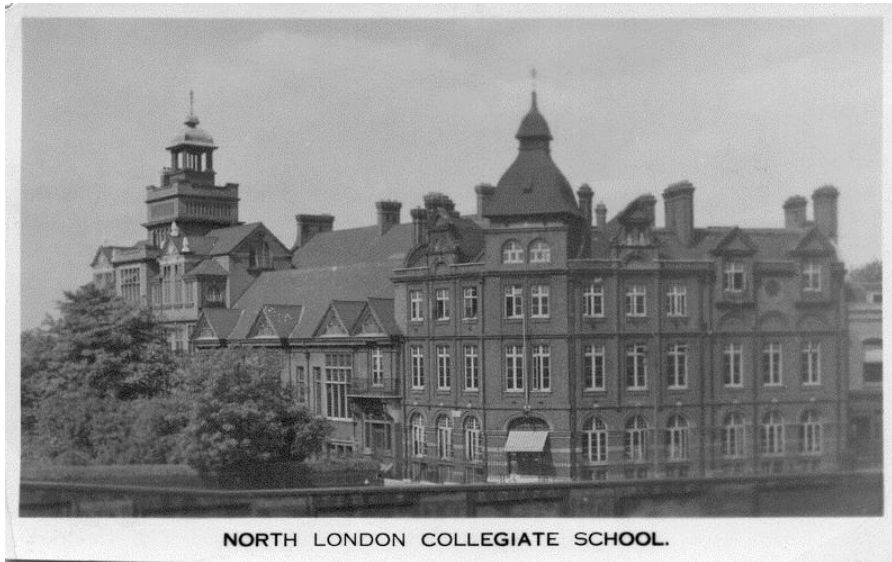
and Hunt's (1987; 1991) scholarly work had uncovered the introduction of 'domestic science' in general and from the perspective of educational authorities, but had not delved into what was actually done within schools. My thesis has achieved this. This work therefore also emphasises the importance of using different types of historical sources to examine the past.

Given my learning from this study, if I were to re-do my research, I would take a new approach to the same topic. First, I would use more images and photographs in my analysis as they are also invaluable sources of information. Second, I would concentrate only on the leading educational city, London and involve more analysis of the London TEB and other municipal secondary schools. Third, I would consider taking a more collective biographical approach, focusing on Miss Buss and Miss Burstall. Both headmistresses represent not only the changes in the transformation of 'domestic subjects' but also the general character of changing girls' high school education between 1871 and 1914. Some valuable scholarship has been done for Miss Buss, but a lot more needs to be undertaken about Miss Burstall as no biography has been written on her. Both headmistresses were involved in a variety of national, local and school educational activities during the period, and this shows their complicated but influential and enduring personas as pioneering headmistresses of English middle class girls' secondary education at the turn of the twentieth century.

Appendices.

Appendix 1. Images and maps of the three case study schools.

NLCS (Sandall Road).



(Sandall Rd -home from 1879 until NLCS moved to Canons (2661). People & Buildings to 1939 (1), b1, NLCSA).

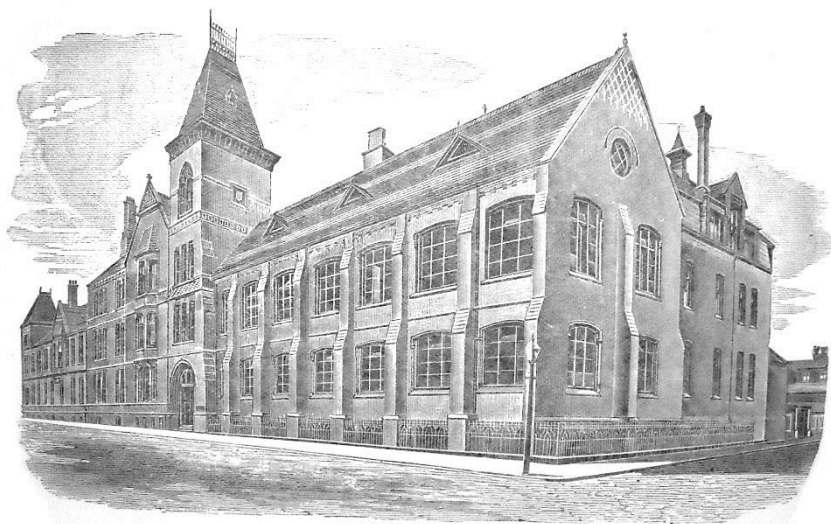
CSG (Prince of Wales Road).



(Frances Fleetwood Buss Album, NLCSA).

MHSG, Pendleton High School and North Manchester High School.

MHSG.



(SR 1898, MHSGA, p.4).

Pendleton High School.



(SR 1898, MHSGA, p.12).

North Manchester High School.

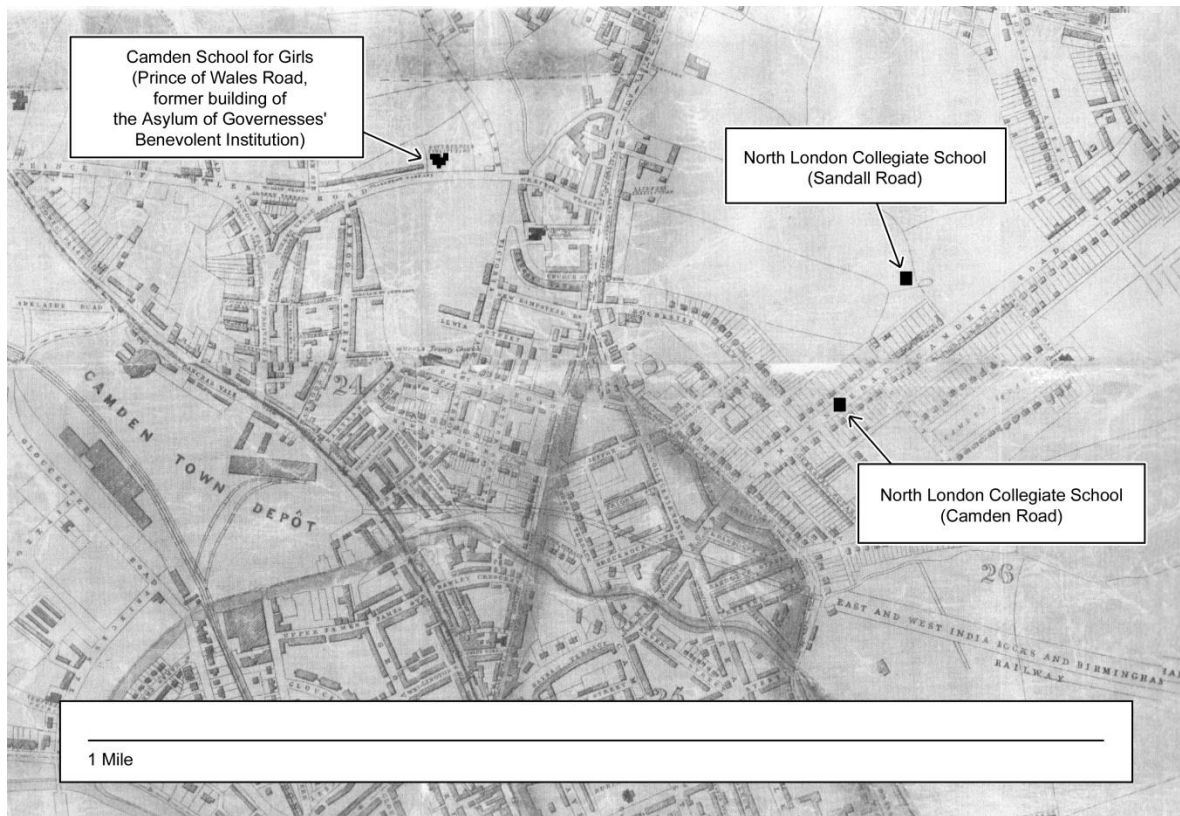


(*SR 1898*, MHSGA, p.14).

(The pictures are reproduced by permission of North London Collegiate School).

(The pictures are reproduced by permission of the governors of Manchester High School for Girls).

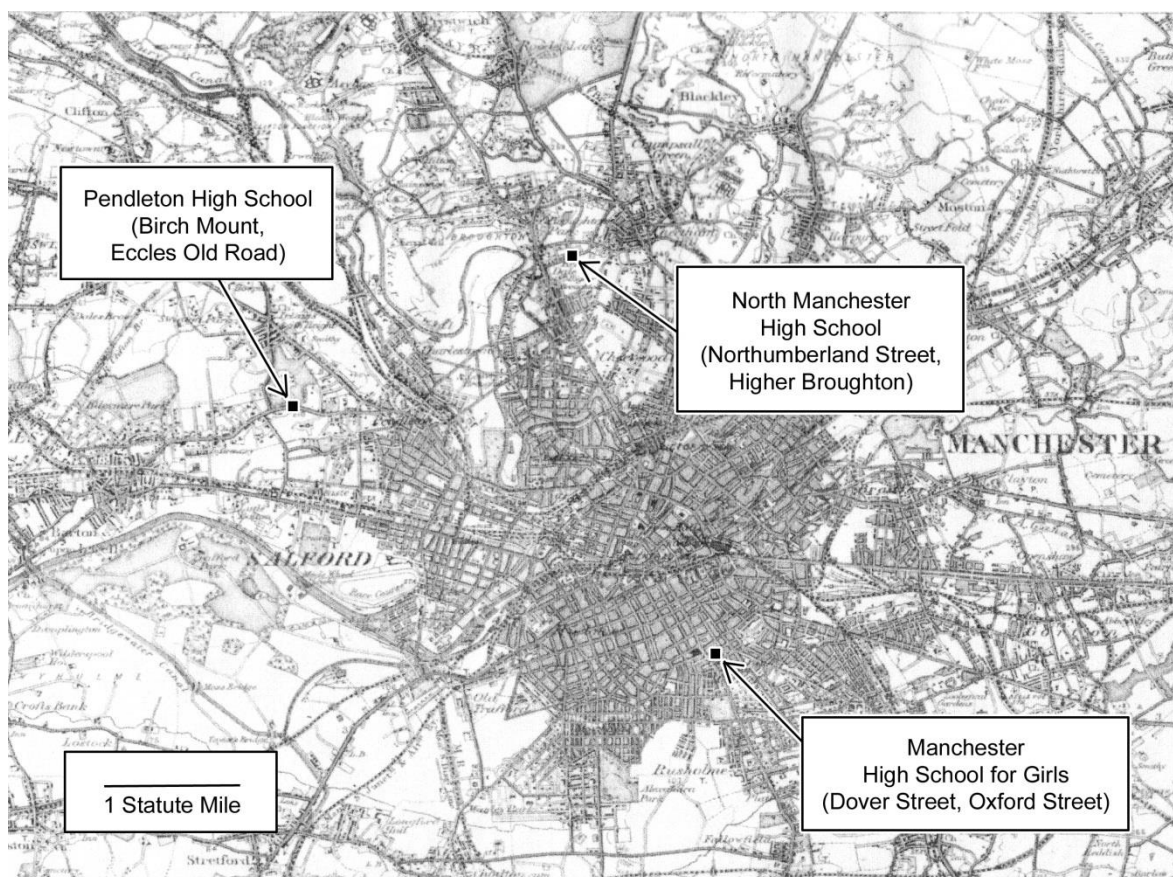
Map of NLCS and CSG.



(Plan of the Borough of St. Marylebone, comprising the parishes of Paddington, St. Marylebone & St. Pancras in the County of Middlesex by George Oakley Lucas, surveyor and valuer of the parish of Paddington, under the Tithe Connotation Act, 1850. Scale of 1 mile [= 250 mm]. 1852. © The British Library Board, Maps 3495. (2.). Copied on 30 September 2013).

The map shows that NLCS and CSG were placed within one mile until NLCS moved out to Edgware in the 1930s.

Map of MHSG, Pendleton High School and North Manchester High School.



(Ordnance Survey. Manchester. Scale of one inch to one statute mile. 1900. © The British Library Board, Maps 3214. (9.). Copied 30 September 2014).

The map shows that the three schools were several miles distant from each other. Since the public transport of Manchester had developed in a radial manner, it was hard for girls living in the other areas of Manchester to commute to MHSG. Therefore, two satellite schools, Pendleton and North Manchester, were established in 1885 and in 1892 in the northern area to respond to local needs (Burstall, 1911, pp.140-145).

Appendix 2. Images or photographs of the six headmistresses.

Miss Frances Mary Buss (1827-1894). Headmistress of NLCS (1850-1894).



(Left: FMB 2 (2832). Box: FMB and Family Photographs, a1, NLCSA).

(Right: FMB aged 66 and Sophie Bryant c1893 (1293). Box: Headmistresses' Photographs, b3, NLCSA).

Mrs Sophie Bryant (1850-1922). Headmistress of NLCS (1895-1918).



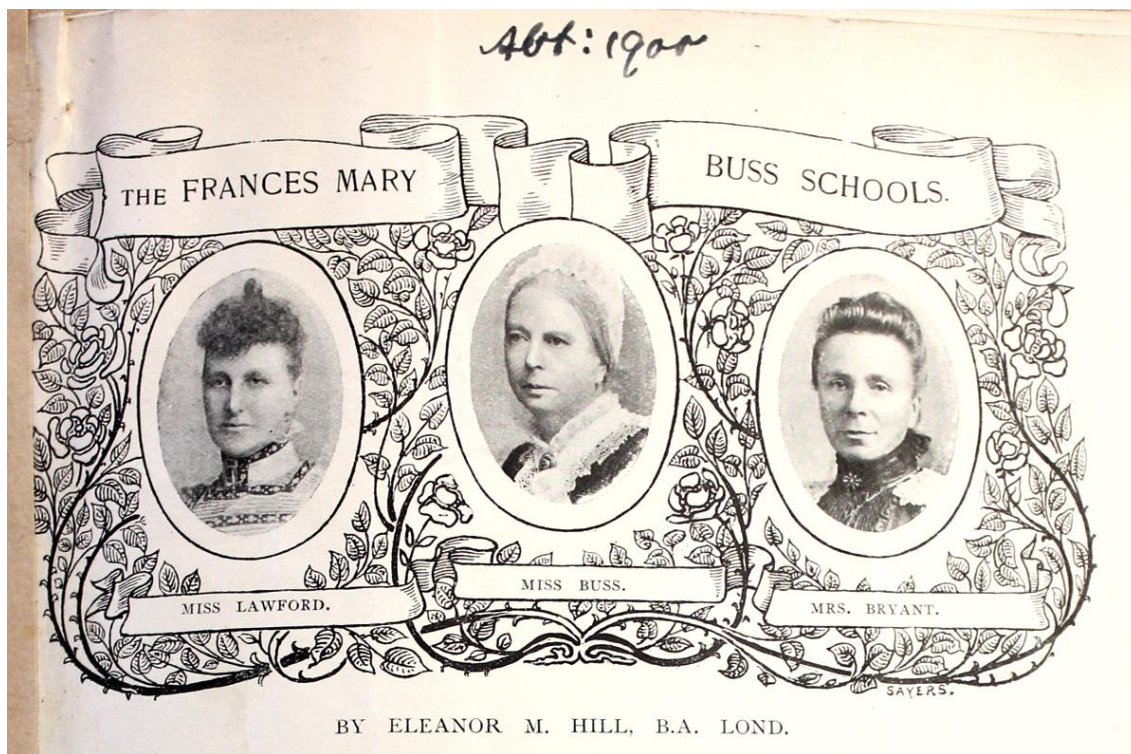
(Sophie Bryant 1(1371). Headmistresses' Photographs, b3, NLCSA).

Miss Emma Jane Elford (Dates unknown). Headmistress of CSG (1871-1882).



(Date unknown. OM, April, 1900 (*Jubilee Magazine*), NLCSA, p.19).

Miss Fanny Lawford (1852-1940). Head of CSG (1882-1914).



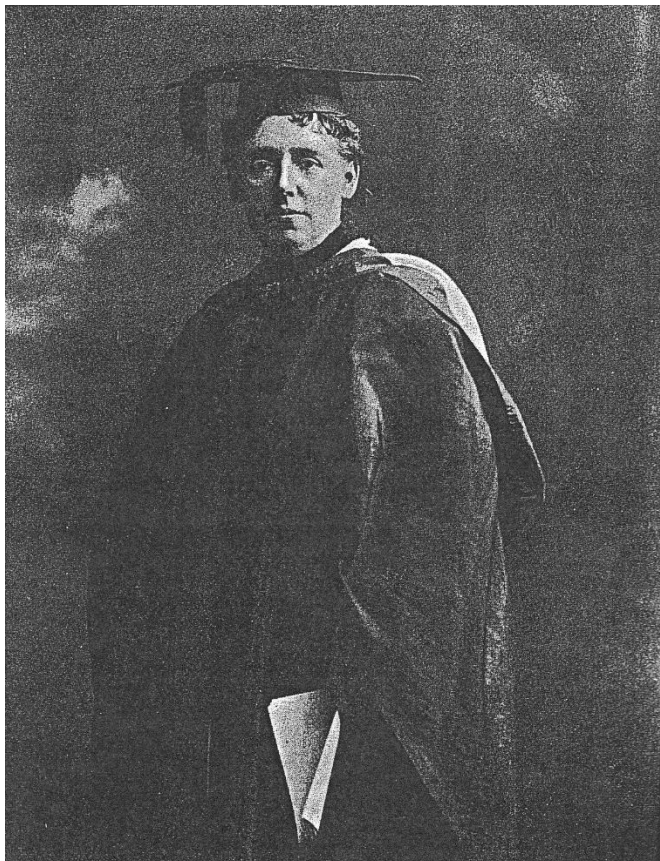
(Photo taken before 1900. Frances Fleetwood Buss Album, NLCSA).

Miss Elizabeth Day (1844-1917). Head of MHSB (1873-1898).



(Date unknown. SM 1899, MHSB).

Miss Sara Annie Burstall (1859-1939). Head of MHSG (1898-1924).



(Burstall, 1911).

(The pictures are reproduced by permission of North London Collegiate School).

(The pictures are reproduced by permission of the governors of Manchester High School for Girls).

Appendix 3. List of AHM headmistresses.

The eleven original members listed in AR 1895 are:

Miss Buss; Miss Beale of Cheltenham; Miss Chevely, Principal of the Girls College, Huddersfield; Miss Elizabeth Day, Head Mistress of MHS; Miss Derrick, Head Mistress of the ST. Martin's Middle School; Miss Hadland, Head Mistress of Milton Mount College; Miss Jones, Head Mistress of the Notting Hill High School, GPDSC; Miss Leicester, Head Mistress of the Wyggeston School, Leicester; Miss Neligan, Head Mistress of the Croydon High School, GPDSC; Miss Porter, Head Mistress of the Chelsea High School, GPDSC.

The seven members listed in Glenday and Price (1974, pp.1-2) are:

Miss Buss, Miss Beale, Miss E. Day of MHS, Miss Elsie Day of Grey Coat Hospital, Westminster, Miss Jones, Miss Marion Elford of CSG, Miss Derrick, Miss Porter. However, Miss Elford's name may be a mistake for she had always signed her name 'Emma Jane Elford' in HR of CSG.

The other names that appear in the chapters are:

Miss Armstrong, the headmistress of Dame Alice Owen's School, Islington.

Miss Bramwell, the headmistress of L.C.C. Eltham Secondary School, Eltham, Kent.

Miss Cooper, the headmistress of Edgbaston High School, Birmingham, served as one of the Vice Presidents from 1889.

Miss Douglas, the headmistress of Godolphin School, Salisbury.

Miss Faithful, the second headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies' College.

Miss Gadesden, the headmistress of Blackheath High School.

Miss Gardner, the headmistress of Blackburn High School for Girls.

Miss Gilland, the headmistress of Haberdashers' Aske's School, Acton, London.

Miss Hadland, the headmistress of Milton Mount College. She was one of the original members of AHM and served as one of the Vice Presidents from 1880.

Miss Hewett the headmistress of the High School, Church Hill, Walthamstow.

Miss Leahy, the headmistress of Croydon High School for Girls.

Miss Lowe, the headmistress of Girls' High School, Leeds.

Miss Ottely, the headmistress of Worcester High School.

Miss Woodhouse, the headmistress of Clapham High School for Girls.

Miss A. Woods is probably Miss A. L. Wood, the headmistress of Queens College School, London.

(AR 1895 -1914, MRC).

Appendix 4. Quotations from the records of the Association of Head Mistresses.

In this section I present the full extracts of some of the important quotations used in Chapter 3 with relevant page numbers.

Chapter 3, p.75.

It was pointed out that unless some action was quickly taken the claims of girls to a share of the advantages to be gained in the distribution of these grants and of those under the Parochial Charity Act were likely to be entirely overlooked, and many subjects of technical instruction more particularly suited to them would be omitted from the curricula of technical institution' ('November 22nd, 1890'. MEC):

Chapter 3, p.75.

The President pointed out the desirability of raising interest in technical education among women and asked the Committee to consider whether the work of extending the benefit of such education would be best promoted by cooperating with the National Association or by forming a separate association to be formed of women throughout the country engaged in the profession of education or otherwise interested in it ('November 22nd, 1890'; 'December 6th, 1890'; 'February 7th, 1891'. MEC).

Chapter 3, p.76.

Miss Hadland stated that she had received a report from Mr Spicer the Secretary of the South London Polytechnic Battersea that the Head Mistresses Association would draft a scheme for the Women's side of the Polytechnic and she submitted a draft scheme to the Committee.

The scheme included the establishment of a middle class school for girls.

It was moved by Miss Armstrong seconded by Miss A. Woods and carried "That all reference to the Day School be omitted." The remainder of the scheme having been criticised paragraph by paragraph and slightly amended, was approved.

A letter from Miss Cooper of Edgbaston was read asserting that she thought it inadvisable to give the imprimatur of the Association to the work of a Committee not elected by the Association or to publish any scheme of Technical Education which had not been laid before the members of the Association. Miss Hadland proposed

that the scheme should be sent to the Battersea Polytechnic with the names of individual members attached, and the Secretary should be informed that it did not come from the Association as a body.

It was moved by Miss Gadesden seconded by Miss Ottely.

“That the scheme be sent out as proposed it be sent to the London Members of the Exe. who had been present at the meeting where it was discussed, for signature.”

(‘February 7th, 1891’. MEC) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.78.

I. That in High Schools there should be organized a Modern side giving such preparation for a technical college, as schools now give for a Univ. Course, during the last two years of school life.

II. That this meeting is of opinion that if Technical Education be introduced into Girls’ Schools, it should be introduced for the sake of its educational value, and in no way as a direct preparation for the after pursuit of any Art or Trade.

The Secretary was instructed to place these on the Agenda as subjects of discussion, not as formal resolution.

It was decided that these subjects be followed by a Paper by Miss Hadland on the progress of Technical Education in England- with the following subjects for discussion:--

a) the relativity of the school curriculum to the probable future life of the pupils.

b) the effect of manual instruction on general education.

c) the question of illustration by teachers and pupils, of the subjects of education.

d) the establishment of Continuation Classes. (‘April 9th, 1892’. MEC) [My emphasis.]

Chapter 3, p.78.

The following resolution, relegated by the Conference of June 11th 1892 to the Executive Committee was then considered:

“That the Committee of the National School of Cookery be requested to admit students from London Schools on the same favourable terms as students from provincial schools.”

A draft letter to the Committee of the Nat. [National] School of Cookery was read, but as no member of the Exec. Com [Executive Committee] then present know the details of the matter, it was referred to a Sub-Committee...to report the result of their deliberation to the Exec. Com at their next meeting (‘October 22nd, 1892’. MEC) [My

emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.78.

Miss Buss pointed out that a new Technical Education Board was established for London and that as it would materially affect endowed schools for girls she thought that some effort should be made to secure the proper representation of those schools in the board. She read the draft of a letter which she proposed to send to the London County Council.

The letter was approved, and on the motion of Miss Jones seconded by Miss Cooper, Miss Buss was authorized to send it to the London County Council.

A report to the County Council from Mr. Lewellyn Smith Sec. of the National Association for promoting Technical Education was considered and many inaccuracies respecting girls' schools were pointed out. ('February 11th, 1893'. MEC) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, pp.79-80.

2130. (Mrs. Bryant) I should like to know what your views are with regard to the supply of technical education for women?

-We have not the right teachers for our technical education yet. I think we want a type of teacher who combines a very wide general knowledge, a special knowledge of the educational problem, and a sufficient knowledge of the special handicrafts, or other technical work which is in immediate contemplation, with the work she is doing. We have not such women at present, and I think we need some kind of training by which we could gather such a body of teachers before we shall have our technical education for women properly organised.

2131. But cannot you suggest what sort of institutions you think are necessary? Do you think there ought to be a sort of separate technical institution for women?—Do you mean for the training of teachers?

2132. No, for technical education?—I think we want both kinds of schools. In our elementary schools for girls we want above the regular school age probably two types of elementary schools, one that should be more a general training in the home arts and crafts as they have been exactly a trade school, but one that should give a kind of aptitude that should enable girls to take up work beyond what home life demands from them....

2144. (Mrs. Bryant.) Does the same remark apply to domestic arts and crafts?—That has not been developed.

2145. I should like to know whether you think that a good deal of attention ought to be paid in high schools at this side of the domestic arts and crafts, or whether you think that the subject ought to be taken up later, after the school course is complete. I do not know whether you differ from me, but I am assuming that it should be taken up somewhere?—I think a certain portion of it should be taken up in high schools from the very beginning, and the method of how it should be taken up is at present under consideration by a Committee of the Head Mistresses' Association, so that the matter is being thrashed out and best means considered carefully.

2146. Then would you rather reserve your observations?—Yes. My private opinion is that a way may be found.

2147. (Mr. Llewellyn Smith). Can you tell me what kind of subjects you would include under the term "Domestic Arts and Crafts". I do not want you to give me a full list, but will you tell me what class of subjects?—Sewing of course is one which is not simply a handicraft, but may be linked with art teaching; and all the varieties of sewing may lead to something else. I myself in the final development of our needlework for women hope to see that the historic side of it should not be forgotten. ('Interview with Miss Cooper (High School for Girls, Edgbaston)'. *RRCSE*, Vol 2, pp.177-217, 215, 217) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.80.

'5. Should secondary schools include a distinctively technical department, or should distinctively technical instructions be given in separate schools? ('General Circular. Queries. II. Secondary Schools and their Arrangements'. *RRCSE*, Vol 5, p.390).

5. I think both experiments ought to be tried as circumstances determine. My own experience is rather in favour of the separate technical school, or at least separate technical department of a school. The demands of the ordinary literary and scientific education appear to be sufficient at one time in the case of the average girl. At the same time girls below the average intellectually often develop most satisfactorily on being put to manual work, and such work ought to enter into every school course up to a certain point. ('Answers received from various persons to a Circular from the Commissioners prefixed thereto: Miss F. M. Buss (NLCS)'. *RRCSE*, Vol 5, pp.398-402, 399-400) [My emphasis].

Question 5.—I should like all girls to be taught needlework (including dressmaking), cooking, domestic economy, and hygiene as part of their regular school coursing.

other technical subjects should be taught in technical schools—there is a waste of apparatus and of teaching power in teaching them in ordinary schools. But it would be very desirable in first grade schools to arrange for one or two special classes for girls who are taking up music, drawing, &c. These classes should be arranged so as to give the girls more time for their technical studies than in the ordinary classes, and the curriculum should also be modified. At present a girls who wanted to take up art, for instance, has to leave us about 16, and the headmaster of the school of art and myself agree that it is very desirable that she should pursue her general education further, and also—and this is quite as important—that she should be kept under a closer discipline than is possible at the school of art ('Answers received from various persons to a Circular from the Commissioners prefixed thereto: Miss E. E. M. Creak (King Edward's High School for Girls, Birmingham)'. *RRCSE*, Vol 5, pp.441-446, 442) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.81.

It was moved by Mrs. Bryant, seconded by Miss Day (of Manchester), and carried:--

(i.) "That, in the opinion of this Association no solution of the Educational problem is possible until a clear differentiation is established between the functions of Secondary and Primary Schools.

(ii.) "That, as regards Primary Schools, after pupils have passed the Fifth Standard, a distinction should be made between (a) girls who are destined for handicraft and domestic work and (b) girls whose tastes and abilities mark them out for Secondary School studies with a corresponding life career.

It was moved by Mrs. Bryant (NLCS), seconded by Miss Day (MHSG):--

(iii) "That to provide for the first and larger of these two Classes, there is an urgent need of Domestic Economy and Handicraft Higher Primary Schools, with a curriculum on strictly practical lines as sketched in the accompanying scheme.

It was moved by Miss Dolby, and seconded:--

"That the words, '*as sketched in the accompanying scheme*', be omitted.

This amendment being carried, the resolution was passed, with the omission of the words stated.

It was moved by Mrs. Bryant, seconded by Miss Day (Manchester), and carried:--

(iv.) "That the Education Department should be asked to issue a Day Continuation Code for such schools, carrying with it an adequate Parliamentary Grant.

(v.) " That the much smaller second class of ex-standard pupils should be provided for in Secondary Schools with curriculum of a general literary and scientific character

planned to terminate at the ages of 17 or 19 (*AR 1898*, p.13).

Chapter 3, p.83.

In conclusion we would state that we value highly the grants that have already been given, and the improvement in science teaching that has already taken place; we know that good work has been one in girls' schools on the existing system, the methods of teaching having been adapted to short lesson periods; and we believe we are expressing the opinion of parents in strongly deprecating any change which would lead to lengthening the school day for our girls (*AR 1903*, pp.34-38) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.83.

Miss Burstall said she considered it very important that members of Education Committee should know the cost of Secondary Education, which was a very different thing from the fees paid. The Board of Education estimated the minimum cost at £10 10s. a head: in Birmingham something like £30 a head was spent on boys' education....

Miss Burstall thought the fact ought to be known that in Birmingham the cost of education was £18 to £20 for girls and £28 to £30 for boys, entirely exclusive of rent and buildings. In the North of England, with a £12.12s. fee, it was a desperate struggle to secure a balance on the right side. The country required education on this matter. Many parents in the north paid only 9s. a week, or £1 a quarter, for a child's education (*AR 1904*, pp.12-13) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.84.

The Head Mistresses recognise that the recreational and social side of life depends largely on the women on the community, and they have therefore framed curricula which leave time for girls to study these and other subjects of so-called "accomplishments".

They would greatly regret the introduction of any scheme of education less broad than that which they have hitherto carried out (*AR 1905*, pp.16-20) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.86.

Miss F. Gadesden drew attention to the Board of Education's new Regulations for Secondary Schools, which met many of the Association's objections to the Regulations for 1904-05. These objections had been embodied in a memorandum

printed on pp.16 and 17 of the Annual Report, and had been presented to members of the Board of Education at a deputation from the Association on December 7th. The Head Mistresses had deprecated the requirement that three hours' science teaching a week for four successive years should be given in girls' schools; they had drawn attention to the desirability of maintaining in girls' day schools the freedom of the afternoon, and to the expediency of omitting housewifery from the compulsory subjects in the four-years' course; and they had emphasised their desire for freedom in the organisation and working of their schools. The members of the Board of Education who received the deputation had expressed their sympathy with the Head Mistresses' views, and it would be found that the Regulations for 1905-06 were considerably modified from those of Co-education, and had prepared and issued a preliminary pamphlet on the subject (*AR 1906*, p.8) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.86.

She [Miss Burstall] considered the head mistresses of each school were the best judge of the needs of the locality. The claims on girls out of school hours were greater than those on boys, with a corresponding increase of pressure. An attack was being made on the long morning, but by a judicious arrangement of the morning's work, the possible strain on the teachers could be minimised. The ideal of the High Schools was freedom and responsibility- responsibility of the girls for her work, of the mistress for her teaching, of the head for the management. The High Schools had inherited this tradition- they must be true to the trust (*AR 1907*, p.15) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.88.

The discussion was opened by Miss Faithfull, who spoke as one who had taken part in the inauguration of the Courses of Home Science and Economics at King's College, and who was instituting a Home Science Course at Cheltenham on the same lines. Miss Faithfull wished to associate herself with almost everything Miss Burstall had said. She urged that it was important to press for recognition from the Universities and to arrange school courses in such a way as to form a suitable preparation for the graduate courses as designed at King's College. It was impossible to prepare for a diploma or degree such as was contemplated, if a study of the Humanities were associated with the study of Home Science, as the time-table would be over full. It might be possible in America, but not in England, where it was necessary to dignify the subject of Home Science and to obtain

recognition of the fact that it had an academic basis, which basis was one of pure science. King's College contemplated a three years specialised science course, of a degree standard. (AR 1909, p.7, 11-12) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.89.

...we must differentiate between the future "College girls," the pupil who will proceed either to a university, or to a professional career, and the "Non-College" girls, as I now describe her- the pupil who leaves her School to take up one of the varied lines of line that lie before her, either in the home, or outside the more defined limits of what it called "Home Life". We are bound to remember that the majority of our girls do not proceed to College, and we need carefully to consider that for them we need a differentiated curriculum, and even perhaps a different kind of teacher. The Course of Home Economics at Kings College has, as we know, given a strong lead on these lines, and the experiment can already be pronounced a success, if we measure success by the demands which up to the present are in excess of the supply. I believe the result of this course will have a marked effect, not only on the Home Life of the nation, but also on the Teaching Profession. I plead therefore for a different curriculum for the girls between 16 and 18 who will not go to College. For these I would urge that the disciplinary subjects be not expected to fill the foremost place in their time-tables, that Mathematics may be discontinued, or reduced to a minimum, that History and Literature, Modern Languages, Home Economics, and one at least of the Arts, either Music or Drawing may be studied with that quickening interest which is more desirable to this type of girls than for those who will have the many sided advantages of college life...let us make fresh effort that is born of renewed insight in selecting the essentials for our girls' modern environment, for the numerous vocations open to those for whom a college career is not the essential preliminary for the varied public and social duties that face all earnest-minded women. I want, not a narrower, but a wider and enlarged conception of the aims of education for our girls; and we want culture behind all our educational experiments.... Within the last half century our efforts have been concentrated on syllabuses and courses that would facilitate a college career, and this was at first essential if we were to secure the higher education of girls. But this preparatory state we may now consider accomplished in the main; and we are free to devote our attention and effort to these other claims with which we are confronted (AR 1910, p.23) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, pp.89-90.

It might be urged that much of the work could only be done in kitchen laboratories: even if such courses could at school be only theoretical, she still hoped that the mothers would co-operate with the school by arranging for practice at home. Those schools that were provided with kitchen laboratories could give a scientific training in both practice and theory, a course as truly educational as the Cambridge Science Tripos. Edward Thring said that the whole mankind was influenced in its first ten years by the mother; such a place must therefore be found for home sciences that every girl should understand them. They had gone through a prosperous, materialistic age, and they must all face, sooner or later, difficult times; they did not think so much of Dreadnoughts as of the men and women who made up the nation. The Domestic Sciences must be given an assured position, and without tests that could not be done until the day came when examinations could be dispensed with. She hoped they would see the desirability of some practical teaching, bearing directly on the work of the future mothers and their homes (AR 1910, pp.30-31) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.90.

But we should remember that the existing science papers had been planned for boys and for men's industries, thus the boy got the preparation he wanted; but broadly speaking, the science work had no direct relation to the girls' later work in life, as her History, Literature and Languages had. Consequently, science subjects were only useful to the exceptional girl, and the teacher of the ordinary girl disregarded the psychological principle that emphasized interest, reality and relation to life in teaching. Biology had relation to the girls' future, but physics and chemistry as they had been taught were too abstract. They must be altered, and worked into living relation with her future life. There was a practical difficulty in giving a girl going on to college that amount of specialised training in domestic arts that could be given to the home girl, and an alteration in the Science Course would make this possible. Specialisation in girls' education was a great national question, and head mistresses should be the first to ask for the needed reforms, instead of waiting till they were forced upon them from outside. The new universities should be approached on the matter, a university degree in Domestic Science, like the men's degree in Engineering, was wanted, to add to the dignity of the whole subject (AR 1910, p.31) [My emphasis].

Chapter 3, p.90.

Resolution proposed:--

“That application be made to the chief University Examination Boards, the Board of Education, and the Local Authorities which give examinations in Science for Scholarships, to receive and consider the Science Syllabuses of typical secondary schools, and to set papers with a wide range of alternative questions in Applied Science for girls candidate in accordance with the movement to give courses in home economics in girls’ schools (*AR 1910*, p.32).

Chapter 3, p.92.

She believed that all girls should have training in domestic arts, and that it should be one of the subjects of a liberal education’. She chiefly thought of Housewifery and Cookery, and taking granted that Needlework, including cutting-out, taught in the large number of schools.

...The subject should, therefore, have a place in the time-table as one of the regular subjects of a liberal education, but the place need not be a large one in point of time...In speaking of domestic arts, Miss Douglas said that she was thinking chiefly of housewifery and cookery, and taking it for granted that needlework, including cutting-out, was taught in the larger number of secondary schools (*AR 1912*, p.39).

Chapter 3, pp.94-95.

The Committee is indebted to the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects for the preparation of a scheme of Training which received the approval of the Executive Committee of the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects on February 7th. A joint Conference was held on March 13th to discuss the scheme, which is as follows:--

Scheme of Training for Institutional Housekeepers.

The course is supposed to extend over one year (approximately 25 hours per week for 39 weeks).

- I. Cookery, marketing, arrangement of meals, preservation of food.
- II. Laundry work.
- III. Housework, house management, use of labour-saving appliances, duties and management of servants.
- IV. Care, management, repairing of household linen and bedding.
- V. Simple upholstery.
- VI. First aid, sick nursing, hygiene.

VII. Account keeping.

Note 1. About half of the time allowed for the full course should be devoted to Section I.

Note 2. Training on these lines would be good for girls leaving school who wish to be qualified to manage their own homes. But it is difficult for girls under 25 to obtain responsible posts as Institutional Housekeepers on account of their youth and inexperience.

On the Sub-Committee's recommendation the Executive Committee decided to attach the following note to the scheme:--

It is considered most desirable that students entering this Course of Training should furnish evidence from the Head Mistresses of their schools that they have undergone some training in scientific method through a study of Chemistry or Physics.

Head Mistresses are therefore urged to recommend their pupils who intend to enter on this Training Course to study some Science at school. Students who can furnish the evidence suggested will be at a greater advantage than others. Facilities will be offered during the Course for a study of Science, but the length and expense of the Course of Training will in that case be proportionately increased.

Further consideration of this matter will engage the attention of the Sub-Committee in the autumn (AR 1913, pp.43-45).

Chapter 3, pp.96-97.

...it has been finally decided that after December, 1914, the Faculties of Arts and of Science shall no longer be held in Kensington Square, but shall be transferred to King's College in the Strand, where tuition in these subjects will henceforth be carried on co-educationally.

The University of London has agreed to take over the Department of Household and Social Science...The opening of a Household and Social Science Department of the University of London..., in buildings such as those contracted for at Campden Hill, will mark a new departure in the education of women in this country. It is the first attempt which has been made to introduce a Science Course of university standard bearing upon matters connected with the organisation of household, the care of young children, and the general health of the home...While some members of the Executive Committee have regretted the separation of the Faculties of Arts and Science from the new Faculty of Household and Social Science, it is realised beyond

the possibility of doubt that the new Department will require all the accommodation available at Campden Hill, the new venture in women's education would have been handicapped by lack of space (*AR* 1914, pp.60-61).

Appendix 5. Quotations from the records of three case study schools.

In this section I present the full extracts of some of the important quotations used in Part III, Chapters 4, 5, 6& 7, with relevant page numbers.

Chapter 4.

4.4. Plain Needlework 1871-1894, p.106.

Whether Miss Buss, like my mother, had been so overdosed with it herself that she did not care to inflict it on the young, or whether she considered it a feminine and feeble pursuit, easily picked up at home, the result was a joyful enough for me. And yet, much as I hated the sight of a needle, sewing was the cause of some of my pleasantest memories of the school. Turning her back on the frivolities of embroidery, Miss Buss encouraged both plain sewing and Christianity by ordaining a Dorcas meeting once a month. To most of us it was a treat, providing a change from the usual routine. It involved a lunch at school and staying for the afternoon, with a possible game in the gymnasium thrown in. surprise packets were prepared by our mothers and eaten, picnic fashion, in the dining-room, rousing envy among the girls who were enduring the school lunch. Since the work was more of a good deed than a lesson, we were allowed to talk a little within reason when we sewed. The only thing we had to sign for was forgetting to bring a thimble. I generally for got mine, but Bessie Jones could always be relied on to have brought a few spare ones, in order to meet such cases.

For two hours we sewed horribly coarse cotton, of a dull biscuit colour and queer smell, with little blackish threads poking out of it here and there. It was to become in time chemises for the poor. We were not taught how to cut them out, for our mistakes would have been wasteful. Our duty was to join long stretches of stuff together. It seemed to me much the same as hemming, but the expert girls called it running and felling. Where did the pleasure come in? The reward for our noble work consisted in being read aloud to by the form mistress. As she was not required to improve us, she chose some jolly books that she herself liked, and we were encouraged to discuss any little point that arose in it, even while we sewed- a delightful change from the usual procedure of lesson (Hughes, 1991 [1936], pp.187-188).

4.4. Plain Needlework 1871-1894, p.107.

A large amount of needlework was contributed in honour of our 36th Anniversary. The toys were more various and ingenious than in preceding years. Besides plain needlework, there was a large number of dolls. The dolls dressed as peasants by girls in the 6th Form were especially interesting.

The Hall & Class rooms were prettily decorated with our flower, the daffodil. The platform this year was noticeable for the lovely flowers very kindly sent to us by Lady Edward Cavendish from Chatsworth. Parcels of clothing were sent to the Stepney Playroom; to the North St Pancras Day Nursery; and to the West of Ireland ('July 6th, 1886', PDR, pp.105-106).

The Foundation Day was celebrated on the 16th of April. The gymnasium had stalls filled with toys & useful articles, which were afterwards sent away to the various institutions for children in London.

The girls of North Lodge, Montague House, & Myra Lodge, sold work to the amount of £45. This sum in part was given towards the "Poor children's Country holiday Fund", and will enable some poor children to have a fortnight in the country this summer.

The VI Form devoted its efforts mainly to providing outfits of clothes for poor girls, to be sent to the women's University Settlement in Southwark. The Upper VI specially made one complete outfit with several changes of each garment ('June 25th, 1891', PDR, pp.228-229).

4.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1894, p.110.

The questions on the whole were accurately answered. The least satisfactory part was the essay on Disinfectants, very few of the papers showing any real knowledge of the way in which the substances acted as Disinfectants. It is, however, fair to add that such knowledge can scarcely be acquired without a general acquaintance with the elements of Chemistry (Examinations 1881).

Only a few had really clear ideas about ventilation, & hardly one knew how to make home-made bread. The answers to the question on sweeping & dusting a room were all very satisfactory (Examinations 1882).

A fair knowledge of Domestic Economy was shown though the candidates were weak in 2 or 3 most important questions, such as bread-making and ventilation.

51 % was obtained in a very easy paper. This was the only paper however in which no choice of question was given to the candidates. The result of giving a choice seems to be that the more difficult questions are left wholly untouched (Examinations 1882).

The papers of the Sixth Form showed an intelligent knowledge of the subject. The remarks on choosing a dwelling-house: ventilation; lights: & articles of food were well to the point, & of the most practical and useful kind....In this subject the least satisfactory answers, as last year, were those that required some acquaintance with chemistry, e.g. the burning of a candle: the use of salt; disinfectant, &c. and without such knowledge it seems impossible for such questions to be adequately treated (Examinations 1882).

Ten of the papers, as the marks will show, were too hard for the lowest of the forms, & I would suggest that another year separate paper should be set. It might also be well to combine the closely cognate subjects of Domestic Economy & the Laws of Health. I make this suggestion with diffidence, not knowing whether physiology & chemistry form part of the regular school curriculum (Examinations 1884).

This paper was well done by both Forms. The Fifth obtaining a higher average than in any other subject. Question 9 (a.b) was the weak point in the most, but this is not to be wondered at as the question strictly belong to Chemistry (1886 and 1889).

4.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1894, p.111.

The papers in this subject approach very nearly in excellence to the Physical Geography papers, & bear witness to much careful work during the year. Most of the answers are full of good common sense, & show that this important subject is taught in such a way that it cannot fail to be of real practical use to the pupils (Examinations 1883).

This important subject had evidently been a popular one...The answers were really very interesting for they had often been written *con amore*. One very important branch of the subject treated by the teacher had been the disposition of an income-what proportion should go for rent, what for dress, what for food, what for washing, etc. It was pleasant to find that the duty of saving something had been impressed and grasped. No girl who had been through this course is ignorant of the rules for

the ventilation and water supply of a house, while many a useful hint had been learned for the management of a household (*Examiners' Reports*, 1891).

Some useful lessons had been given on the management of a household, the distribution of an income, the preparation of particular kind of food, &c. I need hardly say that these lessons had proved very popular, and my paper was answered with a zest that did equal credit to the skill of the teacher and the enthusiasm of the class. The children all wrote with an assurance of knowledge that seemed based on years of experience. As a rule they showed very good sense (*Examiners' Reports*, 1892).

I am sure that this class is a very useful one; it is a great thing to get young people even to understand that such practical questions should have thoughtfully and even scientific treatment, and the girls seemed generally to have taken considerable interest in their lectures (*Examiners' Reports*, 1893).

The theoretical knowledge gained in this subject cannot fail to be of use when it comes to be put into practice (*Examiners' Reports*, 1894).

4.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1894, p.111.

Another subject called 'Domestic Economy' puzzled her [Mrs. Thomas, Molly's mother] still more, but sounded as if she would be quite *au fait* in it. However, she became meeker when I began after a time to talk familiarly of hydrogenous foodstuffs and carbohydrates. 'Foodstuffs!' she exclaimed, 'shat a funny word!' the lessons were entirely theoretical, as there was neither kitchen nor laundry in at our disposal, and I darkly suspected that our teachers had never entered such places. Now I could make a rice pudding blindfold, so mother and I were greatly tickled at my having to write down and learn a recipe for it. Her notion of a recipe is best shown by a conversation I heard one day. A dropper-in to lunch had enjoyed her pudding and began:

'How do you manage to get such good rice puddings, Mrs. Thomas? My cook is so uncertain- one day we can swim in it, and the next day we can dance on it. Do tell me exactly how you get it just right like this.'

'You take a pie dish.'

'What size?'

'Oh, the ordinary size. Put some well-washed rice in it.'

'How much?'

'Enough to cover the bottom. Then add a bit of butter.'

'How big a bit?'

'As big as a walnut. Then add salt and sugar.'

'How much?'

'Oh, as much as you think will do. Then bake in a *very slow* oven.'

'For how long?'

'Until it seems to be done.'

The curious part about this recipe was the complete satisfaction shown by the visitor, who nodded her head at each item of information, for mother took care to emphasize the really important point. Nothing whatever remained to me of those recipes at school, nor of the elaborate menus for a family of seven, and I never had any idea whether my sons were consuming nitrogen or carbon or what (Hughes, 1991 [1936], pp.186-187).

4.8. Staff and pupils, pp.125-126.

When Grannie married, her ignorance of what constituted the running of a home might well have been described as abysmal! Her mother had fed her, clothed her- even darned her stockings for her- leaving her free to live the fullest intellectual life possible. They had maids who lived with them as friends. They, together with her mother, had done all that was needed in the house. At school Grannie once earned a special prize for Domestic Economy, but she had no practical knowledge whatever, as far as the management of a house was concerned. She did not know beef from mutton; maybe she had hardly even boiled a potato or cooked an egg; she was capable of dusting a room heedless of the fact that a fire had been lit in the room the day before, and the grate had not been tidied up- failing to realise that the clearing of the grate would only make fresh dust in the room.

She had no idea of the price of anything, nor of the quantities needed from day to day; she had needed to pay but little attention to the spending of money in any direction, as she had earned a good income on leaving College and her personal needs were few. In everything except mathematics and her knowledge of industrial conditions and so forth she was ignorant- ignorant to an extent which people would have found it hard to believe. At the beginning of her married life she had a capable housekeeper who gladly did all that needed to be done, even treating Grannie on all occasions as if she- Grannie- were the Mistress, instead of (what she really was) a permanent, though very welcome guest!

Unfortunately this housekeeper was obliged to go further North to take care of a

brother two years after Grannie's marriage, and Grannie had to start getting and managing maids. To get maids was not, of course, the difficult matter in those days which it is now, but although Grannie was able to get them, the work of the house was not properly done by them. The fact is that Grannie was never satisfactory mistress; she treated her maids too much as if they were her sisters rather than paid helpers in the house. Consequently they took advantage of her (Mumford, 1952, pp.70-71) [My emphasis].

By the time she had three children under four years, however, she naturally needed a nurse to help her, but having help in the nursery only meant that she was free to do other things which could not be fitted in earlier, and she now attended course of Extension Lecturers on cooking, dressmaking and even millinery. Soon after her first housekeeper had left, she had engaged a housemaid and a young maid in the kitchen who worked conscientiously under Grannie's directions- glad to learn under Grannie who had by this time acquired sufficient household knowledge. So, for some while, Grannie, with the help of the little maid, took on herself the responsibility of cooking for the whole family- doing the planning, the preparing and the dishing up of food, and directing the maid in connection with the details of the work. Cooking gave Grannie many a thrill. To her it was creative work. Certain ingredients were put together, treated in a certain way and, lo and behold, something other than the mere sum of the ingredients, so to speak, resulted.

In cooking, as in individuals and social development, the 'whole' was seen to be greater than the sum of the 'parts'. The intricacies of cutting out a pattern of a dress which would fit exactly, though only a few measurements had been taken and dealt with according to a certain mathematical computation fascinated Grannie in somewhat the same way. And it was the same with the other things which were done in the house. She was interested for example, in seeing just how long it took to do certain jobs- dusting and turning out of rooms, the cleaning of the knives and so forth (knives had to be cleaned on a board in those days- there was no stainless steel) (Mumford, 1952, pp.75-76) [My emphasis].

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Chapter 5.

5.3. Mrs Bryant's view of 'domestic subjects', p.134.

...there are two large classes. The first is of girls fit to carry thorough a complete course of study planned to fulfil a well- balanced ideal of knowledge and development. The second consists of girls who are only able to fulfil this ideal in part. The school should be planned so that neither of these two spoil the intellectual development of the other. The second class will no doubt diminish as improvement in educational organisation and public opinion eliminates the large number of girls in secondary schools to-day whose education has been neglected up to the age of 12,13,14, or even 15...

Learners with less ability for knowledge may have ability in other ways, and this should count to their credit in some way as members of the school community. A girls who can- or can be taught to- cook a dinner, make a dress, order a household, entertain a company, and carry on the family correspondence well, ought not to be dulled by devoting her whole working time to a prolonged and well-nigh hopeless struggle with a mass of intellectual mystics. Nor should her clever sister, to whom these mystics are as plain daylight truths, be restrained from their study because

they are too high for some....

Thus there should be room in the most ambitious girls' school for a simple unambitious course, rather old-fashioned in the end proposed, but using to the full all reforms of method, and carried out with thoroughness of scholarship as far as it goes. Such a course would make much of the attainment of a sound foundation knowledge- not too detailed, but clear in outline an vivid in portraiture' (Bryant, 1898, p.101) [My emphasis].

5.3. Mrs Bryant's view of 'domestic subjects', pp.135-136.

I venture to criticise a current view as to the end of intellectual education- a view which is often supposed to represent reformed educational opinion- a view, also, which is frequently expressed in direct appeal to the practical genius of the English race. The child in the nursery and the man in the street- if no one has tampered with him- are under the impression that the object of school and of lessons is to make people know things, that the end of intellectual education is, in fact, knowledge. The unperformed schoolmaster of the old days thoughtThe ideal of knowledge is a reasoned whole, in which each truth appears in its vital connexion with other truths, so that knowledge of any truth included the operation of the mental process by which that truth is reached. To know included to know how we know- how the original knower knew. Nothing less than reasoned knowledge can satisfy the appetite for truth... (AR 1906, pp.15-16).

5.3. Mrs Bryant's view of 'domestic subjects', p.136.

Mrs. Bryant had made a very small experiment in this direction owing to the small room and imperfect equipment, but found that good work could nevertheless be done. Her Domestic Science Class was an alternative to the other Upper V Classes; no one could enter it, save under exceptional circumstances, who was not 17 years of age. Half the time was given to other subjects and half to technical work. The girls who without much reputation for ability entered that class often because quite brilliant in the course of a term. They looked bright and happy having at last found something that could do well, and in which they could hold their own with the clever girls. She laid stress on the effect of the work of this class on the rest of the school. A great deal of interest was taken in it by the other girls. A girl in the Sixth who gained a scholarship in the middle of the term would ask to spend the rest of the term in the Technical Form. The effect of the class on the rest of the school in raising the dignity if the subject was remarkable. The technical side of the school course should, if

possible, include elementary carpentering. Then a great deal could be done to encourage the practice of domestic arts when they could not be taught in school. She had an examination in needlework at the end of every term; the senior girls were not taught to sew, but they were expected to know all about it. She heartily sympathised with the institution on a university degree, but reminded the meeting that a great deal depend upon practice and the development, not only of a particular kind of skill, but of a particular kind of strength and habit of labour (AR 1909, pp.12-13) [My emphasis].

5.3. Mrs Bryant's view of 'domestic subjects', p.137.

...this Conference observes with much satisfaction the development in modern education of variant types, alike as regards the particular aims pursued, the details of the methods used and the scheme of study followed in different schools, or as alternative course in the same school. It is of opinion that the educational end in view can be approached and (considering the variety in mental type and probable life-career of the children to be educated) should be made approachable, by ways that differ in certain particulars, but all tend to the attainment of the main educational end (AR 1911, p.33) [My emphasis].

5.3. Mrs Bryant's view of 'domestic subjects', p.137.

At the beginning of her [Edith] married life [the late 1890s], she had found satisfaction almost wholly in home details- mending, darning, cleaning and so forth- so much so that, when she was telling Mrs. Bryant of the joy she was finding in her new domestic life, Mrs. Bryant had said, 'Yes, I understand, but- what are you doing about your reading?' However fully occupied you are with your husbands and children's needs, if you don't manage to read some worthwhile book, if only for half an hour a day, you 'll find that you will lose the companionship of your children by the time they are twelve years old...unless Grannie had followed Mrs. Bryant's advice and to some extent kept up the more thoughtful side of herself, she would have not remained, I feel sure, one of the 'happiest of women', since, one by one, her children would have outgrown her, and their young brains would not have kept her older brain live and vigorous (Mumford, 1952, pp.77-78) [My emphasis].

5.5. Domestic Economy 1894-1903, p.141.

Absurd answers- as that vegetable oils come from whales and cod-fish, while mineral oils are manufactured; that we wrap wet cloth round vessels to present the

food becoming mouldy; that the way to prevent nose-bleeding is to tie a string very tight below the knee; that the proper treatment for a scald is an application of lime or brandy- were rare. In question 1, many gave the totals without the calculation. In question 3, bread was commonly entered in the flesh-forming list. In question 4, few girls seemed to know the actual working of the Co-operative Stores, e.g., that they undertake a daily delivery of goods in London. In question 8, nearly all answered that lawn tennis exercises all the muscles, and gymnastics only a particular set of muscles, and very few gave the physiological effects of exercise, except in the vaguest popular language. In 10, most prescribed for a fainting fit without noting the given cause (*Examiners' Reports*, 1895).

5.5. Domestic Economy 1894-1903, pp.141-142.

The marks in this subject are - with the exception of one Form - higher than those in Laws of Health. This is explained by the fact that this is a subject about which all know something, and the questions were framed on the assumption that knowledge is gained, not only from lessons, but also from observation in the pupils' own homes. In the best papers- and these are excellent- there is evidence of practical knowledge, and it is fair to conclude that such knowledge is the outcome of the stimulus given by the lessons. In other cases, again, the lack of observation by the writers of the papers is very noticeable (*Examiners' Reports*, 1899).

Form IV.- There is a tendency in this Form on the part of the pupils to crowd in all the knowledge they have of hygiene irrespective on the limits of the question (*Examiners' Reports*, 1901).

The results of the examination as regards Form VA. are entirely satisfactory, as evidenced by the marks gained. The papers received in Domestic Economy from Form Upper VB. are very good, but those in Laws of Health do not reach the same standard. In many cases matter not required was introduced, whereas the real answer was omitted, e.g., if the use of an organ were asked, the structure was given and vice versa (*Examiners' Reports*, 1903).

5.5. Domestic Economy 1894-1903, pp.142-143.

The Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health showed much improvement in the answers. A high average of marks was attained. Common sense questions were particularly well answered. There was more inequality in the answers to the

Physiography questions. As this is a subject which requires more sustained study, the shortness of the course places it at a disadvantage. Though perhaps lacking in detail, yet the general ideas on the subject, as far as they went, were clear and correct (*Examiners' Reports*, 1896).

5.5. Domestic Economy 1894-1903, p.143.

I should question the advisability of taking at once three subjects like Political Economy, Domestic Economy, and Physiology, the data of which have mainly to be accented on faith, and in which the most the teacher can hope for is to impart a little general information, and arouse an interest that may afterwards lead to serious study. In only one of these were taken, it would be possible, even at school, to lay a solid foundation. The useful information, which I by no means undervalue, might, I think, be just as well imparted by occasional lectures on shopping, clothing, exercise and so forth. In my opinion the gravest danger which threatens our educational system, especially in girls' schools, is the multiplication of subjects. It is the swing of the pendulum from the old purely classical curriculum. Again, I am so old-fashioned as to think that in a girls' school English Literature should be the subject to which most importance is attached, among other reasons, because it is the common ground on which those who specialise in languages, in science or in mathematics can meet' (*Examiners' Reports*, 1895).

5.5. Domestic Economy 1894-1903, p.144.

In all these papers I notice that there is considerable difficulty on the part of the pupils in expressing themselves, and they would probably be able to answer better if they were being examined viva voce. But I think this hardly explains why so many of the papers are unsatisfactory.

On the whole, it seems to me it would be well if a less extensive syllabus were attempted, seeing the course is a short one, so that more time could be spent in making the ground covered more thoroughly known and more practically understood. At the same time, it is quite clear that want of thought in many daily life must be known to all, yet many give very incomplete answers to this part of one of the questions, indeed in three papers there is not attempt to answer this, and six pupils forgot to mention that water is used to drink, while a large number omit its uses for sanitary purposes (*Examiners' Reports*, 1899).

5.8. Home Craft and Household Business Course 1909-1914.

A proposal to include Electricity and Magnetism in the Physics course was discussed with the teachers at the time of the inspection. With regards to this proposal it may be remarked that while it would be feasible and perhaps advantageous to allow certain of the older pupils to take these more difficult subjects (Physics might be an alternative to Botany in Form VI.), their introduction into the course for the generality of girls might result in the syllabus being dangerously over-weighted. It could indeed only be done by reducing the amount of Chemistry attempted, as to which it may be pointed out that this subject, quite apart from its intrinsic educational merits when properly handled, is especially important in a School in which a considerable number of girls are doing higher work in Botany and others are taking a course in Domestic Economy ('Science', Second Inspection 1910, p.26).

5.8. Home Craft and Household Business Course 1909-1914, p.150.

The craft part of the work is taken by the Domestic Science Mistress, the laboratory work by the Mistress who teaches botany. In spite of this subdivision, there should be no difficulty in realising the connection that the study of Science, which to some students may seem somewhat remote from cookery and housewifery, has with their kitchen work, for the Science Mistress has herself a practical knowledge of, and much interest. In Housecraft, and throughout the course, the practical bearing of the work done in the laboratory in connection with the chemistry of food and laundry work is made very clear to the pupils ('Housecraft', 1914 Inspection, pp.13-14).

5.8. Home Craft and Household Business Course 1909-1914, p.153.

The housewifery syllabus is a thoroughly practical one, while the cookery syllabus includes not only the ordinary dishes, but a number which would come under the heading of high class cookery. Some well turned out meat pies were made during the Inspection, but unexpected vagueness was displayed by the pupils with regard to quantity of materials used and the number of persons for whom each dish would suffice ('Housecraft', 1914 Inspection, p.14).

5.8. Home Craft and Household Business Course 1909-1914, p.154.

Needlework is compulsory in two Forms of the Junior School, in the Domestic Arts Form and in the case of girls who have become Bursars. For all other Forms it is a voluntary subject always taken in the afternoon. Some pressure is exerted by requiring all girls to take an examination test each term, and encouragement is

afforded by arranging that each of the four sections into which the School is divided should have a two-hours lesson once a month from the Domestic Mistress. Moreover, the interest shown by the form Mistresses in the results of the test, and in the form done in connection with various charitable societies is a further encouragement. At the moment about 40 girls are availing themselves of the sound teaching in drafting, cutting and stitchery given by the Domestic Mistress, and at least as many more join the afternoon practices under the guidance of various members of the staff. While it cannot be claimed that all girls receive adequate instruction, very many are efficiently taught, and among the work seen much was of good standard.

The work in plain needlework done by the majority of members of the domestic class was in all respects good, as was also the dressmaking. In both branches the note-and draft-books contain clear and sensible work.

The methods of teaching employed in the Junior School have been to some extent influenced by modern developments. The stitchery is generally satisfactory, but it is strongly recommended that the scheme partially followed should be adopted thoroughly, so as to make each child responsible for measuring, cutting and placing as well as for stitchery ('Housecraft', 1914 Inspection, p.14).

5.8. Home Craft and Household Business Course 1909-1914, p.154.

The Girls' Dance.

The girls in the Sixth and Upper Fifth forms gave a dance in the gymnasium on Jan: 24th. This they managed entirely for themselves, the Domestic Arts section under Miss Macrae undertaking to provide and serve the supper with hardly any assistance from maids. The finance was conducted on the systems adopted for public demands. The 47 girls in school who were hosts and the headmistress taking tickets at 2/6 each and the guest old girls and mistresses being invited free.

The event illustrates the educational value of the Domestic Arts section, not only to its own members but also to the other senior girls ('February 4th, 1914'. HR).

Chapter 6.

6.3. Influence of Miss Buss on CSG, p.161.

Miss Buss has arranged for a Course of Lessons on the "Laws of Health" to be given by Mss Chessar (September 1871', HR, CSGA).

A new teacher for the 2nd Class has not yet been engaged. Miss Buss proposes Miss Mary Martin for the vacancy, also a former pupil ('April 8th, 1872', HR. CSGA).

Miss Buss and I, after due consideration, advised the friends of two girls, who had been in the School one since Jan 7, 1871, & the other since Jan, 1872 and whom conduct was troublesome, and progress unsatisfactory, to remove them at the end of the term. In consequence of this, Miss Buss received unpleasant note from one mother and a younger child was withdrawn ('October 20th, 1873'. HR, CSGA).

One afternoon last term Miss Buss very kindly invited the whole of our school to Sandall Road to tea. After tea, game and dancing in the Gymnasium. Miss Buss engaged a conjuror who for an hour, greatly amused the children in the new Hall ('June 7th, 1880'. HR, CSGA).

Mathematical teaching

As a means of training, and as a help to some of our more promising girls I have with this new year introduced a little mathematical teaching into the curriculum. Miss Mary Benett who has been for some years attached to the staff of the N.L.C.S. and is recommended to me as an excellent teacher by Miss Buss, is doing this part of our work...('February 11th, 1890'. HR, CSGA).

6.4. Needlework 1871-1914, p.164.

...An Exhibition of work and toys was held in the afternoon to which parents and friends were invited. Although the number of articles shown was not quite so large as last year, the variety was greater and as much time and skill had been expended in their manufacture.

The work chiefly from the upper Forms of the School included specimens of craft work, painting on terra cotta and china, children's dresses and every kind of fancy work.

The toys were sent to the children's ward of Act hospitals ('June 8th, 1885'. HR, CSGA).

The 20th of April was the day set apart for the Founder's Day Commemoration we encouraged the children of work for a fund for the sending East End children into the county during the Summer months. Most of the girls in regular attendances worked with a will all but about 40 contributing some articles to the Exhibition...one of the

municipal aims in instituting these exhibitions, the awakening in the girls of an interest outside themselves and the supplying them with a subject of wholesome thought and occupation was achieved.....the work done for charitable purposes through the year consists of 815 garments made by the Dorcas Society, and the purely voluntary work mentioned in connection with Founder's Day of which there were 443 pieces besides 161 toys ('June 4th, 1888'. HR, CSGA) [My emphasis].

Founder's Day was kept on the 2nd April. There was the usual sale of work with the addition of a stall of Cookery made by girls attending the classes ('June 14th, 1897'. HR, CSGA).

6.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1909, p.166.

I have much pleasure in reporting that Mr. Buss has founded prizes in his own name and in Mrs Buss's Memory. Hitherto, the prizes paid at pleasure have been for Swimming, Laws of Health, Cookery and Domestic Economy.

Now it is proposed that one of these two in memory of Mrs Buss should be for French, to include some simple colloquial French. One in the B: name to be for Algebra and Arithmetic, and the other two for subjects in which it seems desirable to offer them. I think the prize for Cookery and Swimming should be continued, but the prizes for Laws of Health and Domestic Economy are not so much required for in the upper part of the school it is difficult to fit in these subjects since the Science has made such inroads upon the time-table ('June 7th, 1904'. HR, CSGA) [My emphasis].

6.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1909, pp.167-168.

The papers given up were generally thoughtful and practical, and showed that the lessons had been carefully designed with a view to systematic study of the subject. No text-book was used. Question eight evoked a good deal of guessing, and was not correctly answered except by a few (*Examiners' Reports*, 1894. NLCSA, p.17).

This subject had been very efficiently taught. The answering showed that the class was well equipped with the knowledge of recent improvements in house sanitation, heating, lighting, and cooking, the means of infectious (mistype?) diseases, and the general arrangements for the sick room (*Examiners' Reports*, 1895. NLCSA, p.17).

The answering showed that much useful knowledge had been acquired on each branch of the Course (*Examiners' Reports*, 1896. NLCSA, p.17).

Since my last visit very important structural improvements have been made, and more than half the pupils are now receiving very useful practical training in Physics, Chemistry, and Domestic Economy in the well-equipped Laboratories that have been erected (*Examiners' Reports*, 1897. NLCSA, p.21).

6.5. Domestic Economy 1872-1909, p.168.

The balance is very fairly kept between the literary and the scientific sides. I doubt whether it is wise to take both Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health in the same term. I confess my experience as an examiner has made me somewhat sceptical as to the value of such special subjects, resting as they do on no solid foundation or scientific knowledge, they must be more or less crammed, and the facts that all girls should undoubtedly know might, I think, be given as well in occasional lectures, the time thus saved might well be devoted to English Literature, which at present has only one hour a week (*Examiners' Reports*, 1902. NLCSA, p.20) [My emphasis].

6.7. Cookery & Dressmaking courses and Domestic Science after 1894, p.173.

The new Science room was opened by Lord Hobhouse on Monday Oct. 19th. Many of the parents and other friends were present including four representatives of the T.E.B. All seemed interested in and pleased with the room, where some of the girls were cooking, others taking a lesson in dressmaking. Since it was opened Dr. Rimmins has paid us a visit of inspection from Dr Garnett, chiefly for inquiring as to the various members using the room for practical Science and other subjects taught in it.

We hoped we should have no objection to showing the room to School authorities about to set up a similar one, sent by the T.E.B. ('December 7th, 1896'. HR, CSGA).

Miss Pycroft, organiser of Domestic Economy for the Tech. Ed. Board, visited the School on Jan. 24th and inspected Cookery and needlework classes ('February 3rd, 1902'. HR, CSGA).

Miss Pycroft of the Tech. Ed. Board visited the school May 16th and heard a Cookery demonstration by Miss Macrae. She considers her a very good teacher and has given her several classes in technical schools from time to time.

Mr. Ward the Head of the Junior department of the Polytechnic, Langham Place and

the Head Mistress of the Girls' School in connection with is were recommended by the Tech. Ed. Board to come and see our Science room before making changes in their own ('June 9th, 1902'. HR, CSGA).

On December 15th Miss Gordon paid a visit to the School as representative of the Dom: Economy Dept. of the Tech. Ed. Board. She saw all the needlework which had been done through the year and considered it a well graduated and practical course ('February 3rd, 1903'. HR, CSGA).

6.7. Cookery& Dressmaking courses and Domestic Science after 1894, pp.174-175.

It is true that the time allotted to English subjects in the Upper 3rd Form is too little. It is the first one which begins the 9 hours' course of Science and Mathematics.

The Regulations of the Board of Education recently issued seem to allow rather less time to be so applied. The distinct Inspector will not take the responsibility of so interpreting them and I have therefore written to the Board to ask. If the reply is favourable it will meet the difficulty raised.....

Since the Inspection there have been changes of Teacher in Botany and for Mathematics with some change of method.

In Mathematics the teaching followed the hints laid down by the revised regulations issued by the Examining body for the Cambridge Junior Local and is based on recommendations made by a Committee of the British Association and a Committee of the Mathematical Association...

In many points the Report was very suggestive and helpful. The criticisms are on the whole, fair and on lived hints and are valuable as coming from those who have expert knowledge to guide them ('Remarks on the Report of the Inspectors of the Board of Education. Inspections on 1st, 2nd 3rd of July 1904.' Included after 'February 2nd, 1904.' HR, CSGA).

The new regulations of the Board issued in August show that the conditions for earning grants are entirely altered. In Secondary Schools which have hitherto been getting them on Science and Mathematics they will now be given on the whole curriculum. This is a move in the right direction.

Schools are required to submit a 4 hours' course in all subjects for children of the ages from 12-16.

Specific directions are given as to the time to be devoted to certain subjects.

4 1/2 hours for English, Geography& history.

6 for languages where 2 are taken.

7 1/2 for Science & Mathematics, with due provision for drawing, physical exercises and housewifery.

In order to allow for these subjects and for prayers and Scripture lessons another 6 1/2 hours are necessary, so that the working school week, apart from preparation, will be 24 1/2 hours for the upper part of the School ('October 18th, 1904'. HR, CSGA) [My emphasis].

6.9. Pupils aiming for 'domestic subjects' teaching after the mid-1890s, pp.179-180.

I find some difficulty in filling vacancies among the Student Teachers.

The Civil Service as recently opened a new branch for girl clerks. Girls from Secondary Schools such as ours seem fitted for such posts, as in addition to the ordinary English subjects French or German is required. They begin at a salary of £35 rising by £20.0 a year for 3 years when they may be promoted by female clerkship without further exam: if they have proved themselves capable.

Then again several girls enter the School Board after having passed their Junior Camb: exam: with us.

A three years' apprenticeship in the Camden does not now, as it once did, suffice to procure a situation or appointment in a good school. The requirements of a teacher are so much higher than they used to be, and a year at a Training College is essential unless very high attainments are offered.

From these causes I am often obliged to give up vacancies for a term or more with girls who as Junior Assistants do the work of Student Teachers in return for lessons. This is the case just now- Kate Satchwell is a probationer, Gertrude Sabey and Mary Jones are giving their time for the present in return for lessons ('October 4th, 1897'. HR, CSGA).

Chapter 7.

7.2. School organisation and curriculum, p.189.

...They had also to record the marked success which had followed the introduction of what he might venture to call the technical classes in connection with the Manchester High School. He did not know...what technical education really meant. He had heard it described as being everything but Latin and Greek but a fairer description perhaps was that it included everything which prepared directly, rather than indirectly, for the work by which people had to get their living. Classes had

therefore been established for the teaching of housekeeping- cooking, sewing, housewifery, and so on. It had been a satisfaction to the Governors to observe the remarkable success of the classes, all the more so because they had added to, and not taken the place of, the ordinary school education. They would all regret if girls gave up the last year or two years of their ordinary school education, which indirectly, but none the less effectively, was preparing them for those housekeeping duties, in order to take up that which might be more immediately helpful; but nothing could be more welcome than that the girls who would otherwise have left the school should remain for a year or two longer to learn the principles of those domestic duties which formed so large a part of their future life (SM, December, 1902, pp.106-107) [My emphasis].

7.2. School organisation and curriculum, p.190.

When she [Miss Burstall] took charge of the High School thirteen years ago its numbers were declining, and the best educational experts told us that this falling off was likely to be permanent, since it was due to no shortcomings of the school, but to such natural causes as the flight of the population to the remoter suburbs, the setting up of good schools in those suburbs, and in most of the neighbouring great towns, which in early days supplied the Manchester school with so large a contingent of its pupils, and more recently, to the establishment of new girls' schools in the city itself... Nevertheless, the High School has been of late fuller than in ever was before, and only recently the governors have been compelled to set limits to this growth by a self-denying ordinance to the effect that not more than six hundred pupils should be taken. Numbers, however, are a gross test of success, almost as gross as examination successes (Burstall, 1911, pp.xii-xiii) [My addition and emphasis].

7.2. School organisation and curriculum, pp.190-191.

The curriculum in the three Schools discussed and a table of the amount of time given in the highest forms in each School drawn up. The chief differences appear to be as follows:-

More English and History teaching is given in the North Manchester School and somewhat more French.

In Latin Manchester given four weekly lessons.

Pendleton, four. Five in VI.

North M. two.

The Pendleton School does not attempt to teach German at all. Miss Butcher does

not experience any demand for this subject on the part of parents. In North Manchester there is a real demand for German which to begin in Form V.B. in the Manchester School Latin and German are alternate in the Middle forms.

Science. Only in the Manchester School is instruction given in Science Subjects to the Victorian Preliminary Standard. Pendleton takes Mechanics or Greek as the 5th subject in the Victorian Preliminary, and North Manchester, Geography.

Latin and Mathematics. Both Miss Butcher and Miss Clarke make Latin compulsory for every girl for at least one year. Miss Burstall disapproved of this for dull and backward girls, and considers that the exchange of such from the Latin Classes makes it easier to keep up the Standard.

A year of Mathematics is also compulsory in the Pendleton and North Manchester Schools. In the Manchester School the duller girls concentrate on Arithmetic, French and English subjects.

The system of parallel A and B forms for different types of girls which obtains in the Manchester School was discussed. Miss Clarke does not approve of this system. Miss Butcher approves of it when possible. It is obviously much easier to manage in a large School.

Cookery, Shorthand. It was agreed that these should be postponed to the later years of School life. Miss Clarke deprecated their introduction even then. Miss Butcher thought it desirable to teach Shorthand and Cookery at Pendleton if means allowed.

Drawing is compulsory to IV. A in North Manchester and III B. in Pendleton and Manchester.

Singing is compulsory for all in North Manchester one lesson a week being given in every form besides a joint school singing one a fortnight. In Pendleton and Manchester singing is an optional afternoon subject after the IIs, but there is joint school singing.

Sewing in North Manchester is taught in forms I, II & III B, not in the other forms. It is taught throughout the other Schools being optional in the higher forms.

It was agreed to hold a Meeting of the teachers of Latin on Miss Clarke's return when an attempt will be made to draw up Standards; and towards the end of January a conference of teachers of Arithmetic and Mathematics in the 3 Schools should meet for the same purpose and to consider the British Association proposals for the reform of Mathematical teaching.

A resolution to the effect that the Head Mistresses would welcome the substitution of English Literature for English Language in the Victoria Preliminary, was passed ('December 3rd. 1902'. MGM).

7.4. Plain Sewing 1874-1898, p.197.

Specimens only.- Hemming at most is rather straight; some, again, rather too much sloped. Seaming irregular; ends at joints of cotton in seaming, in many of the specimens, too long and show too much. Clean, on the whole (*SR 1891*, pp. 31-32).

Much good work has been sent for Examination, which shews careful teaching. Gathering, stroking, and setting-in are very weak indeed. Larks have been thus post, so that many Certificates are lower than they would have been if all the work in garments had been equal (*SR 1893*, p.38) [My emphasis].

The work sent this year shewed improvement in the preliminary stitches, but the advanced stitches, such as gathering, stroking, setting-in, and button-holes, remain very weak. The Certificates sent in Grades VI., V. and IV. are much lower in consequence of that (*SR 1894*, p.50).

The work sent for Examination by this School is Clean and "Very Fair;" it is evidently taught with great care. There are a few points to which I should like to draw attention (full notes have been made in examining papers for the use of Needlework Mistress).

In the four lower Grades the stitches of hemming is *very* indistinct. There is a tendency to make very small and very slanting stitches, which is hurtful to the eyesight and unpractical. A well-formed clear stitch is much preferred.

A little more attention to finish in Grade I. is advisable, several have lost marks owing to pinafores being unequal in length at the back; this, I think, must have been when neckbands were fixed on. Grade IV., preliminary stitches good, beyond these they are exceedingly weak. Many button-holes have no firm edges, therefore they fail. Grade V., gathering, stroking, and setting-in, *Weak*; this also applies to Grade VI., and, although the diagrams are well done, yet the quality of needlework lowers the Certificates granted (*SR 1895*, p.57).

7.5. Cookery, Dressmaking and Millinery 1894-1898, pp.203-204.

(1) That the School shall put at the disposal of the College the rooms formerly used for the Preparatory Department, viz

Three class rooms, two sitting rooms, and a Dressing room with the occasional use of the playroom in the basement and of the Chemical Lecture- room, if required, the

time of such occasional use to be arranged with the Head Mistress. (It was stated that the gymnasium would be available for three days a week, except from 11.15 to 11.30 and from 1.15 to 2.15 pm.)

(2) That all service in the rooms should be provided by the College; but the School should supply gas, coal, water and window cleaning, and should provide for dinners at tariff price for the students at separate tables in the School dining room between 1.15 and 2.p.m. daily except Saturday.

(3) that the College be allowed to make some necessary alteration in the ground floor lavatory but must reinstate the lavatory when they give up possession (if required)

(4) That the Annual rent should be from £80 to £100 per annum, as may be determined, in conference with the College authorities ('May 12th, 1897'. MGM).

7.6. Housewifery Course 1900-1914, p.211.

That house-keeping requires the use of brains as well as of hands is a fact which is being realised more and more every day. The realisation of this is seen in the movement for the domestic education of girls. No longer is housewifery treated as a subject to be taught only to girls who are too dull for other work, but as a subject which is a science and which needs intellect to enlighten it.

It is well to know the theory of things, but putting them into practice is quite a different matter...Experiment if a great thing- experience which teaches a girl to be able to manage a household, whether working herself or showing others how to work. No girl can make a good mistress who does not herself know how things should be done. This is the aim of Gap Cottage (*SM*, June, 1911, pp.29-30).

Appendix 6.

Biographical information of 'domestic subjects' teachers in MHSG 1900-1914.

Miss Branche Henry, the first Housewifery mistress, was employed between September 1900 and July 1908. She attended private school in Rochester and received specialist training in Battersea Polytechnic between 1898 and 1900 gaining Diplomas in Cookery, Laundry, Dressmaking, Needlework, Laundry work, Housewifery. The first appointment seemed to have been in MHSG. She was appointed as the Lady housekeeper and the Domestic Arts Mistress as we had seen in previous section. After resigning from her post, she is recorded to have taken a post in a London Polytechnic. ('No. 40. Miss Branche Henry', Staff Register I).

Miss Katherine Booth, the second Housewifery mistress, was employed between September 1906 and December 1907. She attended private school, became a pupil of Cheltenham Ladies College from 1890 to 1895 and sat Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations. She received 2-year specialist training at Gloucester School of Domestic Science from 1895 and gained a Diploma in Cookery, Laundry and Domestic Economy from the National Union. She was first appointed as staff to the Gloucester School after 1896, became the Lady Superintendent of the School of Cookery, Cheltenham after 1901 and also taught in Cheshire County Council Evening Classes in 1904. She was first appointed as visiting mistress in Cookery etc. for MHSG in 1905. After being fully appointed she taught Cookery, Laundry, Hygiene, English, History and Scripture to Housewifery Form. On her resignation she married. ('No. 23. Miss Katherine Booth', Staff Register I).

Miss Lily Myers, the third Housewifery mistress, was employed between September 1904 and September 1905. She went to private schools in Tarn House and Lausanne between 1876 and 1887. She received specialist training in Liverpool School of Domestic Economy from 1901 and 1904, and gained Diplomas for Household Sewing, Millinery, Dressmaking and Advanced Dressmaking. She experienced private teaching before 1901 and was appointed in MHSG for a year from 1904. She was at first appointed as a Sewing Mistress and had full responsibility over organisation throughout the School. She became the Head of Housekeeping Department in Sept 1908 and retired in 1915 ('No. 28. Miss Lily Myers', Staff Register I).

Miss Dorothy Chapman, the fourth Housewifery mistress, was temporarily employed between September 1908 and September 1909. She attended National Elementary Schools

and Private Schools between 1894 and 1901. She attended Cheltenham Ladies College between 1901 and 1904 and sat the Oxford Local Examinations. She received specialist training in Gloucester Training School of Domestic Science from 1904 to 1907 and gained Diploma for Laundry and Housewifery. In addition, she had a Board of Education Diploma for First Class Cookery and National Union for the Technical Education of Women Needlework Diploma. She was to undertake teaching of Cookery, Laundry and Hygiene as Form Mistress to Technical Housewifery Form. However, she decided to become Housewifery Mistress of Carlisle High School after her temporary appointment at MHSG ('No. 48. Miss Dorothy Chapman', Staff Register I).

Miss Eleanor May Friend, the fifth Housewifery mistress, was employed between September 1909 and June 1911. She attended Torquay High School, entered Royal Holloway College between 1892 and 1894 and sat the Oxford University Examination for Women. She received specialist training at National Society's Training College for Domestic Arts, Hampstead, for 2 years from 1907 and gained First Class Diploma for Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery and Infants management and received Chemistry Hygiene Certificates. She was appointed at several high schools from 1894 before being employed at MHSG in 1909. She taught 'Housewifery subjects & English' as the Housewifery Form Mistress. In addition, she is recorded to have held a private Cookery class one afternoon a week at MHSG for older women in October 1910. After resignation, she became the Head of the Domestic Arts Department, Sir. John Cass Institute, Aldgate E. C. ('No. 76. Miss Eleanor May Friend', Staff Register I).

Miss Ellen Mary Moakes, the sixth Housewifery mistress, was employed between February 1883 and December 1916. She attended Higher Grade School in London between 1893 and 1899. She received specialist training at Northern Polytechnic, London in 1905 and at Manchester Municipal School of Technology between 1906 and 1907 gaining Dressmaking Certificates from Lancashire & Cheshire Union and City & Guilds of London. She first taught at evening school from 1906 for Manchester Education Committee. In MHSG she assisted in Needlework and Dressmaking lessons. After resignation she became the Sewing Mistress of Southport Secondary School ('No. 100. Miss Ellen Mary Moakes', Staff Register I).

Miss Dorothy Maude Darwent, the seventh Housewifery Mistress, was employed only for a month in summer 1911. She attended a private school and became a pupil of MHSG between 1903 and 1908. She received specialist training at Gloucester Training College

after 1908. She was to teach Cookery and Laundry. However, she chose the post in Worthington Secondary School ('No. 103. Miss Dorothy Maude Darwent'. Staff Register I).

Miss Grace Bradshaw, the eighth Housewifery mistress, was employed between September 1911 and December 1922. She attended Bolton High School between 1892 and 1901 and sat the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examination. She received specialist training at Liverpool Training College of Cookery & Technical College of Domestic Science for four years from September 1901 and gained First Class Diploma and Certificate for Cookery, Laundry and Housewifery, Sewing, Dressmaking & Millinery, Elementary Physiology & Hygiene. Before being appointed to MHSG, she had posts in Notting Hill High School, London, Bolton High School and Burlington High School. In MHSG she taught Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery and Hygiene as the Housewifery Form mistress. After resignation she became the Inspector of Domestic Subjects of Liverpool Education Authority ('No. 104. Miss Grace Bradshaw. Staff Register I).

Appendix 7.

Fathers'/Guardians' occupations of pupils receiving 'domestic subjects' instruction in NLCS (1876-1882)& MHSB (1900-1914).

NLCS. Professional Fathers/Guardians of Cookery Class Students 1876-1882.

North London Collegiate School for Girls.							
Professional Fathers/Guardians.							
	1850-1870	1871-1894	Total		Cookery Class Students. 1876-79.	Cookery Class Students. 1881-82.	Cookery Class Student Total.
Accountant	3	14	17				
Actor	-	1	1				
Architect	1	9	10		1		1
Artist	7	6	13				
Author	-	1	1				
Clergy	3	17	20		1	1	2
Clerk-in-Holy-Orders	-	9	9				
Editor	-	2	2				
Educator	4	18	22				
Engineer	1	11	12		1		1
Government: Civil/ Indis Service/ Local Govt.	6	18	24		4		4
Journalist	-	3	3				
Law	8	34	42		7		7
Librarian	1	3	4				
Medicine	9	38	47	Dentist	5		5
Merchant Marine Officer	1	-	1				
Military	2	8	10				
Musician	1	1	2				
Professional Shorthand Writer	-	1	1				
Sculptor	-	3	3				
Surveyor	2	5	7				
Veterinarian	-	2	2				
Total	49	204	253		19	1	20
(Pedersen, 1987, p.334).				(NLCS Special Examinations; Register of Applications 1871-74, 1875-76, 1877-78, 1879-80, 1881-82).			

NLCS. Business Fathers/Guardians of Cookery Class Students 1876-1882.

North London Collegiate School for Girls.							
Business Fathers/Guardians.							
	1850-1870	1871-1894	Total		Cookery Class Students 1876-79	Cookery Class Students 1881-82	Cookery Class Students Total
Actuary	1	1	2				
Agent	3	12	15		1		1
Auctioneer	2	2	4				
Banker		5	5				
Brewer	2	3	5		1		1
Builder	8	5	13		1	1	2
"Business"	-	1	1				
Buyer	-	1	1				
Contractor	2	4	6				
Factor	-	2	2				
Ferry Proprietor	-	1	1				
Insurance	-	1	1				
Manager/ Director of a Company	-	8	8	Joint owner of a company ¹	2		2
Manufacturer	4	36	40		2	1	3
Merchants/ Wholesalers	14	109	123		5	1	6
Omnibus Proprietor	2	-	2				
Publisher/ Newspaper Proprietor	1	6	7	Law Stationer ¹	2		2
Salesman	1	5	6				
Ship owner		1	1			1	1
Steward	1	1	2				
Stock Exchange/ Broker/ Bill Broker	3	6	9		1		1
Superintendent of a Company	-	2	2				
Traveller	6	7	13				
Warehouseman	1	3	4				
Wharfinger	-	1	1				
Total	51	223	274		15	4	19
(Pedersen, 1987, pp.334-335).				(NLCS Special Examinations; Register of Applications 1871-74, 1875-76, 1877-78, 1879-80, 1881-82).			

NLCS.

Tradesmen and Artisans Fathers/Guardians of Cookery Class Students 1876-1882.

North London Collegiate School for Girls.						
Tradesmen and Artisans Fathers/Guardians.						
	1850-1870	1871-1894	Total	Cookery Class Students 1876-79	Cookery Class Students 1881-82	Cookery Class Students Total
Baker	5	-	5			
Bookseller	2	2	4			
Bootmaker	1	1	2			
Brushmaker	1	-	1			
Butcher	3	4	7			
Cabinet maker	1	-	1	1		1
Card maker	1	-	1			
Carpenter	1	-	1			
Chandler	3	-	3			
Cheesmonger	5	-	5			
Chemist	2	9	11			
Coach builder	2	1	3			
Compositor	-	2	2			
Confectioner	2	1	3			
Dairyman	1	-	1			
Decorator	1	1	2			
Draper	9	13	22	1		1
Dressing case maker	-	1	1			
Engraver	9	-	9	1		1
Fruiteer	1	-	1			
Furniture dealer	1	-	1			
Gold/ Silver/ Coppersmith	2	5	7			
Grocer	4	-	4			
Horse proprietor	-	1	1			
Hosier	-	1	1			
Ironmonger	3	1	4			
Joiner	1	1	2			
Japanner	-	1	1			
Jeweller	1	6	7			
Laceman	1	-	1			
Leather seller	1	-	1			
Miller	-	1	1			
Milliner	1	1	2			
Mercer	-	1	1			
Mouldmaker	-	1	1			
"Oil& Colorman"	1	-	1			
Optician	-	1	1			
Outfitter	1	2	3			
Pawnbroker	-	1	1			
Piano/ Musical Instr.Maker	3	1	4			
Poulterer	1	1	2			
Printer	-	2	2			
Provision dealer	-	2	2	1		1
Publican/ Hotel/ Tavern/ Innkeeper/ Licensed Victualler	10	5	15			

Sadler	1		1			
Ship builder		2	2			
Shipwright		1	1			
Sign& Decorative Painter		1	1			
Soapmaker		1	1			
Spinner		1	1			
Stable keeper	1		1			
Stationer	1	1	2			
Statuary		1	1			
Tailor	7	5	12			
Tobacconist	1		1			
Upholsterer	1	5	6			
Watchmaker	2	4	6			
Total	95	92	187	4	0	4
(Pedersen, 1987, pp.335-336).				(NLCS Special Examinations; Register of Applications 1871-74, 1875-76, 1877-78, 1879-80,		

NLCS. Miscellaneous Fathers/Guardians of Cookery Class Students 1876-1882.

North London Collegiate School for Girls.							
Miscellaneous and Unknown Fathers/Guardians and Widows.							
	1850-1870	1871-1894	Total		Cookery Class Students 1876-79	Cookery Class Students 1881-82	Cookery Class Students Total
Farmer		10	10		1		1
Landowner		1	1				
Planter		1	1				
Yeoman		1	1				
"Gentleman" / "Independent"	12	29	41	"Esquire" (guardian)	2		2
"None"	1	24	25				
"Assistant Examiner"		1	1				
Casher		3	3				
Clerk	18	22	40			3	3
Foreign Diplomat		1	1				
"Glass Bottle Works"		1	1				
Governor of a Prison		1	1				
Inventor		1	1				
J.P.		1	1				
Mineralist	1		1				
Missionary		2	2				
				"Owner of House Property"	1		1
"Railroad"	3	2	5				
Railroad Superintendent		1	1				
Secretary to a Public Company		4	4			1	1
Secretary to various other bodies	1	9	10			1	1
Station Master	1		1				
Workhouse Master		1	1				
"Works for a Company"		1	1				
Total	37	117	154		4	5	9
Unknown	58	50	108		1		
Widows whose husband's occupation is unknown	4	6	10				
Total	62	56	118		1		1
Known Widows	4	9	13				
Probable Widows	25	25	50		2		2
Total	29	34	63		2		
(Pedersen, 1987, pp.334-335).				(NLCS Special Examinations; Register of Applications 1871-74, 1875-76, 1877-78, 1879-80, 1881-82).			
a. Includes invalid one.							
*Buss family					3		3

MHSG. Professional Fathers/Guardians of Housewifery Pupils 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.				
Professional Fathers/Guardians.				
	General. 1898-1914	Housewifery Pupils 1900-03	Housewifery Pupils 1909-14	Housewifery Pupils Total
Accountant	9		3	3
Architect	2			
Clergy	12	1	2	3
Clerk-in-Holy-Orders			1	1
"collector of taxes"	1			
Educator	21		3	3
Engineer	16	2	5	7
"Fire Brigade"	1			
Government: Civil/ India Service/ Local Govt.	6	2	2	4
Inspector	2			
Journalist	4		1	1
Law	5		2	2
Librarian			1	1
"Medical Officer of Health"	2			
Medicine	20		6	6
Military	1		1	1
Musician		2		2
Police Inspector	1		1	1
Surveyor	2		1	1
Total	105	7	29	36
a. A sample of every fifth student compiled from the MHSG Register of Applications. Sampling methods taken from Pedersen (1987).				
(Alphabetical Calss Lists' in <i>SM</i> July 1900- July 1914; Register of Applications).				

MHSG. Business Fathers/Guardians of Housewifery Pupils 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.				
Business Fathers/Guardians.				
	General 1898-1914	Housewifery Pupils 1900-03	Housewifery Pupils 1909-14	Housewifery Pupils Total
Agent	23	5	8	13
Auctioner			1	1
Banker/ Bank inspector	2	1		1
Builder	10	3		3
Buyer	7		5	5
Carrier	1		1	1
Contractor	2	1		1
"commercial"	1			
Commercial Traveller	17		8	8
Dealer	1	1	1	2
"financer"	1			
Insurance	1			
Manager/ Director of a Company	19	2	10	12
Manufacturer	23	5	9	14
Merchants/ Wholesalers	51	6	20	26
Publisher/ Newspaper Proprietor	1		1	1
Restranter		1		1
Salesman	10	1	2	3
Shipper	6		7	7
Stock Exchange/ Broker/ Bill Broker	2		2	2
Superintendent of a Company	3		1	1
Traveller	1		1	1
Licensed victualler	1		2	2
Warehouseman	1			
Total	184	26	79	106
a. A sample of every fifth student compiled from the MHSG Register of Applications. Sampling methods taken from Pedersen (1987).				
('Alphabetical Calss Lists' in <i>SM</i> July 1900- July 1914; Register of Applications).				

MHSG. Tradesmen and Artisans Fathers/Guardians of Housewifery Pupils 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.				
Tradesmen and Artisans Fathers/Guardians.				
	General 1898-1914	Housewifery Pupils 1900-03	Housewifery Pupils 1909-14	Housewifery Pupils Total
Artificial limb maker	1			
Baker	1			
Bookseller			1	1
Bootmaker	1			
Butcher	7		2	2
Chemist	6			
Clothier	1			
Compositor	1			
Confectioner			1	1
Cotton doubler	1			
Decorator			1	1
Draper	3		1	1
Draughtsman		1		
Dyer/ Tunner	1	1	1	1
Engraver	1			
Furnisher	1			
Grocer	5	1	1	1
haberdasher	1			
Hosier	1		1	1
Jeweller	1		1	1
Machinist, Mechanic	2			
Optician			1	1
Outfitter	1		1	1
Pawnbroker	1		1	1
Painter	2			
Pipelayer	1			
Printer/ Paper stainer	8		4	4
Sadler	1			
Shopkeeper	1			
Spinner	1	1		1
Stationer	5	1		1
Tailor/ Pattern maker	3			
Total	59	5	18	23
a. A sample of every fifth student compiled from the MHSG Register of Applications. Sampling methods taken from Pedersen (1987).				
('Alphabetical Class Lists' in <i>SM</i> July 1900- July 1914; Register of Applications).				

MHSG. Miscellaneous Fathers/Guardians of Housewifery Pupils 1900-1914.

Manchester High School for Girls.					
Miscellaneous and Unknown Fathers/Guardians and Widows.					
	General 1898-1914		Housewifery Pupils 1900-03	Housewifery Pupils 1909-14	Housewifery Pupils Total
Farmer/ Agriculturalist	2		1	4	5
Planter	1				
"Gentleman"/ "Independent"	3		2	1	3
Proprieter				2	2
"None"	4		1	2	3
Cashier	6			3	3
Clerk/ Bookkeeper	12			4	4
Entertainer	1				
"Foreign correspondent"	2				
"Householder"	2			1	1
Hotel keeper	2				
"Independent"	1				
Mariner	1				
Nursaryman	1				
"Principal of Hall of Residence"	1				
Railway superintendent	1			1	1
Secretary to various other bodies	4			1	1
"Unemployed"/ "No occupation"	5				
"Zoological Gardens"	1				
Total	50		4	19	23
Unknown/ retired	28			7	7
Widows whose husband's occupation is unknown	15		2	3	6
Total	43		2	10	12
Known Widows	2		1	1	3
Probable Widows	13		1	0	2
Total	15		2	1	5
Illegible	3				
a. A sample of every fifth student compiled from the MHSG Register of Applications. Sampling methods taken from Pedersen (1987).					
(Alphabetical Class Lists' in <i>SM</i> July 1900- July 1914; Register of Applications).					

Appendix 8. List of women interviewed in RCCPWSS.

V Summaries of Evidences.

B. Persons engaged in teaching.

(ii). Women.

Miss S. A. Burstall, Headmistress of the Manchester High School...300.

Miss J. F. Dove, late Headmistress of the Wycombe Abbey School, Bucks...305

Miss L. M. Faithfull, Principal of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham...307

Miss Ida Freund, Staff Lecturer in Natural Science at Newnham College, Cambridge...312.

Miss Margaret A. Gilliland, Headmistress of the Haberdashers' Aske's Girls' School, Acton...316,

Miss E. S. Lees, Senior Science Mistress at the Clapham High School...321.

Miss G. McCroben, Headmistress of the Girls' High School, Wakefield...324.

Miss M. E. Marsden, Head of the Department of Domestic Economy at the Battersea Polytechnic...327.

Miss Hilda D. Oakley, Warden of King's College for Women...329.

Miss E. A. Ogden, Headmistress of the Akroyd Place Infants' School, Halifax...336.

Miss Stephen Priestman, formerly Teacher of Science at Leeds Girls' High School...341.

Miss Marjory Stephenson, Science Mistress at the School of Domestic Science, Gloucester...345.

Miss Margaret Swanson of the Glasgow School of Art...349.

Mrs. Woodhouse, Headmistress of Clapham High School...353.

(RCCPWSS, 1913, p.vi).

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School archives.

(Since many materials are not categorised, sources are listed in alphabetical orders).

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<http://www.nlcs.org.uk/896/about-us/history-of-the-school/archives>

Archivist: Mrs Karen Morgan. Email address: KBMorgan@nlcs.org.uk

1876 Report. [Typewritten] Box title: Examinations, a1.

1903 Inspection. [Typewritten] Box title: Inspections and Heads' Reports, c3.

[1910] Second Inspection 1910. [Typewritten] Box title: Inspections and Heads' Reports, c3.

1914 Inspection. [Typewritten] Box title: Inspections and Heads' Reports, c3.

Album 1: 1877-1914. [Typewritten and Handwritten] Above Plain Chest.

'Class for Cookery', circulated before January 1876. [Typewritten] Box title: Curricula, a1.

'Class for Cookery', circulated before January 1879. Album 1. [Typewritten] Above Plan Chest.

'Class for Cookery', circulated before January 1882. Album 1. [Typewritten] Above Plan Chest.

Cookery 1904. [Handwritten] RS 4iv.

Examinations 1875- 1884. [Handwritten& typewritten] Box title: History of the School

1875-94, b1.

[Examinations] 1886 and 1889. [Handwritten] Box title: Examinations 2, a3.

'Extra Classes', [probably 1904]. [Typewritten] Box: Prospectuses 2, a2.

Examiners' Reports 1891-1903. [Typewritten] RS 3i.

FMB 2 (2832). [Photograph] Box: FMB and Family Photographs, a1.

FMB aged 66 and Sophie Bryant c1893 (1293). [Photograph] Box: Headmistresses' Photographs, b3.

'Headmistress's Remarks on the Board of Education Report, May, 1903'. Included in 1903 Inspection. Box title: Inspections and Heads' Reports, c3.

Jubilee Calendar 1900, [Typewritten] RS 7iv shelf 5.

Head Mistresses Reports to Governors (HR), 1871 to 1885, Volume I. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.

Head Mistresses Reports to Governors (HR), 1885-1895, Volume II. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.

Head Mistresses Reports III (HR), October 1895-February 1904, Volume III. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.

Head Mistress' Report to Governors (HR), 1904-1916, Volume IV. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.

'Needlework', 1887. [Handwritten& typewritten] Box Title: Curricula, a1.

NLCSG External Examinations 1872-1890. [Handwritten& typewritten] Above Plan Chest.

NLCSL Special Examinations, 1874-1887. [Handwritten& typewritten] Above Plan Chest.

'North London Collegiate School for Girls. Classes in connection with the Above School.', circulated before January 1885, Album 1. [Typewritten] Above Plan Chest.

'North London Collegiate School for Girls. Classes in connection with the Above School.', circulated before September 1885, Album 1. [Typewritten] Above Plan Chest.

Our Magazine (OM), December, 1875. [Typewritten] RS 8i.

Prize Day Reports & Lists 1870-1880. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.

Prize Lists and Reports 1881-1894. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.

Prize Day Reports 1894-1909. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.

'Qualification for Admission', Album 1. [Typewritten] Above Plain Chest.

Prospectus, 1867, 1871, 1872-1894. [Typewritten] Box title: History of the School 1850-1895, b1.

Prospectus 1872. [Typewritten] Box title: Prospectuses, a3.

Prospectus, 1895-1906 [Typewritten] Box title: Prospectuses, a3.

Prospectus for the Session 1906-07. [Typewritten] Box title: Prospectuses, a3.

[Prospectus] North London Collegiate School. 1909-10. Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study. [Typewritten] Box Title: Curricula, a1.

[Prospectus] North London Collegiate School. 1913-14. Summary of Organisation and Schemes of Study. [Typewritten] Box Title: Curricula, a1.

Sandall Rd -home from 1879 until NLCS moved to Canons (2661) [Photograph] Box title: People & Buildings to 1939 (1), b1.
Sophie Bryant 1(1371). [Photograph] Headmistresses' Photographs, b3.
Staff Register 1893-1924. [Handwritten] RS 2ii.
'Timetable', 1889, Album 1. [Typewritten] Above Plan Chest.
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Admission Registers, 1871-1914. [Handwritten] ADM 5.
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'Class for Cookery' included in 'February 14th. 1876'. Head Mistress's Report Sep 1871- 13 June 1881. Vol. 1. [Typewritten] POL 2.
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Staff Hours Timetables. 1871-1925. [Handwritten].
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