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A critical examination of the Teacher Training in Wales, 1846-1898

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A Critical Examination of Teacher Training in Wales, 1846-1898

by

L. M. Rees

Thesis submitted in Candidature for the Degree

of Philosophiae Doctor

of the

University of Wales.

1968.

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SUMMARY

In order to understand the odd picture presented by the siting of the Training Colleges in Wales in the last century, consideration has to be given to the forces which were at work in the Principality at that time; the strength of Voluntaryism in the South, the alacrity with which the Methodists accepted State aid, the influence of a bishop, and the dedication of a small band of enthusiasts in a remote corner of the country. These institutions were an English import, governed by the same regulations as were the colleges in England. Although the circumstances affecting the Welsh colleges were different - Wales was largely a rural community, its population was predominantly Nonconformist, and it had its own language - yet no concession was given, nor indeed sought, on this account. Consequently, the colleges, in part, failed to fulfil the task for which they were established, that of providing teachers for the schools of Wales.

Towards the end of the period, the University Day Departments came to challenge the monopoly which the residential colleges had held in teacher training. These new institutions, it was envisaged, would have a liberalising effect on the education of teachers, but in Wales they succeeded only in creating suspicion and antagonism on the part of the older establishments.

The gradual decay of the denominational basis of education, the steady growth of a professional consciousness among teachers, the refusal of the Welsh to accept their own language as a medium of instruction in school and college, and the almost unaltered nature of the education given in the colleges were the outstanding features of the period. Several characteristics of teacher training today have their origins in the last century. This survey attempts to deal with some of the circumstances which gave rise to these characteristics.

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INTRODUCTION

An outstanding feature in the history of Wales in the second half of the last century was the nation's desire for some progress in the educational field. From pulpit, press, and platform there were constant references to the schools, denominational academies and, more latterly, to the university colleges. Yet the training colleges, established in the forties and fifties, although they formed an integral part of the educational system and were indeed, central to it, were almost completely ignored by the leaders of public opinion in educational matters. Thus the opening of the Church of England training college at Carmarthen merited only a brief statement even in "Yr Haul", the Church's own journal in the Principality. In addition, not surprisingly, when the idea of a national university was first mooted towards the middle of the century, it was the denominational academies, it was suggested,¹ that should be attached to it and not the colleges for the training of teachers.

The constant refusal of the contemporary press to give any prominence to the part played by the training institutions in the general scheme of elementary education may be attributed to the public's low estimation of teachers prior to the

1. Dr. Davies, Ffrwd-y-Fâl; Yr Haul XIV (1849) p.127-9.

establishment of training colleges in the Principality.

There is ample evidence of the squalid conditions which obtained in the Dame Schools and Private Adventure Schools, where some efforts were being made to bring instruction in the 3 R's within the reach of children of the poor. In an age of philanthropy a genuine attempt was being made to bring some sort of Christian morality to bear upon the lives of neglected and ill-disciplined children. The task, more often than not, was undertaken by individuals who were in no way suitable for the work, men who were lazy, dishonest and dissatisfied with their lot and who frequently moved from one occupation to another - "the refuse of other callings" as they were described by Macaulay. Two years earlier, in 1847, in their Report¹ on the State of Education in Wales, the Commissioners spoke of them as 'being the lowest class in society, persons formerly employed in some petty trade or occupation, which had afforded some opportunity of learning English, such as carpenters, joiners, innkeepers, assistants in Grocers' shops or Drapers' shops, retired soldiers and excisemen. Females of the poorest class being enabled while engaged in domestic service to acquire a knowledge of English with greater facility than men, the class of schoolmistress is composed of persons who have been employed as sempstresses, charwomen and servants of the most humble description'. Thus, quite naturally, the notion created

1. Report, Com. of Co. 1847 p.111, p.12.

in the public mind was that teaching as a vocation seemed to attract the most undesirable type of person, and this inevitably reflected on the esteem in which the newly formed training colleges were held. Moreover, after these institutions had been in existence for many years, teaching was not an attractive proposition. The Reverend Longueville Jones in his report¹ on Church Schools in Wales in 1857, while speaking of the 'growing repugnance which arose to the profession', went as far as to describe teaching as a 'thankless career leading to premature old age and, most probably, destitution'. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the training colleges failed to create a favourable impression on the public generally.

In Wales, where the working population had learnt to read and discuss theological issues, the denominational periodicals found a large and ready market. In this way, information and guidance concerning religious dogmas and the policies pursued by the various academies were constantly disseminated among the reading public. Thus, thanks to the Sunday schools and the chapels, the denominational academies were safely entrenched in the people's minds as the only seats of academic learning. Closely identified, as they were, with the religious life of Wales, they held a position of high

1. Report, Com.of Co. 1857-8, p.493.

prestige in the public eye. In this respect the training colleges suffered, for in contrast to the academies they were an English import and as such they often failed to reflect the feelings and aspirations of the Welsh people. What went on in them, therefore, did not seem greatly to concern the public in general. Again, in contrast to the academies where Latin, Greek and Hebrew were freely studied, the training colleges were identified with elementary education and it was only in the years after the establishment of university day training departments in 1890, that the education of the teacher gained any kind of academic status. Meanwhile, these colleges lived in the twilight, and the glare of publicity would fall on them only on the occasion of the untoward and sensational incident.¹ The day to day routine of these establishments seemed to be of but little interest to the vast majority of the people, and, although they were engaged in useful and indeed important work, they were allowed to languish in a kind of enforced anonymity.

To some extent, the attitudes of the colleges themselves contributed to this. It is certainly true that they made but little impact on their own locality. They were new and untried establishments and, as such, they can be forgiven for being inward looking. Their business was to train teachers, and, with all their energies canalised in this direction, they did not consider it their duty to disseminate culture, to the

1. e. g. the students' strike at Bangor in 1890 and the fire which destroyed Caernarvon College in 1891.

masses. This is a trait which has remained with them to this day. The universities, on the other hand, by public lecture and discussion, and most of all by their extra-mural departments, have increasingly recognised their obligation to the wider community outside their walls. As the training establishments were residential seminaries preparing students for one calling only, it was perhaps inevitable that they should become withdrawn from society. Furthermore, the almost monastic seclusion and the strict surveillance imposed on students together with the absence of any broad based culture in the teaching staffs would tend equally to militate against any participation by the colleges in the educational life of the community in general.

Yet, within limits, these institutions were very conscious of the function they had to perform, but whether those in Wales fulfilled the pious hopes of their early founders will be seen as this study progresses. Nevertheless, the training colleges had undoubted achievements to their credit. At one time, before the advent of the university colleges, they were the only means by which young men of working class origin could gain access to higher education. That several of them attained positions of eminence in later life is indicative not only of their own ability and tenacity, but also of the part played by these institutions in imparting a taste for learning

among raw and unsophisticated youngsters. Without any advantages, and against all the odds, their success makes romantic reading. But these were the exceptional cases and they simply serve to underline the limitations which only men of rare ability were able to overcome.

It is in this context that the present study is undertaken. Training colleges in Wales were very similar to those in England, and as such, they experienced many of the problems which faced those across the border. But there were important differences too: Wales was predominantly a rural country; it was bedevilled by sectarian difficulties; it had its own language and its own flourishing literature. Burdened with this complicated background the Welsh colleges had problems which were peculiar to them. It will be seen how these institutions, modelled essentially on their English counterparts, succeeded in carrying out the work for which they were designed, during the first fifty years of their existence.

Certain of the problems which confronted the training colleges in their infancy are with us still; to these years other, newer problems trace their roots; the strength and weaknesses which the colleges display today have their origins in these early struggles. For these reasons, the period within the purview of this study is of interest to the educationist as well as to the historian.

CHAPTER I

The Founding of the Colleges

The forties of the last century, like those of this one were a period of intense educational activity. People were becoming increasingly aware of the social evils which had arisen out of the Industrial Revolution, and the task of bringing education within the reach of the masses became a problem which demanded an urgent solution. The fears unleashed by the French Revolution, that an educated working class would be a threat to law and stability, were beginning to subside in the early decades of the century and many felt that education so far from inciting sedition would be an insurance against it and a safeguard against social upheavals of all kinds. This was the Benthamite doctrine which no doubt helped to bring about government participation in educational matters in the 30's.

It was in 1833 that the Government made its first grant to aid public education. In that year £20,000 was handed over to the two religious societies, the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society. The former was founded in 1811 "to promote the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales" and its charter included religious instruction in the

catechism and liturgy. The British and Foreign Schools Society (1814) was more liberal in outlook. Although it believed that all education should have a religious basis, it was committed to no particular sectarian doctrine. For twenty years, these two societies had been the agencies through which benevolent contributions from private sources had been made for the building and maintenance of schools and, not unnaturally therefore, it was through them that the first public monies were distributed.

The grant was to provide half the cost of building new schools with the other half being supplied by voluntary contributions. This was soon followed in 1839 by the establishment of the Committee of the Privy Council to supervise the spending of such monies as the Government voted for the promotion of public education. This committee was the forerunner of the present Department of Education and Science, and with the energetic Dr. James Kay, afterwards Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, as its first secretary, it was soon to control everything and everybody concerned with elementary education. Now that the State had taken a hand and was prepared, in return for the right of inspection, to finance 50% of the cost of school buildings, the two London Societies applied themselves enthusiastically to the task of finding subscribers to multiply the kind of schools in which they were respectively interested.

Any national scheme of popular education was certain to meet with religious difficulties. Indeed, several bills had foundered on the rock of sectarianism in the 30's and it seemed that the interests of the Church and Nonconformity would always remain irreconcilable. Wales, with its increasingly predominant nonconformist population was to become a battleground between the two societies and in the end, of course, it was the ordinary people, in whose name and for whose benefit the struggle was carried on, who were to suffer. That the Committee of the Privy Council was cynically quick to find in this dissension an excuse to spare the public purse is evident from what happened in the village of Cilycwm in Carmarthenshire. There, the local rector, the Reverend Thomas Matthews was on the verge of success in his efforts to establish a Church school in the village when the nonconformists began to agitate for a school on the British model. Both parties received the same reply,¹ "My Lords are of the opinion that looking at the large proportion of Dissenters, they would not be justified in making a grant of public money towards establishing a church school; and considering such a large proportion of Churchmen, they cannot make a grant towards establishing a British school". So Cilycwm had to go without.

Many Welshmen² attributed sinister motives to the energetic way in which the National Society set about building

1. Yr Haul 1865, p.132-4.

2. e.g. Samuel Roberts, Llanbrynmair; Dysgedydd 1839, p.254.

schools in Wales. To them, the Church's new found zeal in educational matters was as sudden as it was suspicious - they could point to the quite different treatment meted out to Thomas Gouge in his efforts to set up schools in the 17th century and again to the opposition which Gruffydd Jones had to face in the following century. But in the forties the Church was becoming increasingly aware that its status and authority as the privileged denomination were being assailed and undermined on all sides. It was the general state of the country that aroused it from its lethargy and caused it to react in the way it did; unemployment, exploitation of child labour and all manner of social evils became the seedbed of discontent among the working classes. Their hopes were being energetically fanned by the writings of Robert Owen and their interest was being sedulously claimed by the cheap literature of the period. Indeed, after the passing of the Reform Bill, the Church realised it could no longer count on having a majority of its supporters in the House of Commons. All this led to uneasiness in its ranks, and to meet the growing challenge it turned its attention to what it regarded as the relevant province - that of popular education.

Some, however, whilst prepared to give the Church the benefit of the doubt, had misgivings about the consequences

of the new policy;¹ "Nid ydym yn anffoddloni priodoli iddynt y dybenion gorau, ond dylem fod ar ein gwyliadwriaeth rhag y canlyniadau niweidiol fydd yn sicr o ddeilliaw oddiwrthynt". But the Churchmen had begun with an initial advantage, as they could count on the wealthier sections of the community. This was particularly so in the rural areas of Wales where the squire and the local clergyman and his associates had little difficulty in finding the necessary funds to set up a village school. Moreover, the Dissenters were divided among themselves. There were some who were ready to accept Government aid and had no objection to the State interfering in education, provided that the teaching in the schools was undemonstrational. Others, identifying the Government with the established Church would not have State aid at any price. The difference between the state aiders, as they were called, and the voluntaryists revolved around their respective interpretation of what education involved. While the former were ready to acknowledge that the secular and spiritual could be easily separated, the latter would not admit of any such demarcation. The voluntaryist view was well set out² by the Reverend John Jones of Pwllnewydd in 1846; "Maes gwybodaeth grefyddol yw popeth a ellir ddysgu yn yr ysgol ddyddiol. Beth yw daearyddiaeth

1. Joshua Lewis, Henllan; Y Diwygiwr 1845, p.20.

2. Y Diwygiwr, 1846 p.302.

ond darlun o gyfran fach o lywodraeth Duw? Beth yw astronomyddiaeth ond awgrym amherffaith am ordeiniadau y nefoedd? Beth yw athroniaeth ond rhannau ei ffyrdd ef? Beth yw rhifyddiaeth ond arlun gwan o'r hwn sydd yn pwysu y mynyddoedd mewn pwysau ar brynau mewn glorianau, yn mesur y nefoedd a'i rychwant, yn rhifo rhifeddu y sêr? Beth yw hanesiaeth ond brasolwg ar rhagluniaeth Duw? Mae pob gwybodaeth a ddysgir, os gwneir cyfiawnder â hwy yn eu cynhwysiad yn sicr o fod yn grefyddol."

Nor was the relationship between the denominations who embraced state aid altogether a happy one. The Calvinistic Methodists, who were foremost in this field, were under suspicion, as there was a feeling in some quarters that they wished to stamp their own brand of religion on the British Schools. "Gwyddom", wrote¹ one correspondent, "mai peth newydd a dyeithr ydyw i'r Methodistiaid gydweithredu ag enwadau eraill mewn pethau cyhoeddus; ac oherwydd hynny y dylai y golcheliadau fod yn fwy".

Had the offer of state aid not divided Wales into a number of discordant factions, there is no doubt that the country would have been better able to take advantage of the provisions which were embodied in the Act of 1870. In the event, it was the Church which had the main benefit, although

1. Y Dysgedydd 1845, p.212.

Churchmen were less successful in those areas where voluntarism was strong than they were in districts where nonconformists accepted the principle of state aid.¹

It was, however, the publication in 1847 of the Commissioners' Report on the State of Education in Wales that focussed men's attention on the problem of providing education for the people. Yet Welshmen in general were moved less by the pitiful state of things as depicted in the Report, than by the Commissioners' conclusion that this was brought about by the people's adherence to nonconformity and to their native language. Whereas some² were ready to concede that the Report contained a great deal of truth and that their publication should stimulate their compatriots to improve matters, there were others³ who contended that the Commissioners had deliberately falsified the situation and had been guilty of gross exaggerations. But the main attack against the 'Blue Books' as the Report was called, was directed more against the religious accusations contained in them than against anything else. One effect they most certainly had, and that was to strengthen the hand of the Voluntarists.

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1. Of the 534 Church schools in Wales in 1870 almost half were in North Wales, a number out of all proportion to the population there.
 2. Dr. Lewis Edwards; "Yr ydym yn deall fod rhai yn tueddu i'n beio, pe gwyddent pa fodd, am addef fod peth gwirionedd yn yr adroddiadau". Y Traethodydd, Ebrill 1848, p.240.
 3. These were in the main voluntarists. Their views were forcibly expressed by Ieuan Gwynedd.

This, then, briefly was the educational background in Wales in the 1840's and some attempt has been made to show what forces were at work there. But amid the conflicting and divergent interests, all were agreed that the erection of schools was a dire necessity. The essential issue was who was to build them.

Central to any educational expansion, however, was the question of teacher supply. Building schools was one thing, maintaining them and providing teachers for them, another. The two London societies, which were hard put to cope with the demand for teachers even before 1833, found themselves getting into progressively greater difficulties when the government grant had given impetus to increasing the number of school buildings. The Government had allocated £10,000 for normal schools in 1835, but it was not distributed to the societies until 1839, after the project for a state normal school had been finally abandoned in the face of denominational differences. The British and Foreign Schools Society utilised its share of the grant in modest enough fashion - it was content to confine its activities to the extension of its college at Borough Road. The National Society, on the other hand, was far more ambitious. Not only did it give encouragement and financial aid for the establishment of training schools in some of the provincial dioceses, but it also built its own colleges at St.Marks, Chelsea,

and Whitelands. This burst of activity on the part of the Church and the energetic way it set about solving the problem of teacher supply caused grave concern to Nonconformists. Although the British and Foreign Schools Society, for the time being at least, was prepared to view the situation with reasonable equanimity, there were some nonconformists, particularly the Congregationalists and the Wesleyans, who viewed the Church's action as nothing less than a crusade to capture the allegiance of the lower orders. In this, the National Society was quite blatant in its attitude, for it regarded teachers as nothing more than agents for promulgating Church of England doctrines throughout the land. As the London Diocesan Board claimed¹ "by securing on principle an army of teachers attached to the church, there will be little danger of any attempts, should such at any time be made, to secularise education, or to impair that just influence which the clergy ought to have in forming the religious principles of the young, as well as imparting instruction to the adult population". If, by disclosing its motives, it was the National Society's aim to weaken the ranks of its rivals then it was eminently successful. The Congregationalists, alarmed at the prospect, withdrew from the British and Foreign Schools Society,

1. Report of London Diocesan Board, Journal of Education, January, 1845.

and formed its own Board of Education,¹ while the Wesleyans established their own training college at Westminster in 1851. Although the building of schools continued to claim the attention of all the interested factions, it was evident that they were concentrating more and more on the problem of teacher supply, for they were well aware that their efforts to purvey their own particular brand of education to the masses were bound to fail unless their schools were manned by the appropriate type of teacher.

It is perhaps fair to say that the bulk of the educational activity that went on in Wales at the beginning of our period had its origin in London. Wales was nothing more than a mere adjunct of England - a distant province which could lay claim to no special treatment; it had no focal point; it had no central authority; what public money there was for education was distributed by the two religious societies with headquarters in the metropolis; it was here that all important pronouncements were made; it was here that the business of education was conducted. Yet, thanks to the good offices of several Welshmen who lived there and who had the cause of the Principality at heart, Wales was given its fair share of consideration by the London authorities. Many of these people

1. They trained their teachers first at Rotherhithe and Finsbury and later (1851) at Homerton.

had attained positions of eminence and were able therefore to influence those who controlled educational policy. Their enthusiasm for any undertaking that was calculated to ameliorate conditions in Wales can perhaps be partly attributed to the fact that people are generally fonder of their native country when residing outside its confines. Again, these Welshmen probably represented the more progressive element of the Welsh community; indeed, perhaps the very fact that they had left Wales was indicative of this. Living in London, they would assuredly be subjected to influences which never obtained in a country predominantly rural. Without doubt, Wales was much indebted to her London Welshmen in those days, and their contribution to her educational well-being has perhaps not been fully appreciated even today.

Yet, even without the prompting and persuasion of these Welshmen, the various educational agencies, in all probability regarded the developing of Welsh education as an attractive proposition, albeit for very different reasons. With its typically missionary zeal the National Society, armed with the government grant, saw in Wales its best prospect of expanding the influence of the Church. The British and Foreign Schools Society and the Congregational Union, in contrast, each felt that Wales with its predominantly nonconformist population, was admirably suited for the kind of education which they were

advocating for the schools. Thus the ready co-operation and sympathy of the London authorities, backed by the enthusiasm of London Welshmen may largely account for that wave of interest in educational matters which swept the country in the early 40's. This of course, is not to imply that Welshmen did not address themselves to the problem before this time. There belongs to every era a considerable number of people who devote their lives to worthy principles, but, more often than not, when they are not supported by some body or organisation, their efforts must remain isolated and ineffective.

The two religious societies, convinced that Wales merited special treatment, and that men of Welsh origin would be the most capable of furthering their policies, formed their own sub-committees to deal with developments in the Principality. The National Society delegated its work in Wales to the Welsh Education Committee. Formed in July, 1846, under the presidency of the Earl of Powys, it was composed¹ of men "connected with the Principality by property or residence". In the same year,

1. National Society Report, 1847 p.6. Others on the Committee were the Marquis of Camden, Earl of Harrowby, Bishops of London, Winchester, Chester, Hereford, St. Asaph, Bangor, St. David's and Llandaff: Lord Dynevor, Sir Thomas Phillips and Hon. Henry Bruce.

at the instigation of Hugh Owen, the Cambrian Education Society, full¹ of London Welshmen, "y rhai a ewyllysiant gyfranu i'w Cydwladwyr y wybodaeth sydd wedi profi mor fanteisiol iddynt eu hunain", was established to further the cause of the British and Foreign Schools Society. Indeed, Hugh Owen, who was himself its first secretary, was well aware that the newly formed society would be far more capable than the parent body of dealing with Welsh affairs. "Bydd y Gymdeithas", he wrote², "wedi ei ffurfio yn fwriadol er mwyn Cymru feddu honiadau grymysach am gynorthwy ar Dir-feddianwyr y Dywysogaeth nac un o nodwedd fwy cyffredinol".

Both the societies had concerned themselves with Wales before they formed their respective satellite committees. The National Society had started to conduct its own enquiry into the state of church education there in 1845 and, no doubt, the establishing of the Welsh Education Committee was the direct result of its findings. Two years prior to this, the rival society had appointed John Phillips, a Methodist minister from Mold, as an agent to encourage and organise the setting up of British schools in North Wales. Moreover, the Congregationalist Union, flying the flag of voluntaryism, was also in the field; after a deputation had visited Carmarthen, Merthyr Tydfil and

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1. Y Drysorfa 1846, p.308; the Society's Vice Presidents were Lord Mostyn; Hon.H.O.Stanley, M.P; William Bulkeley Hughes, M.P.; Sir John Walsham. The Committee had among its members Dr.Bevan, Gruffydd Davies,F.R.S., Dr. David Lewis and Robert Forster.
 2. Y Drysorfa 1845, p.310.

other populous centres in South Wales, it was resolved to hold a meeting at Llandovery in April, 1845. An attempt was made to embrace all the nonconformist denominations and the promoters of the venture left no doubt as to their earnestness. As they stated in the Welsh periodicals;¹ "Yr ydys yn bwriadu galw ynghyd gynadledd gyffredinol o gynrychiolwyr dros yr holl enwadau efengylaidd yn Neheudir Cymru i'r diben o ymgynghori ar y dulliau gorau o ddarparu moddion addysg ar gyfer ein gwlad enedigol. Y mae yn eithaf amlwg mai yr unig ffordd effeithiol i gael ysgolion da yn y gwahanol gymydogaeithau yn Nghymru, yn enwedig yn y wlad, yw trwy gydweithrediad ffyddlon a gwrol yr holl enwadau crefyddol yn y gwaith. Ac yr ydys yn credu y byddai cyfarfod o'r fath a soniwyd o'r dynnion doethaf a duwiolaf o bob enw yn debyg o ddwyn effeithiau hyfryd a helaeth".

Here, at Llandovery, prominent London Welshmen were again much in evidence and the movement must have gained further impetus from the presence there of Henry Richard and Robert Ainslie of the Congregational Board.²

With the three promoters of elementary education thus poised for the struggle, uneven though it was, to gain the support of the Welsh people, the situation became vitiated by publication in 1847 of the Commissioners' Report on the State of Education in Wales. It gave rise to passions which in the end did nothing but delay and impede the growth of popular education. As so often happens, owing to the persistent

1. e.g. Y Drysorfa, Mawrth, 1845.

2. Y Diwygiwr, 1845, p.159.

prejudices and uncompromising attitudes of the chosen leaders, the interests of those very people, in whose name and for whose sake philanthropic movements are launched, are allowed to recede into the background. Thus, in Wales, at this time the ordinary people were relegated to the role of innocent observers, while, over their heads, the battle of sectarianism was waged without relent. As will be seen later, the line of demarcation between the various religious sects was nothing like as pronounced as some of the leaders of public opinion would have us believe.

Teacher training now became a paramount theme in the policies of the various vested interests, with each of them adopting very different lines of approach in its attempt to meet the requirements. Indeed, a close study of their efforts to provide training facilities throws some light on their views on education in general. At the Llandovery conference, where the Reverend Henry Griffiths, president of Brecon Congregationalist College, read a paper on "Some peculiarities on the present state of Wales and on the training of teachers specially for the Principality", it was resolved,¹ "that a Normal School for Wales be forthwith established for the training of teachers expressly for the Principality". The desirability for founding a normal school in Wales itself was further emphasised by the promoters

1. Report of Congregationalist Union, 1845, p.42.

of the scheme in the monthly periodicals;¹ "Yr ydym yn daer yn deisyf arnoch i ystyried na ellir codi dysgeidiaeth gwlad byth ond gan ei brodorion ei hun, ac y mae pob ffaith sydd ar gôf a chadw yn hanes addysg teyrnasoedd yn dangos fod yn rhaid wedi dechreuad y gwaith i gorff yr athrawon gael eu codi yn eu gwlad eu hunain y mae angen mawr Cymru am athrawon yn galw yn uchel am ysgol yn Nghymru". The same sentiment was expressed by the Reverend Henry Griffiths when he stated² his views on behalf of the Commissioners of Enquiry: "Our care should be directed at first to the proper training of masters and mistresses. They could then be scattered through the country as so many missionaries they should be natives and trained in Wales."

Surely, it would appear only logical that the proposed institution should be situated in the Principality. The pointed references to its location can be fully understood only when we consider the proposals which had been made elsewhere. Hugh Owen, the champion of state aid, in his famous letter³ to the Welsh people, in August, 1843 had suggested that Welsh teachers should be trained in the British and Foreign Schools Society's college at Borough Road, in London, a policy which he

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1. Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd 1845, p.345.
 2. Commissioners' Report, Vol.2, p.115.
 3. Y Drysorfa, Hydref, 1843, p.294-5.

attempted to support on both financial and educational grounds. In this, the promoters of the Llandovery conference were on a sounder footing, for not only did a college in Wales appear to be a saner policy educationally, but it also had the advantage of having a greater appeal to national sentiment. Although Hugh Owen showed no animosity towards the venture, yet, after wishing the conference success, he uttered a word of warning "Mae y Board" he wrote,¹ "yn perthyn i enwad neilltuo! o grefyddwyr ac mewn canlyiad o dan anfantais i berswadio yr amrywiol enwadau i gydweithredu yn yr achos yma; Yn y lle nesaf mae y Board wedi ei rhwymo draed a llaw fel na allant roddi cymaint a swllt tuag at adeiladu Ysgoldy y byddo y Llywodraeth yn rhoddi cynorthwy tuag ato." Here, he was near the mark, for he was already exposing those very weaknesses which were to contribute so much to the failure of the project.

As a result of the Llandovery meeting, Brecon, a town of Tory sympathies and Anglican influences, was selected as the site of the proposed college. Conceivably, even in those days, its chances of success might have been greater had it been located in the heart of the industrial area rather than some twenty miles to the north of it. There, it would have been able to

1. Y Drysorfa, 1845, p.114-5; "Rhwydd hynt i'r brodyr! Derbyniad croesawus a gaffo y deputation gan fy nghydwladyr. Dengys y Board eu hewyllus da i ni trwy anfon Deputation i'n plith".

identify itself more closely with that class of society which it hoped to benefit and from which it intended to draw its candidates for admission. Moreover, its physical presence in their midst might well have induced the people to subscribe more liberally towards its upkeep. But, to modern eyes, the siting of all the training colleges in Wales in the last century presents an odd picture. Whereas the founders of the various institutions acted in all good faith, the tragedy is that the circumstances governing their decision did not obtain for long, and perhaps inevitably plans and schemes for erecting establishments of a permanent nature quickly incur the criticism of succeeding generations. Thus, on this occasion, it appears¹ that one of the factors which governed the choice of location was the proximity of the Brecon and Trefecca denominational academies, the staffs of which, it was envisaged, would be able to exercise close supervision of the general administration of the college. Moreover, Brecon in those days, as the gateway to South Wales, was considered to be the most convenient and accessible place for prospective candidates from the north. Evidently, the promoters were sanguine that their college would have a national appeal to nonconformists, and with this in view it was christened 'The Normal College for Wales'.

The story of this ill fated venture illustrates the disastrous effect which voluntaryism had upon the progress of Welsh education in the last century. The college, opened on

1. Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd, 1845, p.245

January 1st, 1846, with Evan Davies¹ a graduate of Glasgow University as its first principal, had but modest beginnings. Housed in army barracks, there were only ten students on the books in the first year. Between them they represented four religious denominations and the authorities regarded this as a healthy sign, for they wanted their institution to embrace all elements outside the Church of England. At the outset, it was financed from various sources; the Congregational and Wesleyan Boards gave £75 each towards renovating the building with a promise of grants of £50 each annually thereafter; many individuals, including Henry Richard, M.P., William Williams, M.P. and Hugh Owen gave handsome donations, while the British and Foreign Schools Society provided books and other materials.² Before the college was five months old, however, the Committee was divided on the question of whether it should accept state aid. After the matter had been left in abeyance for an uneasy year, a meeting of subscribers held at Brecon on September 23rd, 1847 resolved that 'means be adopted to obtain the necessary funds

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1. Evan Davies (1826-72) born at Gelli, Llanygrwys, Carms.; educated at Ffrwd-y-Fâl and afterwards at Bristol. Graduated at Glasgow in 1842 and in 1858 took his LL.D. From 1852 to 1857 Davies continued the Swansea college as a private venture school. In 1867 the school was taken over by Dan Isaac Davies. In that year Davies turned to the law and became a partner in a legal firm. Dictionary of Welsh Biography.
 2. The B. and F.S.S. were well disposed. Evan Davies was admitted to Borough Road as a student for a short while to learn the business of teacher training.

and secure a proper building for the normal school, which shall be vested in Trustees selected from all denominations for the joint use of such denominations for ever, for the purpose of exclusively voluntary education for teachers'.¹ Land for the erection of this building was bought at Pantygwydr, one mile from the centre of Swansea, but owing to financial difficulties the building was never proceeded with. The college eventually moved (at the end of 1848) into damp and squalid premises in Rutland Place, Swansea. There it languished for a few years until the promoters abandoned it in 1851. By now, the English Congregational and Wesleyan Boards had withdrawn their support - so voluntaryism had failed at the source.

Once the question of state aid had been raised in the college committee a storm of controversy raged in South Wales. We read of one public meeting held in Swansea being adjourned at midnight and resuming at 9.0 a.m. on the following day.² It was the time of the Commissioners' Report and, no doubt, feelings ran high in Wales against the government, for the people identified it with the Church and the English Language. This is seen time and again in the writings of the leading voluntaryists.³

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1. Swan Magazine (1902) History of a Normal College for Wales (David Salmon).
 2. "One of the largest and most exciting meetings ever held in Swansea". Swansea and Glamorgan Herald, Jan. 1849.
 3. e.g. Ieuan Gwynedd, David Rees and Samuel Roberts.

Their cause therefore took on a national complexion and this probably explains why voluntarism was still strong in South Wales when it was showing signs of weakening in England. But in the early years, the voluntary cause was being very vociferously championed across the border, and the attitude of their English friends could not have failed to strengthen the determination of the Welsh to resist at all points the government's interference in education. "We Congregationalists", said Andrew Read¹, "must pass through the furnace to become worthy of success. The educational struggle is our battlefield. I look upon Normal Schools as a Thermopylae, where a few brave hearts may rally and succeed in repulsing from the free territory the encroachment of a powerful host. And I rejoice that we are not without a Leonidas". These were strong sentiments, strongly expressed, which would arouse enthusiasm if nothing else.

The impracticability of the voluntary principle in Wales was evident to all except to its most dedicated adherents. Wales was relatively a poor country where the ordinary people had for many generations supported their chapels, their Sunday

1. Crosby Hall Lectures IV, p.136 (Leonidas is probably Edward Baines, owner of the Leeds Mercury, and a leading voluntarist).

schools and their denominational academies. And this was almost too much for them.¹ It was this constant burden which perhaps made the Welsh people seem ungenerous in their donations to new undertakings. As one writer stated,² if the 1200 Nonconformist chapels in Wales had contributed half a guinea each to the college at Swansea, it would have been an "addurn o wirfoddoliaeth". The surprising fact is that the voluntaryists, many of whom were ministers of religion, aware of the straitened circumstances of their chapel members, were confident that they could bring their schemes to successful fruition. It is evident that the magnitude of the task of establishing a nation wide system of education which would benefit the great mass of the working class entirely eluded them. In particular they failed to see that only vastly more attractive salary scales could produce the steady stream of teachers on whom the success of such a scheme depended. Ministers of religion, themselves

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1. "I have no faith in the voluntary principle at best, with the broad fact staring me in the face, that Independent chapels in Wales are in many cases unfit for the worship of God, that many of them are deeply in debt, that many of those which are free have been paid for by English liberality....I cannot, I say, confide in the ability or willingness of the people to provide for the education of my countrymen. But, my Lord, my case does not rest there merely; think of their own chosen pastors, how niggardly they are paid. A man who gets 20/- a week is indeed an envied man among them..I am not very far from the mark when I say that 12/- per week is a fair average of the salaries received by Welsh Independent ministers in the North". Letter by E.G.Salisbury to the Hon. Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord President of the Council, London, 1849.
 2. Y Drysorfa, 1851, p.10.

notoriously illpaid, and voluntaryists,¹ accustomed to regard the schoolmaster as belonging to an even lowlier station, were blind to the need for higher salaries for teachers. Small wonder, then, that they should prove unable to implement any worthwhile scheme of teacher training, and that in the eyes of the state-aiders their proposals would do nothing more than touch on the fringe of the problem.

In contrast, it is interesting to note the attitude of the state-aiders towards the status of the schoolmaster. They were aware that the educational problem had to be tackled at the root, and that the Welsh people deserved something better than what had been offered to them in the past, - half educated and therefore cheap schoolmasters. Dr. David Charles, Principal of Trefecca Calvinistic Methodist College, wrote² forcibly in this connection; "Must the honourable company, the teachers of Wales", he asked, "be for ever doomed to a scanty pittance degrading to their office, vexatious and discouraging to themselves and barely sufficient to furnish them with the merest perquisites of life? I answer, no, emphatically no. That inestimable band is too highly prized, the character of Welsh education is too greatly respected to be satisfied with the state of things as they have hitherto existed."

1. "Let us not forget that the teachers of Wales must not be paid large salaries more than the ministers of Wales. Ieuan Gwynedd, The Principality, June 9, 1845.

2. *ibid.*

It is evident that the two factions had widely differing conceptions of the task which confronted them. The state aiders, holding broad expansive and realistic views, knew that what they had in view as a system of education could not possibly be financed from private sources, and the voluntaryist standpoint, must have appeared to them to be ill conceived and impractical.

Certain members of the Swansea college committee were very sensitive in the early days to the risks involved in trying to sustain the place by voluntary means. The precarious benevolence of the Welsh nation was soon brought home to them, for in the second year of the college's life, public subscription was only 31% of that of the first year, and it fell to only 13% in the third year.¹ The Reverend Henry Griffiths, secretary of the college, who was the first to see the impossibility of carrying on without government aid, was vehemently attacked in the press by the Reverend David Rees,² a member of the committee and a firm believer in the voluntary cause. "It

1. David Salmon, op.cit. 1902.

2. David Rees (1801-69) Born at Trelech, Carms. Educated at a school in Haverfordwest and later at the Gwynedd Congregational Academy at Newtown, Montgomeryshire. Ordained at Capel Als, Llanelli in 1829. He founded four new congregational chapels at Llanelli and was one of the pillars of his denomination. Appointed as first editor of Y Diwygiwr in 1835. He held this office for 30 years. Dictionary of Nat.Biography.

is evident", he wrote,¹ "to all who listen to the rumours of the day, and read the columns of the Principality that you are virtually charged with being a traitor to your country, a renegade from your principles and a betrayer of the confidence reposed in you". Writing in this vein was characteristic of many voluntaryists, with the pattern probably set by their chief progagonist, the Reverend Evan Jones, (Ieuan Gwynedd), a nonconformist minister from Tredegar. When William Williams, the M.P. for Coventry generously offered £500 to the college on condition that it would accept government aid, the offer drew this virulent comment² from Ieuan Gwynedd; "Un gair am bum can punt Mr.Coventry Williams. Pwy a'u derbyn? A oes neb a gymer drugaredd arno? Maent yn dan ysol yn ei logell. Daeth yn unswydd i'w cynnig yn Abertawe ond nid oes neb yn eu derbyn, a bydd melltith ei wlad ar goppa walltog y neb a gyffyrddo a hwy". As this quotation shows, the voluntaryist appeal was generally an emotional one and in all their pronouncements we failed to find a single well considered statement which indicated the way in which they intended to find the funds necessary to finance their projects.

There can be little doubt that their activities wrecked the first venture to set up a nonconformist training college in

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1. The Principality, Jan.23, 1848.
 2. Y Traethodydd, 1850, p.108.

Wales. Had such an institution, supported alike by all sects, been successfully established at Swansea at this time, many regions in South Wales would have had the benefit of efficient schools with competent masters without having to wait for the Board Schools in the 70's. In general, the educational tragedy of the last century was that those who took the large, progressive view¹ were denounced as nothing more than misguided leaders, unfaithful to their traditions and to their language.

Uninhibited by the considerations which impelled Welsh nonconformists to refuse state aid and spared the disunity which impeded their rivals' progress, Churchmen in the Principality were purposefully going ahead with their plans. The activities of the Welsh Education Committee aroused a lively interest among Churchmen everywhere, and large enthusiastic meetings, led to the establishment of diocesan boards of education in Llandaff, Brecon and St. David's. From the outset, the Committee realised² that educational progress could be

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1. Note this statement by Henry Griffiths "Y peth sydd arnom eisiau yw National University yng Nghymru. Pa galon na neidiai o orfoledd yn yr olwg ar hyn? Rhodder i ni hyn, fel y gwneir i bob rhan arall o'r deyrnas; ac yr wyf yn credu yn gadarn, y byddwn mewn ychydig o flynyddau yn alluog i ennill i ni ein hunain fel cenedl sefyllfa anrhydeddus ymhlith y blaenaf o genedloedd Ewrop Nid oes dim ar ein ffordd on ein rhagfarn a'n penboethder ein hunain". Y Traethodydd, 1849, p.434.
 2. National Society Report, 1847, p.6.

attained only if three primary needs were satisfied, adequate buildings, a steady supply of properly qualified teachers, and the necessary funds to pay them. In the first eighteen months of its existence the Committee dealt with no fewer than 72 applications for help to establish Church schools. In many cases, the school plans included dormitories for pupil teachers, for by now the Minutes of 1846, which instituted the pupil teacher system were in force. This was often a necessity as many of those who became pupil teachers were either orphans or lived a long way from the schools, but in any case, it was a commendable policy, for young pupil teachers would derive great benefit from being in permanent contact with their teachers. But the task of setting up Church schools generally presented a more difficult problem in Wales than it did in England. Here, many of the landed gentry did not reside locally, the wages of the labouring classes were lower, and the incomes of the clergy were far less adequate. Moreover, the Church's efforts were carried on against a background of resentment and suspicion, particularly in those early years, for the main mass of the population were nonconformists who identified the schools with the government and the upper stratum of society.

The Committee also addressed itself to the question of teacher remuneration, but it was soon relieved of any responsibility in this connection, for the Minutes of 1846^d stipulated that competent teachers would obtain a third of their

salaries from public sources. This, we learn¹, was "the very plan contemplated by the Welsh Education Committee". That the committee concerned itself from the beginning with the question of teachers' salaries is an indication that they were approaching the educational problem in a realistic fashion, for it was useless to contemplate any scheme of teacher training without making the profession relatively attractive.

The National Society had adopted a scheme of engaging what were termed as 'organising masters', who were to move around the several church schools giving the teachers instruction in school organisation and teaching methods. Two such masters, under the jurisdiction of the Welsh Education Committee, were allocated to the Principality, one in the south and one in the north.² This was a temporary expedient whereby maximum benefit could be extracted from limited resources. These masters, in the full employment of the Committee, conducted 'harvest schools' in the various dioceses during the vacations. Such gatherings were strongly encouraged by the Welsh Committee and substantial grants were made to the diocesan boards of education to defray the expenses of the teachers who attended.³ Designed

1. *ibid.* p.7.

2. National Society Report, 1858, p.14.

3. Welsh Education Committee, Minutes 21/4/39; St. Asaph received £100; St. David's £50; Llandaff £50.

by the authorities to improve the quality of the teaching of those people who had not received anything but the most meagre of training, these meetings, afforded a rare opportunity for teachers to discuss matters of common interest and it is conceivable that the development of a professional consciousness had its beginnings in these 'harvest schools'.

The activities of the Welsh Education Committee were financed from the Welsh Fund which was initiated by the National Society with a gift of £1000¹ "for the purpose of paying wholly or in part for the training of fit and proper persons at the various existing Church Training Institutions with a view to placing them in charge of important schools in manufacturing and mining districts in the Principality". Thus in 1847, at the instigation of the Committee, thirteen men and eleven women entered English colleges 'for the express purpose of being placed in charge of schools in Wales'. This was a practice which was continued in the following year,² although by that time it had been decided to establish a college in Wales. The Committee could now devote its entire attention to this project, for, thanks to the government Minutes of August and December, 1846, it had been relieved to a large extent of the financial burden involved in setting up schools. Whereas the policy of

1. National Society Report, 1847, p.7.

2. Welsh Education Committee, Minutes 14/11/48; £130 was paid for four Welsh Exhibitions at Battersea.

sending Welsh students to training colleges in England might have commended itself to the National Society, the Welsh Committee, with its special responsibility for Wales, must have regarded it, at best, as a temporary measure. Thus "they came to the conclusion that the youth of Wales would be best trained at home, especially in those habits of self denial so valuable in teachers of the poor; and that foundations in the country for which teachers were to be prepared would exercise, not only in the persons taught, but also on the gentry and clergy around them, abiding influences which could not be expected to spring from training supplied to individual teachers in establishments placed at a distance from their own homes".¹

This was an enlightened attitude, but, as we shall see later, it was absolutely contrary to the views held by Hugh Owen who missed no opportunity of deriding any education that was received outside the metropolis. Churchmen were fired by an enthusiasm inevitably associated with a party which is in the minority. The Nonconformists by comparison were lackadaisical and they failed to bring the same urgency to bear upon their operations. Moreover, the Welsh Education Committee was motivated by a missionary zeal, which was altogether absent from the nonconformist approach to education - to Churchmen, schools and colleges were agencies for propagating their own

1. National Society Report, 1856, p.XIX.

particular brand of religion. This can be plainly seen in the approach made by Sir Thomas Phillips, a member of the committee, to the S.P.C.K. for financial support in aid of the proposed college. "Public attention", he wrote,¹ "has of late been anxiously directed to the position of the Church in the Principality and to the very large proportion of the people who have forsaken her services and joined themselves to other religious bodies of whom some are now seeking to disturb her possessions and deprive her of the character of a National Church. The thoughtful friends of the Church best acquainted with the Principality have long been convinced that the only hope of restoring the influence of the Church or even maintaining her present position in that country must rest upon the establishment of good schools, wherein religious instruction in accordance with the formularies of the Church should be given by teachers, fitly prepared for the task ... Above all, no means existed for supplying natives of the country with suitable training for the work to be committed by them as teachers of the children of the poor." It is evident that education meant much more to some people than it did to others.

Although, from the beginning, it was envisaged that there should be two colleges, one for the north and one for the south, the authorities, no doubt, felt that an institution of this kind

1. Welsh Education Committee, Minutes 7/12/48.

would have a greater chance of success in the more populous areas; students' travelling costs would be kept down to a minimum, and again, schools in rural districts would not be large enough to serve as model schools, an essential adjunct to all training colleges in those days. Consequently South Wales was given preference and Carmarthen was selected as the site, for it was at once close to the industrial areas and to Abergwili, the residence of the Bishop of St. David's who would exercise¹ 'episcopal superintendence' over the college. Since, in fact, the main influx of population was to the valleys of East Glamorgan and Monmouthshire rather than to West Glamorgan and Carmarthenshire, the second consideration must, have carried more weight than the first. It would appear that there was an unanswerable case for establishing the college in the diocese of Llandaff, and it is safe to assume that the bishop of that diocese would be the main protagonist of such a development. When all the relevant facts have been considered, issues of this nature are often settled in a manner completely contrary to logical expectation. In this instance, so strong, in retrospect, does the claim of Llandaff appear to be, that we must regard the skill with which the two bishops pleaded their respective causes and, more important, the impact which their personalities made on the people in whose hands the decision lay, as the

1. National Society Report, 1847, p.8.

determining factors. Bishop Thirlwall, we know, was a strong personality, dedicated to the advancement of the Church in elementary education, a man who never failed to attend the meetings of the Welsh Education Committee and who was, moreover, the dominating influence in most of its affairs. The Bishop of Llandaff, on the other hand, rarely succeeded in getting his name quoted in the minutes and he appears to have played no prominent part in the Committee's deliberations. The latter certainly suffered by comparison, and there is no doubt that in this instance the stronger case had the weaker advocate. Rebuffed as he was by the Welsh education Committee, the Bishop of Llandaff in the ensuing years, showed, as will be seen later, very little interest in Carmarthen College, although it was entitled the 'South Wales and Monmouthshire Training College',¹ and designed to serve both diocese. As it was situated beyond the fringe of the industrial belt the college found itself geographically at a disadvantage, and the Welsh Education Committee had ample reason to reflect ruefully on the action it had endorsed.

The foundation stone of Carmarthen College was laid by the Bishop of St. David's on July 16th, 1847, and the institution, capable of housing 60 students was formally opened on October 24th, in the following year.

1. After the opening of Caerleon Training College in 1914 'Monmouthshire' was dropped from the title; after the dedication of the new chapel at the college in 1931, it became known as 'Trinity College'.

But Churchmen were also active elsewhere. A year or two prior to the establishment of the college at Carmarthen a small band of enthusiasts under the guidance of the Reverend Thomas Thomas, vicar of Caernarvon, had interested themselves in the provision of elementary education. Well aware that teacher supply was crucial to the furtherance of their plans, the Committee of the National School approached the Committee of Council with a view to providing funds for the setting up of a model school in the town. Indeed, the memorial speaks of a 'training department' as though it was already established. It mentions the difficulties facing education in Wales; scarcity of schoolmasters due to low salaries; the existence of two languages, and the need for providing teachers for the small rural schools. These people were obviously sensitive to local needs and even though their outlook may have been parochial, they were, nevertheless imbued with the same earnestness and devotion as those who wished to tackle the problem on a national scale.

Since the National Society appeared to be devoting the whole of its energies to the founding of Carmarthen college, it is probable that those responsible for the Caernarvon venture felt that North Wales was being neglected and that they were being cold-shouldered by the parent organisation. Understandably, the National Society in the first instance, directed its attention to that area where the problem was most

pressing and so South Wales where the great influx of population would warrant schools large enough to serve as model schools, was given priority. Yet the National Society was not unmindful of its responsibilities to the Principality as a whole. In its Report (1848) it stipulated that another college was to be built in the north and that in the meantime pupils from that part of the country could be advantageously accommodated at Carmarthen "where they will be trained in a manner adapted to the peculiar wants and circumstances of the Principality".¹ The Welsh Education Committee was always ready to help North Wales students to proceed for training to National Society institutions in England. Thus, we learn that thirty one students had received exhibitions for this purpose in 1847. It was a process which was to continue into the fifties, and the Diocese of Bangor was annually allocated grants to enable its students to go outside the diocese for their education.² Nothing could be more calculated to discourage the struggling institution at Caernarvon than that its potential students should be enticed in this way by the Welsh Education Committee to undertake their training elsewhere.

Ignored by the Welsh Education Committee, the local enthusiasts were to encounter opposition from another quarter,

1. National Society Report, 1848, p.7.

2. Welsh Education Committee, Minutes 5/8/53; of the 15 who received grants that year, 10 elected to go to Carmarthen.

and that perhaps not unexpectedly - from the National Society's college at Carmarthen. Not wishing to see a rival college set up in the north, the principal, Canon William Reed "a good type of the fine old English gentleman",¹ tendered his advice to the Bangor Diocesan Board on the subject of founding a college at Caernarvon. In complete opposition to the stated views of the National Society, he declared himself in favour of one big college for the whole of Wales, and with Carmarthen already established, there was no doubt in anybody's mind where the Canon intended that that college should be. "I have ever felt", he wrote,² "that two training schools for masters in Wales at this time would endanger the success of both. It is comparatively easy to erect a building, but to sustain it when erected as a training school, of this I can truly say 'hic labor, hoc opus est'. A small training school will eventually be found a dear experiment. The class of persons for whom these institutions are designed cannot pay the expenses of their education, and those expenses must, therefore, fall in a great measure on the resources of the managing body. If the students are numerous, the small sums they can pay tend to diminish the expenses of the management, but, if few, these sums are as a drop in the current

1. Carmarthen College Magazine, 1950.

2. North Wales Chronicle, 10.8.1850.

expenditure. One large institution, therefore, is a great economy with respect to current expenditure in comparison with two small ones. But let us review all the consequences of building a training school for North Wales.

- 1) There must be capital sunk in building to the amount of £4,000 or £5,000.
- 2) There must be provision made for at least two masters.
- 3) There must be a sum set aside for assisting students in training.
- 4) There must be a staff of servants maintained for conducting the institution and provision made for boarding the students and educating them.

I understand that £200 per annum is placed by the Welsh Education Committee at the disposal of the Diocese of Bangor for training purposes. This sum will educate for that diocese nearly twenty masters, which probably in the long run will go far to supply the wants of the diocese. Our terms are £21 per annum, which covers all expenses, books inclusive. Here then is a financial advantage, which you cannot rival or obtain by building for yourselves. When I wrote to the Bishop on the subject, the objection raised to training here was the difficulty of access between North and South Wales. I have a student from Ruthin. He walks up and down in two days, and his travelling expenses are less than six shillings".

No apology is made for quoting at such length from Canon Reed's letter, for it sets out quite clearly the financial implications which faced the promoters of new training colleges in those days. He could, perhaps have stated the educational advantages which students would derive from going far afield, outside their own native environment to seek training, but he probably felt that stressing the financial hazards which the Caernarvon committee would have to meet was the surest way of dissuading it from carrying out its intentions. In this he seems to have overplayed his hand, for in his assessment of the financial position he omitted to mention the part that the government would play, under the Minutes of 1846, in relieving the college of much of its monetary burdens. But the Caernarvon committee was well aware that the principal of Carmarthen was not disinterested in his proposal, and consequently it was not easily diverted from its plan.

The announcement of the National Society's intention of setting up two colleges in Wales resulted in a marked decrease in private subscription to the Caernarvon institution and placed its committee in dire straits. Nor could its administrators hope to have much aid from the Bangor Diocesan Board, which agreed at its August meeting in 1849 that "all attempts to establish a training school on the model of that

in South Wales should be postponed until that at Carmarthen has been fully tested". The Diocesan Board probably felt that a training college should be the responsibility of the diocese as a whole and not that of a small group of individuals. These delaying tactics were straws in the wind, and when the National Society made a grant of £200 to the Caernarvon venture, the Diocesan Board went as far as to suggest¹ that this money from the Welsh Fund should be handed over to the two North Wales dioceses rather than to the Caernarvon committee. This grant from the National Society enabled Caernarvon to build a lecture room and to appoint a principal. It was no longer a National school training intending teachers, but a training institution with its own management committee. Yet it was another six years before the college was recognised by the National Society and by the Committee of Council on Education as a fit place to receive Queen's Scholars. Although the Welsh Education Committee increased its grant² to the new college, the slow progress it made towards reaching full status can be attributed to the lukewarm attitude of the diocesan boards and to the financial position in which the committee of management found itself. Every training institution had to provide residential accommodation for its students and this Caernarvon just could not afford. Indeed, Canon Reed had

1. Welsh Education Committee, Minutes 21/4/49.

2. *ibid.* 2/6/52; The annual grant was £350 after 1852.

acquainted them with his views¹ on 'boarding out' as early as 1850. In any case, the committee must have been aware that billeting students with Welsh speaking Dissenting landladies was not the best training for teachers intended for Church schools in Wales!.

Gradually, however, the Diocesan Board relented in its attitude towards the college; the bishops of the two northern dioceses began to visit the place; a more broadly based committee was elected to administrate (with the bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph as co-chairman) and on its recognition by the National Society it became known under its new title, the 'North Wales Training College', with residential accommodation for forty three students, thanks to a grant of £2,500 from the Society.²

In this very year (1856) ironically enough, the Society's college at Carmarthen was passing through a trying period. Student numbers were dropping; the financial outlook was bleak; the principal's contract with the authority was

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1. North Wales Chronicle 10.8.1850; "Let me say one word on attempting to train young men who are allowed to board out. If you attempt it, your attempt will be a failure. You will fail in producing the character you require. Discipline and self control is the grand basis of education. The business of the schoolmaster is to infuse his own character into his pupils. I have no confidence that he will imbibe any character worth having unless he is trained within walls and removed from temptation till principles are engrafted and strengthened within him. Edinburgh and the medical colleges in London ought to open your eyes to evils of instructions without residence."
 2. Welsh Education Committee, Minutes 8/6/55; the annual grant was now increased to £600.

terminated and the college passed from the hands of the Welsh Education Committee to that of a local board.

In his inspector's report of that year, the Reverend Frederick Temple had this to say¹; "The only practising school with which I am acquainted that can be called a model is that at Caernarvon. In that case, however, the elementary school is very large, and the training college very small; the elementary school is the older, and the college has been attached to it, and not it to the college. These circumstances have made the case exceptional". In this respect, the development of the college was unique. As we have seen, it received its stimulus from a local effort. Had it been the concern of men drawn from a wider area and therefore open to wider influences, it is conceivable that they would have realised from the outset, that such an institution, situated as it was in a rural community, would be faced with almost insurmountable difficulties in its effort to survive, let alone to prosper. Whether the decision of the National Society to give it its blessing and to take it under its wing was a wise one will be considered in due course.

It is fair to say that the National Society's approach to solving the problem of elementary education in Wales was far more realistic than that of the British and Foreign Schools Society. Whereas the former realised from the beginning that an adequate supply of trained and efficient teachers was central

1. Report of Com.of Co., 1856-7, p.698.

to any national educational scheme, the British and Foreign Schools Society concentrated its efforts on establishing schools without ensuring that there would be teachers to man them. As we have seen, the Society had appointed John Phillips as its agent for promoting schools in North Wales as early as 1843. The London authorities, no doubt at the instigation of Hugh Owen, considered the northern part of the country to be the more fruitful proposition, for here the Methodists were strong and formed the dominant element of the nonconformist population.¹ That they had been eager to accept state aid from the outset could perhaps be attributed to the fact that they had only relatively recently seceded from the Church of England, and would therefore readily follow the general pattern of Church policy. Moreover, since they possessed the best denominational machinery they could more easily define their attitude and be more articulate in their reaction. Phillips had been a prominent figure in the monthly assemblies of the denomination during his days as a Methodist minister in Mold and his choice as agent for the Society seemed to be a particularly appropriate one. Naturally enough, the furtherance of the cause for which he laboured so assiduously was given every prominence in the deliberations of their meetings. Indeed, the denomination was prepared to set the

1. Horace Mann's 'Report on the census of Religious Worship', 1851, p.136; places of worship in North Wales - C of E 364, Independents 273, Baptists 143, Methodists 324.

whole of its administration at his disposal. Thus at the Bala assembly in June, 1848, it was resolved;¹ "Fod y Gymdeithas hon yn cyflwyno ei diolchgarwch i Gymdeithas Ysgolion Brutanaidd a Thramor am ei sylw caredig a'i gwasanaethgarwch i Gymru; ac i roddi anogaeth i bob Cynulleidfa berthynol i'r Methodistiaid Calfinaidd yng Nghogledd Cymru ynghyd a threfydd Liverpool a Manchester i wneuthur Casgliad Cyhoeddus ar ran y Gymdeithasfa ar y 13ed o Awst nesaf ac i'r casgliadau o bob sir eu dwyn i Gymdeithas Caernarfon". In support of this resolution Phillips himself issued a circular² in which he stated that Welshmen should show generosity towards the British and Foreign Schools Society for the following reasons:

"1. Cywirdeb a chyfaddasrwydd ei hegwyddorion hi.

2. Yr ewyllus da a'r caredigrwydd mawr y mae hi wedi ei ddangos tuag at ein cenedl ni.

3. Gan fod y fath angen am Ysgolion Dyddiol yn ein plith a'r Gymdeithas Frutanaidd yn un mor gyfaddas o ran ei hegwyddorion a'i chynlluniau tuag at gyflenwi yr angen hwnnw, rhesymol ydyw i ni ei phleidio hi yn selog ... doethineb yw i ni ddychwelyd cydnabyddiaeth iddi nid ar air yn unig ond ar weithred hefyd trwy gyfranu tuag at ei thrysorfa hi ... Bydded eich rhoddion yn brawf o'ch zel dros yr achos da hwn".

1. Y Drysorfa, 1848, p.256.

2. J. Phillips MSS. N.L.W. 5479 E

Whereas the Society was quick to capitalise on the favourable circumstances which existed in North Wales, it was extremely cautious and tentative in its approach to the task which faced it in the south. There, voluntaryism was well entrenched and the London authorities did not regard it as a viable proposition to appoint an agent for that area.¹ Yet neither the British and Foreign Schools Society nor Hugh Owen himself were ill disposed towards the voluntaryists for they had shown their goodwill towards the ill fated Brecon college in 1846.² Owen was always trying to arouse all nonconformists, voluntaryists and state-aiders alike, from their indifference by constantly presenting to them the bogey of the Church disseminating its doctrine through its increasing number of schools. "Dylid" he wrote³, "codi Ysgoldai naill ai gyda ai heb help y Llywodraeth Os bydd i'r Ymneilltuwyr arafu yn eu hymdrechion dros godi ysgolion, cofier nad ymarhoa yr Eglwyswyr ddim, ond ant ymlaen yn ddystaw, gan dynu allan o drysorau y Llywodraeth ac adeiladu eu Colegau Normalaidd, a sefydlu eu Hysgolion pleidiol eu hunain". But he did not for a moment believe that voluntaryism would succeed.⁴ Being a business

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1. They appointed Nefydd as an agent in South Wales on a part-time basis in 1853.
 2. B. & F.S.S. Report, 1846, p.16; "It has offered your committee great pleasure to render all the aid in their power to this infant institution and they hastily wish it enlarged success".
 3. Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd, 1847, p.138.
 4. ibid., 1845, p.140.

man, immersed in financial transactions from an early age, he knew that dedication and enthusiasm on the part of its leaders were not enough.

Although he was realistic enough in his attitude towards voluntaryism, his policy of establishing British schools in Wales, without ensuring a constant supply of teachers, is difficult to support. It was his assessment of the true position that seemed to be at fault, for he was not unmindful from the beginning of the need for producing teachers. Indeed, in his "Letter to the Welsh people", he dealt with this very question. "Ni bydd", he claimed "yn werth mynd i'r gost a'r drafferth i godi ysgolion os na ofelir cael athrawon cymhwys i'w cadw, ac nid bob un y mae ganddo wybodaeth ei hun sydd yn addas i addysgu eraill; gwaith gorchestol i ddyn dysgedig yw trosglwyddo ei wybodaeth i blant, gwaith na ddylai neb ymaflyd ynddo heb ragbaratoad tuag ato. Mae yn Llundain ysgol i hyfforddi athrawon yn y Drefn Frutanaidd; sef Normal School y British and Foreign Schools Society (Borough Road) Gellir cael dynion ieuainc cymhwys o Gymru i mewn i'r ysgol hon yn rhad. Byddai yn ofynol iddynt fod yno am rai misoedd i wneuthir eu hunain yn hyddysg yn eu galwedigaeth". Moreover, the Society, ten years later, identified¹, itself with this method of solving the problem and it self-righteously quoted in support no less an authority than Matthew Arnold;

1. B. & F.S.S. Report, 1853, p.11; ~~Arnold said, "And they are not the true friends of the Welsh people who from a romantic interest in their manners and traditions, would impede an event which is socially and politically so~~

"Hence, Mr. Arnold, very properly attaches importance to masters of the Welsh schools being trained in English Normal Colleges. This, your Committee have for many years been encouraging to the utmost of their power", Whether Hugh Owen's statement in 1843 was a reflection of his own thoughts or those of his society we are not certain. It is, however, a fair assumption that the London society was perfectly prepared to be guided in Welsh matters by Hugh Owen and other Anglo Welshmen he had gathered around him in the metropolis. It is perhaps, natural after all that a Welshman who had left home in Anglesey at a tender age and who had achieved eminence in the world of business across the border, should conscientiously believe that it would be of inestimable value to his countrymen if their teachers were trained in London.

Two years after the publication of Owen's Letter to the Welsh people, the activities of the voluntaryists in South Wales which included plans for setting up a training college in the Principality prompted him once more to go to press.¹ We quote from this statement at some length for, written with vehemence and conviction, it sets forth the principles which underlined his thinking at this time. "Mae sefydlu Athrofa (Normal School) yn Nghymru wedi bod o dan sylw y Gymdeithas; ond nid yw yn ymddangos iddi y byddai sefydlu y cyfryw Athrofa yn bresennol mor fuddiol i Gymru a derbyn ei dynion ieuaingc

1. Y Drysorfa, Ebrill, 1845, p.113.

i Athrofa y Gymdeithas yn Llundain. Rhai o'r ystyriaethau a ddygwyd o flaen y Gymdeithas ar y mater yma ydynt. Bod y rhai a dderbynir i'r Athrofa o Gymru yn ddiffygiol eu gwybodaeth yn egwyddorion grammadeg, rhifyddiaeth ac mewn daearyddiaeth, hanesyddiaeth, etc. Yn yr Athrofa yma ceir y manteision gorau i gael addysg. Mae yma ddosbarth i bob gradd o efrydwyr. Mae hefyd mewn cysylltuad a'r Model School a thua 700 o blant ynddi. Ond ni ellir disgwyl pe y sefydlid Athrofa yn Nghymru iddi fod y ddegfed ran mor effeithiol a hon oblegid o ba le y ceid y cannoedd punnau fyddai yn anghenrheidiol i dalu cyflogau yr athrawon. Gan mai Ysgolion Saesonaeg ydyw ein Ysgolion dyddiol yn Nghymru mae o bwys i'r efrydwyr tra yn yr Athrofa gael mantais i arfer siarad yr iaith hono ac i ddyfod yn gyfarwydd a dull y Saeson yn seinio geiriau. Ni all nad ydyw agwedd effro a bywiog yr efrydwyr Saesoneg yn effeithio yn llesol ar ein cydwladwyr yno. Onid oes rhywbeth hefyd yn y dylanwad a berthyn i un a yfo ei wybodaeth yn llygad y ffynnon yn Llundain yn hytrach na'r neb y byddo ei wybodaeth wedi ei chael yn rhyw gwr o Gymru. Pe sefydlid Athrofa yn Nghymru, oni byddai berygl i eiddigedd pleidiol godi yn rhwystr i'w llwydd trwy yn angenrheidrwydd o fod ei phenaeth yn perthyn i ryw enwad crefyddol neillduol? Am gost trafaelio i Lundain, a byw yn yr Athrofa yma, ni all fod o un rheswm o blaid cael Athrofa yn Nghymru oblegid ceir yn yr Athrofa yma ymborth, a llety a golchi ac addysg am chwe

swllt yr wythnos. Am llai na phunt gellir dyfod yma o
Liverpool, Caerleon, Amwythig a Bristol."

Although Owen was obviously swayed here by financial considerations it is doubtful whether these were the prime influences which caused him to object to the setting up of a college in Wales at this time. The British and Foreign Schools Society was hardly in a position to support such a venture, it is true, and the policy of founding a satellite institution so far from London could hardly have commended itself to the Committee. Yet since the Society had already appointed Phillips as an agent to establish British schools it would have been an easy matter to redefine his duties and to direct him to collect funds for promoting a training college in the same district. Indeed it is possible that such a course of action may have had the consideration of the Committee and that it was rejected on the grounds that the public would be less forthcoming in its support of a remote institution than of a local school. But, whereas one has to concede that there were considerable financial difficulties in the way, the policy of the Society was probably determined more by its fundamental outlook on the purpose of education than by anything else. Education was regarded as an essential commodity in the business world and its aim was limited to the production of a corps of efficient and intelligent workers to handle and control the inventions of

the industrial revolution. Self advancement was the goal to strive for, and officialdom was not concerned with the intrinsic value of educating the individual for his own sake. In the age of large monopolies and empire building the Society saw itself as the agency for improving the lot of the Welshmen in a material sense, and to effect this the teaching of English was the keystone; this would enable them to become civil servants, railway clerks, merchants and milk vendors; they would no longer be tied to their native soil, but equipped with the English language, they could compete across the border on equal terms; the existence of the Welsh language was an impediment and a hindrance to the true progress of the Welsh people. In their enthusiasm to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes through the instrumentality of popular education, English benefactors generally failed to give due consideration to national differences. This is not surprising, but there were numerous Welshmen in influential positions who continually belittled their native language and decried its very existence. Among others, the Reverend Kilsby Jones and Hugh Owen were two such people and the latter was proud to announce that British schools in Wales were English schools.¹ This was a view commonly held by Welshmen who believed in the principle of state aid and the British and Foreign Schools Society echoed the same sentiment in its

1. Y Drysorfa, Ebrill, 1845, p.113.

report for 1848.¹ Owen wanted Welsh teachers to be undistinguishable from their English counterparts and the best way to achieve this was to send them to the same training institution and to submit them to the same influences. There they would acquire a desirable accent, and there they would not fail to benefit from the more lively mental attitude which, he claimed, English students possessed. There is little wonder therefore that he disparaged any attempt to provide educational facilities in 'some corner of Wales'. As one of the main champions of the policy of spreading the 'English' system, he failed to recognise that to receive the full benefit of such a system, certain modifications would have to be made. Nor did it occur to him that some special provision was necessary in training teachers for service in the Principality. Hugh Owen was certainly no pioneer in the educational sense, but he did undoubtedly possess drive and energy, qualities he amply demonstrated when, in changed circumstances eleven years later, he realised that a training college would have to be built in Wales.

In the meantime John Phillips was canvassing the Methodists in the six North Wales counties to good effect and his frequent reports to the Society in London bear testimony to the enthusiasm and generosity which that denomination

1. B. & F.S.S. Report, 1848, p.31. "The importance of establishing English schools in Wales can scarcely be over-rated".

showed towards his schemes. In his speeches¹, and in his reports.² prominence is given to the number of schools he had established and to the number which was under construction. The only disturbing element seemed to be that several more schools could have been built but for the shortage of efficient teachers. Indeed, some schools were forced to close on this account.³ The same story was reaching the London authorities from South Wales, where Nefydd was appointed as an agent in 1853. "The want of good teachers", he wrote,⁴ "is a great obstacle in the way of our prosperity now in Wales. Could we have from 20 to 30 certificated teachers, I think we could find comfortable situations for them in South Wales alone."

Disturbing as this position was to both Hugh Owen and the Society, the progress made by the National Society must have exercised their thoughts even more. The Churchmen were better organised for they had been the first in the field; they had more influential people to support their efforts; the clergy and the local squire were always on hand, and the founders of National schools did not have to contend with reluctant landowners whenever sites were required.⁵ There is

1. Amserau Cymru, Oct.1, 1856.

2. B. & F.S.S. Report 1855, p.9-10.

3. The Bangor memorandum (an address published in connection with the proposed college at Bangor) stated that the number of schools was reduced from 120 to 85.

4. N.L.W. Nefydd MSS. XIV Journal, 1855.

5. N.L.W. Nefydd MSS. XIV Journal, 1856.

no doubt that Hugh Owen was perturbed at the way in which the Church set about its business and, if numbers proved anything,¹ it surely appeared incongruous to him that a nation which was so overwhelmingly nonconformist should be obliged through lack of facilities to send its children to Church institutions. What was more, the position was deteriorating, until by 1859, in spite of the efforts of Phillips in the north and Nefydd in the south, the number of British schools in receipt of government grants bore hardly any relationship to that of the Church schools.² In reality, however, as events were to show, the position was neither as hopeless as it may have seemed from the nonconformist point of view nor as impregnable from the standpoint of the Church. The influx of population into the industrial towns of South Wales was doing much to undermine the power of the church and the gentry in the rural areas. The church congregations were on the decline and the national schools in the villages were half empty; nor did many of the churchgoers remain faithful to their persuasion in the new environment. Freed from the domination of their local land-lord, they felt that they had, no longer, as a matter of principle to frequent the place of worship which he patronised.

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1. Compare number of Church schools in Wales in receipt of government grant in Oct. 1849 with the number of British schools; National 157, British 45. Report Com. of Co. 1849-50 p. CLXIV
 2. Church schools 878; British 130: Newcastle Commission Vol. 2 p. 598.

Thus the vast social changes which came in the wake of the industrial revolution did a great deal to weaken the influence of the church, and the erection of church schools, which was in essence a holding operation, could do but little to arrest its decline. Churchmen who came in their thousands to the villages of the south felt the need of association and social contact, and, now that they were released from the shackles of landlord and vicar, they were readily attracted to the more democratic image of the nonconformist chapel. Yet the methodical way in which the National Society set about establishing schools and, in particular, the foresight it displayed in making provision for teacher training at Carmarthen and Caernarvon must have proved unpalatable to Hugh Owen. In complete contradiction to his declared views of training Welsh students in London, here was a London based society setting up colleges in Wales, because it considered it to be the only satisfactory way to meet the situation.

Owen's policy of encouraging young Welshmen to go to London was administratively possible only as long as the Borough Road college could continue to accommodate them. Prior to the Minutes of 1846, students would reside at the college for short periods only, and several Welshmen¹, following Hugh Owen's advice, availed themselves of this opportunity.

1. 166 Welshmen passed through the college between 1844 and 1858; John Phillips MSS. N.L.W. 5479E.

But with the instituting of the pupil teacher system, intending teachers were required to remain in residence for at least one year, whilst those who remained for two or three years were offered extra remuneration. This, in itself, was sufficient to throw extra strain on the accommodation, but the Minutes of 1846 had made teaching a more attractive profession and more and more Welshmen¹ (and Englishmen) were now seeking admission to the college. The accommodation, however, was not expanding as it should,² and by 1857 well qualified English candidates were being rejected.³ So great, by now, was the pressure on the London college (it was the only undenominational training college in England and Wales) that Matthew Arnold was to suggest⁴ that a second college should be erected especially to meet the needs of the populous districts of South Wales. His choice of venue, characteristically, was Bristol.

It was force of circumstances of this kind, rather than an enlightened change of heart which persuaded Hugh Owen to

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1. Male pupil teachers in Wales increased from 4 in 1846 to 45 in 1849; Report of Com. of Co. 1848-9-50 p. CLVIII.
 2. *ibid.* 1851-2, p. 391.
 3. *ibid.* 1857-8, p. 769.
 4. *ibid.* 1858-9, p. 158.

alter his views on the question of teacher training in Wales. The scheme for establishing a college in Wales was set afoot ^{no} at a meeting of prominent personalities held at Hugh Owen's private residence in London in April, 1854. Among those present was Dr Lewis Edwards. David Charles, George Osborne Morgan, Richard Davies, the Lord Lieutenant of Anglesey and E.G. Salisbury - Methodists to a man. There followed several inaugural meetings at Rhyl and Bangor and most of these were attended by Hugh Owen himself and by Robert Forster, secretary of the British and Foreign Schools Society. John Phillips, the agent of the Society, realising that the task of collecting money for the new institution was likely to devolve on him, was rather lukewarm in his reception of the project, and he made some effort to get the plans changed and the college established in Liverpool or Manchester.¹ Phillips' attitude we can understand as he had been engaged since 1843 in collecting funds for the erection of schools and he probably saw that the same people would have to be approached again to support the new venture. Moreover, not only were the Methodists called upon to maintain their own chapels and ministers, but they were also being pressed to subscribe towards the upkeep of their own denominational academy at Bala. That

1. J. Phillips MSS. NLW 5481B; letter Forster to Owen (18/7/56) "The idea of operating some part of the North of England, say Manchester or Liverpool, will not do; our own experience and knowledge of these districts promptly puts by that scheme. No, the desideratum is a Training College in North Wales".

fund had been at a standstill for some years, but a new organiser appointed in 1856 had given it a new lease of life, and in three years he was able to announce that he had collected over £10,000.¹ The circumstances were disheartening for Phillips, and there is no doubt at all that he would have withdrawn from his post with the Society at this time had he not been constantly prodded by Owen and Forster. The latter, insisting that he should continue with the work, spared no effort in persuading him where his duties lay; "Thou canst not be spared", he wrote,² "I beg of thee to allow me to say thou must not think of withdrawing I am ready to believe that if thou came back to the work with a single eye to the glory of God and the good of thy fellow men and in an earnest prayerful spirit, thou will have faith given thee to go on and thus prove thyself a blessing to the Welsh nation". Phillips continued with his task, albeit reluctantly, and it is his name, not that of Hugh Owen, which is linked with the founding of the college at Bangor.³ He it was who was "exposed to the drudgery of the work"⁴ and, as the agent of the Society, his task was of necessity more in the public eye. Phillips traversed on horseback the length and breadth of the

1. Cofiant y Parch Edward Morgan, Duffryn (Ellis), p.339

2. J.Phillips, MSS. NLW 5481B (letter dated 5/1/58)

3. A recently erected main hall in the college has been named the "J.P.Hall".

4. Caerns. and Denbigh Herald Jan. 18, 1863.

North Wales counties several times and his missions to London, Liverpool, Manchester and South Wales make romantic reading.¹ He wrote² about his own exertions as follows "Y miloedd milltiroedd a deithiwyd trwy boethder haf ac oerder gaeaf ... y cannoedd areithiau ac annerchiadau a draddodwyd, y degau o filoedd o lythyrau a ysgrifenyddwyd, yr iselder meddwl pruddglwyfus a ddioddefwyd pan yw cyfarfod ag oerfelgarwch o un cwr, gwrthwynebiad o gwr arall a sarhad o gwr arall".

The constant references in the press and in the early college reports to the meagre reward which Phillips received for his labours we find hard to substantiate. In fairness to the British and Foreign Schools Society and the Methodists, it should be stated that he was in fact relatively well remunerated. Throughout the period in question, the parent society paid him an annual salary of £200 and, in addition, the college committee voted him a sum of £857 in consideration of the work he had done for the institution between 1856 and 1862. Not to be outdone, the Methodist denomination felt obliged to show its gratitude and a fund instituted on his behalf at the Caernarvonshire Monthly Meeting in 1863, realised a further £502. These were not unsubstantial funds in the 1860's and the physically arduous task of travelling about the

1. E.R.Papers No.5.

2. E.R.Papers No.3.

country in all weathers was amply recompensed by a monetary reward which no Methodist minister of the period could have hoped to earn.

Hugh Owen's name is generally associated with Aberystwyth University College, but he played no less vital a part in the Bangor venture. There is little doubt that the concept of setting up a college in North Wales originated in London, where Owen was able to bring influence to bear on the British and Foreign Schools Society and, in particular, on Robert Forster.¹ Indeed Phillips made no attempt to conceal the fact that he was inspired by the faith which these two men showed in the enterprise.² They were always at hand when crucial decisions had to be made and the name of one or other of them invariably appeared when the vital stages of negotiation had to be transacted.

As we have seen, it was in North Wales that the Methodists were in the ascendancy among nonconformist denominations, and as they had embraced the principle of state aid from the outset, it was natural that the British and Foreign Schools Society should regard that part of the Principality as the most favourable district for its operations.

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1. J. Phillips MSS, NLW 5479E; Mrs. J. Wenzer (Phillips' eldest daughter) wrote: "Just how a London Quaker became interested in a normal college in Wales, I do not know."
 2. Yr Amserau, Hydref, 1856; a speech delivered by Phillips at Liverpool.

The denomination responded magnificently to the appeal that was made to it, for over 90% of the sum collected towards the college came from Methodist pockets.¹ It is also significant that the North Wales contribution was seven times as large as that of South Wales. Although it may be claimed that South Walians were rather unenthusiastic because of the remoteness of the proposed college, yet this can hardly be advanced as an explanation of the great discrepancy between the donations of the two regions. It would seem that the Society and Hugh Owen had assessed the situation correctly and were fully justified in allocating the college to the north at that time. Hence it came about that the first undenominational college in Wales was sited at almost the furthest point from the main centre of population. In this respect, although for different reasons, it partly resembled the church training college at Caernarvon, and both institutions at a later date were to find themselves at a disadvantage because of their geographical position.

Hugh Owen had Bangor in mind as a location for the college as far back as 1854. Since John Phillips resided there, Owen probably felt that he would more readily give his blessing and his help to the scheme if his home city were selected. In addition the city was by then easily accessible by rail (at least as far as the coastal plain was concerned)

1. Bangor Normal College Report, 1863, p.103.

and, more important, it could boast of a good model school, which was such an essential feature of training colleges in those days. Over the years, other institutions of higher education have followed, and by today Bangor has five colleges of one kind or another within its confines.

Although it was established under the auspices of the British and Foreign Schools Society and was committed to administer education in accordance with the principles of that society, Bangor Normal College, as it was named, was an independent institution with its own committee of management. In this, it differed from the colleges at Borough Road, Stockwell, Darlington, Saffron Walden and Swansea, for although it was always classified in government reports as a college of the British and Foreign Schools Society, its administrative control was never out of local hands. The other colleges, in the main, were under the direct control of the parent society, with its secretary, the Reverend A. Bourne acting as principal of four of them at some time or other.¹ Nor did the Society contribute greatly towards the Bangor venture, for apart from paying the salary of John Phillips, the only donation we can find is that of £100 towards the setting up of a 'training department' in 1858. At this time, great difficulty was being experienced in accommodating the Welsh students at Borough Road and the gift was, doubtless, a gesture of gratitude to the

1. Stockwell 1870-2; Darlington 72-8; Swansea 72-75; Saffron Walden 84-94.

Bangor authorities, for the occasion was minuted¹ in the Society's report in terms which indicate undisguised relief; "This movement (at Bangor) proved most opportune. But for the action thus taken, the difficulties in which your committee were placed by the large accession of applicants for admission to this institution (Borough Road) would have been greatly enhanced; it afforded an opportunity to refer the Welsh candidates to Bangor. So strongly did the step commend itself to their judgment and to their necessities that they felt fully authorised to respond to an appeal from the Committee of the Bangor College for pecuniary aid". When we consider that the Society was receiving at that time an annual grant of £750 from the Government for the maintenance of its training college at Borough Road it would seem that the donation was by no means a generous one. Yet it is fair to state that the Society had another scheme in view at this time - the provision of training facilities for women students.

The college which opened in temporary premises in January 1858, moved four years later to its permanent site with accommodation for 41 students.

Fourteen years later, in 1872 a fourth residential training college was established, this time at Swansea and for women students. By then, as a result of the Act of 1870, great changes were taking place in the realm of elementary education

1. B. & F.S.S. Report, 1858, p.7.

and the circumstances governing the founding of the Swansea college were consequently vastly different from those which had obtained in the case of Bangor and the other Welsh training schools. Those who had concerned themselves with setting up colleges at Caernarvon, Carmarthen and Bangor were the pioneers of teacher training in the Principality. At the outset these people were never certain how the Minutes of 1846, admirable though they were, would affect their various projects; they struggled to establish new institutions at a time when such institutions were few and untried; they could never be confident that their schemes would be economically viable, for they were largely dependent on public support, and this at that time was an unpredictable factor. In spite of being assailed from time to time by doubts, and disappointments, these men never wavered in their intention for they were imbued with the just desire to elevate the standard of education among their fellow countrymen. It was the period in which the teacher training system got off the ground and the situation called forth for men of this calibre.

By 1872 the era of expansion and consolidation had arrived. The promulgation of Forster's Act brought about an immense increase in the number of elementary schools in England and Wales, and it went a long way towards giving the country a national system of education. The declared aim was

to 'fill the gaps' left by the voluntary agencies, and in districts where voluntary institutions had failed or had not hitherto existed, School Boards were to be established to erect new schools from rate aid. Such schools were to be undenominational in character and the Boards were empowered to institute bye-laws which would make attendance compulsory for children between the ages of five and twelve. The passage of the Bill through the House of Commons, with all the political and denominational interest it aroused, certainly canalised the public's attention on the provision of educational facilities, and possibly this in itself had considerable influence in increasing the number of pupil teachers in the years which followed. But it was the crop of Board Schools induced by the Act which gave managers of training colleges the greatest encouragement they had received since 1846. So great did the demand for teachers become that the Committee of Council waived until 1873 the condition that students would have to stay in college for two years as a requirement to earn the government grant. This concession¹ was granted "only to enable the authorities of these institutions (the training colleges) to meet the temporary and exceptional demands which are being made upon them in consequence of the passing of the Education Act."

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1870-71 p. XIV.

As a result college authorities throughout the land busied themselves with increasing their accommodation.¹

With its tradition of Dissent, Wales was ideally suited for the kind of elementary education as envisaged in the 1870 Act,² and within four years nearly 200 School Boards had been established in the Principality. ~~The enthusiasm with which~~

~~Welshmen embraced the policy of undenominational schools is known to high relief when comparison is made with what transpired in this time in England, where, with its vastly larger population, only 641 School Boards were in commission.~~³

The need for training colleges of an unsectarian type was only too obvious and the British and Foreign Schools Society embarked upon the project not only of augmenting the accommodation of the men's college at Borough Road and the women's college at Stockwell,⁴ but also of setting up two new training institutions for women, one in the North of England and the other in South Wales. It is significant that the Society no longer had to be

1. College extensions (Bangor and Carmarthen among them) brought this comment from B.M.Cowie "All this has been done without government aid and it shows the activity, zeal and self sacrifice of the religious bodies connected with the training schools".
2. "Nid yw yn annaturiol i gasglu fod y clerod yn y department addysg yn Downing Street yn synu uwch ben y nifer o applications sydd yn dylifo i'r swyddfa bob wythnos o bob parth o Gymru am awdurdod o dan y ddeddf newydd i ffurfio School Boards. 'Does dim un rhan o'r deyrnas, y mae yn debyg, wedi anfon cymmaint o nifer o appeliadau ar gyfartaledd i'r boblogaeth ag a anfonwyd o Gymru". Cofiant y Gohebydd (R. Griffiths) p.170.
3. ~~Bangor Normal College, Report 1874, p.6.~~
34. The accommodation at Stockwell was increased by 30; that of Borough Road from 100 to 130; this was done in spite of a disastrous fire which occurred there at Christmas 1871

prompted and cajoled by local enthusiasts - the risk involved in such undertakings had by now disappeared and the age of the pioneers had passed. This is in marked contrast to what had previously happened at Carmarthen, Caernarvon and Bangor. As we have stated elsewhere, the initial impetus for establishing these colleges did come from the two London based societies, but we should remember that they were ably aided in their endeavours not only by the Welsh Education Committee and the Cambrian Education Society but also by people connected with the localities concerned. By 1872, however, all uncertainty had gone and the British and Foreign Schools Society could with justification set about its scheme for training college expansion without prompting from any quarter.

In the Society's view, South Wales probably had an outstanding claim for consideration; new Board Schools were springing up everywhere; between 1863 and 1870, thanks to the unfailing industry of the Society's agent, 120 British Schools had come into existence in South Wales; the Society was faced with the ever increasing difficulty of finding accommodation for Welsh pupil teachers at its colleges for mistresses at Stockwell¹ and the Principality had no women's college at a time when female teachers were in urgent demand. After rejecting the use of certain premises in Aberystwyth², the Society "as an

1. B. & F.S.S. Report, 1872.

2. *ibid* 1872.

experiment" selected Swansea for the location of the new college which was to serve Wales and the West of England. The town was considered to be centrally situated for South Wales and to be within easy access by rail from North Wales and by rail and steamboat from the West of England. Moreover, it was felt that Swansea possessed "a moral and political atmosphere in which such an institution would be likely to thrive".¹

The college was to be established in Nelson Terrace in premises which the ill fated Brecon Training College had occupied until 1857. After Alfred Bourne, the secretary of the British and Foreign Schools Society had addressed a public meeting at the Swansea Guildhall in November, 1871, it became clear that insufficient money would be forthcoming from private subscription to buy the property freehold. The Society, was therefore obliged to take the premises on a 77 year lease. The conditions therein do not seem to have been very desirable, for even when the college had been in existence for twenty years, during which certain improvements had of necessity been effected, they were graphically described in most uncomplimentary terms by a new principal, David Salmon. "The premises" he wrote,² "surprised and shocked me. They consisted of private houses with classrooms and dormitories added to fit them for use as a boarding school and of more private houses with classrooms and dormitories added to fit them for use as a Training College.

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1. Cambrian News 2/10/1913.
 2. Swan Magazine, 1921, p.103.

The agglomeration, an adaptation of an adaptation of domestic buildings was necessarily straggling, confused, wasteful of space and ill suited for scholastic or residential purposes, and it lacked many of the requisites of efficiency, comfort and convenience. The scholastic side lacked a laboratory, an art room, a criticism room, a gymnasium and a library (though the last was not wanted because there were no books). The residential side lacked a common room, sufficient baths and a proper infirmary, while several of the bedrooms contained six beds". If pleasant living and teaching accommodation is one of the requisites of a successful residential institution then the college at Swansea certainly got off to a poor start.

The college was originally managed by the British and Foreign Schools Society as "it was thought desirable not to have a separate committee for this one institution, but to select, as members of the general Committee of the Society, some ladies and gentlemen resident in the neighbourhood of the College, who might act as a Sub-committee in all that specially pertained to the business of the College".¹ At the outset, Alfred Bourne acted in the capacity of principal with David Williams, who had been the agent of the Society in South Wales since 1863, as vice principal. But it was an arrangement which did not last for long and we must regard the policy of conducting the business of the institution from far distant London purely as a temporary

1. B. & F.S.S. Report, 1872.

measure. At a meeting held in the college on November 15, 1874, with Lord Aberdare in the chair, it was resolved that the college should pass into the hands of a local committee of management.¹ This came into effect at the end of the following year with Lord Aberdare, Hugh Owen and Hussey Vivian, M.P. among the trustees and L.Dilwyn, M.P. as chairman of a committee of forty two members, six of whom were nominated by the Society. Bourne relinquished the principalship and David Williams was promoted to the post.

Thus, the two chief agents of the Society eventually became principals of the two undenominational training colleges in Wales. Although they were both paid for their services as agents, the Society presumably felt obliged to reward them further in this way. Whereas John Phillips had but little close connection with education in the practical sense - he was for many years a preacher with the Methodists, David Williams, prior to his becoming agent in 1863, was for sixteen years headmaster of the Copper Works school at Llanelly. Yet in spite of his background and experience, there is a suggestion of expediency in the appointment of Williams to the principalship. The British and Foreign Schools Society had become increasingly aware of the expense involved in maintaining its agents in Wales,²

1. B. and F.S.S. Report, 1874.

2. Minutes of British and F.S. Society, 14.11.70.

and as they were engaged, after 1870, in organising Schools Boards rather than in setting up British Schools, which was the task for which they had been engaged to perform, the Society resolved that the money could be put to better purpose in supporting a training college. Consequently, the way to dispose of the services of the two agents became clear; not only did the Society appoint Williams to the chief post but it also asked John Owen, of Rhyl, an assistant agent for North Wales, to join the staff as tutor.

With the opening of the Swansea college in February 1872, the narrative dealing with the establishment of the Welsh residential training colleges comes to an end. The founders, particularly those of the colleges at Carmarthen, Caernarvon and Bangor had been impelled largely by local needs, and their aspirations had been governed by a desire to ameliorate conditions which had fallen within their own observation and experience. Although their efforts were to some extent isolated, yet in the end they were to form part of a nation wide movement the repercussions of which they could not possibly have envisaged at the outset. They succeeded in creating an occupational group, the need for which had been brought about by industrial expansion and its effect on the social structure.

Intensive industrialisation had thrown together unprecedented masses of people, who were forced to live in the most squalid conditions. The ensuing social degradation is not hard to imagine and that it was alleviated to some extent by taking education to the children of the poor will always stand to the credit of that band of people which the training colleges of England and Wales produced in the last century.

CHAPTER II

The Minutes of 1846 and their application to Wales

No account or assessment of teacher training in Wales in the last century could be undertaken without considering the immense contribution of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth. Although he held public office, as secretary of the Privy Council on Education for ten years only, so great was the impact of his work in this period, that he exercised an abiding influence on elementary education throughout the period of our study. Although the story of his life and his career have been traversed again and again by educational historians, we feel that the subject of this present survey cannot be fully understood or appreciated without reviewing his activities and the influences which motivated them.

As already stated, the first venture of the Committee of the Privy Council into the field of popular education was the effort to establish a training college under state control in 1839. But as Kay Shuttleworth had expected,¹ so great were sectarian suspicions that the scheme at the outset found no favour with the politicians. Convinced as he was that the cornerstone of any national system of education was a permanent and reliable source of teacher supply, he established a training school under his own guidance and at his own expense at Battersea in 1840. He felt greatly frustrated by the politics

1. T. Atkins; 'The History of St. John's College, Battersea', p.23, quoted from speech made by Kay Shuttleworth at Battersea Club Reunion Dinner, 1873.

of education as they affected him in his official capacity, and the step he now took as a public servant is possibly without parallel in English educational history. For good or evil, his experiment at Battersea, for that is what it was, was to serve as a prototype for all training colleges in England and in Wales for the next fifty years. Fairly did his friend and collaborator E.C.Tufnell claim,¹ in 1877, "Now I have the satisfaction of seeing the establishment of forty training colleges all founded upon the principles first exemplified at Battersea."

In the autumn of 1839 Kay Shuttleworth and Tufnell had undertaken an educational tour² of the continent where teacher training systems were well established, notably in Germany, Switzerland, France and Holland. It was the work of Vehrli at Kreuzlingen on Lake Constance that impressed Kay Shuttleworth most, and much of what he saw there he endeavoured to incorporate in his own College at Battersea. The whole system of education at Kreuzlingen was geared to the formation of character and with this end in view, life at the seminary was deliberately kept simple; manual labour loomed large in the students' day; they ate the plainest of food and their clothes were of the

1. T. Atkins, op.cit. p.106

2. For full account see "First Report of the Training College at Battersea" reprinted in 'Four Periods of Education' (Kay Shuttleworth).

coarsest kind; in wooden shoes they would toil for long hours in the fields; their day started at between four and five o'clock, yet in spite of their strenuous application to manual tasks and to intellectual pursuits, they displayed a cheerfulness which belied their fatigue. The whole atmosphere of the place is well conveyed in Vehrli's own words;¹ "We are peasants' sons; we would not be ignorant of our duties; but God forbid that knowledge should make us despise the simplicity of our lives. The earth is our mother, and we gather our food from her breast, but while we peasants labour for our daily food we may learn many lessons from our mother earth. There is no knowledge in books like an immediate converse with nature, and those that dig the soil have nearest communion with her. Believe me, or believe me not, this is the thought that can make a peasant's life sweet, and his toil a luxury". Although the students were given lessons in arithmetic, history, natural philosophy and religious knowledge, as well as in the theory and art of teaching, it was the infinite attention given to the formation of character rather than the acquisition of knowledge which impressed the visitors. The simple and arduous life of the village schoolmaster was constantly in Vehrli's mind and he believed that the routine he imposed at his seminary was an assurance that his students would undertake their life's work with contentment and peace of mind.

Kay Shuttleworth became convinced that students, who were proficient in attainment and in the method and art of teaching

1. Kay Shuttleworth, op.cit. p.246.

and who were inured to the austere simplicity of life which he had witnessed at Kreuzlingen, would be eminently suitable to take charge of elementary schools in Britain. Adhering closely to Vehrli's philosophy that those who were to teach the children of the poor should themselves experience the hardships of poverty, Kay Shuttleworth arranged that all domestic duties at Battersea should be performed by the students. The whole school rose at 5.30 a.m. and four hours a day were spent in the garden, where a 'wilderness of weeds' was tamed in a year or two to produce almost all the vegetables and fruit which the residents required. Two cows, three pigs and three goats were bought and the pupils were trained to look after them with care and gentleness. All this, and more, together with seven hours a day at their studies, was the routine which generally obtained. Occasionally, however, he would take his students on excursions into the country to visit places of interest in order to cultivate their powers of observation. This was a common feature of normal schools in Switzerland and he felt that to neglect this aspect of the students' education would betray an 'indifference to nature'. To him, this was the antidote to book learning. "The master", he said,¹ "who neglects opportunities of satisfying the intelligence of his pupils on anything that can be obvious to the sense, must be content to find that when his lessons rise

1. Kay Shuttleworth, *op.cit.* p.321.

to abstractions, he will be gazed upon by vacant faces". But the motives of these journeys were not entirely educational, for they were calculated to instil habits of physical endurance as well, and seldom did the students return home without being thoroughly fatigued.

The day at Battersea was a full one and we have Kay Shuttleworth's own words¹ for it that "there is a necessity for incessant vigilance in the management of a training school." Free time at the students' disposal he did not believe in. Apprehensive lest the students might form associations which would be inconsistent with the general discipline, he took care that they were under constant supervision and "guided by superior minds." A change was as good as a rest, and by alternating periods of physical activities with those of intellectual study he contrived to keep his charges engaged from the first bell until bedtime.

The curriculum was an ambitious one and every effort was being made to teach subjects according to the methods which were in vogue at that time. Acquaintance with the English language was given much prominence and by using the method first used at the Edinburgh Sessional Schools the authorities were able to claim² that there were but few words in the English language which their students did not understand.

1. Kay Shuttleworth, op.cit. p.405.

2. Kay Shuttleworth, op.cit. p.340.

Reading was taught by the German 'phonic' method while the 'Mulhauser' method was adopted for writing. Elementary mechanics, drawing, physical geography and vocal music also appeared on the time-table and much attention was paid to school arrangements and methods of discipline. Students went to the local school for observation and teaching practice. There, they saw the methods which they had been accustomed to in the normal school being put into operation by a Mr. McLeod, a teacher brought up under the 'simultaneous' system employed by David Stowe at Edinburgh.

The varying ages of the students at entry considerably hampered the smooth working of the routine at Battersea. Some were taken in at fourteen years of age whilst others did not enter until they were eighteen. On the continent, the youths were accommodated in a preparatory school until they attained the age of sixteen, but, as no such provision existed in this country, the authorities were obliged to accept candidates when they were only fourteen. In Kay Shuttleworth's view, the normal school was not designed to provide the rudiments of education to the very young; that was the province of the elementary school. All the students, both the young and the more mature, were of very mediocre attainment on arrival, but the youths, who of necessity were resident for a longer period than the adults, invariably gave a better account of themselves at the end of their stay in college. This created an undesirable

situation in which the older students became disheartened and the youths tended to display arrogance and conceit, because of their obvious intellectual superiority. Kay Shuttleworth was very much alive to this danger and he was greatly concerned that the staff should not tolerate any manifestation of such behaviour. His experience at Battersea led him to believe that students as far as possible should be of the same age on entry and that they should stay in college for the same length of time. Twenty, he regarded as the optimum age for entry to a training college with two years as the shortest period for residence.

It was obvious that Kay Shuttleworth's intention was to train students to become teachers in rural schools. The importance attached to manual labour in the curriculum and the semi-monastic seclusion of college life were very definite indications that they were being prepared to take charge of small schools in rural parishes where life was uneventful and the tempo slow. Their training, most certainly, did not equip them to take over the responsibilities of schoolmaster in the bustling communities of manufacturing areas. To meet this deficiency he conceived the idea of a Town Normal School, based on what he had seen in Holland. There, intending teachers entered the large city schools as apprentices where they received instruction on school management and methods of discipline from staff members. In this way, the apprentice was

brought into day to day contact with the type of child he would have to teach in later life. At the completion of apprenticeship, he entered the Normal School at Haarlem for a period of two years. This scheme commended itself forcibly to Kay Shuttleworth and he considered it to be the only method whereby suitable teachers could be provided for the schools in the manufacturing districts of this country. This type of training school would be complementary to that at Battersea, but owing to financial difficulties it did not mature.

The maintenance of the college at Battersea was proving increasingly burdensome to its private founders, and after three years, in spite of receiving government aid to the extent of £3,200 to effect improvements to the premises, they felt obliged to hand it over to the National Society. This ended the Battersea experiment.

This institution was to serve as a pattern for all training colleges in England and Wales for the next fifty years; with residence regarded not as a matter of convenience but as an integral part of the type of education which intending teachers should receive. If the formation of character was to be the keystone of student training, then there was no better way of ensuring its fulfilment than by keeping the students constantly under the eye of their tutors. We have already seen how the principal of Carmarthen college deprecated the practice of 'boarding out' which obtained at the medical colleges in London

and Edinburgh. To him, there was no alternative to "training within walls". Again the Committee of the Privy Council on Education would not regard any establishment as fit to receive Queen's Scholars unless they could be accommodated on the premises. It was for this reason that the recognition of Caernarvon Training College was withheld for some time in the 50's. So entrenched in people's minds was the idea that residence was essential for young students, that doubt concerning its advantages was rarely expressed by anyone in authority for half a century.¹ It may well be argued that even then the day training colleges were accepted largely as a necessary evil and that a concessive line was taken simply because these institutions provided the cheapest means of accommodating the vast increase in student numbers in the middle 80's. The more enlightened would claim that young people destined for the same profession and kept apart in one seminary would be in danger of inheriting a narrowness of outlook which would do nothing but harm to them as individuals and to the teaching profession as a whole.²

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1. The Glasgow Normal Seminary, however, was non residential and David Stowe had this to say, "Moral and intellectual training during the day in school and in separate houses during the evening we find to be decidedly the safer mode for both students and scholars." The Training System (Stowe) p.358.
 2. On the other hand H.M.I. Mosely wrote; "The Training College removed that sense of isolation which was a fatal source of discouragement in the work of a teacher ... It creates a brotherhood of teachers and makes the work of elementary education a common cause." Report of Com. of Co., 1851, p.214.

But in Wales, residence had perhaps an added significance because of the existence of the native language. Welsh students who were trained in Wales were completely cut off from their native culture during their term of residence, for these colleges, to all intents and purposes, were English institutions in which the Welsh language was given little or no consideration. Completely divorced as they were from their native environment and their mother tongue, the students were far readier to assimilate the English language and all that went with it, than if they were boarded out with landladies who were monoglot Welsh. After two years in this artificial atmosphere very many of the students did not wish to return to their own villages. Severed from their roots, they had neither the inclination nor the capacity to contribute to the revivification of their native culture. As has already been made clear, the teaching profession was socially isolated in England. Up to a point, the same forces were at work in Wales but with one important difference. Wales, without the professional and managerial strata commonly found in industrial England and with its traditional disregard for social distinction, was relatively a classless society. Consequently the schoolmaster

and the preacher were held in higher esteem in the Principality than were their counterparts across the border. But we feel that another factor also helped to give the schoolmaster some status among his own people - knowledge of the English language. Welsh schoolmasters were better acquainted with English than was the stratum of society from which they had risen. Imperfect though their command of English was, they were naturally respected by a community which regarded a knowledge of the English language as the open sesame to personal advancement. This was particularly true in Welsh speaking areas where British schools existed, for the schoolmaster more often than not, was better acquainted with the English tongue than was his school manager. Yet the respect in which the schoolmaster was held was tempered by a sad awareness that he had achieved his standing by deserting the ranks of the working classes.

In Wales, there is no doubt that residence at College helped to inculcate English ideas and English ways, for the whole routine of these institutions - the lectures, discussions, religious services and the day to day trivia of student life - was conducted through the medium of the English language. It was a tradition which died hard for even in this century we have knowledge that Welsh speaking students, as part of a deliberate plan, were made to share rooms with students from England and that members of staff were brought to task by the

authorities for speaking to students in the Welsh language. Such behaviour, it is said, was supposed to have serious repercussions on discipline. In the last century this attitude towards English in the training colleges of Wales was certainly in accordance with the prevailing climate of opinion. Indeed, it would have been extraordinary if these colleges had reacted differently, for they were young institutions conscious of their close ties with the large nation wide organisations based in London. Even in England residence was regarded as a definite instrument of educational policy, but in Wales it was more than this - it did much to foster and to perpetuate the notion that education was synonymous with a knowledge of English.

As we have seen, manual labour played a prominent part in the scheme of things at Battersea, for Kay Shuttleworth firmly believed that students, by having some experience of the peasants' lot would develop a closer sympathy with the children who belonged to that class of society. This was a feature, however, which did not last long in the life of subsequent training colleges. Yet, there were traces of it in the early years of Carmarthen college. There, the institution had at its disposal eight acres of land and every student laboured in the garden or the fields for one hour every day. This was certainly a watered down version of what happened at Battersea and the authorities were indulgent to the extent of not asking

students to work in the open in inclement conditions. In wet weather they were to undertake carpentry indoors. The Principal claimed¹ that a prudent mixture of manual labour with sedentary employment had a beneficial effect upon the health and spirits of the students. It is significant that he did not regard physical exertion of this kind as a means of developing desirable qualities of character as Kay Shuttleworth had done. Indeed, it would seem that Principal Reed wished to put the student's experience in manual labour to more practical use. Poor country villages, he claimed, were not in a position to offer the kind of salaries which would attract certificated masters, and if the benefits of improved education were not to be confined to the more wealthy regions, then schoolmasters in the more unfortunate districts would have to be provided with the means of augmenting their salaries. Maintaining that most country schools had two acres or so of land in their immediate vicinity, he expounded² his plan as follows; "The grand impediment to the profitable cultivation of land is unskilfulness in the cultivation ... If land is to yield a profit it must be in the hands of skilful cultivators. This proposal contemplates the raising up of such persons in the persons of schoolmasters and by the following arrangements:

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1849, Vol.2, p.222.

2. *ibid.* 1852-3, p.575-6.

(1) 20 or 30 acres should be attached to Training Colleges and be cultivated as a farm garden. This term embraces two ideas, high and extensive cultivation. The economy of the cow, the sheep, the pig and poultry would be especial objects of attention.

(2) Exhibitions (enough to clothe and maintain them) be given to ones to be trained as schoolmasters for country places. A three year course with the time divided between study and farm labour.

(3) Plans for school house, cow house, pigsty and poultry house suitable for small country villages be carefully designed.

(4) Such schoolmasters to be guaranteed £20 per annum by the parish; fees of school; house and premises as above described; two acres of land; and one condition of the election of pupil teacher that "he labour a certain time every week."

(5) This plan to be worked inside the existing minutes of the Privy Council except the addition of 'salutary weekly labour on part of pupil teachers'."

Reed realised that if the rural communities in Wales were to be supplied with certificated teachers then the Welsh training colleges would have to produce people who were in a position to benefit from possessing an acre or two of land. In this he showed much foresight, for as we shall see, students were later reluctant to accept posts in the more sparsely populated parts of the country. It was a sound scheme, but, unfortunately, the other colleges in Wales did not develop this

type of approach, and Carmarthen itself was gradually forced to abandon it when the plethora of examinations designed by the Committee of Council for training colleges descended upon it.

Manual labour, apart from the odd hour spent in the garden was soon to disappear from college timetables, but the long day which it had postulated at Battersea, remained. The principle of "keeping the students busy" was, however, not a Battersea innovation¹, for it had been put into practice at Borough Road in the early thirties.² There, the 'full day' was regarded not so much as a means of character-building but rather as a necessity in view of the short period the students stayed at college. The first group of Welsh students who went to Borough Road at the instigation of Hugh Owen in 1844 found themselves subjected to the same regime, and one of them, a David Evans from Dolgellau, wrote³ home to inform his parents

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1. Report of Com. of Co. 1859/60; M.B. Cowrie stated that Battersea students had a 15½ hour day in 1859, with 48½ hours given weekly to lectures only.
 2. "Our object is to keep them incessantly employed from five in the morning until nine or ten at night"; Henry Dunn, Secretary of British and Foreign Schools Society, Select Committee on Education (1834) Minutes of Evidence, 232.
 3. Y Drysorfa, Chwefror, 1844, p.59.

that the first bell was rung at 4 a.m.! Early rising¹ and a life of continuous activity remained a feature of training college education throughout the century. Thus, at Bangor Normal College the students' day began at 6 a.m., and the only relaxation, if relaxation it be, we could find from academic and professional studies was one period of music taken between 6.30 and 8 p.m.² Nowadays, it is difficult to substantiate the claim that two hours' study before breakfast in a cold room on a wintry morning can contribute to the moral welfare of the students. Moreover, the unfortunate tutor whose duty it was to

1. The first hour's activity at St. John's College, Battersea is graphically related as follows: "In the cold grey morning, at the uncomfortable hour of half past five, the clanging of bells startles us into a condition of sudden wakefulness Fifteen minutes had to suffice for leaving all in order and descending the stairs to open the business of the day. At this early hour, we find our friends the tutors already up and waiting to receive us. No time is lost. Our duties are arranged by rota, and we know what to do. This party commence to scour the floor; another the knives, forks and spoons; and there are windows to clean and yards to sweep out; water must be pumped up for the service of the day; and we must prepare the vegetables for dinner An hour has thus been busily occupied and we have set our house in order. Then off to the garden or pigsties for one hour." T. Atkins, op.cit. p.52.
2. Report of Com. of Co. 1859-60, p.405.

engender intellectual interest in his topic, must have found the circumstances challenging to say the least.

In the earlier part of the period under review, the training colleges had no libraries and no students' Common rooms.¹ Consequently there were no facilities for discussion and private study. Indeed, had there been this provision, it is doubtful whether the students, who were 'lectured at' in their classrooms for most of the day could have profited from it. Apart from the fact that students do not work before breakfast, the full timetable is very much a feature of present day training colleges, and the authorities still defend their policies in very much the same way as their predecessors did when challenged by the inspectors - that only a very few of the best students could benefit from more time granted to private study and reflection. This, we feel, reveals a sad lack of confidence in the attitude, ability and interest of young people who, after all, were about to assume the responsibility of educating children.

It may be submitted that there was some justification for this; the college at Battersea and its successors in the last century were forced to adopt this policy of 'continuous activity' on the part of students because they found themselves in a position of having to fulfil two roles simultaneously, that of having to prepare their charges in their professional work and

1. The Rev. F. Temple stated in 1860 that no college had a library worthy of the name. Report of Com. of Co. 1859/60 p.723.

that of having to teach them the subjects of school instruction. This dual function of training colleges was a necessity at that time, for a system of secondary education did not exist. Students on entry were deficient in their knowledge of school subjects and the authorities consequently were obliged to tackle the academic as well as the professional side of the students' education. In the colleges these two facets were undertaken simultaneously and often to the detriment of both. But the problem of teacher supply was a pressing one, and in the absence of a national system of secondary schools, the colleges, with no tradition to follow, tackled the situation as best they could.

Under the stimulus of government grants for building purposes, several training colleges¹ were established in England between 1840 and 1846. These grants were paid at the rate of £50 for every student in residence on condition that the college in question should be open to inspection. In this way several diocesan 'central schools' became training colleges in this period. But the authorities soon discovered that building these institutions was only one aspect of the difficult proposition which faced them. Maintaining the colleges, once built, posed a greater problem. If they were to be going concerns financially, then they would have to be filled with students. His three years at Battersea had convinced Kay Shuttleworth that no national system of teacher

1. 23 Colleges were listed in the Com. of Co. Reports, 1845.

training could be successfully launched without ensuring a steady stream of suitable candidates for admission. He had been exercised by the low attainment of the entrants to Battersea and bridging the gap between the age of leaving school and that of starting at college presented a serious challenge. To meet the situation, the Committee of Council, under the guiding influence of its secretary, promulgated the Minutes of August and December 1846, which established the pupil teacher system. These minutes embodied in a form adapted to English conditions much of what Kay Shuttleworth had seen on the continent, particularly in Holland. 1846 was an important year, perhaps the most important, in the history of elementary education in England and Wales, and the Minutes remained, virtually unchanged and unchallenged as the central theme of teacher training almost throughout the century.

Kay Shuttleworth realised from the outset that the middle classes had little interest in making provision for the education of the poor. Indeed, there was a strong element among their ranks which opposed any extension of education to the lower orders, for they saw an educated working class as a direct threat to ^{the} be established order of society. It is true that many individuals had acted as patrons to needy students and had paid their fees in the early years at Borough Road and Battersea. But a national system could not be instituted on the expectation of financial support from such precarious and

unreliable sources. Moreover, many of the students who were maintained in college in this way were by no means among the best, educationally. Again, that the middle classes themselves should take a hand in providing teachers of the poor from within their own ranks was completely out of the question. Therefore, with no other source of supply open to him, Kay Shuttleworth resolved that the teaching of the poor should be committed to their own hands. The pupil teacher system was therefore a closed system, and although it may invite criticism on these grounds today, we should remember that at that time there was no alternative. By the Minutes of 1846, Kay Shuttleworth set out, in his own words¹ "to raise the character and position of the schoolmaster; to provide for him a respectable competency; to make arrangements for raising a race of more highly instructed masters by the establishment and support of a large number of Normal Schools; to feed these Normal Schools with candidates having much higher attainment and greater skill and energy than those which have hitherto entered them; to render the school popular among the poor, as a means of introducing their children to more honourable and profitable employments and by increased efficiency to create in the minds of the working class a juster estimate of the value of education for their children".

1. Kay Shuttleworth, op.cit. p.493.

One of the main features of the Minutes was the genuine effort that was made to make the teaching profession more attractive, thereby ensuring a constant stream of candidates to the colleges. This postulated hard cash, and candidates were to be remunerated during the term of their apprenticeship and during their stay at the normal schools. In addition, their salaries were to be augmented from public funds once they qualified, while the colleges were to be largely freed from dependence on private subscription by government grants in respect of the students they educated.

Pupil teachers were to be chosen at the age of thirteen from the brightest boys in the elementary schools and great care was to be exercised in their selection. In this, inspectors, school managers and clergymen took a hand;¹ there was a strict check on home conditions, and if these proved unsatisfactory the pupils were 'boarded out' in authorised lodgings; those who lived in public houses were not accepted for apprenticeship under any circumstances, and illegitimate children were not considered unless they were of outstanding ability. These pupils were apprenticed for a period of five years to managers whose schools had the approval of the inspectors, and they were paid on a scale which rose from £10 in the first year to £20 in the fifth. The pupil teacher

1. Board of Education Circular 573 (1907) p.3.

has been described¹ as follows; "a young teacher in the first teacher in the first instance introduced to the notice of the Master by his good qualities, as one of the best instructed and most intelligent of the children; whose attainment and skill are full of promise; and who having consented to remain at a low rate of remuneration in the school, is further rewarded by being enabled to avail himself of the opportunities afforded him for attaining practical skill in the art of teaching, by daily practice in the school and by gratuitous superintendence of his reading and studies by the master, from whom he received lessons on technical subjects of school instruction every evening".

The schools² to which the pupil teachers were assigned had to be well equipped with books and other apparatus; they had to be organised into classes and the teaching had to be of a satisfactory standard; most important of all, they had to be manned with a master or mistress who was well qualified to undertake the education of the apprentice.

The payment to pupil teachers was to serve as an inducement to the parents to influence their children to enter the profession. Yet many of them were to fall by the wayside, lured no doubt, by the prospect of more immediately rewarding

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1. Report of Com. of Co. 1848-50 Vol.2 p.68: "They are the flower of the clergyman's school, perhaps of his parish".
 2. The number of pupil teachers to each school was not to exceed one for every 25 scholars in attendance.

occupations. Under the Minutes, these apprentices, when qualified at twenty one, would certainly be earning more than if they were in other employment, but as Matthew Arnold said¹, "to look forward in this manner is seldom, in the class of society from which apprentices are taken, the habit or the inclination of either boys or parents."

In an age when young boys were accustomed to long hours of toil in the mines and the factories the pupil teacher's lot may have been regarded as a sinecure, but by present day standards his apprenticeship was an arduous one. His time was fully occupied between teaching in the school and receiving instruction from the master in the evening. He was kept up to the mark by a system of annual examinations by which his progress was measured and on which his remuneration depended.

Under the strain of excessive hours and regular examinations many who had set out on their apprenticeship were forced to withdraw on the grounds of ill health long before they completed their course. Longueville Jones who inspected Church of England schools in North Wales in 1859 maintained² that this was a significant weakness in the teacher training system in the Principality. In fact, 37.3% of the pupil teachers who had intended entering training colleges in the Lancashire and North Wales area did not, for one reason or

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1857-8, p.531.

2. *ibid.* 1859-60, p.155.

another, go into the teaching profession in that year.¹ The whole machinery of the pupil teacher system was to come under heavy fire in the Report of the Newcastle Commission in 1861, but in spite of the valid criticism levelled at the method of pupil teacher instruction the system survived almost unaltered until 1890. That it existed so long is surely a proof of its effectiveness, and the delay in setting up a system of secondary education in this country can partly be attributed to its success. The country needed teachers at that time and with the specific aim of satisfying that deficiency, the pupil teacher system was instituted to provide some semblance of secondary education for candidates before they entered the colleges. Kay Shuttleworth saw that this could be done only by prolonging the stay of the pupils at the elementary schools.

On completion of their apprenticeship, pupil teachers were not bound in any way to take up teaching as a career. Apprenticeship was considered a general educational qualification, much as the 'O' Level certificate is regarded nowadays. Indeed, it was specifically stated that pupils who did not wish to continue in the teaching business could be admitted to the lower branches of the Civil Service.² In general, however, candidates who had successfully completed their five years' apprenticeship were encouraged to sit for the Queen's

1. *ibid.* 1858-59, p.203.

2. *ibid.* 1846, vol.1, p.10.

Scholarship, which was an annual entrance examination to a training college.¹ These scholarships, which carried with them a grant of £20 or £25 to the colleges, were certainly not sufficient to meet the expense which these institutions would incur on behalf of the students. Consequently in order to further reduce the burden which fell upon them, the colleges were to establish a system of annual examinations by means of which they could augment their revenue. Successful candidates at these examinations were granted leaving certificates, a First Class certificate for those who completed one year, a Second Class for those who completed two, and a Third Class for those students who successfully passed the examination at the end of three years' college residence. The colleges were granted £20, £25 or £30 depending on the class of certificate the student obtained. It was Kay Shuttleworth's belief² that the 'normal school was the most important institution in a system of elementary education', and after his experience at Battersea he was determined that the colleges should be allowed to carry on with their duties without being unduly hampered by financial stringencies. There would, however, still be need for charitable contributions towards their upkeep, for in his estimation the average cost of the maintenance and education of each student was about £50 a year. In spite of the government's help, bridging the gap between

1. *ibid.* p.10; Pupil teachers, if they so wished, could take posts as schoolmasters on completion of apprenticeship.

2. Kay Shuttleworth; *op.cit.* p.483.

between the grants and the expenditure incurred was to prove a constant source of worry to the administrators of some of the colleges, particularly in the early years when the number of Queen's Scholars was restricted to 25% of the accommodation available in each college. This limit, however, was removed in 1853¹ and as a result some colleges became almost self-supporting.²

From the point of view of the teacher, perhaps the most attractive proposal propounded under the Minutes of 1846, was the stipulation that the government would take a hand in augmenting teachers' salaries, once they had been appointed to a school under inspection. The augmentation was made on condition that the school managers provided the teacher with a rent free house and a salary equal to twice the amount of the sum provided by the government. The size of the grant³ was determined by the class of certificate which the teacher had obtained at college. Thus for a

First Class Certificate: £15 or £20;

Second Class Certificate: £20 or £25;

Third Class Certificate: £25 or £30;

Under this system a schoolmaster who had been at college

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1. Com.of Co. Aug. 20, 1853.
 2. Report of Com.of Co. 1859-60 p.292. In 1858 Cheltenham College could boast it was self maintained.
 3. *ibid.* Vol.1, 1846 p.11; women teachers had a scale two thirds of the above.

for two years could expect a salary of £75 per annum with free accommodation, and if he were in charge of a school of 100 children with four pupil teachers under instruction he would receive annually a further sum of £14. This direct participation by the government in the payment of salaries, together with a pension scheme set up under the Minutes, naturally enough led teachers to regard themselves in the class of civil servants. Nothing perhaps caused more distress and bitterness in the ranks of the teaching profession in the last century than the failure of the Committee of Council to implement the pension scheme. It is true that the stipulation regarding superannuation was couched in rather ambiguous terms under the Minutes, yet Kay Shuttleworth had unequivocally stated:¹

"Their Lordships have rendered superannuation pensions accessible to masters distinguished by long and efficient service to prevent a deserving man from being plunged into privation by disabling sickness or infirmity or robbed by unavoidable calamity of a provision for old age". The teachers petitioned the government on several occasions in the years before the Revised Code, but any hopes they may have entertained in this respect were finally dashed in 1857 when the authorities announced² that the government "neither appoints nor dismisses these officers (the teachers) nor does it

1. Kay Shuttleworth op.cit. p.487.

2. Report of Com.of Co. 1857-8, XLV p.30-1.

recognise them except as employed by the independent managers of schools under inspection". It was not until 1875 that the government saw its way clear to grant pensions under the Minutes of 1846.

In the years immediately following the Minutes there were one or two other issues which vitiated the good relationship between the Committee of Council and the teaching profession. In 1854 it was ruled that teachers who instructed private pupils in their own free time would not be regarded as eligible to take pupil teachers¹. This imposition was immediately assailed by the profession as an attack on the individual's freedom and his right to spending his out of school hours in whichever way he chose. Another cause of discontent was the bleak prospect of promotion for the certificated schoolmaster. Naturally enough, he saw the inspectorate as the avenue of advancement, but in spite of repeated agitation the nearest he got to the realisation of his objective in the last century was the formation in 1882 of a 'subinspectorate' to which he could be recruited.

When the basis for a national system is being laid a certain uniformity is inevitable as the need for such a system presupposes the existence of certain anomalies and variations. Whereas diversity has always been a characteristic of English

1. Report of *ibid.* 1854-5 LI, p.64.

education, it has been condoned and even encouraged when it falls within a framework which is well established and has stood the test of time. But the Minutes of 1846 were the first attempt to establish such a framework and that a certain rigidity should initially characterise them is therefore not surprising. Kay Shuttleworth felt the need to do away with the variety of conditions which affected the working of the training colleges. He was, for example, much concerned with the way some colleges concentrated on the general education of the students, while others were devoting all their attention to professional training; some colleges were taking in students at sixteen years of age, some at thirty; some students stayed at college for three months, some for two years. He saw that if a national system of teacher training was to operate successfully, then, in fairness to the colleges and the students who entered them, some uniformity would have to be imposed. The severe rigidity with which the Minutes were implemented may be defended on the grounds that a more flexible application in the early stages would have thrown an excessive amount of administrative work on the central office. Although certain changes were made in the regulations, in the light of experience between 1846 and 1860, yet it is clear that sufficient consideration was not given to the varying conditions which obtained in different parts of the country. For example, in

areas where labour was in short supply the scale of payments offered to pupil teachers was not attractive enough to entice the very best boys to take up apprenticeship. Nor was the method of payment calculated to give the best results, for whereas the young lad who took up employment at thirteen was paid weekly, the apprentice had to wait a year before he could expect any remuneration.¹ It is conceivable that the application of a little flexibility here might have gone a long way to offset local disadvantages. Perhaps the most obvious inherent weakness of the Minutes was that they were devised to cater for the larger schools in the most populous areas. It was evident that the village schools could expect but little help from their "Lordships", for these had not the financial resources to engage a certificated teacher, who was the only person officially qualified to take pupil teachers. In any case, the small country school was considered unsuitable for pupil teachers as they would not have the opportunity during apprenticeship, of seeing 'school organisation' put into practice. The village school was thus allowed to languish in poverty and in spite of repeated reports from inspectors and school managers that such a school was not in a position to benefit from the provisions of the Minutes, the Committee of Council remained completely inactive. An increase in

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1852-3 p.147; boys in 5th year of apprenticeship get 7/8 per week (paid annually) but boys, 13-14 years of age, can get from 8 to 10/- a week in some of the "Sheffield trades". (H. M.I. W. Watkins).

capitation grant together with a higher rate of augmentation to the salaries of schoolmasters in the country districts would certainly have created circumstances more favourable to the rural school. This of course would have involved extra expenditure, but in relation to the total government grant to education at that time, the increase would not have been very appreciable. The refusal of the central administrators to make any concessions on behalf of the country districts was to have a markedly adverse effect on the development of elementary education in Wales. As we shall see later, government policy not only affected the schools but also the training colleges in the Principality. The adamant attitude of the Committee of Council towards the rural schools in the late fifties can perhaps be explained by the fact that the government, faced with the mounting costs of the Crimean war was becoming increasingly conscious of the expenditure involved in financing the education of the masses. The emphasis upon economy in education which was the central theme of the Revised Code, was already beginning to have its effect and with the taxpayer's insistence on a restriction in public spending, no attempt was made to rectify the treatment¹ meted out to small schools under the Minutes of 1846.

The Minutes had a mixed reception in the country as a whole. In the first place, both religious societies,

1. In Anglesey, out of 70 ecclesiastical districts only 7 received Government grants for schools. (Longueville Jones) Report of Com. of Co. 1857-8, p.493.

particularly the extremist elements in each of them, objected to the way in which the state had assumed control. The Dissenters, in general, resented paying for church schools, especially as they were far more numerous than their own, while the Churchmen saw no reason why they should be called upon to support nonconformity. Moreover, the obvious emphasis which the Minutes placed on the secular aspect of education caused concern to certain sections of Church and Nonconformity alike. In their view, the Minutes were in danger of recruiting pupil teachers of the wrong type, young boys impelled more by materialistic ambitions than by a sense of religious calling. In their turn, the training colleges, tried to rectify this alleged weakness in the system by giving a great measure of significance to the religious education of their students. Indeed, the authorities of Church of England colleges attributed the greater success achieved by their undenominational counterparts in secular instruction to the longer time that could be devoted to it in such institutions, by reason of the scant attention that was paid there to the students' religious training.¹

No national system of elementary education, however, could conceivably have been embarked upon without some degree of state control and it is to Kay Shuttleworth's great credit that he

1. Caernarvon College; Annual Report 1876, p.13.

managed to effect this without alienating the sympathies of the more moderate sections of the two religious bodies, who had done so much to promote the wellbeing of the working classes in the previous decade. Speaking nearly thirty years later, he described¹ this aspect of his endeavours as follows: "As far back as 1839 the Government requested me to give my attention to the organisation of a system of public education; and I had received from the chief Ministers of the Crown a special injunction and that was to exert the civil influence for education. They did not intend leaving it simply to the Church or the religious bodies; they felt that if it was to become national the State must have something to do with it. They intended to assert the civil power in the interest of the two great masses of the people, because without that power, mere voluntary zeal or religious zeal would not master the whole of the difficulty of the case. It was my function to advise the first steps to bring into operation the great power of the old state of England." So successfully did Kay Shuttleworth discharge his obligations, so well construed was the compromise between the state and the religious denominations that the eventual difficulties in operating the Minutes did not come from the expected source at all, but from another - the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1. Speech at Battersea Club Reunion Dinner (1873) quoted, T. Atkins op.cit. p.23.

Although certain extremist elements in the community displayed open hostility to the measures stipulated in the Minutes, moderate opinion was solidly behind the governments' plan.¹ That the scheme got off to a good start was in no small measure due to the sympathetic understanding which grew up between the Committee of Council and the body of teachers and intending teachers, particularly in the early years.² The teachers doubtless felt that Kay Shuttleworth's efforts on their behalf would give them a respectability which they had not hitherto enjoyed. The awakening of a professional consciousness among them can be attributed directly to the Minutes of 1846, and the certificate which carried with it emoluments from public funds was to become the hallmark of professional competency. Possession of the certificate instilled a certain professional pride and thus helped to develop in the teachers an outlook and attitude which were

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1. Dr. Hook's pamphlet exemplified the conciliatory opinion within the Church - "On the Means of rendering more Efficient the Education of the People".
 2. This happy relationship deteriorated under R.R.Lingen: "The teachers have at the helm a man who is controlling the destinies of some six thousand teachers and about fifteen thousand aspirants to the same position, apparently without a spark of sympathy for the former and for the latter no further care than that connected with supply and demand." The School and the Teacher, July, 1859.

peculiarly their own. "Possession of a certificate of merit", as one of the inspectors wrote¹, "will of itself confer on its possessor not only an honourable badge of distinction, but will give him an authoritative professional rank, and that from a very high source of honour which under the most favourable circumstances has hitherto been denied him." In contrast to his predecessors, the teacher of the post 1846 era soon shook himself free of the domination of the clergyman and the school manager alike. As the one nearest to the scene of operations, he now felt himself entitled to consultation in matters which affected educational policy. The educational journals soon began to appear and in these, the teaching profession was able to air its views and to utter its grievances as a corporate body. Thus the men and women who were to operate the national plan in school and college were imbued with a certain confidence, and if the scheme itself was marred by a certain uniformity, it nevertheless brought with it an efficiency which had hitherto been non-existent.

After the publication of the Minutes of 1846 which guaranteed an annual income to training schools on condition that they accepted pupil teachers who had passed the Queen's Scholarship, college administrators could with some justification

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1847-8, p.107; Rev.H.Bellair's Report.

look forward to a period of growth and stability. The uncertainty which had prevailed was now swept aside in one stroke, and management committees, fortified by a new confidence, felt that state backing and official recognition of the important work which they were doing augured well for the future welfare of their colleges. Yet, no benefit was to accrue from the stipulations of the Minutes until 1852 when the first wave of pupil teachers had finished their apprenticeship and become candidates for the Queen's Scholarship. In the meantime to make their colleges financially viable, management committees were obliged to accept students who paid their own fees or who were privately sponsored. Seldom could working class parents afford to finance their son's college education, and private sponsors were more hard to come by in Wales than in England. Fortunately for the Church colleges in Wales the Welsh Education Committee controlled a special fund¹ to help deserving cases and it readily recognised the difficulties which faced the Welsh institutions. "Even in England" it reported,² "the persons best fitted to become useful schoolmasters are often unable to procure the required training for want of means; and in the poorer districts of the Principality, this inability will be of very frequent

1. Minutes, Welsh Education Committee 21.4.49.

2. *ibid.* 12.11.48.

occurrence, and the work of the training will be seriously impeded in that country unless a large proportion of the students are Exhibitioners". But in spite of the efforts of the Welsh Education Committee, the colleges were in a dire financial position as the value of the exhibitions fell far short of the cost involved in maintaining the students.¹ The only course open to the college authorities, therefore, was to make public appeals for financial help and these invariably failed to reach expectations. In the face of such hardships the Welsh colleges were driven to make economies of the most stringent nature and thus we find the committee of Caernarvon college proudly reporting that the annual cost of training there was in some cases only one fourth of the amount expended for the same purpose in similar establishments elsewhere.²

Unfortunately, it had to be so, otherwise the college would have ceased to function. It was the certain knowledge that circumstances would improve once the pupil teachers began to reach the colleges that inspired the committees of management to employ every means and to explore every avenue to make ends meet in the difficult years immediately following 1846. In general, they were rewarded for their exertions, for after 1852

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1. Minutes, Welsh Education Committee 8.6.55. The Committee of Carmarthen college estimated the average cost per student (1849-55) to be £50 per annum.
 2. The average cost was less than £15 for each of the 26 students. Report, Caerns. Training College 1852, p.7.

the great expectations raised by the Minutes were realised and, with pupil teacher numbers showing a significant increase from year to year, the training college boom had arrived. The prevailing mood was well reflected in one inspector's report,¹ which claimed that the pupil teacher system had created "a perpetual supply of teachers, equal in general education and ability to what could be found in any other country". Colleges were now inundated with applications from candidates, and the managers were faced with another problem, a far more pleasant one than that which confronted them a few years earlier, that of finding accommodation for those who wished to enter their institutions. Matthew Arnold spoke² of the great strain placed on the buildings at Borough Road, while at the Wesleyan Training School at Westminster 131 pupil teachers sought entry to a college which could accommodate only 50.³ These were years of unprecedented prosperity for the training colleges generally, but unfortunately owing to a special combination of circumstances, it was an experience which the training schools in Wales were never allowed to enjoy.

The well-being of the training colleges was essentially dependent on the state of the elementary schools and the

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1857-8, p.515.

2. *ibid.* 1858-9, p.346.

3. *ibid.* p.352.

condition in which these schools found themselves was always reflected in the working of the colleges. Although it may be claimed that each institution had an interest in the welfare of the other we agree with the opinion of the Reverend Derwent Coleridge, the Principal of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, who wrote in 1861, "With the prosperity of the Training College that of the Elementary School is closely connected; but with the prosperity of the Elementary School that of the Training College is inseparably bound up". Under the Minutes of 1846 the colleges could flourish only if a constant stream of pupil teachers was forthcoming from the schools. The vast majority of schools in Wales were small rural units which, because of their size, or their inability to engage qualified teachers, were considered unsuitable for instructing apprentices. School managers complained that, whereas the government capitation grant was quite satisfactory for urban schools, they were totally inadequate for those situated in rural areas. These schools were further handicapped by poor attendance during the harvest season, and as such schools generally drew their pupils from a wide catchment area, the vicissitudes of the weather had a more marked effect on the school population than they had on that of their urban counterparts. The root cause of the predicament in which the rural school found itself was economic. The principle on which the Minutes were based was that the government was prepared to aid

those areas which were willing and in a position to help themselves. In this way the central authorities would satisfy themselves not only that the grants would not have an enervating effect on their recipients, but also that local efforts would truly reflect the desire of providing educational facilities for themselves. This of course was admirable in itself but, unfortunately, it had the inherent weakness of withholding public funds from those very people, who owing to straitened circumstances could have derived the most benefit from them. Thus, while the elementary schools in the towns flourished, those in the country districts were allowed to wither and to struggle on as best they could with inadequate equipment and inferior teachers. This was the weak link in the chain and consequently the training colleges in the Principality laboured under the constant disadvantage of having to rely on recruiting areas which were nothing like as prolific as they had been led to believe they would be. It is true that the same circumstances obtained in the rural districts of England, but, with the training schools situated generally in the more populous areas, the English institutions had no difficulty in filling their available accommodation. Thus, while government inspectors were reporting eloquently on the way in which the English colleges flourished after Queen's Scholars had been admitted to them in large numbers from 1852 onwards Longueville Jones, whose province was the inspection of Church schools in Wales, wrote¹ significantly

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1857-8, p.493.

of the 'darkness' which had descended on the Principality. Since the Welsh colleges could attract only a few students who were Queen's Scholars¹ every effort had to be made to fill the accommodation with private students or with others who had gained exhibitions given by the Welsh Education Committee. Even in this, they were far from being successful for both colleges were half empty during the years now under review.²

The schemes which the founders of the Welsh colleges had in mind did not develop along the lines which they had envisaged. From the outset, both Caernarvon and Carmarthen were intended as institutions that would produce teachers for the specific needs of the schools in Wales "The object of this institution", we read in the General Rules of admission to Carmarthen, "is to qualify its pupils to fill with efficiency the office of school-master in the Parochial Schools of the Principality of Wales and the County of Monmouthshire". But, much to the distress of the college authorities many of the students, and particularly the better ones among them, sought posts in England, attracted by what Longueville Jones described³ as "metropolitan salaries". Armed with the government certificate, these newly qualified

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1. Average number of Q.S. at Carmarthen (1851-60) was 17; at Caernarvon (1854-60) was 13.
 2. Average number of students at Carmarthen (1850-55) was 35; at Caernarvon (1849-57) was 9.5. National Society 1857, PXXX.
 3. Report of Com.of Co. 1858/9, p.138.

teachers, perhaps naturally enough, had set their sights a little higher than on the mountainous parishes of Wales. This trend, which became fashionable in Wales in a little more than a decade after the Battersea experiment, was certainly contrary to the hopes which Kay Shuttleworth had entertained. The spur of personal advancement had replaced the missionary spirit and the self-denying attitude which he had done so much to foster. It was estimated¹ that more than a third of the students trained in the Principality in the 50's left the country to accept teaching posts in England. In an effort to encourage them to remain and work in Wales, the managers of Carmarthen college requested their exhibitioners "to give security for refunding the amount expended on them in the case of their quitting the office of schoolmaster in the Principality of Wales or the County of Monmouth within three years after they have entered it"². It appears that the Caernarvon administrators concerned themselves more with the problem of pupil teacher supply and they made representations that more Church schools in Wales should be brought under government inspection so that more Queen's Scholars

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1. Report of Com. of Co. 1859-60, p.296; Rev. B. M. Cowrie's report; of 163 teachers produced at Carmarthen and Caernarvon 67 found employment in England.
 2. General Rules of Admission, Carmarthen Training College, 1852.

would be eventually forthcoming.¹

Some people felt that the most satisfactory way of providing teachers of Welsh schools would be to accept some inferior qualification from masters who would be prepared to work in the rural areas. One witness before the Newcastle Commission in 1861 advocated the granting of government certificates to pupil teachers at the end of their apprenticeship², while another suggested that any pupil teacher who had failed the Queen's Scholarship should be accepted as an itinerant master who would 'penetrate the darker areas' of the country.³ According to his plan, schools could be held in dissenting chapels with the clergymen and the dissenting minister on the committee. This would of course obviate the necessity of providing school buildings and thus the country villages would be largely relieved of much of the financial burden which the provision of elementary education entailed. Such a scheme would do little to raise the status of the teacher in the rural areas, for those who accepted country schools under these conditions would inevitably be regarded as possessors of inferior qualifications. Most government inspectors were sensitive to the need of elevating the social status of the teaching profession; and one

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1. Report, Caernarvon Training College, 1865, p.5
 2. Newcastle Commission Vol.2, p.538.
 3. Reverend John Griffiths, Rector of Merthyr Tydfil. *ibid.* vol.2, p.622.

of them, the Reverend Moseley, had some harsh observations to make on the low salaries offered to teachers in Wales. "There is a tendency in men", he wrote¹, "to come down to a condition of social depression commensurate with their income, which no education can be expected altogether to counteract. If the evil is impossible to be remedied, I fear that the question of education in Wales must be given up. A country which is too poor to provide a decent remuneration for its teachers is too poor to educate itself". Vast tracts of Wales, then, were unable to profit from the provisions of the 1846 Minutes and since the fortunes of the training colleges were bound up with those of the schools, the administrators of the training establishments were obliged to face difficult circumstances throughout the 1850's.

But by far the most powerful factor which militated against the smooth working of the Minutes in Wales was the presence of the Welsh language, and the most serious omission on the part of the central administrators was their failure to acknowledge that substantial allowances would have to be made in order to accommodate satisfactorily this vital difference between the two countries. English in its conception, the system which the Minutes initiated was naturally geared to meet English

1. Quoted in Caernarvon Training College Report 1857 p.22.

requirements. The annual pupil teacher examinations were conducted through the medium of the English language and, in Wales, this most certainly had decided repercussions on the recruitment of candidates to the colleges.¹ Inability to express themselves adequately under examination conditions in, what was to the vast majority of them, a foreign tongue proved such a serious handicap to the pupil teachers in the Principality that only a small percentage succeeded in gaining admission to the training establishments. In fairness to Kay Shuttleworth, however, it should not be implied that these conditions were imposed on an unwilling public, for, in fact, when certain small concessions in respect of the native language were granted in the late forties, they were soon withdrawn as the main mass of the Welsh people did not elect to take advantage of them. As the place which the Welsh language occupied in the schools and colleges in the middle decade of the century and the agitation which centred around its usage are central to our theme, it would seem relevant that some assessment should be made at this stage of the forces which influenced the situation.

1. Welsh Education Committee, Minutes 30.11.1852; see also Pakington Committee, Minutes of Evidence 5818.

CHAPTER III

Attitudes towards Welsh in Education

The social structure of Wales differed sharply from that of England for it had virtually no middle class, at least on the English pattern. Those who wished to render guidance to the mass of the working people, a duty which generally devolved on the middle class in England, were ministers of religion who aired their views and propagated their policies in the denominational periodicals of the time. These writers emerged as the natural leaders of the lower orders of society, influencing a large reading public and more than any other force or factor shaping opinion on the issues of the day. Welshmen, thanks to the pulpit and the Sunday school, were enlightened if not educated. As they had been taught to read in the vernacular from an early age, they were probably more articulate than most of their counterparts in England and consequently they were conceivably more appreciative of the further advantages which education had to offer. Time and again we read in the school inspectors' reports of the enthusiasm shown by Welsh parents to educate their children and of the sagacity they displayed in judging the quality of the education imparted in the various schools.¹ The Industrial

1. e.g. J.D.Morrell's Report, Minutes of Com.of Co. 1859-60. p.158.

Revolution had opened up in its wake vast possibilities in the various occupational fields and quite naturally people saw education of a secular kind as the instrument which would enable them to improve their material comforts. This utilitarian attitude towards education they considered to be in no way inconsistent with their religious beliefs for in their own view there was a definite dichotomy between the secular and the spiritual. Indeed, even their own ministers made no effort to conceal their conviction that the chief purpose of education was to enable the individual to improve his material status in life. The Reverend Kilsby Jones of Northampton and the Reverend David Rees of Llanelly¹ wrote forcibly and prolifically in their respective denominational periodicals, yet much of what they had to say, we feel was falling on willing ears. Their writings, indeed, gave coherent expression of what a majority of the people felt.

Even before the advent of state education on a large scale Welsh nonconformists tended to measure the value of education, even of religious education, by the degree of practical use to which it could be applied, and nowhere was this more

1. Kilsby Jones on the lack of education: "They cannot as they grow up fill any responsible or lucrative position. They must remain beasts of burden for ever." The Principality, Nov. 1848. David Rees wrote: "oblegid mae rhoi gwybodaeth yn ddyletswydd cymdeithasol, oblegid amcan cenedl yw eangu dedwyddwch y bobl, oblegid fod gwybodaeth fushnachol etc. yn anghenrhaid er cyrraedd anrhydedd gwladol". Y Diwygiwr, 1846, No.134, p.289.

apparent than in the continual accusations¹ that were made against the type of education which was provided in their own denominational academies. It is remarkable that the very people that were insistent upon English in the training of teachers and the education of the children were equally insistent upon the importance of Welsh in the training of ministers and the conducting of religious services. To most chapelgoers the kind of study that was undertaken there bore no relevance to reality. The explicit aim of these institutions was to train students to become ministers in their respective denominations. As much of the time there was devoted to the teaching of Greek, Latin and Hebrew grammar, it was claimed that the authorities were concerned more with gaining a reputation for their establishments as seats of learning than with imparting information which would be useful to the students in their calling. "The idea", quoted² Y Dysgedydd, "of Hebrew, Greek or Latin being required in the present day to expound the Scriptures is mere priestly balderdash". Obviously the criterion was utilitarian value. More surprising, perhaps, in view of what we shall be discussing later, was the spirited agitation³ against the study of the English language and its

1. Y Dysgedydd 1838. p.250; Y Diwygiwr 1843. p.255.

2. Y Dysgedydd 1865. p.76.

3. e.g. ibid. 1854. p.5.

use as a medium of instruction at these academies. As the students would soon be in charge of Welsh chapels in Wales and would therefore be preaching in the native language it seemed to most people that it would be advantageous to teach and to lecture through the medium of Welsh. The following comment¹ is typical of many: Y dynyn Cymruaidd yn dyfod yn ddisgybl o'r athrofa yng Nghymru heb feiddio agor ei enau yn iaith ei wlad enedigol...a'r unig iaith sydd i fod yn gyfrwng gwybodaeth rhyngddo ef a'i braidd wedi ei chau allan o fagwrydd y lle ag y gymerid ei baratoi i waith y weinidogaeth'. In their objection to the teaching of Greek and Hebrew grammar through the medium of a foreign language, they derisively compared² the lot of the Welsh theological student with that of his English counterpart, who in earlier times had been forced to learn through the medium of Latin. In this connection, popular opinion rejected the English language on the basis that a knowledge of the Welsh language and fluency in it would be of more use ultimately to this particular brand of student. Thus, agitation against the academies rested not on any inherent antagonism to the English language or on any particular love for Welsh, but rather on the 'usefulness' of the education that

1. Seren Gomer 1854. p.248.

2. Y Dysgedydd 1854. p.181.

was provided there.

As this was the reaction of Welsh nonconformity to what went on in the academies, its attitude towards secular education was entirely predictable - it was seen as an open sesame which would lead to improved conditions and a higher standard of living. This view was not unreasonable and it would have been surprising had they reacted in any other way, for to appreciate education for its intrinsic value is a trait which only the truly educated and leisured class possess. The working classes in Wales as in other countries were not given to such notions and this, of course, is substantially true today. Now that education is a public commodity and is available at all levels to all members of society, it is considered as a basic step towards personal advancement in the materialistic sense, and in our schools, colleges and universities students are constantly striving to gain certificates, diplomas and degrees so that they may lead not worthier and more complete lives but economically easier lives. In spite of all the philosophising of the professional educator, the public continues to regard education as nothing more than commercial currency.

In the latter half of the last century this view of secular education was inevitably linked up with the use of the English language. Welshmen realised that this was to be the

language of the office, the factory and the railways and it was soon brought home to them that exclusive use of the vernacular would be a serious handicap to them in their endeavour to take advantage of the new situations which were becoming available.¹ In South Wales, where there had been a great influx of population, English soon became the predominant language in the day to day lives of the people. Here, the deterioration in the position of the Welsh language has often been attributed to the arrival of vast numbers of Englishmen to man the new industries. Whereas this is probably true of Monmouthshire, particularly those regions close to the English border, it certainly was not true of Glamorgan where the great majority of newcomers were Welsh speaking Welshmen from the rural areas. In their new environment they made it their business to master the English language, and Welsh became more and more confined to the Sunday school and the chapel. Their attitude to the Welsh language was in no way antagonistic - they merely felt that it was inadequate to meet the new circumstances which confronted them. As Longueville Jones reported² in 1850,

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1. "Mae hi yn dra sicr o gael ei dysgu, oblegid hi yw yr iaith sydd yn talu orau am ei dysgu o holl ieithoedd y byd"
Y Diwygiwr 1865. p, 205.
 2. Report of Com.of Co. 1850, p.655.

"The Cymric nation as a body is anxious to acquire the Anglo-Saxon tongue; it is aware of the immense importance of a knowledge of English to all who desire to rise in life or to fight a good battle with a struggling world". Nor did they pause to consider that general usage of English would in any way be detrimental to the mother tongue, for they could, quite justifiably, point out that Welsh was flourishing and secure, as it was not only safely entrenched in the chapels and Sunday schools but it was also the medium exclusively used in the religious and other periodicals which at this time were commanding an unprecedented circulation. Indeed, so convinced were stalwarts like Lewis Edward and David Rees that the Welsh language was safe for ever that they both strongly supported the establishment of English nonconformist chapels for English settlers within the Principality. As a result, Welshmen came to reject their own language more and more as a medium of social intercourse, until in the end it became relegated to the realm of literary scholarship. That it is daily usage which keeps a language alive is amply illustrated by what happened in Wales, where rapid industrial expansion outstripped the resources of the language to such an extent that the necessary terms and nomenclature just did not exist. There were unmistakable signs of this situation developing in the period now under review.

"The Welsh language", stated one witness¹ before the Newcastle Commission, "contains no materials to supply, nor is its literature adequate to meet the requirements of knowledge in modern times; it is a language of the past and not the present: it is in English that the Welshmen must ultimately be instructed in order to enter on the competition of life on anything like fair terms." It is significant that in industrial Wales today, the Welsh language retains its greatest vitality in slate quarrying, the industry that has undergone the least degree of modernisation and technical development in the last hundred years.

The section of society which had most to fear from the consequences of the Industrial Revolution was the leisured and ruling classes. These were people who resented any change in the established order, as they considered it to be a direct threat to the privileged position which they held. To them an educated working class was a potential source of danger for they knew full well that the more enlightened the lower orders became the less readily they would acquiesce to the position in which they found themselves. Believing, as they did, that education might sow the seeds of discontent and even sedition, the landed gentry and the squire had grave misgivings about the result which would accrue from its indiscriminate extension

1. Newcastle Commission, Vol.2, p.449.

to the masses in general. Moreover, they were aware that the new industries would tend to introduce a new element into the social structure, a managerial class, which would soon present a challenge to the undisputed position which they themselves had held for so long. In Wales, the squire who identified himself so closely with the Church of England, was interested in maintaining the prevailing relationship between landlord and tenant. Since his concern in the welfare of the villagers went only as far as their ability to pay the rent, he saw the exodus of the working classes from the rural areas to the industrial valleys, as a distinct threat to his economic position. But more sinister perhaps, the spread of education to the village school would undermine his influence and his standing among the peasants. As we have seen, the Church had always emphasised the importance of the religious ingredient in the education provided in day schools, and the secularising influences of the 1846 Minutes had naturally caused concern among some of its leading adherents. Whereas the National Society had always regarded its schools as agencies for the dissemination of Church doctrine (that it had to abandon its policy in the end was brought about more by the circumstances which faced it than by a change of heart), the British and Foreign Schools Society laid stress on the value

of secular education and its use as a vehicle for material advancement. Since a knowledge of the English language was to form an integral part of this advancement, this divergence of views on the purpose and function of elementary education was to have a marked bearing on the respective attitudes of Churchmen and Nonconformists to the language question in the schools in the last century.

While it was not a matter of deliberate policy on the part of the Church to encourage the use of Welsh in the schools as a means of resisting the secularising of education with all its attendant evils, yet, surely, in the eyes of the ruling classes anything which would hinder the spread of the English language among the masses should be encouraged for they saw in a monoglot tenantry the safest guarantee for maintaining their privileged position in the social structure. Traditionally, however, the Church felt that the most effective way of spreading its influence was by teaching its tenets to the children of Wales through the medium of their first language.¹ Thus, Bishop Newcombe reported² in 1818, "Parents, it is true, approve extremely of the instruction in English as a means of advancing their children in the world, but there is room that they may not be

1. It is significant that the Roman Catholic Church in Wales today is utilizing the same policy in its largely successful effort to establish its influence in the rural areas.

2. National Society Report 1818. p.156-7.

sufficiently grounded in the religious principles of the National Church and trained in the way they should go unless instruction be conveyed in their own language". There are numerous instances¹ where Churchmen have expressed their conviction of the desirability of conducting religious instruction in the schools through the medium of the vernacular and on these grounds alone it is difficult to substantiate the nonconformist contention that the National Schools had as their main aim the suppression of the Welsh Language. Indeed, on the strength of the evidence available, it seems that the Church authorities were more well disposed to the use of the Welsh language in education than were the Nonconformists.² Whereas the National Society was prepared to admit that there was a language problem in Wales, the British Society, admitting of no such contingency, proudly stated that British schools in Wales were English schools and that no

1. See National Society Report 1820. p.226.

2. One hour a day was devoted to the study of Welsh at Llandovery College (church foundation), This fact drew the following comment from Henry Griffiths, President of Brecon Academy "Er fod yr ysgol honno wedi ei chysylltu wrth yr Eglwys Sefydledig, mae ei sylfaenwyr yn deilwng o gael eu rhestru am byth ymhlith cymwynaswyr y genedl. Y Traethodydd V. 1849. p.126.

concessions were necessary to meet the peculiar conditions which obtained in the Principality. Welsh was a hindrance to the learning of English and nothing more.

There is further evidence of the goodwill displayed by the Church to the Welsh language. In the days before the training colleges were established, the National Society in an effort to provide suitable teachers for the Church schools was careful to stipulate that students whom it provided with exhibitions to attend training colleges in England "should be acquainted with the Welsh tongue, as such persons would be more likely than others to take a lively interest in their future labours and more able to communicate freely with the scholars and their parents".¹ But the Society went further than this, for not only did it require these students to be Welsh speaking, but it was also prepared to make provision for the use of the language as a means of communication during the term of college residence. With this in view, it recommended that there should be special departments for Welsh students in 'some or all' of the training institutions which fell under its jurisdiction.² This we consider to be a most generous gesture and one which amply demonstrates the National Society's readiness to concede that

1. National Society Report 1847, p.7.

2. *ibid.* 1856. pxix.

special dispensation was needed to meet the circumstances which existed in Wales. This attitude towards the training of teachers for the schools in Wales is in sharp contrast to that shown by Hugh Owen whose express aim was to encourage young Welshmen to go to Borough Road in order that, by association, they may be moulded into the pattern of thorough going monoglot Englishmen. Time and again the National Society and the administrators of the colleges at Carmarthen and Caernarvon stipulated that their institutions were established to meet the special needs of the Principality. The Welsh Education Committee in discussing its plans for the Carmarthen institution insisted that those who would be trained there should be thoroughly qualified in both Welsh and English languages,¹ and when the post of vice-principal was advertised in 1848 there was the condition that 'he should be able to speak, read and write the Welsh language'.² This was quite in keeping with Bishop Thirlwall's success in learning the native language and his insistence that no monoglot English schoolmaster should ever be placed in charge of a school in a predominantly Welsh parish. In the northern college, Binns the principal "was a good Welsh scholar, who could explain to the students in Welsh what they

1. Welsh Education Committee. Minutes 10.7.1846.

2. National Society Report 1848. p.13.

were unable to comprehend in English".¹ By contrast, at the undenominational Bangor Normal College, where all the staff from the principal downwards, were Welsh speaking Welshmen not a word was spoken in the vernacular in the day to day communication between staff and students.

Nowhere is the benevolent attitude of the Church towards the language better illustrated than in the genuine efforts made by the authorities at Carmarthen to get some recognition for it in the regulations which governed the teachers' certificate. When the principal of that college made representations to the Committee of Council for the inclusion of Welsh in the curriculum he received a reply which was, to say the least, encouraging. The inspector was instructed to prepare a paper in Welsh containing one passage to be translated from Welsh into English and another from English into Welsh, together with questions on the grammatical construction of the language. Moreover, the Lord President was prepared to accept a grammatical knowledge of the Welsh language as an alternative to one or two of the subjects required for pupil teachers in their fifth year. "The arrangements", their Lordships stated, "will sufficiently indicate to you that his Lordship is desirous to promote by means

1. Caernarvon College Report 1851, p.18.

of teachers educated at Carmarthen Training College not only a good grammatical knowledge and such an acquaintance with English as may render its literature accessible to the common people of the Principality, but that he is convinced that it would be difficult to attain either of these objects separately, and that the most effective means of accomplishing each object separately is the general introduction of an efficient bilingual instruction,"¹ But this concession on the part of the government authorities in favour of the native language was not appreciated by the general body of intending teachers, and as early as 1849, Longueville Jones felt obliged to report that the relaxation of the regulations would have to be withdrawn as the candidates did not wish to avail themselves of it.² The government went as far as to make an extra gratuity of £5 per annum³ to any teacher who had passed the certificate examination in Welsh and who was serving in a school where the inspector considered a knowledge of the language would be beneficial. But even this made little difference. The small number of candidates taking the examination in the following year at Carmarthen⁴ testifies

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1. Quoted in Wales, The Language, Social Conditions, Moral Character and Religious opinions of the People (Phillips) Appendix p.605.
 2. Report of Committee of Council 1849, p.219.
 3. *ibid.* 1856-7, p.8.
 4. *ibid.* 1857-8, p.730; Six took Welsh at Carmarthen; at Caernarvon only 7 students had an endorsement on their certificates between 1858 and 1862.

to the reluctance of Welsh students to have anything to do with their native language in their studies. It is clear, however, that at this time both the Church authorities and indeed the central administrators (at least as long as Kay Shuttleworth was in office) were prepared to give some consideration to the use of Welsh in the training of teachers.

The attitude of intending teachers towards the language is not difficult to understand, for drawn as they were from the working class, they were obsessed with the belief that the acquisition of a knowledge of English was the great aim of education and that any use of the Welsh language was an impediment to the fulfilment of this aim. As B.M.Cowie stated¹ in 1859, "The Welsh paper set at Christmas is a mistake. Welsh parents object to their children being taught Welsh; they want them to learn English. To teach Welsh to students is therefore unnecessary. Nobody wants it. It is a hindrance and not a help to the progress of national and general education". As we have stated elsewhere, many of the students in Welsh colleges hoped to gain teaching posts in England and so they felt in no way concerned with studying Welsh in their period of training. Those whose intention it was to work in Wales realised full well that first and foremost they would have to comply with the wishes of the parents, for their salaries were largely determined by

1. *ibid.* 1859-60. p.297.

school pence. Whatever the views some of these people may have secretly held about the position of the Welsh language, they were certainly not prepared to be martyrs to the cause. The parents, indeed, held a strong hand, for if they resented any feature of the school curriculum they had no compunction at all about the withdrawal of their children. Encouraged by the writing of Kilsby Jones¹ and others, they were determined that their children should learn English in the shortest possible time and to achieve this they demanded the complete exclusion of the native language from the schools. "What good", they asked² "can be gained by teaching in Welsh? We know Welsh already" Their objection to the use of the language as a medium of explanation of English was commented upon by Bishop Thirlwall in these terms;³ "An opinion seems to prevail that it is useless or even inexpedient where English is not the mother tongue of the people to teach them to read in their own language. I am convinced that this maxim is quite erroneous. It seems highly desirable that in all such cases both languages should be taught together and there can be little doubt that the practice

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1. "I am quite satisfied in my own mind that the indirect way of teaching the language (English) is utterly inadequate, and that nothing short of making it the subject of direct and systematic treatment will enable the Welsh student thoroughly to understand it". The Principality, Dec.1848.
 2. Commissioners Report, 1847, Part 3. p.22.
 3. Quoted in Welsh Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era (J.Vyrnwy Morgan) p.106.

would be attended with a more rapid progress in each". Any attempt to conduct classes purely through the medium of Welsh was, of course, out of the question. A witness¹ before the Newcastle Commission spoke of the "fear" parents had that Welsh might be used as a medium of instruction and there was a feeling that any misguided schoolmaster who embarked on such a policy would be contributing to his own financial disaster. The native language, therefore, was seldom heard in the schools of Wales. Indeed, Nefydd, the agent for the British and Foreign Schools Society drew attention² to the extraordinary fact that one school in South Wales did teach both Welsh and English!

But the desire of working class parents to exclude the use of Welsh in the schools was not the only factor which influenced teachers and students in the attitude which they assumed towards the language. College lecturers and students alike were well aware of the views expressed by the government inspectors in their annual reports. These gentlemen, appointed by the Committee of Council, had extensive power over the whole field of elementary education; they decided whether a school was fit and qualified to take pupil teachers under instruction;

1. Newcastle Commission Vol.2. p.569.

2. Nefydd MSS.XIV.Journal 23.1.1855. This was Lady Hall's school at Abergwyddon.

they examined the apprentices yearly; they conducted all training college examinations; they listened to students teaching in the schools and during their annual inspection of the colleges they assessed the calibre of the various lecturers. What the inspectors had to say, therefore carried considerable weight and no one who came under their jurisdiction would wish to incur their displeasure and thereby, perhaps, prejudice his chances of personal advancement in the profession.

Undoubtedly, the inspector who was most outspoken on the language issue in Wales was Matthew Arnold. So convinced was he of the uselessness of everything Welsh that he advocated the policy not only of training all Welsh students in English training colleges but also of employing them thereafter as teachers for a few years in English schools. His aim was to remove all traces of Welshness from their character. Moreover, he would use education as an implement for the obliteration of all national differences within the United Kingdom. "Whatever encouragement", he wrote¹, "individuals may think it desirable to give to the preservation of the Welsh language on the grounds of philosophical or antiquarian interest, it must always be the desire of a Government to render its domains, as far as possible,

1. Matthew Arnold, General Report 1852.

homogeneous.....sooner or later the difference of language between Wales and England will probably be effaced and they are not the true friends of the Welsh people who from a romantic interest in their manner and traditions would impede an event which is socially and politically so desirable for them". This, of course, was the extreme view and it was utterly unfortunate that a man of his stature should be the one to pronounce it. Arnold was a product of the English public school and Oxford and to him the purpose of education was to bestow upon the masses.the only culture he knew, that of the upper middle class. It is astounding that a man of Arnold's calibre should fail to appreciate even the existence of a culture other than his own; every culture has its contribution to make to the fund of human knowledge and since language is the outward expression of each and every culture, it follows that every effort should be made to preserve a language, however minor it may be. People need to preserve their sense of belonging to a community small enough to recognise them as individual human beings. A distinctive language serves as a sign for this identification and it is significant that fierce opposition has resulted whenever attempts have been made in recent years to reduce the status of minority languages in various parts of the globe. Had Matthew Arnold's policy been generally applied outside the confines of the United Kingdom, the adoption of a

universal language might have eased the problem of world communication but, in the process, the cultural loss would have been inestimable. The attitude of the majority of middle class Englishmen to the language question at this time is well set forth by Henry Richard in one of the Crosby Hall lectures: "There is a lurking conviction at the bottom of most Englishmen's hearts that no people can be really civilised who do not speak English".

All the inspectors were drawn from the same background and cast in the same mould and their reactions, with a few notable exceptions, to the peculiar situation which existed in Wales were generally similar to those expressed by Arnold. Reporting on the small number of students at Carmarthen College who took the Welsh paper in the teacher's certificate examination in 1861, the Reverend B.M.Cowie had this to say:¹ "It would be more profitable to them to spend their time in learning arithmetic than in keeping up a national distinction which is comparatively useless". Nor did they confine their remarks to the question of the language and its place in the schools and colleges. Many indulged in unsympathetic observations about the Welsh community in general. Reference was made to the

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1861-2. p.288.

"wild areas" from which Welsh students were drawn and to their consequent "wanting in the usage of society". The Welsh accent often came under ridicule and one inspector¹ was at a loss to understand why after five years apprenticeship students in college should show traces of their native accent. It is true that English was the language of instruction in both school and college, but at all other times these young men probably reverted to the language which was natural to them. To expect Welshmen to speak English with an English accent was therefore out of the question, and the remark that the period of pupil teacher apprenticeship was "long enough to lose the Welsh accent" demonstrates forcibly how completely out of touch this particular inspector was with the real situation. Another inspector dealing with the difficulties which confronted any teacher from England who came to work in the Principality maintained that an 'English youth fresh from a London Normal school' would tend to regard the Welsh community as "semi-barbarous". Strong language indeed, but these statements epitomise the general attitude of the inspectorate to the Welsh language, the people and its culture, and when R.W.Lingen, one of the three Commissioners of the 1847 Report, succeeded Kay

1. ibid. 1863-4, p.368.

Shuttleworth as secretary of the Committee of Council in 1849, teachers and lecturers were left in no doubt as to where their Lordships interests lay.

Yet it is fair to state that one or two of the inspectors were more enlightened than most in their views on the place of the Welsh language in the schools. Longueville Jones who for many years had charge of Church Schools in Wales never ceased to advocate the policy of using the native language in the teaching of English to monoglot Welsh children. "Although the greater part of the instruction given in Welsh schools is conveyed in English at the express desire of the parents", he wrote,¹ "yet it is found that the more the two languages are taught concurrently - and so taught as to elucidate and explain each other - the greater is the progress made in the knowledge of each". It was a belief which he expressed time and time again but, unfortunately, his promptings gained but little general support among practising teachers and those in authority. Indeed, the agitation for a thoroughgoing bilingual policy in the schools in the late 80's is ample evidence of the failure to implement such a scheme in the middle of the century.

1. *ibid.* 1850. p.653. Another inspector who held the same view was A.Fletcher who was, for a period, inspector of British schools in some parts of Wales. He wrote in 1849. "A proper use might be made of their own language, now absurdly discarded, even in the technical exercises of the young in learning to read English (Com.of Co. 1848-9 p.295).

An efficient bilingual policy for the schools postulated a supply of suitable text books and attention to this deficiency was drawn by several individuals and organisations. Thus Dean Cotton of Bangor in his remarks on "The most effective method of educating the children of the lower orders in the Principality" had indicated how such a method could be applied in religious instruction - it was equally applicable, of course, to secular learning. "The Clergyman or master", he wrote¹, will take copies of the Duoglot Testament or Prayer book and putting one of these in the hands of every child in the first class, he will direct one of them to read a small portion of the same in the English language. He will tell the other children to fix both their eyes and their attention upon the corresponding Welsh portion and follow him who reads. He will next direct another to read the same in Welsh, while the others fix their eyes upon the English portion which has been before read". Again, David Charles, Trevecca, and Henry Griffiths had both advocated the use of Welsh-English books in Welsh schools before the 1847 Commissioners, while both the Cambrian Education Society² and

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1. Life and Letters of Dean Cotton p.118. (W.Hughes)
 2. "The Cambrian Education Society desires to act as auxiliary to the B & F.S.S. by preparing elementary books in the two languages, English and Welsh for the special use of the schools in Wales and by making grants for such books". U.C.N.W. Library G.A. 109.

the SPCK¹ had envisaged the possibility of publishing elementary books in the two languages for the same purpose. Yet not a single Welsh-English book appeared in the Schedule for schools, and when the Newcastle Commission reported in 1861, there was not one book in use which had a translation by which the learner could translate English into Welsh or vice versa.² In spite of good intentions in some quarters, the hard fact is that nothing accrued from them. This we can attribute only to the indifference and indeed to the reluctance of teachers in general to utilise the language in the schools. Since there was no demand for such books and since there was no guarantee that they would be used if they had been produced, those who saw the advantages which would emanate from their scheme soon came to realise the futility of the undertaking. It is significant that thirty years later, Beriah Gwynfe Evans, himself a schoolmaster, attributed the absence of Welsh in the elementary schools of Wales not to the attitude of the school or the teacher or the Board of Education but to that of the people.³ The inference here is, of course, that society ultimately decides

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1. The Welsh Education Committee thanked the SPCK "for the recent undertaking to provide bilingual elementary school books which are calculated to facilitate the acquisition of the English language by Welsh children". Welsh Educ. Com. Minutes 8.1.49.
 2. Newcastle Commission. Vol.2. p.569.
 3. Y Traethodydd 1887. p.513.

the kind of education it considers desirable and that in this instance, the school and its staff did nothing more than conform supinely to the wishes of the parents.

Yet even if the schools had given some place to Welsh in their curricula in the last century, there is no doubt that the English language would still have continued to make the rapid progress it did in fact make in the Principality. There is perhaps a tendency to attach too much importance to the school as an institution and to the influence which it has on the community in general. In much the same way as the Rebecca rioters attacked the gates as the only visible symbol of a policy which they detested, those who resented the spread and growth of the English language vented their wrath on the schools and the educational system which they embodied. It is surely the physical necessities and the natural agencies of life which determine the way in which communities react to the use of language, and those who attribute to schools the power of changing a nation's language fail to recognise the influence of the social forces which shape and decide a people's way of life. Elementary schools in the first decades of their existence were, at best, artificial and isolated institutions and what went on in them could have had but little bearing on the life of the immediate locality. Thus, for many years the Endowed Schools

in the parishes of both north and south Wales did nothing to foster the use of the English language in the districts in which they were established, nor did the elementary schools in the rural areas have an anglicising effect on the adult population. As one witness testified¹ before the Newcastle Commission "I believe that while the use of English as an exclusive vehicle of instruction, has proved a serious obstacle to the Welsh child's progress in the subject matter of education, it has done nothing or next to nothing for the extension of the English language into districts where it has not been introduced by commerce, the influx of English settlers or other causes tending to stimulate the population to acquire a knowledge of English, by the necessity of using it for the common purposes of life". Some writers maintain that it was the Revised Code, with its sterile rigidity, which delivered the coup de grâce to the Welsh language in the last century. The stipulation, they argue, that the ability to read English, without giving any evidence of understanding the subject matter was all that was necessary for examination purposes in the schools obviated any need to have recourse to the use of Welsh. But here again, we feel too much importance is attached to the influence of the educational system; there were far greater forces at work in bringing about the decline of the language.

1. Newcastle Commission Vol.2, p.569.

In this connection perhaps the all Welsh schools of the present day present an interesting parallel. There is no doubt that where these schools exist they are in a flourishing condition, and this success can be attributed almost entirely to the enthusiasm displayed by Welsh speaking parents. Whereas it may be claimed that their existence helps to arrest the decay of the native language among those people who already possess it, these establishments have done next to nothing in diffusing a knowledge of Welsh among the community generally. In any case, it is open to doubt whether the policy of collecting all the children who speak Welsh into one school is more likely to succeed in disseminating the language than that of allowing both Welsh and English children to be educated under the one roof.

The situation which confronted the teachers in Welsh schools was one which should have claimed the careful consideration of educators generally and, above all, of those responsible for the training of students. Although they were doubtless aware of the difficulties which existed, college authorities failed to give any clear directive as to the way in which the English language should be taught to monoglot Welsh children. It is true that there were indications that the Church colleges were sympathetic to the use of the vernacular in the teaching of

English, but no well considered systematic method of instruction in this respect seems to have emerged. More than one witness stated before the Newcastle Commission that English was badly taught in the schools because the teachers in general did not adhere to any fixed and preconceived method. It is significant that training colleges have seldom taken a prominent part in the formulating of educational policy. As the responsibility for professional training rests squarely on their shoulders, we would expect them to be continually presenting new ideas and new concepts of teaching methods. Teachers, fresh from college, should always have something new to impart to the schools; they should be up to date and their appointment to schools should have an invigorating effect on the staffs. Several reasons may be advanced why this is not broadly the case. In the period now under review, training colleges were new establishments and consequently they were perfectly content to conform to the general pattern which had been laid down for them. There was no desire to depart from the norm and they probably lacked the confidence to initiate new schemes and to experiment with new ideas. The ^{whole} hall mark of success was to gain a high percentage of passes in the certificate examination and as these training schools were pitted¹ against each other - their Lordships were careful to

1. "The Colleges should consider themselves pitted one against another, and this emulation should produce its fruits in striving to get higher places with class list" B.M.Cowie, Report of Com.of Co. 1871-2, p.155.

publish all the examination results - their staffs were given little encouragement to show enterprise. Again, it is doubtful whether the teaching staffs in the colleges were the type who would be receptive to new ideas; they were themselves training college products and the tendency would be to perpetuate the only system of which they had experience. It may be stated, moreover, that the schools particularly the elementary, are far better placed than the colleges for initially developing new techniques in the art of teaching for they have daily access to the raw material. As the practising teacher in his day to day work is constantly aware of the effect which emotional and environmental factors have on the process of learning, he has probably greater insight into the problems involved. In consequence the tendency has, perhaps, been for the schools to influence the work of the colleges and it may emerge that what goes on in the colleges is largely out of date. There is probably a need for closer relationship between schools and colleges and we feel that nothing but good could emanate from the suggestion, vigorously supported in some quarters that college lecturers should be seconded for certain periods to undertake work in primary schools.¹

In broad outline there were three approaches to the teaching of the English language in the Welsh elementary schools. The

1. This practice has obtained for some years in Scottish training colleges.

first was to exclude the native language completely from the child's vocabulary during school hours. This was at once the most popular and the most unsound educationally. In fact it had nothing to support it except the inordinate desire of parents and teachers alike to give the English language status and prominence in the education of children during their early years. Informative articles in the Welsh periodicals could do nothing to bring about a change of outlook and the truly exceptional circumstance which had arisen in the Principality, where children were forced to receive their education in a foreign tongue, was allowed to continue unchecked. Several writers drew comparison with what happened in other European countries and stressed the obvious handicap under which Welsh children suffered, but against the powerful alliance of teachers and parents their pleadings were of no avail. After appealing to the parents' sense of responsibility, one writer¹ went on to state, "Tybiwyf eich bod chwi, y werin Gymreig a mwy o achos grwgnach yn hyna na phreswylwyr Lloegr; oblegid nad yw y llywodraeth am ganadu ar blant y Saeson rhag dysgu eu hiaith eu hunain iddynt, ac nad ydynt am wneud idd eu plant i ddysgu Ffrangeg yn lle eu heiddo eu hunain. Nid yw plant yr Ellmynwyr yn cael eu gorfodi i ddysgu y Saesoneg, a gado eiddo eu hunain i syrthio i dir anghof....Na, dysgu y Saesoneg yw yr holl sydd yma (National Schools) a'r peth cyntaf a glywir gan yr ysgolfeistr

1. Seren Gomer 1848, p.42.

yw 'No Welsh to be spoken here'. Ie, ac y mae y Normal Schools yna yn sefyddliadau daionus iawn oblegid yma y dysg rhai o'r dynion mwyaf dylion a ellir eu cael i fod yn athrawon i'r ysgolion Brutanaidd gan y gwahanol bleidiau crefyddawl ac y mae plant pawb yn cael derbyniad imewn yma. Beth a ddysgir yma? Pethau daionus a anghenrheidiol yn ddiau. Ond ble mae y Gymraeg; nid yw yma: 'Speak no Welsh' sydd ar dafod yr athraw yma. Nid gwaeth na hyna a ellid wneud a phlant y Cymry, pe byddent yn gaethion gan y genedl fwyaf farbaraidd ar wyneb y ddaear, lle na chenadid iddynt ddysgu Saesoneg na Chymraeg". Although there was much sound reasoning here, the author who was probably a voluntaryist, attributed the position of the language in the Welsh schools to the English educational system. If he felt that articles of this nature would engender in his readers a resentment of everything English he had not truly assessed their views on the value of acquiring the English language. Other writers, however, were nearer the mark and they apportioned the responsibility for the state of Welsh fairly on the shoulders of the parents. As one correspondent wrote¹ "Tra y parhaont y tadau a'r mamau Cymreig i wneud mor annoeth, y byddant yn llad a dinystraw chwaeth eu plant at ddysgu iaith eu gwlad enedigol. Camsyniad o'r mwyaf yn ein golwg yw gosod y plentyn Cymruaidd i ddysgu yr iaith Saesonaeg cyn dysgu ei iaith ei hynan, yn hyn sydd yn gwneud teulu Dic Sion Dafydd. ys dywed Glan y Gors, mor lluosog yn ein gwlad". The overriding desire

1. ibid 1854 p.248.

to learn English led to the exclusion of the native language in the schools, and as we have already stated, this resulted in a chancy and haphazard approach to the teaching of the English language. As one of the Commissioners stated¹ in 1862, "There is a confusion of thought which strongly suggests that the subject has received little attention from the teachers of Wales and from others who take an interest in the education of the Welsh people. The erroneous belief that any concession in schools to the Welsh language would militate against the learning of English resulted in the mastery of that language being left to chance² and Welsh children had to face two tasks simultaneously, that of learning the subject matter and acquiring the language". It was generally held that learning English through the medium of Welsh was a waste of time but the plain fact is surely that even if Welsh was not used orally it was still used mentally by pupils when they attempted to understand the subject matter, for the process of translating would be going on all the time. So great was the emphasis on mastering English that there was always the danger of paying but scant attention to the subject-matter. Learning therefore

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1. Newcastle Commission Vol.1. p.570.
 2. Newcastle Commission Vol.2 p.566 "In South Wales I could not discover the remotest approach to systematic aid to the scholars in public schools in overcoming this difficulty resulting from the scholars being ignorant of the language through which they received instruction".

would become arid and meaningless with the children's attention being focussed on words rather than on the ideas which they conveyed.¹ Moreover, any attempt on the part of the child to express his thoughts would be constantly checked by the imposition of an unfamiliar medium. The outcome of this method of teaching was that schoolchildren could write neither Welsh nor English and as Thomas Gee succinctly put it² "Y mae yn debyg fod y rhan fwyaf o'r plant yn gadael yr ysgol yn bresennol heb fedru cyfansoddi llythyr yn gywir mewn un iaith".

Again, the exclusive use of English in the daily lessons would have other far reaching injurious consequences on the monoglot Welsh child. The use of a foreign language in the classroom would surely undermine a child's confidence to such an extent that free communication between the teacher and his pupil would be completely ruled out. More important still, the exclusion of the only language he knew would in a child's view, give to school life an artificiality which would divorce education from the day to day life of the family, as he would tend to associate school with English and the home with Welsh. In this way the whole atmosphere of elementary education became vitiated..

Undoubtedly a sounder policy would be for teachers who were familiar with the Welsh language to elucidate by means of the vernacular the more obscure points of their lessons. This,

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1. Y Cronicle Bach 1847 p.85: "Nid yw darllen Saesoneg yn ysgolion Cymru ond tebyg i iaith parrots",
 2. Y Geiniogwerth (Thomas Gee) 1847, p.27.

at least, would ensure that the work would be intelligible and consequently the child's interest in the subject under consideration could more easily be enlisted. The effectiveness of one's teaching is largely determined by the bonds of sympathy one can establish between oneself and the class and on this count alone it could be claimed that a Welsh speaking teacher who lapsed occasionally into the vernacular would be the most suitable person for service in Wales at this time. The training college authorities themselves seemed to advocate¹ this approach yet we have failed to find any evidence that the Welsh language was used to improve the students' understanding of English while at college. Had students been given some definite guidance in this respect it is conceivable that more of them would have taken advantage of the Welsh language in their teaching. One or two of the more enlightened school inspectors were continually urging teachers to use the native language as an aid to more effective teaching of English, but the very frequency with which these pleas appeared leads us to believe that the vast majority of staffs were reluctant to give their native language any place, albeit an inferior one, in their schools. Thus one inspector gave as his opinion,² "Every teacher who understands both languages should take pains to explain in Welsh, his great object being to make every lesson

1. Caernarvon College Report 1851, p.4.

2. Report of Com. of Co. 1866-7, p.217.

intelligible if he wants his scholars to become good readers and to acquire the English language which all sensible Welsh parents are most anxious their children should learn to read and speak fluently". That a comment of this type was necessary is a sure indication that college authorities had given little consideration to this way of teaching English. On this aspect of education, advice there was in plenty in the monthly periodicals. A typical comment was that made by a writer in the *Dysgedydd*:¹ "Athrawon yn deall Cymraeg a Saesoneg yn dda yw y rhai goreu yn Nghymru - nis gall Sais heb fedru Cymraeg gyfleu drychfeddyliau i blant y Cymry". That the native language was not accorded even this limited usage by the teaching profession in general can be attributed to the spurious belief that to display any acquaintance with it was somehow harmful to one's status. Welsh was held to be a hindrance to progress and as the Dean of Llandaff stated in 1861,² "there is an idea prevailing that the knowledge of it (the Welsh language) is another name for ignorance and bigotry". It should be noted, however, that almost without exception, those who advocated the use of the vernacular in schools did so not from any conviction that the language should be given its rightful place in elementary education but from a desire to ensure that the English language was better taught.

1. Dysgedydd 1848 p,111.

2. Newcastle Commission Vol.2, p.621.

In this climate of opinion the Welsh language had no chance at all of establishing itself as a school subject. It may be argued that the language together with the history and literature of Wales should have been included in the school curriculum in the last century, that the English language should be studied and taught as a separate subject and that monoglot Welsh children should receive the bulk of their education through the medium of their mother tongue. But to suggest that such a scheme was feasible is to deny the existence of the forces which were at work. Their Lordships in their treatment of Welsh schools would not tolerate any special dispensation which would acknowledge the existence of a separate culture nor would Welsh parents approve of a routine which did not give much general prominence to the English language. Indeed, had Welsh been the language of the schoolroom as well as the medium of communication between children in their out of school hours, the English language would have been relegated to the status of any other elementary subject. Those who maintained that English should be the medium of instruction invariably resorted to the excuse that Welsh lacked the necessary nomenclature. This was reiterated time and again by witnesses before the Newcastle Commissioners, but perhaps the most forceful statement in this respect was that made by an inspector, himself a Welshman, twenty years later. "The absence of text

books", wrote¹ Shadrach Pryce, "the deficiency of technical terms and the consequent inadequacy of the language as a medium to convey instruction in modern subjects, unless debased and loaded with foreign words and expressions make it necessary to adopt the English language in our schools. From carefully balancing the results of many years and from numerous enquiries made of experienced teachers, I unhesitatingly reply that the most excellent way of teaching English is to exclude Welsh altogether from the school during school hours". This attitude towards the shortcomings of the Welsh language is in marked contrast to that displayed by authorities in Welsh education after the Second World War, when two training colleges in Wales were designated as institutions which would offer courses to students entirely through the medium of the native language. In order to implement this policy teachers and college lecturers have devoted much time and study to the creation of what amounts to almost a new language particularly in the sciences. We do not propose here to consider the merits and the weaknesses of the present scheme or the advisability of conducting courses through a medium in which none or very few text books have been published, but even the existence of such a policy demonstrates how men of enthusiasm and dedication are impelled to tackle propositions however difficult. In the last century those who

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1882-3, p.421.

condoned the disappearance of the Welsh language from the schoolroom on account of its inadequacy were evidently people who welcomed the diffusion of English.

An account of this aspect of education in Wales cannot be concluded, and indeed would not be complete, without reference to one man - and a college principal at that - who held the view that the acquisition of English was, in no way, the main aim of elementary education. In his defence of this belief, considered almost heretical at that time, he displayed such understanding of the problems which faced Welsh children in their formative years that we have to regard him as probably the foremost educationist in Wales at the middle of the last century. Evan Davies, a law graduate of Glasgow University was the first and only principal of the short lived Brecon College. In no way a trained educationist, he propounded theories which marked him as one who was far ahead of his time, and to suggest that he could afford to advocate the policy he did because the institution was supported by voluntaryists and was thus in no way dependent upon their Lordships for financial aid would be, indeed, to do him an injustice. Lingen, one of the Commissioners responsible for the Blue Books of 1847 was at the college on the very day on which the Minutes of 1846 were published and his report on Brecon makes it clear that the

future secretary of the Committee of Council could have but little sympathy with the native language. As one who believed that a study of the English language should always figure prominently in the education of Welsh children, he was clearly disturbed by the incidental and almost casual treatment which it received at the college. Davies had scant regard for the learning of spelling and grammar, and the teaching of English together with Geography and History was deliberately confined to the two first hours before breakfast. English grammar, he confessed, he found arid and difficult: "The ear", he wrote,¹ "never tells the students what is right and what is wrong so that with them it is memoriter work all through. Of course, this makes it tedious and unintellectual and kills their ardour which ought to possess them in their studies, and the improvement which a pack of Welshmen would derive from such a course would be very trifling". He saw the insistence on learning the English language as nothing more than an impediment which throttled the natural desire of young men to widen their intellectual horizons. "To make the impartation of a new language", he stated² elsewhere, "the first step in the education of a Welshman would be to cramp his best energies - to throw unnecessary difficulties in his way when he is in want of

1. Commissioners' Report 1847 Part 2, p.188.

2. The Principality, Dec.1st 1848.

encouragement. Words are symbolical and before the mind is any the richer for the possession of them, it must have certain pictures or ideas which it is desirous of representing". He confessed that the chief difficulty he had in educating the students was the eliciting of thought and not the clothing of it in words. To him, the power of expression was something secondary, for he felt that once a thought had been clearly implanted in the mind the individual would have little difficulty in uttering it, be it through the medium of Welsh or of English. To encourage students to think clearly and logically and to conceive of ideas forcibly and distinctly he saw as the only way to enrich the mind. "Until healthy and vigorous habits of thought are induced", he went on, "the English language will be of as much service to a Welshman as a row of pretty looking dishes would be to a hungry man". If the mistaken policy of forcing students in training to devote two years to the study of the English language was persisted in, then Davies saw little hope of obtaining a really intelligent and enterprising set of teachers. He would be perfectly content to see the English language "becoming gradually rectified by conversation with teachers, by general reading and by a small portion of time daily to the more immediate cultivation of it". The students at Brecon, it would appear, were not to waste their time with

the frivolity of learning English systematically. Attention was focussed in the main on natural philosophy, a subject which was considered to sharpen the students' wits and force them to think when they would be outside the classroom. This type of approach to education was not in keeping with what the authorities considered to be the best kind of instruction for intending teachers. Lingen was of the opinion that Davies was asking too much of his pupils, and that in the time which was available to the normal schools too much attention was devoted to the "mental exercise necessary to set their brains to work".¹ This shocking admission serves to indicate how deeply the conviction was held by Englishmen in authority that the learning of the language was the paramount aim in educating the poor in Wales. To Lingen, the duty of a training college in the Principality was to equip its students with that "specific command of the English language, English ideas and English allusions which shall enable them to give their scholars the power of reading with ease and pleasure an ordinary English book". According to Davies, such a view was altogether too narrow and too limited in its conception; he would have liked to produce a race of teachers who had been trained to think for themselves, men with enquiring minds who were always searching

1. Commissioners' Report 1847, p.2. p.191.

for ways to improve their intellectual stature. That their spelling and grammar were of a low order, he saw of little consequence. So disconcerting did Lingen find the principal's views that he found difficulty in assessing, according to his own criteria, the quality of the work that was undertaken at the college. "It is plain", he reported,¹ "that a school conducted on such principles, must be judged by the spirit rather than the letter of an examination. When the object proposed is to create a thirst and capacity for knowledge rather than implant knowledge itself or stay to give it systematic shape, the form of an examination can scarcely test the degree in which it has been successfully done. To be conclusive, such an examination shall come ten years after the pupil has proceeded from the master's hand". Yet Lingen, impressed by Davies' character and ability, readily stated, "I consider him, no less by his talents than by his exclusive knowledge and local influence among his countrymen, to be one of the persons who are most able and most likely to advance the cause of education in Wales."

The Principal's views were certainly refreshing, but we have to consider his encounter with Lingen as nothing more than an interesting interlude. On this account we make no apology

1. *ibid.*

for quoting his views on teacher training at some length. Davies was certainly imbued with high ideals but it is open to doubt whether the institution, under his guidance, could have produced in the forties of the last century the type of teacher which was required in the Welsh schools. It may be claimed that he was too ambitious and that only students of high mental calibre could have profited from the methods which he advocated. Had Brecon college survived and come under the aegis of the Committee of Council on Education it would most certainly have lost its individuality and become just another training school which conformed with the general pattern. Again, it is idle to suppose that had Evan Davies continued in office the character of Welsh elementary education would have been different, for as has been seen there were in existence powerful forces which militated against the methods he proposed. Yet the general failure to accept the theory advanced by Davies - that the content of language and processes of thought were more important than language itself - may have had enduring consequences for Welsh education.

In this brief survey we have tried to show the difficulties under which schools and colleges operated in Wales in the middle of the century. They were problems which arose from the translation of the English educational system into Wales. We do not wish to imply, however, that this was forced on the people

from without - in fact, on the contrary, the vast majority of Welshmen welcomed it. The tragedy was that those in authority, far from attempting to adapt the English system to suit the needs of Wales, did not even acknowledge that a problem existed, with the result that Welsh schoolchildren and Welsh students in training were treated like Englishmen.

CHAPTER IV

Hard Times

In direct contrast to their English counterparts which were flourishing under the stipulations of the 1846 Minutes, the training colleges in Wales in the 1850's were experiencing great difficulties. For the whole of this decade, administrators of the Welsh colleges could justifiably have envied the good fortune which had befallen management committees across the border. This state of affairs, however, was abruptly ended in the early 1860's. It was not that the training schools in Wales were now to share in this prosperity, but rather that all colleges - in England and Wales alike - were to be subjected to new and rigorous administrative measures. As these colleges were still relatively new institutions - the vast majority of them were no more than fifteen years old - the problems with which they were now faced were to test their sense of purpose and solidarity to the full. The English establishments were better able to withstand financial restrictions as they, at least, had had some opportunity of consolidating their position. Those in Wales, however, had experienced nothing but hard times from their inception - the scarcity of Queen's Scholars had robbed them of the Government's 'bounty and protection' - and so, ^{throughout the years} ~~from the beginning to the end~~ _{throughout the years}

to Forster's Act, the colleges of Wales suffered unmitigated hardship. That these institutions continued to function, and indeed to survive at all, at a period when some English colleges were forced to close their doors, reflects great credit on the determination and sense of duty displayed by their administrators. To understand the training schools' predicament it is necessary to consider how the measures embodied in the Revised Code affected each and every facet of elementary education, for, as Kay Shuttleworth had carefully amalgamated school, apprenticeship and training college into a coherent unit, any misfortune which befell one of them would inevitably have repercussions on the others.

Opposition to the Minutes of 1846, or more precisely to the effects of these measures, had been growing steadily throughout the 50's. Some, believing that the children of the poor were receiving an education inappropriate to their status maintained that it was, indeed, better than that provided for the children of the middle classes. Others felt that the scope of the Minutes had been too narrow and that the results had been slow and ineffective. Even the teachers themselves had come in for criticism; they were over educated, conceited and dissatisfied with their social status; they neglected their primary function, that of teaching the elements of education to

the less intelligent child. The chief opposition came from within Parliament itself, where there was a growing body of opinion that the government grant for education was reaching proportions which the country could ill afford.

Aware that economies were called for, the government of the day set the pattern which successive administrations have almost invariably followed, that of selecting public education as the sphere for effecting curtailment in expenditure. It is true that the costs of supporting the state system of elementary education had grown enormously since 1846 but this trend was surely inherent in the situation, for education has the quality of self propagation, and once a national system was established it was inevitable that the government should become further and further involved financially. So sensitive were the central administrators to the mounting costs towards the end of the decade, that school inspectors appeared to concern themselves more with devising means of cutting costs than with suggesting measures to improve educational standards. Evidently the system established by Kay Shuttleworth was working so well that in the inspectors' opinion the county was faced with the problem of having a surplus of teachers on its hands.¹ Their case was

1. They readily admitted, however, that this was not true of rural areas, e.g. Report of Rev. J. Watkins. Report Com. of Co. 1859-60. p.38.

based on the assumption that the number of pupil teachers who started their apprenticeship in 1854 would, more or less, balance the demand for teachers in 1861, but, as the number of candidates had almost trebled itself by the end of the decade, it was most unlikely that there would be posts for three times the number of teachers in the middle sixties.¹ In 1860 more than a hundred outgoing students had failed to find posts. It was felt that the pupil teacher system was in need of pruning and that some kind of brake would have to be applied to the supply of candidates to the colleges; there was the suggestion that far too many young men entered the profession when they were not suited for it and that they were allowed to stay at their work because there was so much difficulty in cancelling indentures once they had become apprenticed.² Even, J. Bowstead, one of the more enlightened of the inspectorate, was reduced to calculating costs. After dwelling on the theme of what two years residence at college meant to the government in terms of hard cash he came to the conclusion that "not every pupil teacher was worth training". Fewer candidates, he suggested, should be allowed to go into the colleges, a measure which in itself would cut down the number who wanted to become pupil

1. Rev. J.P.Norris. Report Com.of Co. 1862-3, p.512.

2. Rev. H. Bellairs, Report Com. of Co. 1859-60, p.28.

teachers.¹ Another method of effecting economies would be to regard the first two or three years of apprenticeship as a probationary period, after which only the better pupils would be allowed to proceed further. Apprenticeship clearly, was regarded as one of the spheres which needed looking into, and their Lordships gave concrete expression to the inspector's wishes in the Minute of May 4th 1859 which limited the number of pupil teachers to each certificated teacher to four.

This, naturally, would have a disastrous effect on the larger schools, yet, unbelievably, Bowstead welcomed it as an economic measure.² The colleges, too, were not exempt from scrutiny,

and there was much foreboding in Cowie's remark in his report for 1859 that the amount expended on training colleges from the public funds had attracted considerable attention. Suggestions on how to economise were quick to follow; the number of Queen's Scholars should be diminished; the value of the Queen's scholarship should be reduced; the monetary value of the Christmas examinations at the colleges should be scaled down and students should be encouraged to stay in residence for two years.

These were straws in the wind and when Robert Lowe, the Vice President of the Council, presented the Revised Code it was

1. J.Bowstead, Report Com. of Co. 1859-60. p.169.

2. As a result of this one school in Rochdale had to reduce its pupil teachers from 15 to 4. The headmaster promptly left the profession. Report of Com. of Co. 1860-61, p.89.

evident that its basis was to be economic rather than educational. The system of elementary education which, it was alleged, had hitherto been sustained by Government largesse, was henceforth to be regulated by the law of supply and demand in the erroneous belief that the principle of freedom in trade was equally applicable in the realm of education. Indeed, the training colleges had already been feeling the stringencies of the Government's economies since the beginning of 18⁵68 when the regulations governing the grants to these institutions in respect of Queen's Scholars were considerably modified.¹

These stipulations Lowe now incorporated into the Revised Code; the payment to be allowed for all Queen's Scholars was now to be uniform, £23 per annum in the case of males and £17 in the case of women: in addition, Scholars of the First Class were allowed the following personal payments in aid of their travelling and private expenses and of the purchase of books, Males, first year £4, second year £6, Females, first year £5 second year £4. Grants² were also made to the colleges for every student who was trained there and who passed the annual examination at the end of his year's residence in accordance with the following scales:

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1. Report of Com. of Co. 1857-8, p.23.
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1861-2, Revised Code 119-23.

	<u>Class of Merit</u>	<u>Grant to Colleges</u>
End of 1st yr.	1	£20
	2	£16
	3	£13
End of 2nd yr.	1	£24
	2	£20
	3	£16
End of 3rd yr.	1	£24
	2	£20
	3	£16

The purpose of this grant was to cover that part of the cost of training not covered by the Queen's Scholarship. These sums were to be the chief source of income of most of the institutions and henceforth they were to be regulated on the principle of "payment by results". No grants would be paid to the colleges for capital expenditure. The only other means by which colleges could receive money from public funds was in respect of certificated teachers and lecturers on the staff. An annual grant¹ of £100 was given to lecturers whose salary was not less than £150 per annum on condition that they had passed an examination in one or two of the following subjects, History, English literature, Geography, Physical Science and Applied Mathematics. The number of lecturers chargeable to the Parliamentary grant was not to exceed one for every 30 students in residence and no college was allowed more than three such lecturers in any circumstances.

1. *ibid.* 100-102.

The prospect which these stipulations offered to training college administrators was bleak, but worse was yet to come. By the Minutes of March 21st 1863 a completely new system of financing the colleges was established. Payment in respect of students was now to be made retrospectively, the amount of the grant being determined by the number of former students who were working in the schools. In fact, this went a stage further than payment by results - it was payment by future results. As the scheme was not to come into full operation until 1868, the government evolved a rather complicated plan to relieve the college authorities of financial hardship in the transition period.¹ In 1868, however, the colleges were to receive annual grants of £100 in five successive instalments of

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1. Report Com. of Co. 1862-3. p.XLIV. The provisional arrangements were:

Grant in 1864	-	A + £20	T. (1863)
1865		A + £20	T. (1863-4)
1866		A + £20	T (1863-65)
1867		A + £20	T (1863-66)
1868	-	£20	T (1867-8)

A = average sum paid to college on account of students examined in Dec.1860-1-2. and of Q.Scholars, certificated assistant masters and lecturers resident in 1860-1-2. This sum remained constant throughout the calculation.
T = number of teachers qualified or reported on.

£20 per annum for every master, and of £70 in five successive instalments of £14 for every mistress who had trained in them for two years, and who had after two years probation qualified to receive a certificate. No grants would be paid in respect of any student who stayed in residence for less than two years unless one was undertaking infant school work, and on no account was the government grant to any college to exceed 75% of its annual expenditure. Queen's scholarships were to cease but the scale of payments for examinations passed at the end of each year was to remain as previously with the proviso that the money paid in respect of these examination successes was to be regarded as part of the total sum to which a college might eventually be entitled.

The financial risks implied in these stipulations were blatantly thrown on to the college authorities. Every institution had to find 25% of its annual expenditure from private sources, a task far from easy as colleges, unlike hospitals, churches and schools, were not, in reality, local establishments and could make but little appeal to local sympathy. Moreover, the very fact that they received government aid militated against goodwill and public subscription. Thus, shortage of funds was a problem which every college authority had to face. Reed, the principal of Carmarthen in a letter¹ to the Bishop of St David's maintained

1. Carmarthen Management Committee Minutes 6.10.1864.

that Church of England colleges were too numerous and that these institutions were appealing to only a few subscribers. This view was shared also by the Reverend B.M.Cowie, who maintained that the financial restrictions imposed by the Revised Code made a greater impact on Church colleges than on the undenominational institutions. Although this was probably true of Wales with its predominantly nonconformist population, it must not be assumed that the Normal College at Bangor did not feel the effect of their Lordships stipulations.¹ The Committee of Council, however, were indifferent to the plight of the colleges. They were aware that in the past the grant from the public fund had in some instances exceeded the expenditure of the colleges.² "This lavish subsidy", wrote³ Cowie, "has lasted long enough and when stopped it was found to have enervated its recipients". Whereas this may be true of some of the large metropolitan colleges, it certainly did not apply to those in Wales, for as has been seen, the Welsh colleges were never free of financial difficulties throughout the 1850's. After the Revised Code, the Welsh authorities were obliged to make continual, and largely unsuccessful, appeals for financial support. In 1864 Caernarvon College appealed to the Clergy of the Parishes where a certificated

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1. The Nonconformists were committed to maintain their own chapels and denominational academies.
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1863-4. p.315.
 3. *ibid.* p.311.

master from the college had been appointed, to make a collection on behalf of the institution. The response was meagre indeed, - only £31 was collected from the parishes of Bangor, Beaumaris and Llanedwen.¹ This was barely enough to keep one student in residence for one year. In their dire financial position the colleges were forced to economise: a lecturer was asked to resign at Carmarthen,² while the principal and other members of the teaching staff at Caernarvon had to accept salary cuts.³ As college managers were thus constantly preoccupied with the problem of making ends meet, there was always the danger that they would be diverted from concentrating on their true function, that of supplying teachers for the schools. The central administrators, however, remained unmoved, for Cowie was able to report⁴ with the utmost complacency in 1865 "The present mode of supporting Training Schools measures the amount of public aid in proportion to the work done. If the work cannot be done there is no drain on the public funds." This sordid materialism indicates the depths to which the administration of popular education had sunk in the middle 60's.

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1. Caernarvon Report 1864, p.6.
 2. Carmarthen Report 1868. p.7. W.Angel Thomas was asked to resign as an economic measure.
 3. Caernarvon Report 1965, p.4.
 4. Report of Com. of Co. 1865-66, p.401.

The responsibility of finding a quarter of the annual expenditure was not the only burden which the Revised Code heaped upon college managements, for there were elements of uncertainty implicit in the conditions which governed the payment of the public grant. The college authorities did their best to ensure that students would stay in residence for two years and that they would thereafter endeavour to gain their certificates after the period of probation. This involved a certain amount of financial risk, for the colleges could not control a student's movements once he had left. Some might not take up teaching at all whilst others might flit from school to school before settling down and qualifying for their parchment by serving for two years in the same school. In this way, college authorities were at the mercy of the whims and fancies of these young men who were well aware that their stay at college and their probationary period were worth £100 to the institution. The authorities felt¹ they were to some extent in the power of the students, a situation which did not make for good discipline and amicable staff-student relationship. Meanwhile the colleges in order to safeguard their interests requested incoming students to undertake certain commitments. Thus students who entered Caernarvon college had to guarantee not only that they would

1. Letter from Church of England principals to Committee of Council: National Society Report 1863. PXXXVII.

stay in residence for two years but also that they would serve their probation, if possible, in the first school to which they were appointed, so as to obtain their certificate without loss of time.¹ The college committee held out certain inducements to the students to qualify for their certificates as soon as possible. Quarterly grants which had been paid to students during residence were replaced by a sum of £16 payable to them on obtaining their parchment certificate. The college also instituted a system of "caution" money - each student paid in 10/- quarterly to college funds and the total sum would be returned to him only when he had remained as a teacher in the one school for two years, thus qualifying for his certificate.² The authorities at Bangor,³ however, went even further than this - students there had to promise that they would repay to the college their whole cost of maintenance and education if they did not stay in their first school for two years. The colleges, driven to take these precautions by the uncertainty which surrounded the gaining of the government grants, were further obliged to fulfil the role of agencies for finding posts for their students on completion of their training. As one inspector openly stipulated,⁴ "The first step in securing this

1. North Wales Training College, Minutes 20.10.63.

2. *ibid.* 24.1.65.

3. Report of Com. of Co. 1864-5, p.396.

4. *ibid.* 1865-66, p.397.

payment is that the principal or chief officer of the normal school shall secure a situation for the student on leaving". Sir Henry Jones in his "Old Memories" recounts¹ how on the last morning of his two years' residence at Bangor Normal College he was summoned to the Principal's office to be told whether a teaching post had been found for him or not. This was the accepted college routine. Without having any voice in the negotiations, students were allocated to schools by arrangement between the college and school managers! This was the law of supply and demand in operation and, as one of the alleged reasons for introducing the Revised Code was that the country was becoming overstocked with certificated teachers,² this burden which was inflicted on management committees was particularly onerous. In this situation it is doubtful whether college officers could devote their whole attention to the work for which they were engaged, that of training and producing teachers. Principals of these institutions were now expected not only to produce the goods but also to market them as well. No wonder that eight college principals resigned their posts in the period now under review.³

As will be seen, other measures incorporated in the Revised Code had equally disastrous effects on the colleges, but it may

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1. Henry Jones, op.cit. p.97-8.
 2. Minutes of Com. of Co. 64-5, p.158.
 3. W. Reed, principal of Carmarthen resigned in 1866.

be refreshing to consider here one stipulation - and indeed the only one - which had a salutary and lasting result on teacher training and elementary education in general. This was the uniform extension of the term of residence to two years. As the central administrators are often accused of being more concerned with the quantity of teachers produced than with the quality of their teaching, it would be easy to level this charge at the Committee of Council at this time particularly as the Code was in essence an economic measure. By imposing a second year's residence it could be claimed that the flow of teachers from the colleges would be interrupted for twelve months and that this respite would help to restore the balance between the number of posts available in the schools and that of the applicants for them. Yet incongruous though it may seem in the prevailing climate of official opinion, there is reason, in this instance, to believe that their Lordships were motivated by a genuine desire to improve the training given in the colleges. As early as 1857 - before the outcry that the production of trained teachers was excessive - R.W.Lingen, the Secretary of the Council had informed¹ all colleges that "their Lordships would be glad to see the training of all students without exception

1. Lingen's Letter 18.2.57. Report of Com. of Co. 1856-7, p.6.

extended to two years in Normal Schools". At that time several accusations were made against the one year trained teachers - they were "conceited or impatient or unstable or superficial",-¹ faults, it was felt, which a two year course of training could eradicate. With the Committee of Council clearly concerned at the large number of students who left the training schools after only one year,² B.M.Cowie the chief inspector was at pains to give valid reasons why the course should be extended. "Granted", he wrote,³ that all they (the students) have to teach is reading, writing and arithmetic and the elements of religious instruction; this can only be done when they can do these things themselves - that they have some general historical and geographical information so as to be able to explain what the boys read - that they understand principles of grammar and composition so that a child can write a decent letter. They must also have acquired a knowledge of 'method' to impart knowledge. A great deal has to be done to acquire even this result and it cannot be done under two years". This was a measure which he obviously supported on educational grounds and it must be taken to reflect their Lordships'

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1857-8, p.795.

2. 95 students out of 499 left after one year in 1866. Report of Com. of Co. 1860-1, p.275.

3. *ibid.* p.277.

thinking on the matter. As the colleges did not respond to persuasion, the Committee of Council in order to ensure that its policy would be complied with, made the grant to the colleges dependent upon two years' residence. This had the desired result, and Cowie was able to report¹ that in the fourteen colleges he inspected in 1865 only seven students out of 329 had left after one year's training. In this way did the two year course come to be established. It is strange to reflect that this eminently beneficial measure should come into force at a time when education generally was suffering such harsh treatment under the Revised Code.

Poised as it was between pupil teacher apprenticeship and the teaching profession, the training college was extremely vulnerable to the vicissitudes and misfortunes which might befall either or both of these. From the standpoint of college managers the ideal situation would be one in which there were a high demand for teachers in the schools and an ample supply of eager young men ready to enter the colleges. Unfortunately, the Revised Code dealt the teachers such a cruel blow that they found themselves almost in the same financial position as they were before 1846. The augmentation of salary grant which had, perhaps erroneously, led teachers to regard themselves as civil servants now ceased and they had to strike what bargains they

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1865-66, p.397.

could with the school managers. Moreover, as the grants to the schools were largely regulated by the success of the pupils in the 3 R's, it followed that the teacher's salary was almost wholly determined by his examination results. The teacher certainly lost status, for he was now to become the servant of the manager rather than of the state; whereas previously the method of payment had, in a way, stressed the teacher's connection with the government - he had received part of his salary by Postal Order from London - it was now a purely private financial arrangement between him and his school manager, with the state completely disinterested in the transaction. Therefore, much of what Kay Shuttleworth had done to give him a sense of professional standing was destroyed at one stroke. As a body, the teachers were greatly disillusioned by the action of the Committee of Council and, not unnaturally, their frustration, based on the belief that their Lordships had betrayed them, was given great prominence in the journals of their several unions.¹

In Wales, the widespread opposition to the Code found vigorous expression in public meetings and letters in the press. In addition, there was much correspondence between the various educational bodies and the Committee of Council. Apart from communications from school managers and teachers, memorials

1. e.g. The School and the Teacher, The National Schoolmaster, Papers for the Schoolmaster, National Society's Monthly Papers.

were presented to the central authorities by such organisations as the Promoters of Popular Education in the Counties of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, the Swansea District Board of Education and the Church of England School Teachers' Association for the Archdeaconry of Brecon.¹ While some attacked specific measures in the Code, others levelled a general criticism at the way in which the teachers' position in society had been undermined. Typical of this latter category was the memorial sent by a group of National and British Schoolteachers in North Wales. "Your memorialists", they wrote², "as well as the managers of the schools under whose advice most of them entered on the profession of elementary teachers, had no doubt that these enjoyments (the augmentation grants) were binding and permanent, and that their certificates would always carry a specific money value so long as the teachers fulfilled the prescribed conditions; and this was no mere understanding on their part, it having received the strongest confirmation by the construction on which your Lordships have put on the transaction, namely that the teachers having been in part trained at the expense of the State, are bound to a life service, and are thereby precluded from obtaining public employment, except on

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1. Accounts and Papers (British Museum) 1862 (XLI), Part 2, p.450.
 2. *ibid.* Part 1, p.262.

condition of refunding the amount so expended upon them.

The new Code professes to cancel all the definite engagements and thereby destroys altogether the specific money value of the certificates, while it gives no definite claims upon the managers of schools to any of the payments heretofore made to them.

The new Code will be very injurious to most if not all of your memorialists, lower their position and influence and probably constrain many of them to leave the profession altogether."¹

The teachers' sense of betrayal was perhaps most cogently voiced by the Reverend Derwent Coleridge, Principal of St. Mark's College, London, who maintained that the Government was morally bound by the terms of the 1846 Minutes to continue with its original scheme of paying augmentation grants. His advocacy of the teachers' cause is well set forth in his pamphlet on The Education of the People. Every stratum of the profession, he claimed, had been encouraged by their Lordships to regard the calling as one which offered security and prospects:

"Every pupil teacher in the elementary school, every student in the Training College has taken upon himself certain obligations, on a certain implied understanding, undeniably entertained by both parties, and in very many cases determining his choice in

1. One of the two signatories to this petition was John Edmunds, headmaster of Garth School, Bangor and part time tutor at Bangor Normal College.

selecting his way of life. Certain definite prospects have been held out to him, so surely supposed to be permanent, that on entering the Training College, he was taught to consider himself bound to follow for an indefinite period, the calling to which these prospects were attached, all other callings, as far as possible, being closed against him".¹

Frustration and disappointment which lay like a blight on the profession produced an adverse effect on recruitment. Giving evidence² before the Pakington Committee in 1865, Bowstead in reply to a question on the shortage of students entering college, could simply say "the profession of schoolmaster does not offer sufficient temptation". Teaching, in the public esteem was now at a low ebb and those who underwent training in preparation for it were regarded as young men who lacked quality and ability. The individual who told Lloyd Williams,³ at that time a student at Bangor college, that he would not demean himself by becoming a teacher was probably voicing an opinion which was commonly held in the years following the Revised Code.

But this was not all, for the Code made apprenticeship itself less attractive. Not only were the stipends paid annually to pupil teachers abolished but also the grants which

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1. Education of the People (Coleridge) p.12; See also Memorandum on Popular Education (Shuttleworth) 1868.
 2. Select Committee on Education (Pakington's) 1865-66. Minutes of Evidence No.3265.
 3. J.L.Williams, op.cit. Vol.4, p.10.

headmasters received for instructing them were cancelled. It is worth noting that these measures were introduced at a time when apprenticeship was already suffering from competition with other employment.¹ Henceforth these young entrants to the profession could not look forward to any guaranteed remuneration during their training, nor could they be certain that teachers would be wholeheartedly devoted to their progress. Indeed there were instances where teachers actively dissuaded young boys from taking up teaching at all.² Moreover, under the Revised Code school managers, in consideration of the annual grants to the schools, were required to maintain a minimum number of pupil teachers - one for every 40 pupils after the first 50 -³ whereas previously, as the government paid the whole cost of pupil teachers, these managers had every temptation to press the Committee of Council for an allowance for the maximum number. From the manager's point of view, engaging a pupil teacher now became a precarious business for he had to consider whether the increased teaching power in the school would boost the grant sufficiently to balance the apprentice's stipend. As one inspector succinctly put it,⁴

1. e.g. Report of Com. of Co. 1857-8, p.295; p.531; p.617. 1858-9 p.94; 1859-60 p.39, p.94, 1860-1, p.141.

2. *ibid.* 1865-66, p.398.

3. Minutes of Com. of Co. 1861-2, Revised Code.

4. Rev. G.R.Moncreiff, Report of Com. of Co. 1862-3, p.108.

"The answer is conclusive; it is more than doubtful whether the services even of a good pupil teacher will increase the grant by ten pounds, which is equivalent to 25 children passing in all subjects". The disinclination of managers of large schools to employ pupil teachers, the breaking of the close bond which had hitherto existed between teacher and apprentice and the restriction on schools under 90 children to engage even one pupil teacher greatly reduced the number of boys and girls who wished to enter the profession. This was particularly noticeable in Wales where the vast majority of schools were small rural units. The following table¹ shows clearly the diminution of pupil teacher numbers in the Principality during the years now under review.

Pupil teachers (male)			
	3rd yr.	4th yr.	5th yr.
Dec. 1863	95	81	106
Dec. 1864	81	71	77
Dec. 1865	54	70	62
Dec. 1866	52	41	61
Dec. 1867	55	48	36
Dec. 1868	74	49	43

The above figures are in no way indicative of the numbers who would enter the Welsh colleges, for some would fail the admission

1. Compiled from Report of Com. of Co. 1863-1868.

examination after their fifth year whilst others would by-pass college training altogether and become provisionally certificated for undertaking work in small rural schools.¹

This loophole in the Code certainly had a debasing effect on the value of college training and college managements were sensitive to the harm that this measure was doing to their institutions. In this connection the Committee of Caernarvon College petitioned² the Committee of Council as follows:

"Your memorialists forbear to dwell on the effects of the 'New Code' on the various schools in the kingdom, one point only would they press most urgently upon the attention of my Lords, namely, the impolicy of placing pupil teachers at once in charge of elementary schools, for it is not to be expected that at such an early age as 18 or 19 boys and girls who have finished their apprenticeship, would with their imperfect knowledge and small teaching powers conduct schools successfully by themselves; it is unwise to expect in such young persons the moral weight necessary for the important work of school management". Resentment on the part of college administrators towards this measure was only to be expected for they felt that many of their potential candidates were being deliberately lured away from their institutions.

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1861-2 Revised Code para. 90 & 132: These provisional certificates would be cancelled if the teachers did not pass the certificate examination before they were twenty five years of age.

2. North Wales Training College Committee Minutes (21.1.62).

The colleges, feeling the full financial effects of the Revised Code were faced at the same time with a shortage of candidates for admission. Stringent as the financial stipulations of the Code were, it appears that management committees were far more concerned at having to administer half empty colleges than at having to meet a quarter of the annual expenditure. As the report of the Committee of Council stated,¹ "The great divergence between the provision of normal training and the employment of it is a question of the utmost gravity. It does not arise from a want of funds but from want of suitable candidates....In fact pecuniary difficulties are rarely pleaded. The drop in student numbers at Carmarthen in 1862 was so alarming that the management committee threatened to resign.² But the Welsh Education Committee was as powerless as the local committee to effect any improvement. At the end of that year the vice-principal was given notice to retire as the

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1867-8, p.XIII.

2. Minutes, Carmarthen Management Committee 3.4.64; "Unless the Welsh Education Committee can suggest some mode of largely increasing the number of students immediately after the close of the current year or earlier, the Local Council will in June next be reluctantly compelled to give formal notice of their intention to retire at Christmas from the engagement into which they have entered with the Welsh Education Committee for the management of the college."

college administrators were not certain whether the institution would be in existence in the following year - not a single candidate had applied for admission.¹ In the meantime the Rev. Reed, the Principal, had attended a conference of Church of England college principals where he had met among others Kay Shuttleworth and Rev. B.M.Cowie, the inspector for training colleges. Reed must have derived little comfort from Cowie's suggestion that the shortage of candidates at Carmarthen was purely accidental! The Principal now suggested that, as the college was on a firmer financial footing than most, student numbers might be increased by offering travelling grants to candidates for admission.² This measure, which was immediately implemented³ proved to be ineffective in inducing larger numbers to attend the college. In 1868 the managers announced⁴ that students who passed the admission examination would be trained there "free of all charge during the two year's course". Yet, in spite of this and earlier concessions, Carmarthen could produce

1. Carms. Management Committee Minutes 6.11.62.

2. *ibid.* 12.8.62.

3. *ibid.* 26.8.62.

<u>Old scale</u>	<u>New scale</u>
250 miles - £3	250 miles - £5
200 miles - £2	200 miles - £4
150 miles - £1.10.0	150 miles - £3. 10. 0.
100 miles - £1. 0.0.0.	100 miles - £2. 10. 0.

4. Annual Report, Carmarthen College, 1868, p.9.

only five teachers at Christmas in the following year.

The position was equally unsatisfactory at Caernarvon, where four students left the college without valid reason, "proof" said the committee in its report¹ "that the office of school-master has lost, at least, some of its former attraction". At no time was the institution more than half full and, to make matters worse, the college was unfortunate in 1867 when a cholera and typhoid epidemic caused three deaths among the students.² Situated as it was in a rural area, the college suffered from a lack of pupil teachers as candidates for admission. Out of 222 schools receiving government aid in the dioceses of Bangor and St. Asaph, only 6 sent pupil teachers for the entrance examination in two years.³ As at Carmarthen, the managers at Caernarvon resorted to the expedient of paying travelling expenses of would be entrants, and small grants to students on completion of training. These measures were in a way pathetic and they did little, if anything, to augment student numbers. It is a sad comment on education in the 1860's that a national system of teacher training, which had hitherto been working well, should have to be bolstered up by such means.

1. Annual Report. Caernarvon College, 186⁶⁴~~8~~, p.⁷~~9~~.

2. ~~ibid.~~ 1864, p.7.

3. Report of Com. of Co. 1867-8, p.495.

3. ANNUAL REPORT. CAERNARVON. COLLEGE 1869. P.6

The shortage of pupil teachers, however, led to one interesting development in the training colleges - the establishment of what was called the preparatory class. These were young men who were prepared to enter the profession but who had not undergone apprenticeship. Generally they were taught with the first year students or as a separate class. They were probably drawn from a slightly higher station in society than were the pupil teachers and they paid a fee to the college commensurate with their parents' circumstances.¹ The number of preparatory students varied from year to year but they almost always outnumbered those who had done their apprenticeship. Thus as late as 1871, almost three quarters of the students resident at Bangor Normal College were non pupil teachers.² As, during their preparatory year, they were coached specifically with a view to passing the entrance examination at the colleges, these students usually gave a better account of themselves than did the pupil teachers of the fifth year. On the other hand, as they had not had the experience of apprenticeship, they were not considered to be as proficient as the latter in their teaching.³ At the outset these students were housed in the colleges, but their Lordships soon decided⁴ that their residence and board were not to be included in the institutions' expenditure for the purpose of the annual grant.

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1. Report of Com. of Co. 1866-67, p.481. Some fees were as high as £16.10.0.
 2. Annual Report, Bangor Normal College 1871, p.8.
 3. Report Com. of Co. 1871-2, p.165.
 4. *ibid.* 1867-8, p.561.

(This attitude on the part of the government was foreseen by B.M.Cowie as far back as 1861 when he informed the Carmarthen Committee that the Committee of Council would "look narrowly" into all aspects of expenditure).¹ Thereafter, these students were accommodated in private houses near the colleges, and according to one authority,² there was a danger that they would, in the context of college life, be regarded as "interlopers and outsiders".

This type of student proved to be the salvation of the colleges in the years following the Code; the National Society and the Welsh Education Committee realising that the training schools could not possibly be sustained by pupil teachers only, did much to foster the preparatory classes. At the instigation of the Welsh Education Committee the authorities at Caernarvon decided³ to establish a "limited number of exhibitions for the purpose of encouraging young men to enter the Institution and especially for the support and education of promising students in the Preparatory Class". There, students of this category were limited to ten a year, they had to reside in houses selected by the Principal and the vicar of the parish, all had to be over 17 years of age and no one could be admitted

1. Carmarthen Management Com. Minutes 6.1.61.

2. H.M.I.Anderson, Report of Com. of Co. 1869-70,p.468

3. Caernarvon College Committee, Minutes 10.7.65.

to the class without passing a preliminary examination to the satisfaction of the Principal.¹ Each student was asked to pay 3/6d a week towards his upkeep, all the other expenses incurred on his behalf being met by the college authorities and the Welsh Education Committee. An agreement along similar lines was in force at Carmarthen, where the college received £30 annually from the National Society for the maintenance of the preparatory class.

At this time there was, perhaps, a danger that the colleges, in view of the shortage of pupil teachers, might be encouraged to accept students who had no intention of taking up teaching as a career, and thus virtually becoming boarding schools for young men of well-to-do parents or with wealthy patrons. Sir Henry Jones recounts² how he was approached by the squire's wife to enter the preparatory class at Caernarvon college with a view to becoming a parson.

The colleges could not be allowed to languish under the stipulations of the Revised Code indefinitely and it was the sense of self-preservation which perhaps caused some of them to look in other directions for support and thereby to deviate from their original function. This was a trend which Derwent

1. *ibid.* 23.10.66.

2. Henry Jones, *op.cit.* p.85.

Coleridge envisaged as early as 1862. "If they (the training colleges) were thrown open", he wrote,¹ "for the purposes of general education, real education, of a liberal yet practical kind, dealing as at present with the lower rather than the upper branches of learning, with the elements rather than the higher combinations of knowledge, yet so as to provide, not a school, but something analogous to a university training, for the sons of yeomen, tradesmen, artisans of the higher, and professional persons of the lower grade; while the training of the schoolmaster, no longer limited to a particular class of schools though not the sole, continued to be the leading object, and characteristic feature of the system..so, and I believe so only, might these colleges obtain general and adequate support from independent sources".

It is interesting to note that steps - tentative and unofficial though they were - were taken at Caernarvon which might eventually have transformed the character of the institution there. In 1862 the management committee wrote² to the Committee of Council and the National Society "on the propriety of opening a middle class school in connection with the college and under the superintendence of the Principal". Such a class was instituted before the college obtained their

1. "The Teachers of the People" (Coleridge) 1862, p.58-9.

2. Caernarvon Management Committee, Minutes 29.7.62.

Lordships' permission and 18 months later the local administrators had to admit¹ to the Committee of Council "that there had been some irregularity in the admission of private pupils into the principal's house, where they had been taught by the Fourth Master". It was evident that the central authorities in London had not looked with much favour upon such developments, and the principal's resignation of office in 1865 was not unconnected with the episode. His successor, at all events, was precluded from attempting to foster the growth of a middle class school, for the college committee resolved,² "That in future, the Principal of this Institution shall be prohibited, upon pain of dismissal, from accepting any permanent charge of a parish.....; neither shall he be permitted to devote any portion of his time to private tuition". As far as can be ascertained this was the only attempt made in Wales to divert the colleges from their true function. That it should fail was to be expected as the two Bishops, who were co-chairmen of the management committee, and indeed the National Society itself regarded the colleges as bulwarks for promoting Church doctrine among the children of the poor. It was out of the question that they should acquiesce to anything which would impair this influence.

1. *ibid.* 14.4.63.

2. *ibid.* 8.9.65.

In dealing with the wider implications of the Revised Code it will be seen that one of its great weaknesses was that it failed to make any concessions whatsoever to the special conditions which obtained in Wales. In consequence, its results were even more disastrous here than they were in England. As the English colleges, their Lordships felt, had been producing too many teachers it was desirable that some means should be devised to curtail the number of young men who entered these institutions. In Wales, however, particularly in the British schools, there had been a shortage of trained teachers even before the Revised Code came into operation. Baxter, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Schools Society, had been to South Wales in December 1858 in order to discuss with the Rev.W.Roberts (Nefydd), the agent for the Society there, the best means of apportioning masters for the schools needing them. At that time there were 14 schools urgently wanting teachers but, in the event, only three could be supplied.¹ Bowstead, the government inspector who knew Wales as well as anybody, stated in 1864 that British schools always suffered from lack of teachers. "This scarcity", he reported,² "of certificated teachers trained in the British system is

1. NLW Nefydd MSS.XIV. Journal 1858

2. Report of Com. of Co. 1864-5, p.156.

probably unknown in most parts of England and its existence in Wales is due almost entirely to the peculiar circumstances of the Principality. The number of Welsh teachers trained up to this time is not sufficient for the wants of their own country". This state of affairs was to continue as both John Phillips, the principal of Bangor college, and Thomas Gee testified before the Pakington Committee in 1866.¹ Nor was there any prospect that many teachers from across the border would take up posts in Wales. According to Bowstead, English teachers seldom sought appointments here as they felt out of sympathy with the local committees. Indeed the English teacher in Wales was apt to regard himself "as the only person in the locality who had any pretensions to civilization".² British schools in Wales therefore had to rely in the main, on the Normal College in Bangor for their teachers. Yet thanks to the Revised Code, this institution was half empty throughout the 1860's!³ The educational administrators would allow of no discrimination in their treatment of Wales.

The Committee of Council's complete disregard of the Welsh language could conceivably have resulted in the Revised

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1. Select Committee on Education (Pakington) Minutes of evidence No. 2514-6 and No. 4679.
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1864-5, p.157.
 3. Bangor College produced 74 teachers, when it could have provided 132 between 1863-1868 (inclusive).

Code becoming a rallying point for the development of a national consciousness in educational matters in Wales. Although B.M. Cowie admitted¹ that generally young Welshmen's knowledge of English was "so small that they required peculiar treatment", their Lordships were not prepared to concede anything in the regulations to meet this special contingency. Inability to express themselves adequately in English was certainly a handicap to the pupil teachers in Wales and it must have adversely affected the numbers who wished to gain entry to training colleges. This point was well made by Evan Davies, the former principal of Brecon Training College in his evidence before the Pakington Committee:² "Many of the pupil teachers from the rural districts are unacquainted with English; many of the working men, feeling that they have a sort of vocation for teaching, have to learn English and acquire the elements of education late in life; it is extremely difficult for them to come up to the Government requirements, not perhaps in the subjects required, but they are not able to turn out a paper creditably, so as to satisfy the examiner, from their ignorance of English and the difficulty which they find in expressing themselves ideomatically in the English language". Undoubtedly, the main cause of pupil teacher shortage in Wales as in England, was the unattractiveness of the profession and

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1864-5, p.330.

2. Select Committee on Education (Pakington) Minutes of Evidence No.5824.

consequently the poor calibre of the candidates. Contributory factor though the language problem may be, it is significant that whereas the college authorities often made representations to the Committee of Council with a view to mitigating the hardships inflicted by the Revised Code, they did not at any time, as far as can be ascertained, make any reference to the language difficulty to which pupil teachers were subjected.

Similarly, the way in which the Code affected the position of the Welsh language in the schools was largely allowed to go unchallenged. As the ability to read English was all that was called for - without any attention being paid to the meaning - the use of the native language became unnecessary. The measure was in no way a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to stifle the language in the schools - they were more concerned at that time with the overall policy of making education pay its way than they were with the small matter of obliterating any evidence of the existence of a separate culture. Nor is it valid to say that it was the Revised Code which finally killed Welsh in education, for, as has been seen earlier, this was a continuous process governed by powerful external forces. But the language was now at a discount and patently so; it had no 'money value' in the schools and it lost its place, insignificant though that had been, in the timetables of the training colleges.

Nevertheless there were some people in Wales, notably the editor of the Caernarvon and Denbigh Herald, who objected to the treatment meted out to the Welsh language. Among several powerful articles he wrote during the passage of the Code through Parliament was one in which he berated the Welsh members for the inactivity they had shown during the proceedings. Of Robert Lowe he had this to say¹ "Let him frankly tell the people of Wales that it is the sound policy and the firm determination of the English governments, be they Radical, Whig or Tory, to extirpate the tongue of Wales; and that as a means to that end, they will visit the sons of Cambria with every possible lingual evil, giving them not only English law, English judges, English bishops and English schools, but forcing them to learn English and teach it to their children, by making the same age examination hold with respect to the child of English parents resident in Wales and the poor monoglot youngsters of Wales itself".

Unfortunately his vigorous writings had little effect, for Welsh educationists and the public in general were imbued by the conviction that one of the indispensable ingredients of education was a knowledge of English and that therefore there was no place for the Welsh language in the system.

1. Caernarvonshire and Denbigh Herald 10.5.1862.

Moreover, the Act of 1870 with all its implications was soon to occupy the minds of the educational leaders in the Principality. At a massive two-day meeting of people interested in education held at Aberystwyth in January 1870¹, a conference at which Daniel Rowlands the newly-appointed principal of Bangor college, took a prominent part, the question of the Welsh language, significantly enough, was never discussed.

1. The programme for this conference was published in 'The Welshman' (31.12.1869).

CHAPTER V

The role of the Church colleges in denominational teaching

Between the publication of the Minutes of 1846 and Forster's Act of 1870 the Established Church had to face much opposition in the Principality and it would be appropriate here to consider to what extent it succeeded in spreading its doctrines by means of its educational policy. The National Society was quite satisfied with the skilful compromise between the claims of Church and State established by the Minutes of 1846. As Kay Shuttleworth himself had stated¹, "the intention was to give an impulse to the growth and improvement of the system founded by the religious communions and the grants drew every religious communion into co-operation with the Government and created a vast denominational system which finally established popular education on a religious basis." By extending inspection to religious as well as secular instruction and by conceding the right of the Archbishops to nominate members of the inspectorate, the Government had succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and support of the majority of Churchmen. Yet, at the same time, the State had established two important principles - the right to promote elementary education and to inspect proficiency in secular subjects.

1. Memorandum on Popular Education 1868. (K.Shuttleworth) p.8.

Bishop Thirlwall, among others, felt that the Minutes gave the Church an unprecedented opportunity of furthering its work. In his Charge to the Clergy (1848) he wrote,¹ "Within the Church the Scheme contained in the Minutes of the Committee of Council has been received, as to its main outlines, with almost universal approbation. The benefits which here resulted, and which may be expected in a continually widening measure, from the harmonious cooperation of the National Society with the Committee of Council for their common objects, are so great that a cessation of that harmony must be regarded by every Churchman who takes an interest in the extension of sound education as a serious calamity". Again, when the Newcastle Commission suggested that County Rates should be introduced to support elementary education the National Society strongly supported the prevailing system and spoke² in glowing terms of its virtues: "It gives to the education of the people a decidedly religious character: it is conducted by the very individuals, whether Churchmen or Nonconformists, who take the greatest interest in the moral and spiritual improvement of the working classes; it is perfectly impartial in its action, assisting each denomination in proportion to its own efforts; it calls forth to a large amount not only voluntary contributions from

1. Charge to the Clergy (London) 1848.

2. National Society Report 1861, p.XIII.

the wealthy, but weekly payments from the poor; it gives as general satisfaction as any system can be expected to do". Although the Church traditionally considered that it had the sole right to dispense education to the children of the poor, it now evidently felt that it could implement its policies within the framework of the Government's legislation.

The Church training colleges, naturally, were to form an integral part of any scheme for the teaching of Church doctrines in the elementary schools. Thomas Phillips, in his letter to the SPCK (Nov.24th,1848) maintained that the only hope the Church had of improving or even maintaining its position in Wales was by establishing schools in which the formularies of the Church were taught by men "fitly prepared for the task". He called for "religious self-denying, earnest teachers, which is the object of the Welsh Education Committee to train". Inspectors and college administrators alike realised the importance of attracting young men of the right calibre into the profession. As the Reverend J.Scott stated before the Newcastle Commission "all the reasons which require a minister of religion to be a religious man apply to the schoolmaster". The authorities went to some lengths to ensure that candidates for admission to the colleges were imbued with the right ideals. Youths who wished to become pupil teachers had to satisfy the clergy as to their ultimate intentions while those who wished to

enter Church colleges were required to give a full account of their religious background. Thus students who entered Caernarvon training college, in addition to submitting a testimonial from a local clergyman, had to answer¹ the following questions:

1. Where and when were you baptised?
2. Where and when were you confirmed?
3. Are you in the habit of attending the Lord's Supper?
4. How long have you been a communicant of the Church of England?"

This attitude, of course, was quite in keeping with the intentions of the founders of the college as laid down in the Trust Deed² at Caernarvon. "The institution shall always be in union with and conducted according to the principles, and in furtherance of the ends and designs of the National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales".

But to draw up rules and regulations was one thing, to be able to apply them stringently was another. Undoubtedly, the National Society and the administrators of the Church colleges would dearly like to fill their institutions with zealous young Churchmen anxious to become teachers in order to indoctrinate the children of the poor with the tenets of the Established

1. Caernarvon College Report 1851, p.9.

2. Caernarvon College Trust Deed. See Appendix.

Church. That they were unable to do so, particularly in Wales, where the vast majority of the population was Nonconformist is in no way an adverse reflection on their dedication and sense of purpose. When conditions are favourable, administrators generally can enforce their regulations without any difficulty. Thus when there is an abundant supply of suitable candidates, colleges invariably are in a position to demand higher qualifications on entry. But, as has been seen, there was a dearth of pupil teachers in Wales from 1846 to 1870, and so, in the event, managers of Church colleges could not afford to look too closely at the religious background of the candidates. Indeed, had they done so, they would have had to close their doors. Some light is thrown on the type of student who entered Church training colleges in Wales in this period in the autobiography of one who attended Caernarvon college in the early fifties. Robert Roberts, who himself had previously attended the Methodist Academy at Bala, found the learning of the Catechism and Liturgy for the entrance examination an irksome task, "We were", he recalled,¹ "Church schoolmasters. But there was not one of us who had any previous Church teaching. Indeed, I do not think there was one of us who had been brought up in the Church of England from infancy. We were all a sort of converts, mostly from Methodism, and if we had any religious teaching it was of a Dissenting sort". To all

1. Life and Opinions of Robert Roberts (edited T.H.Davies) p.257.

of them, "Church meetings, preachings and prayings" were a burdensome ritual which had to be tolerated.

It is doubtful if at any time during this period, students, even those with a genuine Church of England background, were possessed of that missionary zeal which Kay Shuttleworth had hoped to engender in young teachers. The very nature of the apprenticeship and the government's augmentation grants tended to debase the value of the religious aspect of the training. Consequently many students in the Church colleges regarded any attempt on the part of the authorities to inculcate Church principles as nothing more than an encumbrance. The college management committee at Caernarvon, evidently concerned about this tendency and the tone of the institution in general, resolved¹ "that in training masters for popular education in North Wales, it is of the highest importance that a higher degree of morality, of social bearing and of Church principles than is generally found among the lower classes, should be imparted to them." In addition, the students' attendance and even their conduct at Divine worship were subjects which drew the attention² of the Committee. The Principal himself devoted most of his time to giving instruction in the secular subjects with the result that religious teaching became a kind of

1. Minutes Caernarvon College 6.6.1855.

2. *ibid.* 10.1.57.

Cinderella, "a matter for a number of half hearted and apparently ineffectual committee resolutions".¹ As the Catechism and Articles of the Church were not regularly and systematically taught², the students came to regard the college as a place which provided a general education which led to the granting of a government certificate. Whereas this rather indifferent attitude on the part of the college staff towards the inculcation of Church doctrine must have displeased some of the committee members, it was nevertheless a realistic approach to the situation which faced it.

The college at Carmarthen was faced with a similar predicament; in the general shortage of pupil teachers it could ill afford to be too strict in its selection of candidates. In the south, however, there was another circumstance which militated against the college becoming a genuine Church institution. The undenominational college at Bangor had been established at a time when Borough Road, the only similar institution in England, was full to capacity. At that time some kind of agreement appears to have been made³ by which Bangor was to have the exclusive right to receive all the candidates for admission from Wales and Monmouthshire. By the mid sixties,

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1. Province, Church in Wales Quarterly Vol.3, Autumn 1952, p.76.
 2. Minutes Caernarvon College, 13.3.60.
 3. Report of Com. of Co. 1866-7, p.250.

however, the position had radically changed, for the London college was now half empty; yet the agreement still remained in force with the result that Nonconformist pupil teachers in the thirteen counties of Wales were deprived of the freedom of choosing where they would train. Bowstead, in his report on British and Foreign schools in South Wales in 1866, made a strong recommendation that the arrangement between the two colleges should be terminated. Bangor, he said, presented no material advantage in respect of economy and convenience; "One is Welsh, provincial and almost rural; the other is metropolitan and situated in the midst of an immense population. From a sanitary point of view Bangor is admirable; but this advantage is more than compensated by the benefits arising to these Welsh youths from taking them out of their own country for a couple of years, causing them to mingle with young men from all parts of the kingdom, and giving them a chance to obtain that breadth of view and that expansion of ideas which a residence in London has a tendency to bring about....It has, I believe always been the view taken by most of the young men themselves". He ended his report¹ with a severe rebuke to the administrators of the Welsh college: "That institution would consult its true interest, as well as its dignity, by relinquishing the sort of

1. *ibid.*

monopoly which it has hitherto enjoyed, and determining to let its supply of students from this time forth depend solely upon its own merits and its own character". The inaccessibility of Bangor to South Wales students, and its consequent unpopularity, proved to be of some advantage to Carmarthen, for Bowstead maintained¹ that many of them learnt the Catechism and Liturgy of the Church to gain admission to the college. Although their religious upbringing may not have been as satisfactory as the college managers would have wished, yet these students were acceptable in time of shortage.

As a general rule, however, Nonconformist and Church pupil teachers tended to seek admission to their respective colleges, but as has been seen, the Church colleges were prepared to accept candidates with Dissenting background, provided they learnt the Liturgy and Catechism, while the undenominational college at Bangor accepted students irrespective of their religious persuasion. In fact, the latter institution, where no denominational religious teaching of any kind was allowed, always had a number of Churchmen among its trainees. Had the Church colleges been able to fulfil the role for which they were originally established they would have done much to perpetuate the religious differences which bedevilled elementary

ibid. 1866-7, p251.

education in Wales in the last century. In the event, however, the colleges through the students and the teachers they produced, helped to mitigate the difficult situation which arose from sectarian loyalties. In a perusal of the many official documents dealing with the religious struggle in the educational field in the 1860's, not a single reference has been found concerning the activities of any college or of any teacher. A staunch Church educationist might conceivably claim that the Church colleges had failed in their duty in Wales by knowingly admitting students who were not imbued with Church ideals, and that these students who were not in their heart members of the Church were tempted to enact a falsehood at the very time in their careers when the principles of truthfulness and sincerity should be fostered by every available means. This, of course, is a valid argument and the cavalier way in which many learnt the Catechism and Liturgy at entrance could do nothing but harm to the status of religious teaching in general. At all events, in promoting Church education among the children of the poor, too much importance was attached to the impact which doctrinaire teaching would make. Even Bishop Thirlwall, admittedly late in his career, said¹ that clergymen were apt to deceive themselves as to the impression made on the

1. Charge to the Clergy (London) 1869. p.257.

mind of a child by incidental allusions to points of doctrine. But he went further; "I do not think", he wrote, "that a school in which instruction is confined to secular subjects is necessarily irreligious. I think that it may be a school of morals as well as of learning, acting upon the habits and character, by discipline, precept and example and thus opening the way, and disposing the heart for an intelligent reception of religious truth". As will be seen, Bishop Thirlwall had not always been so liberal in his outlook, but it is possible that by 1869 he was ready to concede that any attempt to enforce strict indoctrination of Church principles was unsuccessful in the vast majority of Welsh elementary schools.

Many students who had been trained in the Church colleges in Wales significantly elected to serve in British schools, where the religious teaching was confined to the reading of the Bible without any sectarian interpretation. Such teachers were probably motivated more by career prospects than by a desire to propagate Church principles. Many of the large British schools in the industrial areas of South Wales had these teachers as headmasters.¹ While this, according to H.M.I. D.R. Fearon was 'quite a practice' there, teachers who had been trained in the Church colleges at Saltney, St. Marks and Cheltenham as well as

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1866-7, p.504.

at Carmarthen and Caernarvon were also found in charge of British schools in North Wales, Cardiganshire, Pembrokeshire and Radnorshire.¹ Managers of British schools were quite prepared to engage these teachers as they had difficulty at this time in finding certificated young men who had been trained at the Normal College in Bangor or at Borough Road. That these students were more aware than some of their colleagues of the conditions which obtained within very many of the Church schools could possibly explain why they accepted these posts in preference to undertaking work in the National schools.

Although they far outnumbered the British schools, the National schools in Nonconformist Wales worked under a severe handicap. So keen were Welsh parents generally that their children should receive secular education - one witness before the Newcastle Commission spoke² of the working classes 'inordinate ambition for secular learning' - that most of them had little objection to their attending Church schools when no alternative was available. Nonconformists, in any case, probably felt safe in the belief that learning the Catechism and Liturgy did not proselytise to the Church. In many people's views this had no influence on the minds of children, who went to

1. *ibid* 1867-8., p.313. In the late 1860's the British schools at Llanrug, Gwalchmai, Holywell and Llanllyfni were all in the hands of teachers trained in Church colleges.

2. Newcastle Commission Vol.3. p.288,

Church or Chapel quite independently of any religious instruction they might have received in the day school. Moreover, traces of English religious instruction would soon be obliterated from the minds of Welsh children, particularly as Welsh was the medium of all religious observances. The Nonconformist's attitude towards the attendance of his children at Church schools was analysed by Bishop Thirlwall in these terms;¹ "He will be strongly tempted to purchase an advantage which he believes to be great at a risk which he may hope to be small. He may know that the religious impressions which are commonly left on the mind of the child by school teaching - especially that which relates to abstruse theological dogmas - are seldom very deep, and that unless they are renewed after it has left school, they will vanish of themselves and will be easily counteracted by parental authority". It is hard to believe, however, that all Welshmen gave as much thought to the problem as the Bishop suggested. Dean Hook was probably nearer the truth when he claimed² that there was a general indifference to religion among the adult population in the manufacturing areas. Where a choice of school was available the deciding factor, presumably, was the quality of education that was provided there. "Religious differences", reported³

1. Charge to the Clergy, 1866, p.38.

2. See Dean Hook, Life and Letters (Stephens) p.113.

3. Report of Com. of Co. 1861-2, p.120.

Longueville Jones, "do not interfere with the harmonious working of Parochial and National Schools in Wales. Whenever a parish school is conducted on a fair and non-compulsory plan, which is now generally adopted, children of parents of all religious denominations attend. What the labouring classes principally look for is a good school". The consequence of this was that in the 168 Church schools under inspection in Wales in 1857, two thirds of the children belonged to Dissenting parents.¹ Nefydd, the agent of the British and Foreign Schools Society in South Wales maintained² that Dissenters' children could be seen in their hundreds filling the National Schools in the Newport area and again that Church schools in the Swansea district were 'nearly the same as the British and Foreign schools'.³

In the circumstances, it was expedient that the National school should show deference to the wishes of the Nonconformists either by making instruction in the Catechism voluntary to the children or by teaching only those portions of it which embodied views common to all denominations. In many instances, this was done 'under the eye and with the direct sanction of the clergy'.⁴ John Jenkins, a member of the Newcastle Commission

1. *ibid.* 1857-8, p.496.

2. NLW Nefydd MSS.XV. Additional Remarks Feb.1862.

3. Select Committee on Education (1866) Minutes of Evidence 4485.

4. Newcastle Commission Vol.2, p.519

and himself a former Nonconformist minister, described¹ the position as follows: "I believe I am justly representing the tendency of opinion among the clergy in saying that it is in favour of dispensing in schools with the special points of instruction which interfere with a common education. In South Wales the practice is almost universal". John Phillips, the Principal of Bangor Normal College, in his evidence before the Pakington Committee had to concede that the position was as Jenkins had described, while H.M.I.Binns, a former Principal of Caernarvon, claimed that teachers in Church schools did not abuse their prerogative for sectarian purposes. "The consequence is", he wrote,² "that notwithstanding the prevalence of Dissent, a large and increasing number of children, whose parents belong to various sects, are quietly and contentedly availing themselves of the education which the liberality of Churchmen has helped to provide for them". The Select Committee on Education under the chairmanship of Sir John Pakington, after examining the evidence of thirteen Welshmen³ prominent in educational and religious spheres, came to the conclusion⁴ that most of the clergy had met the Dissenters "in a liberal spirit with respect to religious teaching and Church attendance".

1. *ibid.* p.520.

2. Report of Com. of Co. 1869-70, p.90.

3. They were Sir Hugh Owen, John Phillips, Rev.D.Price (Merthyr) Rev. J.Griffiths (Merthyr), Rev.J.Price (Bangor) Nefydd, Rev.A.Stammers (Newport), Thomas Gee, Rev.G.Harris, Rev.E. Whyte (Dyserth), Rev.D.Charles, Rev.W.Williams (Ruthin) and Evan Davies.

4. Select Committee on Education (1866), pXVI.

The concessive attitude adopted by the National Schools towards the Nonconformists inevitably led young students in the colleges to regard doctrinal teaching in the schools as something which could be practised or waived according to the prevailing circumstances. Furthermore, they were well aware that religious instruction fell within the province of the clergyman and not of the schoolmaster. The Welsh bishops, in the early 1850's, felt that much could be done to further Church policies in the elementary schools, and it is significant that it was the clergy who were exhorted to do this work and not the schoolmaster. Thus Bishop Thirlwall in one of his early Charges, drew the attention of his clergy to the importance of this sphere of their activities. "You will never cease to believe", he wrote,¹ "as you will find it confirmed by all the results of the largest experience, that this is the field in which you have the fairest prospect of carrying out the great ends of your ministry". James Campbell, the Bishop of Bangor, in his first Charge to the Clergy, suggested² that in order to make the education of Church children more efficient, various parishes should unite 'so as to give every parent an opportunity of obtaining confident religious as well as secular education for his children'. Well aware that this division of

1. Charge to the Clergy (Thirlwall) 1848.

2. Charge to the Clergy (Campbell) 1860.

responsibility between the clergyman and the teacher could lead to disagreement and unpleasantness, the Bishop advised his clergy on how to approach their task; "In what regards the instruction of the children in religious truth, the minister ought to have control in schools connected with the Church of England. Yet how carefully and with what discretion ought this right to be exercised. What pains should be taken not to do anything to diminish the respect in which the teacher is held by the scholar". Although the general management of a school could be safely left in the hands of a competent teacher, any suggestion for improvement, the Bishop added, should be made in a confidential conversation and in a friendly and genial spirit. He did his utmost to promote the teaching of the Scriptures in the schools within the Diocese,¹ and was instrumental in 1863 in setting up a Diocesan Board of twelve inspectors to conduct examinations in the Liturgy, Catechism and Church history. From one point of view, perhaps this was not altogether a sound policy as it tended to create a clear dichotomy between the secular and religious life of the schools. Moreover, the onus for religious education was placed firmly on the shoulders of the clergy and the Diocesan inspectors.

A few years earlier Longueville Jones, the inspector of Church schools in Wales had indicated his extreme displeasure at the quality of religious teaching in the schools and he made

1. See his Charge (June 1863)

no secret of where he thought the responsibility lay. "The fault", he wrote,¹ "seems to me to lie much more with the parochial clergyman than with the schoolmaster. If the spiritual head of the parish does not lay down some systematic course of religious instruction for the juvenile portion of his flock and see that the schoolmaster carries it out faithfully and regularly, aiding him by his general superintendence and frequent examination, I do not think that the teacher is altogether to blame". After Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff had come out strongly in defence of the clergy,² Jones reiterated his conviction that only the immediate and united action of the four Welsh bishops could save religion in the parochial system of education.³ The effect of utterances of this kind on the Church schoolmaster was not hard to imagine. Officially freed from all responsibility for religious teaching in the National school, the teacher drew further and further away from the domination of the clergy.

But it was the Revised Code which dealt the most damaging blow to the influence of the Church in educational matters. As the teachers had been greatly discouraged and disappointed by the Government's action in abolishing the augmentation grants, the Church fondly hoped that they would once again become more

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1853-4, p.663.

2. Charge to the Clergy (1854)

3. Report of Com.of Co. 1855-6, p.548.

dependent on the clergy. However, the principle of 'payment by results' and the elevation of the 3 R's had a most depressing effect on the status of religious teaching in the schools. As religious education was not a 'paying subject', it was only natural that the teacher should focus his attention on the secular aspect of the curriculum. Church authorities were quick to react to the Committee of Council's stipulations: Bishops¹ in their Charges referred to the detrimental effect the legislation would have, while college principals and management committees petitioned the London authorities. The Secretary of the National Society wrote² to the Committee of Council as follows: "The (National) Committee are of the opinion that the religious instruction will no longer rank as the most important part of the school work - they must respectfully deprecate a system the manifest tendency of which is to lead managers and teachers to think that the financial position of the school will be improved if less time be given to religious instruction and more to the three selected secular subjects". The colleges had been manoeuvred into such a position that they were compelled to work under a system which rewarded secular knowledge and the consequences of producing impressionable young students under such principles were regarded

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1. Campbell (1863) spoke of the pressure of the 3 R's:
Thirlwall (1866) spoke of the Government's action
'insinuating the poisonous and deadly principle of secular education into the heart of the Denominational system'.
 2. National Society Report 1862, p.XXXV.

by the Church authorities with grave misgivings. In Wales, the government inspectors still tried to ensure that the colleges fulfilled the role for which they were designed. Thus B.M.Cowie,¹ evidently displeased with the manner in which religious knowledge was imparted at Caernarvon, suggested that the college committee should take steps to rectify its superintendence, while Canon Norris, apprehensive about the coming of rate aided education under the Act of 1870, expressed² a strong desire that Carmarthen should try to maintain its "ecclesiastical character." "Our training colleges", he added "will not be unassailed and many will thoughtlessly vote for applying to them the 'undenominational system' quite forgetting how monstrous that would be in the case of an institution which is not a school merely, but a home also, breaking up the domestic devotions, closing the college chapel, scattering the students on Sundays to find means of worship where they list". Yet in spite of the inspectors' efforts to impress upon the students that character, demeanour and dedication to religious principles were matters of far more importance than were intellectual ability and knowledge, it was the secular element that was the more prominent in college education. Indeed by 1876, Caernarvon college authorities were regarding the teaching

1. Minutes of Caernarvon College 27.10.1870.

2. Carmarthen College Annual Report 1871.

of religious subjects as a handicap, for they attributed¹ the institution's rather poor results in the secular subjects that year to the time it had been obliged to devote to it.

The failure of Church policy in Welsh education between 1846 and 1870 cannot in any way be attributed solely to what went on in the training colleges; it is true that college authorities, often as a dire necessity, admitted students, who were not in the first instance Church members and that perhaps religious teaching did not have the kudos it should have had in the college routine. The outlook of students and staff alike was probably influenced by what was happening in the wider field of education - the tendency for teachers to accept posts in British schools, the concession made in the National schools to Nonconformist children, the Church's deliberate policy of taking away from the teacher the responsibility of giving instruction in religious knowledge and, above all, the importance that was attached to secular learning, thanks to the Government's legislation. In any case, it would have been unrealistic to expect the Church, through its educational policies, to make any great impact in a country where some eight tenths of the population was Nonconformist.

1. Caernarvon College Annual Report 1876, p.13.

CHAPTER VI

The Colleges at work, 1846-1870

The price which teacher education had to pay for state aid was a heavy one - that of complete uniformity and standardisation in apprenticeship and college training. The pupil teacher system has possibly been more criticised by educational writers than any other aspect of elementary education; the long hours, the attempt to combine the role of learner with that of teacher, the predilection to learn facts in a mechanical way, and the poor calibre of the teachers to whose hands many trainees were entrusted. Yet the system should be assessed in the light of the problem it was attempting to solve. Not only did it augment the teaching power of the schools but also it ensured a better supply of candidates for the colleges, both numerically and educationally, than those establishments could have hitherto hoped for. For nearly fifty years the pupil teacher system performed the function of secondary education and that reform in the latter did not come about until the end of the century is a tribute to its effectiveness. Indeed many of the earlier secondary schools owed their origin to the pupil teacher centres which were established in the large towns in the 1890's. In spite of what he had to say about apprentices in some of his

earlier reports,¹ Matthew Arnold came out strongly in their support in his report on French education which he submitted to the Newcastle Commission; "Popular education in France", he wrote,² "will gain more by the introduction of pupil teachers into a single school than by libraries of discussion upon the mutual and simultaneous systems. Pupil teachers - the sinews of English primary instruction; whose institution is the grand merit of our English state system, and its chief title to public respect - this, and I will boldly say, the honesty with which the system has been administered. Pupil teachers - the conception for England, of the founder of English popular education, Sir James Shuttleworth. In naming them, I pause to implore you to use your powerful influence to preserve this institution to us unimpaired". Other witnesses, perhaps less eminent, were equally eloquent. Thus, one headmaster spoke³ of the system as "the greatest boon that school or schoolmaster had^s ever received". These and other observers who made extravagant claims on behalf of pupil teacher apprenticeship were, no doubt, mindful of the lowly state of the profession and the difficulties which administrators had been faced with in the days when candidates for admission to the colleges had received no kind of preparation whatsoever.

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1. For example, he spoke of 'their want of taste and general culture together with their universal failure to paraphrase ten lines of prose or poetry': Report of Com.of Co. 1861-2, p.135.
 2. Newcastle Commission Report Vol.IV. p.74.
 3. ibid. Vol.3. p.186.

The education of apprentices, governed by the Committee of Council's Broadsheet, was shackled to a plethora of annual examinations, success in which determined not only the gratuity of the teacher engaged to instruct them but also the stipend of the pupil teacher himself. Consequently, in the eyes of school staffs and pupil teachers alike, the examinations came to assume an importance which was detrimental to elementary education in general. Moreover, since the teachers themselves were often poorly qualified to undertake the instruction of the apprentices, the knowledge these young men gained was nothing more than a conglomeration of undigested and unconnected facts. In this way, unhappily, education came to be confused with the acquisition of information and it was nothing short of tragic that young men so early in their careers should be imbued with such a notion.

The uniformity which characterised the pupil teacher system also applied to the training colleges. Success in the certificate examinations was all important, for not only did it decide the careers of the students but it also determined the amount of financial aid the institutions could claim from the government. In this way, although the training colleges were independent institutions, "My Lords" had complete control over their routine and administration. It may be argued that since they were largely untried and new institutions with no tradition to guide

them, some degree of central control would be beneficial, yet it is regrettable that they should be subjected to such rigid uniformity so soon after their formation. On the other hand, they were without exception poor institutions whose very existence depended upon public finance, and so it is doubtful whether any of them could afford to flout their 'Lordships' wishes by doing any experimental work in the field of teacher training. Nor, perhaps, could any development in this direction be expected, for training college staffs, lecturers and tutors, had all been brought up in the same mould - apprenticeship, college certificate and the government's examination for lectureships. Indeed, the uniformity imposed by the Committee of Council, far from being a yoke, may well have been welcomed by college administrators and staff alike.

The routine in all colleges was geared to examinations and these occurred at such frequent intervals that the students' academic year, which until 1895 coincided with the calendar year, was just a series of examinations; the inspector's visit to assess the students' teaching ability in June, the examination in drawing in November, the certificate examinations in December and after the colleges began to take the examinations of the Science and Art Department in 1870, the examinations in Science in May. The administrators of Bangor Normal College, presumably

in order to emphasise further the importance of examinations, were in the habit of granting their students a half holiday on the day when the government's First Year results became known. This to the students was "Certif Day", and they traditionally celebrated the event by organising expeditions to Caernarvon, Lake Ogwen or Llanberis. One old student described¹ their activities as follows; 'About twenty five Seniors hired a brake and drove to Caernarvon, whilst about twenty five Juniors walked there. The day was gloriously fine and all thoughts of the lists were soon cast aside and everyone laid himself out for enjoyment. This we did thoroughly and returned to Bangor about 7.30 p.m. We got an extension until ten and wound up with a supper and smoker in the Wicklow'. After four sets of examinations in the year, they were entitled to 'lay themselves open for enjoyment'!

All too often the tutor in his lectures acted as a mere conduit pipe, conveying to the students information, important and otherwise, in the way in which he himself had previously acquired it. Indeed, he was encouraged to approach his work in this way for not only did he know the kind of questions which would confront his students in the certificate examination but he was also only too well aware of the nature of the lectureship examination which he himself had passed - and both had had the blessing of their 'Lordships'. A random selection of the questions set for

1. The Normalite 1898. p.2.

students and lecturers respectively amply demonstrates the inordinate demand made upon the examinees for reproducing often useless information under examination conditions.

"1. Enumerate the West Indies Islands; naming the chief product of each and the nation to which it belongs.

2, Mention in order the countries through which a straight line from London to Sebastopol would pass.

3. Mention the principal events and ministers of Queen Elizabeth's reign".¹

"1. Africa-mention the principal rivers and lakes. Are there any mountains on the eastern side and if so where? and at what distance from the coast? Mention some of the most important and latest exploring expeditions into the interior.

2. South America - Describe the course of the principal rivers. Are there any large lakes. Mention the mountain ranges and some of the volcanoes".²

This concept of education is admirably illustrated³ by the utterings of Mr Gradgrind in Dickens' "Hard Times". "Now what I want is Facts", he said, "Teach these boys and girls nothing but facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing

1. Certificate examinations 1855: Report of Com. of Co. 1855-6. p.110.

2. Examination for lectureship 1855. *ibid.* p.126.

3. Hard Times (Dickens) p.3.

more, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts"; and again,¹ "Blitzer" said Gradgrind, "Your definition of a horse" "Quadruped, Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty four grinders, four eye teeth and twelve incisive Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy country, sheds hoofs too. Hoffs hard but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks on teeth'. 'Now girl number twenty' said Mr Gradgrind, "You know what a horse is".

The confused thinking which caused the acquisition of information to pass as education hung like a blight over the work of the elementary schools, pupil teachership and of the training colleges. It was a self perpetuating vicious circle in which the training colleges played a prominent and indeed a willing part. As the writings of old students testified the college course had one aim, that of preparing students for an examination which set a premium on the ability to retain facts and reproduce them in a crude and undigested form. Thus, Sir Henry Jones had this to say² of his early days at Bangor college; "In the English and History Departments methods of shameless cram had been adopted: and it was not until I was in Professor Nichol's class in the University of Glasgow that I had even a glimpse of what one of the greatest of our national treasures meant, namely

1. *ibid.* p.5.

2. Henry Jones, *op.cit.* p.94.

our literature. We analysed, parsed and paraphrased every passage of Julius Caesar, the play prescribed, and we could recite most of it by heart; but we were never induced to read any other of Shakespeare's plays". Another condemned¹ his college training in these words: "Pasio arholiadau oedd y prif amcan, nid meithrin a datblygu galluoedd y meddwl. Yn lle hynny bodlonid ar lwytho'r côf ag enwau a ffigurau..... Prif amcan cyrsiau'r coleg oedd dyfnhau y cwydn a elwir 'y côf' er mwyn iddo gynnwys mwy o ffeithiau yn hydrach na dysgu sylwadaeth a datblygu'r meddwl i drin ffeithiau". Again, a few years after the period now under review, the Reverend B.M.Cowie felt constrained to tell² the committee of Caernarvon college that the students there were "too much crammed". It can easily be supposed that most young students subjected to this kind of treatment would lose their taste for further reading and that their intellectual appetite would be blunted by the mechanical nature of the college course. Indeed the years spent at college would in most cases represent the high water mark of their intellectual development, for they knew full well that in the schools no situation was likely to arise which would in any way tax their ingenuity. As the Principal of York Training College stated before the Newcastle Commission, "The principle, in short, which the course of study virtually recognises is to pour into

1. J.L.Williams op.cit. Vol.IV, p.72.

2. Minutes, Caernarvon College 22 August 1877.

the students' minds a large supply of knowledge which they in turn may discharge into the minds of their scholars. To use a very significant and very intelligible expression the great feature of the course of study pursued in training colleges is cram."

The result was that young teachers imposed upon their pupils the only routine and method which they knew - the ones imposed on them at the training colleges. In the schools, the reading primers were beyond the comprehension of the children so that the lesson became an exercise in mere verbal jargon, with no attempt whatsoever made to induce children to read for enjoyment.¹ Such lessons were not illustrated by maps and pictures, and the subject matter in any case was not suitable for the pupils. Thus the aim of the reading lesson was not comprehension but mere mechanical proficiency; spelling and penmanship were not aids to composition but ends in themselves; religious instruction - "of which verbal intelligence is the most extensive of all school attainment"² - and geography were reduced to learning by rote. The latter was nothing more than a combination of the names of distant countries, mountain ranges and the length of rivers which had no bearing whatsoever on the children's own experience. That there was a dearth of books

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1. Children wrote such phrases as "Study universal rectitude; distraction follows inconsiderate deeds: Bacchus has drowned more than Neptune". Report of Com. of Co. 1860-1, p.188.
 2. *ibid.* 1854-5, p.510; Rev. W.H.Brockfield.

written specifically for children is explained by the fact that there was no demand for them.

Yet what went on in the schools, and the training colleges for that matter, - for the latter's work was orientated towards service in elementary teaching - is perhaps a reflection of what was considered to be the function of elementary education. Education of the poor was a charitable gift and was regarded as something different from the education required by other sections of society. It was considered to be an implement which would make children better suited for their present status and not one which would cause them to become dissatisfied and so attempt to elevate themselves. Thus, elementary education had its fixed limitations and no attempt was to be made to develop in children lively and enquiring minds, for there was always the danger that this might eventually have a detrimental effect on the social order. This attitude towards the schooling of the poor was vividly expressed¹ by William Frazer, afterwards Bishop of Manchester, before the Newcastle Commissioners: "We must make up our minds to see the last of him, as far as the day school is concerned, at ten or eleven. We must frame our system of education upon this hypothesis; and I venture to maintain that it is quite possible to teach a child soundly and thoroughly, in a way that he shall not forget it, all that is necessary for him to possess in the shape of intellectual attainment, by the

1. Newcastle Commission Vol.1, p.157.

time he is ten years old". Generally, the colleges seemed to be in sympathy with this view. Indeed, they could hardly be otherwise for their staffs did not have the cultural background or the philosophical approach to realise the shortcomings of the training they provided. Again, so long as the school examinations were conducted upon the principle of quantity and variety of information displayed and so long as the teacher's reputation was gained by 'cramming' his pupils instead of by slowly developing their power of understanding, the products of the training colleges were given no encouragement to deviate from the accepted concept of teaching.

The great weakness in teacher training was that no attempt was made to differentiate between the learning of the subject at the training college and the teaching of the subject in the schools. There were, as yet, no lectures given on the theory of education as such and, in the absence of any accepted tenets, education as a subject was relegated to discourses on the teaching of 'method'. These, according to all accounts,¹ were valueless, as indeed they were bound to be, when no consideration whatsoever was given to the attitude and outlook of the child. The college course undoubtedly supplied knowledge of a kind, but it did not impart to an equal degree the power to use it. Principal Robinson of York college, considered that teachers could

1. e.g. "Yn yr wyddor o ddysgu gwael oedd y darlithiau".
J.L.Williams, op.cit., Vol.IV, p.72.

not distinguish between what was suitable and what was not, and that they were totally incapable of judging the needs and capacities of their pupils. Inevitably the school lesson resembled the college lecture. Matthew Arnold in his report on Borough Road in 1858 spoke of the students perpetually falling into the error of lecturing too much, with the result that there was no guarantee that the pupils learnt anything at all.

Again C.H.Anderson in his inspection of the teaching of Bangor students in 1869 drew attention to the same failing. He noted the pupil's reaction in these words:¹ "Here the children can do no more than sit and wonder. With the exception of one or two sharp scholars, they act as dummies". It is safe to assume that the professional side of the students' training was probably the weakest aspect of the college curriculum and the reasons for this are not hard to find.

Principals of training colleges were generally men from the older universities. In Wales at this time the principals at the church colleges at Carmarthen and Caernarvon belonged to this category while the two at the Normal college had been educated at Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively.² They were men who had no contact with elementary education and their academic background was such that they tended to deprecate any vocational

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1869-70, p.471.

2. Carmarthen; W.Reed, M.A.(Oxon) Caernarvon: W.R.Williams,M.A. (Cantab), J.Boucher,M.A. (Cantab).Bangor: J.Phillips (Edinburgh), D.Rowlands,M.A. (Glasgow)

bias in the students training. Whereas lecturers on the staff may have had more sympathy with the professional aspect of the work, their attitude towards teaching practice was probably influenced by the experience which they themselves had had first as pupil teachers and then as students. Indeed, the apprentice was too often looked upon as an assistant teacher in the classroom rather than as a pupil who should be instructed in the art of teaching. The master in charge was apt to devote his time to the preparation of his pupil teacher for the annual examinations, on which his gratuity depended, rather than to showing him how to teach.¹ As college lecturers had themselves been subjected to this kind of treatment, they had come to regard school practice in the college as of secondary importance with the result that proficiency in teaching was largely at a discount.

The attitude of the college student to school practice after teaching for five years as pupil teacher was cogently put² by Dr. Temple. "They are", he wrote, "familiar with the ordinary management of a class; mere practice is of no further use to them. On the contrary, if they have formed any bad habits before coming to the Training College, these habits are likely to be confirmed, and if not, they are at any rate not likely to gain much by persevering blindly in what they have already mastered. Nor is this the worst; the students who are thus

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1863-4, p.63.

2. *ibid.* 1853-4, Vol.1, p.448.

kept at what takes the form of mechanical drill, begin to feel that their work on the practising school is not for their own sake but for that of the school...; they are not stimulated by the remarks of the normal master to aim at better methods; they fancy that all the time that they lose from their reading and lectures diminishes their chance of a good place in the class list; and hence this, not the least important part of their study is almost invariably disliked". In these circumstances, professional training had little chance of gaining a dignified place in the education of students.

Even the regulations of the Committee of Council tended to depress the status of the vocational aspect of the training college syllabus. Thus 'method' was excluded from the list of subjects for which grants to lecturers were paid, with the result that in the minds of staff and students alike, the 'Master of Method', as he was called, belonged to a lower grade than that held by other college staff. Equally, if not more important, the work he did was considered in the same light.¹ 'Their Lordships,' who were generally so meticulous in issuing regulations to control every triviality which touched upon the various aspects of the training college system, conspicuously omitted to formulate any rules to govern the practical side of the professional work. There were no stipulations concerning the

1. *ibid.* 1857-8, p.225. Temple tried without success to rectify this omission in 1857.

number of hours that should be devoted to school practice; no pattern was laid down as to how the practice should be undertaken and no guidance was given on the kind of relationship that should exist between school and college. Whereas freedom from central control is a state to be admired in most contingencies, it is very doubtful if, in this instance the Committee of Council was motivated by any desire to create diversity and to encourage initiative and experimentation.

The plans for school practice varied greatly. Some college authorities recommended that a short time be devoted to it daily, whilst others preferred to establish it on the basis of a certain number of hours per week, and others again on the basis of days, monthly.¹ Within Wales, the hours of practice, the routine of attendance and, indeed, the calibre of the schools presented much variety. In this last respect, it appears that Caernarvon was the most fortunate of the three Welsh colleges. The Reverend F. Temple attributed² this to the fact that the practising school was large and the college small. The training institution owed its origin to the National school in the town and this, no doubt, helped to create good relations between the two establishments. The inspector regarded the school as the only practising school with which he was acquainted that could be called a 'model' school. This was high praise indeed for

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1. *ibid.* 1859-60, p.386. J.D.Morrell's report on Borough Road.
 2. *ibid.* 1856-7, p.698.

although a 'practising' school and a 'model' school were synonymous, the latter connotation implied that it was as near perfect as was possible with regard to situation, buildings, furniture, equipment and staffing.¹ Perhaps the term 'model' school was an unfortunate one for it suggested that there was a norm to be aimed at, whereas in reality a school is a living organism which is constantly changing. Again, for some years at Caernarvon the master of method on the college staff was also the headmaster of the practising school.² This was considered to be an admirable arrangement for it ensured continuity between the theoretical work in the college and the practical application of it in the school. Yet in spite of this desirable situation, the college authorities, like those of many other similar institutions, failed to give to practical teaching its rightful degree of prominence, for B.M.Cowie informed³ the committee that he was far from pleased with the amount of time that the Caernarvon students spent in the practising school.

At Carmarthen facilities for teaching practice were not as good. As the college itself was some distance from the town, much of the students' time was spent in getting to and from St.David's, the practising school. Again the number of pupils in attendance there was rather small, so that only few college students could be accommodated simultaneously. But the school

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1. Caernarvon Annual Report 1851. p.19. Moseley reported that few training colleges were provided with so good a model school.
 2. Caerns. Annual Report 1856. p.5.
 3. Minutes of Caerns. College, 20.10.1858.

had a more serious defect than that of size - it was in no way under the control of the college. To overcome the difficulty the Reverend Moseley suggested to the management committee that a practising school should be erected on the college site. As the relationship between the two managements was not all that it should have been, the Welsh Education Committee was prepared to acquiesce to the inspector's suggestion on condition that half the cost of the project would be met by the Committee of Council.¹ This their 'Lordships' would not sanction, and when the connection between school and college deteriorated still further in 1854 the Committee of Council threatened to stop the supply of students to the college.² This rather drastic step brought about the desired result, and the disagreement was amicably settled when the school committee appointed the college's master of method as headmaster. Thereafter school practice at Carmarthen was based on a sound footing, with every student spending a month in the school during his year's residence. The Principal stipulated³ in 1858 that henceforth every college lecturer was to be responsible for the teaching of method in his own subject and that he was to give a lesson once every three weeks to children in the practising school in the presence of all the college students. The policy of virtually making every lecturer a teacher of method was surely sound for it tended to delete the dichotomy which

1. Minutes Welsh Educ. Committee 28.3.53.

2. *ibid.* 15.2.54.

3. Carmarthen Management Committee: Minutes 4.2.58.

existed between the academic and professional sides of the syllabus. Now, every subject had to be treated both academically and professionally. The practice became commonplace in the colleges of Wales as the century progressed but, as far as can be ascertained, Carmarthen was the first to spread the responsibility for teaching method among its staff in general. Henceforth at Carmarthen the master of method - or normal master, as he was sometimes called - was to deal only with those topics which concerned the school as a whole; the arrangements of desks and furniture: registers: discipline: organisation and classification: timetables: books: methods of teaching reading, writing and spelling. He also organised school practice. In the mid fifties it was important that students should have some knowledge of school routine for they invariably became masters in charge of schools when they left college. Later on, when the schools had become fairly stocked with certificated masters and students were obliged to accept posts as assistants, 'school management' as a subject in the college syllabus lost much of its meaning and status. Yet the title 'master of method' lingered on, and it was not until after the Second World War that it gave way to 'Lecturer in Education'. The change, although slow, was a significant one.

It was the college at Bangor which had the greatest difficulty in establishing good relations with its practising school. The school itself, one of the first British schools in Wales, had buildings which were far too small to satisfactorily

accommodate its pupils, while the standard of equipment there fell far short of what should be found in a practising school. There were references¹ to the dirty floors and windows and to the inadequate ventilation. D.R.Fearon who inspected the college in 1867 considered the school to be the only 'serious defect' in the whole establishment. The use of Garth school was originally intended to be only a temporary measure for there were references in the College Deed and in the inspectors' early reports to the building of a model school in the college grounds. That such a school was never built can be attributed, as at Carmarthen, to lack of funds, for the college almost from the outset was subjected to the financial restrictions imposed by the Revised Code.

The connection between school and college was, to say the least, uncertain, for the school managers could refuse training facilities to the students whenever they wished. It was, undoubtedly, aggravated by the unsatisfactory attitudes of two successive headmasters. The college had no control over their appointments, although each of them had tenuous connections with the institution after they had taken up their posts. The first² head, who was described in the college reports as 'master of drawing' was accused by the inspector of 'looking on with an easy

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1. Report of Com.of Co. 1863-4,p.367. W.Scotlock's report on Bangor Normal College.
 2. John Edmunds resigned in 1863 on the grounds of ill health. He afterwards directed a vast flour mill in Caernarvon for 18 years: John Edmunds (Gwilym Edmunds) p.10.

indifference' when the students visited the school, while the second,¹ although listed as 'master of method' - he gave one lecture a week on 'registers' - was found by Fearon to be 'no master of method at all'.² As both these headmasters received an honorarium of only £10 per annum - a sum hardly likely to induce them to spend much time on the superintendence of students - in consideration of their commitments at the college, it is evident that their loyalties would be with the school rather than the college. That the latter's management committee should with equanimity tolerate ten years of inefficiency at their practising school, and that they should constantly refuse the advice of the inspectors³ to facilitate the appointment of a second master there by partly paying his salary, indicate clearly that they were not disposed to give to this branch of the training its rightful place in the curriculum. Indeed, the paltry sum they were prepared to pay the headmaster is, in itself, ample proof of this.

The position of headmasters in practising schools was not always an enviable one, for college staffs generally throw much of the onus of the supervision of teaching practice on to their shoulders. Lecturers were not always as conscientious as they might have been⁴ and some students spent their two years'

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1. Hugh Jones; he had been a tutor at Bangor college prior to becoming headmaster at Garth.
 2. Report of Com.of Co. 1866-7, p.490.
 3. *ibid.* 1865-6, p.449: "Mr Hugh Jones cannot possibly do justice to the scholars and the students. I must therefore again urge the necessity of engaging a second master".
 4. *ibid.* 1858-9, p.285.

college training without once being supervised in their teaching. Dr J.Lloyd Williams recounted¹ his experience at Bangor as follows: "Yr oedd y School Practice yn fwy diamcan fyth..... Ni chefais gan nac athro ysgol nac athro Coleg yr un gair o farniadaeth nac o gyfarwyddid pa fodd i wella fy null o 'ddysgu.... Ni bu un dyn yn gwrando ar fy ngwaith i o gwbl". Practising schools were generally large units with only the headmaster and some pupil teachers on the staff.² Although his first concern was with the welfare of his scholars - in the period of 'payments by results' his salary depended on their success - yet he was expected to superintend the work not only of his pupil teachers but also of the college students who visited the school every day. To do all this efficiently was almost an impossible task, but Fearon's advice to the Garth headmaster was that he should arrange his timetable in such a way that he could supervise scholars, pupil teachers and students!³ It was not until a new headmaster⁴ was appointed in 1868 that any improvement was brought to this aspect of the training, and in the following year the inspector⁵ was able to report that students for the first time did not dislike their duty of practising at the school.

1. J.L.Williams, op.cit. Vol.4, p.72-73.

2. At this time, Caernarvon National School had 7 pupil teachers and St.David's, Carmarthen 3 pupil teachers with nearly 300 pupils on the books.

3. Report of Com.of Co. 1866-7, p.495.

4. T.Marchant Williams, afterwards Sir T.M.Williams, Stipendiary Magistrate of Merthyr Tydfil.

5. Report of Com.of Co. 1868-9, p.440.

The system whereby each college had its own practising school is open to criticism on educational grounds, for such a school, by virtue of its connection with the training of students, was essentially different from other elementary schools. It would probably be more beneficial to the students if they had from the outset been exposed to the conditions which obtained in the ordinary school. Had the colleges been able to use a number of schools, the variety of situations with which the students would have been confronted, would, certainly, have made the work more interesting and the students themselves would have had a truer insight of what their life's work was likely to be. As it was, such a development was not possible until the great increase in the number of schools came about after the 1870 Act. It was in the following decade that some of the colleges started the practice of sending all their students out to schools simultaneously. Again, the dependence of a college on its practising school could be precarious, as good relationships between the two managements could so often be marred. For the arrangement to be successful the college had to have a voice in the appointment of the headmaster; he had to be an acknowledged member of the college staff with the college paying the greater portion of his salary; lecturers had to share in the supervision of the students' teaching, while the school itself had to be exemplary in every respect. As has been seen, it was not always thus in Wales.

The examination in teaching was held in June of the second year and for this occasion the student was asked to prepare three lessons, one of which he would be called upon to give before the inspector. This practice was, of course, open to grave abuse for not only were the lessons often rehearsed with the result that the pupils knew exactly what to expect,¹ but also, in some instances, there was suspicion that the headmaster, or one of the college tutors, had given more than a helping hand in the students' preparation of them. In common with other inspectors, R.J. Middleton spoke strongly against this method of assessment; "It can be given", he observed,² by a most hollow faithless actor; while the most faithful and efficient teacher frequently fails to make a good appearance in it". He went on to say that the college should give a simple pass mark to the student and that the real assessment should be left until he had been teaching in the schools for two years. Yet in spite of several such protestations on the part of the inspectors, this method remained in force for another twenty years. David Williams, Principal of Swansea Training College, presented a strong case for its abolition before the Cross Commissioners in 1888;³ the lessons were prepared weeks before hand and were "got up thoroughly by rote"; consequently, a student could not help but pass the test

1. *ibid.* 1866-7, p.495.

2. *ibid.* 1869-70, p.513.

3. Cross Commission, Returns of Principals 5485-11.

creditably, yet there was no guarantee that he could give a lesson on any other topic. "The most serious objection to the system", he wrote, "is that it makes the student and even the teacher of school management to attach undue importance to the giving of a lesson before the inspector, often a mere mechanical performance, and to under value the principles of teaching generally. The time given to getting up the lessons is often out of all proportion to their value and severely interferes with the ordinary work and even the health of the students".

Williams suggested that there should be no preparation by the student beforehand, but that the inspector should offer him two or three subjects and allow him half an hour to arrange his ideas and to select his illustrations in his presence without the aid of books. Such a scheme "would have the collateral advantage of making the student, in studying any subject, consider how he would teach it and this consideration would make him master the subject more thoroughly". This suggestion is, indeed, a valid one and had it been implemented it would, albeit at the cost of increasing the number of failures, have done much to raise the prestige of teaching practice in the colleges. It would in fact, be a more stringent test than that which is employed today by training colleges and university departments of education.

Yet in deference to Middleton's view, it has to be conceded that an assessment made after the individual has had

some experience in the schools would have greater validity.

The college curriculum was both comprehensive and ambitious. Students were examined each year in religious knowledge, arithmetic, grammar and English language, school management, reading, spelling, penmanship, history, geography, and drawing. First Year students studied music, geometry, mechanics, algebra (or Latin), and Second Year students, physical science, higher mathematics, English literature (or Latin) and teaching. Students, obviously, could only touch upon the fringes of these various fields, for their very number precluded any study in depth. As one old student of a Welsh training college remarked,¹ "Pwy o'r hen fechgyn sydd heb deimlo fel finnau, eu bod wedi dysgu tipyn am lawer o bethau ond eto heb ddysgu llawer iawn am ddim". Whereas it is true that training colleges should equip their students with the knowledge necessary for teaching subjects appropriate for the elementary school, surely it was not necessary to undertake the study of so many other subjects in order to develop their intellectual powers. It would have been far more effective if the college authorities had taught a limited number of subjects to some depth without, in the process, paying much regard to the formal acquisition of knowledge. Had the students been able to acquire some general cultivation of the mind in this way, they would, certainly, have been better

1. Cymru. Vol.2, June 15, 1892. p.249.

able to understand what should be taught at the elementary level in the schools. No wonder Temple pleaded with the colleges to produce 'schoolmasters with less knowledge and more education'.¹ Moseley, who was always distressed by the width of the curriculum and the stress which the examination laid on attainment, did what he could in a syllabus, issued in 1855, to limit the number of 'higher' subjects which the students should study. Henceforth First Year students were to confine their attention to the first four books of Euclid and Latin or algebra (as far as quadratic equations), and Second Year students to one of the following: physical science, mechanics, mathematics, English literature or Latin. This was certainly a move in the right direction yet, strangely enough, the 'higher' subjects were deprived of much of their importance by the scale of marks apportioned to them in the certificate examination.² In consequence the colleges focussed their attention on the elementary subjects, a trend which became further accentuated after the findings of the Newcastle Commission that teachers were prone to neglect them. Their elevation to the status of 'paying subjects' under the Revised Code restricted the work of the training colleges to such an extent that their syllabus became nothing more than an elementary school syllabus made more difficult.

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1. Newcastle Commission Vol.1, p.132.
 2. 'Excellence' in Euclid and Algebra (or Latin) carried less than half the marks required for a pass in the 3rd Division (1st year). 'Excellence' in one of the 2nd year 'higher' subjects carried less than one fifth of the marks required for a pass in 3rd Div.New.Commission, vol.1, p.121.

What the central authority had in mind for the training colleges was made only too clear by Cowie's remark in 1861, when he stated,¹ "I apprehend that it is in no way your Lordships' wish that the schoolmaster should be depressed into a reading, writing and cypher drudge". Yet this was the very situation which the new syllabus brought about. Moseley's 'higher subjects' were ruthlessly pruned for both First and Second year students.² The science of 'common things' and political economy - a firm favourite with the Newcastle Commissioners - were added. Of the latter this was said:³ "Next to religion the most important to a labouring man is that of the causes which regulate the amount of his wages, the hours of his work, the regularity of his employment and the prices of what he consumes". Apart from some slight differences, the training college syllabus now corresponded to that of the elementary school. This was looked upon with some satisfaction. "We may conclude therefore from

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1861-2, p.281.

2. *ibid.* 1862-3, p.203-4.

First Year Syllabus: Algebra (or Latin), 2 Books of Euclid omitted: reciting from memory, mental arith. English grammar, economy, science of 'common things' added.

Second year: Physical science, mechanics, English literature, Latin omitted. 2 Books of Euclid and economy added.

3. Newcastle Commission, Vol.1, p.127.

the syllabus in its present form", wrote Robert Lowe¹ "that the subjects relied upon for training in Normal Schools are identical in kind with those which it is the business of elementary schools to teach, and are not more advanced than marks the interval by which the teacher ought to precede the scholar. We do not apprehend that real cultivation will be sacrificed by this reduction". This view stifled development in teacher training at the very time when some improvement could have been expected. In the absence of any philosophical approach the teaching of higher subjects in the training college was bound to be defective. Yet as long as these subjects remained on the timetable there was always a remote chance that some new approach to their teaching might have been devised.

Although the syllabus governed the work in all training colleges, some of them attempted occasionally to deviate from the prescribed pattern. Thus Caernarvon college at one time sought to identify its teaching with the needs of the locality. Moseley, as early as 1851, had drawn attention to the 'great demand' for teachers of navigation in Wales and the fact that the college took the unusual step of referring to the inspector's observation in its annual report,² indicates that the committee was at least sympathetic to any project which might satisfy this

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1862-3, p. XII.

2. Caernarvon College Annual Report 1851, p. 22.

need. Again in the following year Longueville Jones stated that there were twelve posts in Wales where teachers of navigation were urgently needed.¹ As five of these were in North Wales and so belonged to the area from which the training college drew its students, the Caernarvon authorities probably felt it incumbent upon them, in view of the inspector's remarks, to start teaching the elements of navigation at the college. A marine quadrant and spherograph were purchased² and teaching proceeded on an unofficial basis. Confident that this measure met a genuine demand, the management committee approached the Committee of Council with a view to establishing the course as an acknowledged feature of the syllabus.³ Quite predictably, the central authority rejected the suggestion. This episode, perhaps unimportant enough in itself, epitomises the attitude of their Lordships towards any development which might impinge upon the uniformity which they so dearly valued. The college's attempt to reflect the needs of its immediate environs in its syllabus was sound policy, one which today at all levels of education has the vigorous backing of official approval; but in those days ideas and initiatives - few though they appeared to be -

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1. Report of Com.of Co. 1852-3,p.898: These were Holyhead, Caernarvon, Pwllheli, Aberystwyth, Barmouth, Cardigan, Milford Llanelly, Tenby, Swansea, Cardiff and Newport.
 2. Minutes Caerns.Management Comm. 9.12.1856.
 3. *ibid* ; "Inasmuch as N.Wales is essentially maritime and a large proportion of the population seafaring it is respectfully suggested to the Committee of Council that 'Applied Navigation' be added to the annual scheme of instruction in the college".

had to be sacrificed in the name of administrative tidiness.

In spite of a common syllabus, however, the work in the colleges in England and Wales was not the same. Although Welsh as an optional subject was removed from the timetable when the Revised Code came into operation - this was the only respect in which the syllabus had made a concession to Wales¹ - the whole emphasis on certain aspects of college work in the Principality must have been very different. As teaching English to Welsh children was the 'principal part of the school business', training college staffs were obliged to focus their attention on this problem. There would be a tendency to regard most subjects merely as vehicles for language teaching, with the result that actual instruction in subject matter would be inferior to that which obtained in the English colleges. Moseley was certainly aware of the difficulties which confronted the college staffs: "The teaching of a Welsh training school", he wrote,² "acquires a distinctive character from the fact that English to the great majority of the students is a foreign tongue which they are occupied in learning with everything else they learn; and which must be taught them with everything else".

Most students were drawn from a background that was thoroughly Welsh. Although they had had some acquaintance with

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1. Welsh had also been taught at Borough Road throughout the years when Welsh students were in residence there, but after 1858 when all Welsh students were refused admission there, the subject disappeared from the timetable.
 2. Caernarvon College Annual Report, 1851. p.18.

the English language during their apprenticeship, the vast majority had but an imperfect command of the language when they arrived at college. Thus at Bangor Normal college there were no fewer than twenty two monoglot Welshmen in 1866 while 23 out of 31 in residence in 1868 were classified as "having spoken only Welsh from birth". "In an English training school" wrote¹ William Scotlock, "the lecturer, has, as it were, to polish the surface of the stone, at Bangor, the teacher has to hew the stone out of the quarry, and then polish it, and each has to do work so different in the same amount of time". The inspectors' general remarks on the Welsh colleges confirm that they were all labouring under the same disadvantage. These young men had to contend with the difficulty of thinking in one language and speaking and writing in another. One inspector maintained² that almost all the students 'had learnt the English language as a foreign tongue'; another complained that he had so much difficulty in understanding their reading that he could follow them only with the use of a book.³ Although the inspectorate was very much alive to the difficulties which beset Welsh students, 'who with all their efforts seldom spoke anything but more or less broken English'⁴ at no time was a suggestion made

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1. Report of Com.of Co. 1870-1, p.394.
 2. ibid. 1866-7, p.489
 3. ibid. 1863-4, p.368
 4. ibid. 1866-7, p.490

that some concession should be made on their behalf in the certificate examination. Nor, indeed, did the authorities of the Welsh colleges seek any relaxation in this respect. Regarding their institutions as English, - nothing but English was spoken within their confines - they wished to identify themselves as closely as possible with the English system. To have asked the Committee of Council for concessions on the score of language differences would, in their view, have implied that the Welsh colleges were, in some way, inferior establishments. In view of the central authorities' propensity towards standardisation and uniformity, probably no concessions would have been forthcoming in any case. But the significant aspect of the situation was that the Welsh management committees took no initiative in the matter.¹

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1. D.R.Fearon, who frequently inspected the Welsh colleges, readily made allowances for language difficulties when he was conducting his examinations in the elementary school. After inspecting Welsh schools for three years under the 'Revised Code' he came to the conclusion that the fairest way of examining was to adopt a 'Welsh standard' and an 'English standard' according to the proficiency of the pupils in the English language. When Church schoolmasters complained of his methods - Fearon was an inspector of undenominational schools - he succeeded in disarming them by drawing up an agreement with the two Church school inspectors in Wales whereby they would all adopt his two standard method of examining. That the entire public grant to the schools was dependent upon the pupils' success in the examinations probably evoked in Fearon a sympathy towards this language weakness. As examination success played an equally important part in the maintenance of the training establishments it is safe to assume that he, along with his colleagues would not have been averse to making some concessions to the Welsh colleges. ~~That nothing did occur in this respect can possibly be accounted for by the attitude of the college authorities themselves.~~

Yet it is surprising that the colleges in Wales should accept without demur the examining standards which obtained across the border, for it was the deliberate policy of the Committee of Council to publish annually the results of every college, both First and Second year and this in every subject. Clearly the intention was to spur the colleges to greater effort by introducing the element of competition. That the Welsh college committees, fully aware of the handicap under which they operated, claimed no preferential treatment in this competition - for that is what it was - indicates how deeply rooted their conviction was that their establishments should be regarded as thoroughgoing English institutions.

By constant reference to the position of the colleges on the annual list, inspectors had but little difficulty in impressing upon teaching staffs and committees the importance which the Committee of Council attached to the results. The following report¹ by Fearon shows how the inspectorate strove to foster the spirit of competition between the colleges. Its jargon and manipulation of figures are typical of the way he and his colleagues attempted to sum up the academic work of the institutions under their care; "I find that Bangor has a far higher percentage of second year students placed in the first class than any of the other seventeen normal schools. The

1. *ibid.* 1868-9, p.436-7.

normal school which comes next to Bangor in this respect is Cheltenham which has 28% in the first class. But there is no other normal school which has half as many per cent in the first class as Bangor; while compared with the two other Welsh normal schools, at Caernarvon and Carmarthen, Bangor has a very marked superiority, presenting in the first class more than thrice as many % as Caernarvon and more than five times as many % as Carmarthen". Management committees gave full prominence in their yearly reports to the performances of their respective colleges. Although this practice devised by the Committee of Council is to be thoroughly deprecated, it is nevertheless interesting to note how the Welsh colleges fared. One inspector, conceding that Welsh students were generally eloquent in their own language and were fertile in thought and imagination, stated¹ "All this goes for nothing in the examinations when they must express themselves sufficiently well in a foreign tongue". Naturally, for any valid yardstick, the Welsh colleges should be compared one with the other, and on this basis the Normal College

1. ibid. 1866-7, p.490.

at Bangor undoubtedly produced the best results.¹ It had, as has been seen, an unfair advantage over the other two training schools owing to the arrangement it had with Borough Road.² Its catchment area was therefore a very wide one and its results could frequently be favourably compared with those of the large metropolitan Church colleges - a feat which was not lost on its management committee!

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1. Abstract from Training College Tables, Reports of Com. of Co. 1863-70; Percentage of students who had 1st and 2nd Division Certificates.

Year.	Bangor.	Carmarthen.	Caernarvon	All men's Colleges.
1863	0	0	42	51
1864	67	14	18	45
1865	67	31	56	59
1866	70	67	14	52
1867	79	53	78	69
1868	82	42	25	51
1869	10	25	17	42
1870	43	13	0	36

2. 54 out of 109 students (1865-70) came from S. Wales; compiled from Bangor College Reports.

Owing to the nature of the examinations and the importance given to the results, teaching in the colleges came to be centred around ~~that~~^{the} fact laden lecture. Colleges had no libraries worthy of the name and such books as could be found were either manuals or gifts donated by friends, most of which were totally unsuitable for student reading. In any case, the choice was limited as the grant for books was governed by the official catalogue which contained publications for elementary schools rather than for mature minds.¹ Thus, with the lecture largely replacing the use of the textbook, the dictation of notes became the staple method of conducting classes. In these sessions rarely was an attempt made to enliven the minds of the students or to enrich their experience. Mechanical note taking could do nothing more than blunt still further young minds whose resilience had already been destroyed by five years apprenticeship. Many an old student reaching maturity must have been keenly aware of the shortcomings of the tuition he had received. Thus Dr J. Lloyd Williams gave his views on the method employed by one of his tutors in these words:² "Y cwbwl a wnaï Price oedd dictetio i ni gyfres hir o nodiadau - ni cheisiodd erioed alw ein sylw at ddiddordeb y stori, na cheinion llenyddol y gwaith, na'r cywreinïon ieithyddol a oedd ynddo". That the lecturer in question was often eulogised by the

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1857-8, p.723.

2. J.L.Williams, op.cit. Vol.III, p.81.

inspectorate indicates not only that his methods were acceptable to them, but also that they were probably the ones commonly adopted by college tutors at that time.

Nearly the whole of the students' day was taken up by lectures, and although Principal Robinson admitted to the Newcastle Commission that the lecturing system was overdone, yet he could see no alternative owing to the amount of work which the college course involved.¹ Students had little time for private study or for digesting what had been presented to them. Even the physical conditions within the colleges were not conducive to such practice for there were no libraries, recreation or common rooms, so that the students were hardly ever alone. This continuous activity on the part of the students is still a feature of training college life today. Administrators attempt to justify the amount of time spent on lecturing by claiming that the weaker students are unable to profit from private study. It may be argued not only that the better students should not be sacrificed in the interests of the less able but also that young people incapable of independent study should not be accepted for teacher training in the first place.

As Robinson the principal of York college, pointed out, there was no time for "frivolity and dissipation". Students

1. Newcastle Commission: Vol.4, p.400.

at the ill-fated Brecon college,¹ aroused by a 5.30 a.m. bell, whiled away the time before an eight o'clock breakfast with a two hour lecture period on English grammar and geography - admirable fare to start the day's work. Apart from meal intervals and five roll calls, work continued steadily throughout the day, ending with a lecture on the theory of music at 10.45 p.m. Students at Caernarvon were a little more fortunate, for mercifully the period between 6 a.m. and 7 a.m. was devoted, surprisingly enough, to private study.² The pattern of training college routine in the late 1840's changed but little before the end of the period now under review. The Bangor timetable for 1867 included a session of academic work before breakfast though now curtailed to one hour. The students were allowed to retire at 10.15 p.m.³

As might be imagined, in a regimen of this kind discipline was strict and life cloistered. Students were seldom allowed to leave the precincts of their colleges without permission and while Saturday afternoons were free they still had, in some cases, to report for lectures on Saturday evenings.⁴ On Sundays students in the Church colleges were naturally expected to attend religious service while those at the undenominational college at Bangor were burdened with the task of presenting to

1. See Appendix II.

2. Report of Com. of Co. 1849, p.222.

3. *ibid.* 1867-8, p.562.

4. *ibid.* 1868-9, p.433.

the principal on Mondays a precis of the sermon which they had heard on the previous day. That students should not be exposed to temptation was a cardinal tenet of college discipline; those at Carmarthen, who were occasionally allowed to visit shops in the town, were on no account to enter private houses. Seldom had a set of young men been kept under such constant restraint, for there was restriction on individual liberty even within the college buildings; generally, students were not allowed to enter their dormitories at all during the working day, while at Carmarthen even the vice-principal's request¹ that he might invite a male friend to his room became a matter which required the earnest deliberations of the management committee. Petty regulations of this kind could have nothing but a deleterious effect upon the students' outlook, for they not only led to excessive gregariousness but also isolated the student body from the general community. Social contact has much to do with the development of tolerance and self discipline and these are qualities essentially requisite to the teaching profession. Traces of these restrictive measures exist in training colleges to this day. Indeed, that they have in some measure survived the liberalising influences which have descended upon other educational institutions is testimony to the effectiveness of their self imposed isolation.

1. Carmarthen College Minutes 3.10.1855.

There was but little time for relaxation or recreative activity of any kind. Physical recreation as we know it today and as an acknowledged part of college routine was a much later development; draughts, according to one old student, was the only game that was played at his college.¹ Opportunities for taking exercise were small and those who felt so inclined usually had to confine their activities to short country walks, taken during meal intervals or before the pre breakfast lecture period. Thus Dr David Adams,² a college student in the 1860's was in the habit of walking as far as Bangor pier before the 7 a.m. lecture. The less energetic took no exercise at all, sometimes with tragic results. The circumstances which surrounded one Welsh students' death were reported as follows:³ "The cause seems to have been overwork before entering college and too great application combined with want of exercise during time of residence". 'Drill', however, appeared on the Brecon college timetable as early as 1847 while Caernarvon engaged the services of a drill sergeant in 1856 and Bangor made such an appointment in 1863. These sessions, which usually took place for some fifteen minutes before lunch on certain days of the week, or on Saturday mornings, were regarded as a means, not of affording

1. J.L.Williams, op.cit. Vol.IV.p.55.

2. Cofiant Dr.David Adams (Evans) p.12: "Medrai'r ddau (Adams a Gowther) ddigon o ynni a gwroldeb i godi am chwech o'r gloch y bore yn yr haf a mynd am dro o gylch Trwyn y Garth cyn y dosbarth saith".

3. Report of Com. of Co. 1861-2, p.349.

physical exercise for the students, but rather of improving their disciplinary powers in readiness for the schools.¹ Each of the North Wales colleges attempted to provide facilities for student recreation at the week ends by purchasing a rowing boat;² Caernarvon also, rather ambitiously, provided a cricket ground for the students at Morfa Saint in 1858. Yet in spite of the college administrators' good intentions, it is doubtful whether many students availed themselves of what was offered to them. So obsessed were they with the desire of gaining success in the certificate examinations that any kind of outdoor activity was considered to be a waste of valuable time. As J.L.Williams succinctly put it,³ "Yr unig beth a lanwai feddyliau'r bechgyn, fore, hwyr a chanol dydd oedd y List, y List, y List".

Owing to the pressure of the curriculum⁴ manual labour which had formed an integral part of the training which Kay Shuttleworth had envisaged, had largely disappeared from the colleges' routine by the 1860's. The tradition however, still lingered at Carmarthen. Whereas at Caernarvon and Bangor students were called upon to do certain chores within the buildings, such as cleaning the bathroom, scrubbing floors and looking after their own dormitories, those at Carmarthen were

1. *ibid.* 1867-8, p.319.
2. Caerns.College Minutes 10.5.1860. Instructions were given that the boat was not to be used on Sundays.
3. J.L.Williams, *op.cit.* Vol.IV, p.15.
4. Newcastle Commission Vol.1, p.140.

were engaged in 'full scale outdoor industrial occupations' during the little leisure that they had. The South Wales college was better situated than most for undertaking work of this kind, for attached to the institution were eight acres of land, where students were daily employed in agricultural and horticultural operations. The college had its own pigsties and cowshed and it was the work which students did there which led Cowie to report¹ in 1864 that the college allowed more time for recreation than did most other institutions. As in the case of 'drill' these 'industrial occupations' were included in the college timetable not for the sake of providing bodily exercise but rather for imparting a sense of discipline and for inuring the students to a life of simplicity.²

Very many witnesses before the Newcastle Commission bore testimony to the conceit - the use of ambitious language and the vain display of knowledge - which trained teachers had exhibited in their general bearing. This unfortunate attitude was attributed to several causes; they tended to regard themselves in the category of civil servants; conceit was natural to a person who had never been taught to appreciate the existence of a higher standard than his own, while existence in a separate institution gave the teacher an inflated idea of the

1. Carmarthen College Minutes 6.10.64.

2. Report Com. of Co. 1874-5: Students at Carmarthen were called upon to pump spring water to the college "as a matter of discipline".

importance of the work he was to undertake. Although only one report could be found which alluded to this weakness specifically in Welsh teachers - Fearon spoke¹ of the conceit to which schoolmasters in a backward and mountainous country like Wales were so much tempted - yet they were, no doubt, as guilty in this respect as were teachers in England, for they were exposed to the same conditions and the same forces. Many antidotes were suggested and among them industrial occupations. 'Industrial work' said² Principal Robinson, 'I think, is desirable as tending to check the growth of any 'fine gentleman' airs among them". The benefits of physical exertion were not thought of and the days were, as yet, far distant when physical education was to appear on the college timetable as a subject in its own right.

The picture of the work and life of the training college described here was to show but little change in the ensuing period. Although the syllabus was altered to accommodate some new subjects, the approach to the business of teacher training remained substantially the same, and the impetus which the Act of 1870 gave to elementary education made but little impression on what went on in the training colleges. Speaking of these establishments at the end of the century, Oakley, who was then chief inspector for training colleges remarked,³ "The Education

1. *ibid.* 1868-9, p.439.
2. Newcastle Commission Vol.1, p.141.
3. Report of Com. of Co. 1894-5, p.131.

Act of 1870 did not touch them. While it reacted with much and increasingly energetic effect upon the buildings and curriculum of the schools of the country, the training colleges remained outside the influence of the current that was bearing onwards the elementary schools. They remained quiet, or moved only very slowly on their own lines".

CHAPTER VII

Students in abundance after 1870

As has already been seen, the diminution in the number of candidates caused the training colleges great hardship in the years immediately following the Revised Code. In an effort to ameliorate the position the vice president of the Council, William Corry, introduced a measure in February 1867 by which special grants were to be paid to schools which produced pupil teachers for the colleges. This came to be known as 'Corry's Minute' and was incorporated in the Code for 1868. Its stipulations¹ were as follows: (i) To provide in the estimate for public education in England and Wales during the financial year, 31st March 1867-8, for an additional grant of 1/4d per pass in reading, writing and Arithmetic up to a sum not exceeding £8 for any one school upon the following conditions, viz. that the number of teachers must have allowed throughout the past year at least one pupil teacher for every 40 scholars after the first 25 of the average number of scholars in attendance. (ii) To provide in the same estimate for certain new grants to elementary schools wherein it should appear from the Inspector's last Report that the number of teachers throughout the year had been sufficient to satisfy the conditions of this minute; such grants to be at the rate of £10 for every male pupil teacher admitted from the said elementary school into a Normal School under inspection from candidates

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1866-7, Px.

placed by examination in the First Class and £5 for every male pupil teacher, so admitted from candidates in the Second Class. (iii) To offer certain further new grants to the same elementary schools for every male pupil teacher, who having been admitted from them into a Normal School, under inspection at the examination held in Dec.1867, or at any later examination, should at the end of his first year's residence be placed in the First or Second Division; such grants to be at the rate of £8 for every student placed in the First Division and £5 for every student placed in the Second Division.

It is significant that this minute, which is quoted here in full, gives no indication how the school managers were to use these additional grants. Should these sums be merely added to the treasurer's account and so be regarded as part of the school funds, then the measure would be quite ineffectual in enlarging and improving the supply of candidates for training, as it would do nothing to repair the damage caused by the stipulations of the Revised Code whereby schoolmasters received no monetary consideration for pupil teacher instruction. For this reason, grave doubts were expressed¹ as to whether the minute would have the desired effect. At the same time, several management committees, among them that of the Bangor college,² felt that

1. *ibid.* 1866-7, p.393: Cowie's Report.

2. Bangor Normal College Annual Report 1867, p.12.

little benefit could accrue from it as the pecuniary reward, in any case, was too small to kindle much enthusiasm among schoolmasters. The importance of Corry's Minute, however, is that it signifies not only that their Lordships were aware of the difficulties in which they had placed the colleges but also that they were to some extent disposed to rectify the position. In the event, the measure did arrest the decline in pupil teacher numbers,¹ although, of course, the benefit would not be felt in the training institutions until 1872.

But it was the Education Act of 1870 which gave the training colleges their biggest fillip, for it heralded a period of expansion and development such as they had never hitherto known. The passing of the Bill through the House of Commons together with the furore it aroused in denominational circles focussed people's attention on the educational needs of the country. The teaching profession, suddenly finding itself in the middle of political argument, enjoyed much unaccustomed publicity, while the decision to establish Board schools supported by the rates, ensured an unprecedented demand for teachers. Moreover, as the conduct of these schools was no longer in the hands of a treasurer or a clergyman, the intending schoolmaster could look forward with confidence to a more remunerative career. The spirit of

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1867-8, P,VII. Pupil teacher numbers rose from 10,955 in 1866 to 11,519 in 1867. This was the first upward trend in six years.

optimism which the Act infused into the teaching profession could not fail to have a beneficial effect upon the training colleges. Indeed, so great was the demand for teachers, that in 1871 the Committee of Council waived the requirements of two years' residence as a condition of paying grants to the training schools. "We attach", they announced¹, "so much importance to the completion of a two years' course of training, that we agreed to this change with great reluctance when it was pressed upon us by the managers of several colleges under inspection"; despite these protestations, the Committee of Council responded then in much the same way as central administrators have on many occasions since responded to educational crises of this kind. The Emergency Training Scheme after the Second World War, and the directives to training colleges to concentrate, at one time, on producing teachers for primary schools, and at another, for secondary schools, lend colour to the suspicion that they are more concerned with counting heads than they are with quality of teaching. Although, in this instance, their Lordships claimed that it was 'with reluctance' that they were prepared to suspend temporarily the two year course, and that this was done in face of pressure from several training schools, it is significant that the concession was taken up by one training college only.² In fact,

1. *ibid.* 1870-1, PXIV.

2. This was Westminster College; there, the managers were prepared to forego the government grant in order that their schools might qualify for the annual grant.

the principals and managers of normal colleges were generally averse to any scheme which would bring about a lowering of teacher qualification.¹ The reaction of the Carmarthen management committee was typical. "We attach great importance to the completion of a two year course of training" they wrote in a memorandum² to the Committee of Council, "and we believe that the condition laid down in Article 9^d (the two year course) could not be relaxed without great detriment to the interests of the college and to the character of the schools which it provides with teachers and therefore strongly deprecate such a measure in their own case". Thus, while the central authorities were prepared to abandon for a time the two year course as a matter of expediency, the training colleges, to their credit, showed themselves to be genuinely concerned with the calibre of the teachers which they were producing.

It was not that college committees had underestimated the magnitude of the problem which faced them, for they were as well aware as the Committee of Council of the great demand that would arise for teachers to staff the new Board Schools. As the unsectarian character of these schools was particularly suitable to Wales, it is not surprising that the Principality should far outstrip England in its demand for such schools. The school

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1871-2, P.163.

2. Minutes of Local Management Committee, Carmarthen college, 7.2.71.

situation within three years of the passing of the Act was vividly portrayed in the Bangor Normal College Annual Report;¹ "The Committee of Council on Education states that there are now nearly 200 Board Schools in Wales representing a population of upwards of half a million. If the School Boards in England were in the same proportion, instead of standing at 641 they would number upwards of 3000". With the demand for teachers exceeding the supply, the colleges in Wales - particularly the Normal College at Bangor and the newly founded women's training college at Swansea - could look forward to a period of relative prosperity. The Church colleges also were prepared to take advantage of the situation for, as has been seen, the National Society and the Church authorities were in no way averse to their students accepting posts under the undenominational School Boards.² Unfortunately, however, there were certain inherent difficulties in the circumstances which now faced the colleges in Wales, and indeed in England, and it is relevant here to consider how these difficulties arose and how the Welsh institutions struggled to overcome them.

Owing to the severities of the Revised Code and the consequent shortage of candidates for admission, the Church colleges in Wales had experienced a lean time throughout the

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1. Bangor College Annual Report 1874, p.6.
 2. Cross Commission Report: Returns of principals: C5485-11; in the years 1883-4-5, nearly half the students produced at Carmarthen college, and more than half of those at Caernarvon did so.

1860's. Indeed, as late as 1869, the management committee at Carmarthen was contemplating¹ converting the establishment into a college for women students, but Cowie's advice was that it should devote all its energy to 'resuscitate' the institution, particularly as their Lordships would be unlikely to sanction such a policy when the existing training colleges for women were far from full. Yet that such a step was even considered by the local committee indicates the desperate straits to which it had been reduced by the shortage of suitable male candidates. Again, the retrospective nature of the grants to the colleges meant that these institutions, when suddenly confronted with an influx of students, would receive from public funds only that amount which they had earned during the preceding two years, when their student population was small. But this was not all. As the final installments of such grants were paid only when the students had been in school service for two years, the college authorities were liable to sustain losses through illnesses, deaths and desertions from the profession.² In any case, government aid was limited to 75% of the previous year's expenditure. Cowie, as early as 1864 had foreseen³

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1. Local Management Committee, Carmarthen College 25.10.1869.
 2. *ibid.* 12.1.1875; when the local committee complained to the Committee of Council that it was iniquitous that the college should suffer because of these contingencies, the Com. of Co. replied that the grant for training a student was sufficient to cover such eventualities.
 3. Report of Com.of Co. 1864-5, p.317.

the difficulties in which colleges might eventually find themselves. "Some colleges", he wrote, "may find the government grant fall off in the coming year, and then if they should suddenly be enabled to fill again with students, the operation of the rule which restricts the Government aid to 75% of the previous year's expenditure would be found to be very inconvenient". The transition from a period of restraint to one of expansion was rather sudden and the financial predicament in which the colleges were placed was, as has been seen, largely created by the stipulations of the Revised Code. Whereas all colleges were in difficulties, the Church institutions in Wales, at this very time received another damaging blow. The Welsh Education Fund, which had for several years contributed £400 per annum to the two Welsh colleges, became defunct in June 1871.¹ As this had been their main source of revenue for meeting the 25% of the expenditure, the colleges had somehow to increase their income from private subscribers. The Bishop of St. David's suggested² to the Bishop of Llandaff that the two Dioceses should be immediately canvassed for subscriptions. He stressed the urgency of the situation, pointing out that it was not a "merely temporary strait" but that it might continue "for an indefinite time to come". "It is," he

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1. Welsh Education Committee Minutes 19.5.72; this was due to lack of subscribers. Of the little money that remained £25 was given to the Bishop of each Diocese to be spent at the discretion of the Diocesan Boards and the remainder divided between the two colleges.
 2. Carmarthen College. Minutes of Management Committee 17.4.71.

wrote, "a question of life or death to the college and it has been thought that the importance of the object justifies the treating of it as a charge on the resources of the two Dioceses which may fitly be allowed to take precedence over every other". But even Bishops disagree, and if the writer had expected much help from the Diocese of Llandaff he was, doubtless, disillusioned by the reply he received. "It has always appeared to me", wrote the Bishop of Llandaff, "that the Carmarthen Training College being out of our sight is out of our mind, and although we have benefited by it, has excited very little interest in the Diocese". To add insult to injury, he ended another letter by stating that there was an inclination in his Diocese to look rather to the English training colleges than to Carmarthen. The result of this appeal and of several others which followed it was disappointing¹ and it was fortunate for Carmarthen that the SPCK came to the rescue with an offer of £20 for every student over and above the 49 who were in residence in 1872.² Notwithstanding this, the college committee still had to charge all students an entrance fee of £5 in order to make ends meet. It was a situation to which the college authorities became accustomed, for the finances of the institution were precarious, to say the least, throughout the period now under review.

1. e.g. in 1873, an appeal raised only £52 of which one subscriber gave £25 (ibid. 3.10.73).

2. ibid. 23.5.72.

The Church college in North Wales was in the same plight, for like Carmarthen, it had to make good a quarter of its expenditure from students' fees and donations from individuals. Whereas in the years before the Education Act, the Caernarvon committee had made grants to intending students in order to entice them to train at the college, they now demanded an entrance fee from each candidate.¹ The appeals which the Bishop of Bangor and the Bishop of St. David's made to their subscribers and clergy were strikingly similar; each saw the training college as a means of propagating Church of England teaching: "There is no surer way" wrote the latter,² of providing for the evangelization of the country then by laying the foundation of sound Christian faith in the teachers themselves". The Bishop of Bangor, attributing the small subscription list of Caernarvon college to the fact that the value of the institution as a means of educating Church schoolmasters had not been made sufficiently known and was therefore not appreciated by the gentry of the Diocese, begged³ his clergy to solicit subscriptions for the maintenance of the college "as a nursery of schoolmasters and necessary for the permanence of religious instruction in the National Schools". It is conceivable, however, that Caernarvon college and what went on there were only

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1. Caerns. College, Minutes Management Committee 28.1.75. This was £12.10.0 a year in 1875.
 2. Carmarthen College Annual Report 1874
 3. Caerns. College. Minutes Management Committee 27.5.73.

too well known in the northern dioceses, for two years after this appeal, Sharpe, the inspector, was reported as saying:¹ "this is called a Church college - for the first four months of the year, no divinity is taught there except on Sundays". As the Revised Code and more recently the 1870 Act conditioned people more and more to identify education with the secular subjects, the Church training colleges tended, perhaps, to lose much of their missionary zeal. In fact, they were now finding themselves in a cleft stick - on the one hand, they had to present themselves as the main agency for disseminating Church doctrines among the children of the poor (particularly when they had to appeal for funds), and on the other, in order to take advantage of the educational boom, they had to be prepared to allow their products to accept posts in Board schools, where religious instruction was undenominational. This was a situation which surely did not escape the notice of ardent Churchmen, who in any case, were in a decided minority in the Principality. That Church college appeals for financial help were frequent and the results disappointing is therefore not altogether surprising.

In contrast, the management committees of the unsectarian colleges at Bangor and Swansea, by appealing to a wider and

1. *ibid.* 17.6.76.

certainly more sympathetic public, had but little difficulty in making their institutions viable. The list of Bangor subscribers is an interesting one, for as befits an undenominational college, it included from time to time men of vastly different religions and political background.¹ But by far the majority of the subscriptions came from the nonconformist chapels in Wales and from chapels in Liverpool, Birkenhead and Manchester. Although it was never very appreciable, the South Wales contribution towards the maintenance of the Bangor establishment ceased almost entirely in the years which followed the opening of the women's college at Swansea. Far from showing any chagrin at this development, the Bangor administrators sought to excuse this lack of support by referring to the commendable way in which Swansea was providing women teachers in the south; "Swansea", the annual report stated,² "derives its pecuniary support mainly from South Wales and Bangor almost exclusively from North Wales. But both colleges work for the whole of the Principality". Only on one occasion did either college have to appeal to its parent body - the British and Foreign Schools Society - for any financial support. In 1883, an unforeseen contingency, a typhoid epidemic in the city of Bangor,

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1. e.g. Lord Aberdare, David Davies, Llandinam, Henry Richard, Samuel Morley, Lord Penrhyn, Richard Davies and J.E.Greaves, the Lord Lieutenants of Caerns. and Anglesey respectively.
 2. Bangor Normal College, Annual Report 1881, p.12.

necessitated certain sanitary reconstructions at the college as well as the removal of the students to two private houses in Penmaenmawr.¹ As this involved the college in extra expenditure the committee for the first time in its history had to report an adverse balance on the year's working. The position however was soon restored by timely donations from the Duke of Westminster and from the British and Foreign Schools Society.² This was the Society's first contribution to the college since paying John Phillips' salary while he was collecting on behalf of the institution nearly 30 years previously! On this occasion, in fact, Bourne, the secretary of the London society, was able to report³ that no previous financial help had been given to the college as none had been asked for.

After the Act of 1870 all the colleges in both England and Wales were anxious to increase their accommodation. As government aid for the expansion of college buildings had ceased in 1860, the committees of management were now thrown on their own resources. That they managed to achieve so much was, doubtless, due to the zeal and spirit of self sacrifice with which they were imbued. Not only were new colleges for women established at Darlington, Swansea and Battersea, but existing institutions at Borough Road, Chelsea, Peterborough, Exeter,

1. *ibid.* 1883. p.7.

2. The Duke of Westminster and the B. & F.S.S. donated £100 each.

3. Bangor Normal College, Minutes of Management Committee 12.1.1886.

Bangor, Caernarvon and Carmarthen were preparing to increase their accommodation. As the Committee of Council reports^{ed 1} in 1871, "We have before us various applications for our sanction to an increase in the number admissible to the training colleges either by additions to existing premises or by temporary occupation of separate houses. We are of opinion that these temporary arrangements are desirable to meet the present demand of trained teachers". The effort which the colleges made to meet the staffing demands of the new schools is reflected in the increased number of students in residence in the years immediately following the passing of the Act.²

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>1870.</u>		<u>1871.</u>		<u>1872.</u>	
	<u>M.</u>	<u>F.</u>	<u>M.</u>	<u>F.</u>	<u>M.</u>	<u>F.</u>
Church of England	628	776	780	780	885	781
British and Foreign Schools Society.	141	105	162	124	181	203

In the Welsh colleges, the increase in accommodation was very small partly because there was no government aid forthcoming for any structural alterations that were required and partly because the Committee of Council were rather strict in their interpretation of the regulations which governed living standards

1. Reports of Com. of Co. 1871-2, PXV.

2. *ibid.* PXIV.

within the college buildings. At the instigation of Hugh Owen, the Bangor committee set plans afoot to extend their institution in 1871,¹ but in their enthusiasm the local administrators failed to comply with their Lordships specifications. Although there were 57 students in residence in the following year, Cowie maintained² that the college could really provide accommodation for only 41, "the number being made up by having two men in one room, an arrangement to which we invariably object". As the Committee of Council promptly stipulated that the cost of maintaining these ten extra students could not be regarded as current expenditure, the managers effected alterations which complied with the government standards and which in fact were more ambitious in nature, for the college was now able to house 60 students.³ This was to remain the capacity of the building until the end of the century. The sister college at Swansea, which opened with accommodation for 45 women students increased its capacity to 55 when a new wing was added to the building in 1876 and to 70 after the purchase of a third house in 1882.⁴

Modest though they were, these extensions were more than the Church institutions could manage. At Caernarvon, the Principal's scheme for augmenting accommodation by dividing the dormitories

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1. Bangor Normal College, Annual Report 1871. p.7.
 2. Report of Committee of Council 1871-2, p.165.
 3. Bangor Normal College, Annual Report 1873, p.9.
 4. In 1874, Swansea college started to accept 'day students'.

was, as in the case of Bangor, rejected by the Committee of Council.¹ The managers then rented a nearby house, (with the approval of Cowie) and succeeded in raising the capacity of the college to 59. As the tenure of the house, however, was for only two years, the college was obliged in 1874 to revert to its original number of 43 students and no further effort was made immediately to enlarge the premises. Carmarthen college, which was originally built to house 60 students, was soon enlarged to take 70, yet the Committee apprehensive that they could not meet the quarter of the expenditure which the maintenance of such numbers entailed, resolved to confine the student total to 66.² In reaching this decision the local administrators were probably influenced by the information which Cowie conveyed to them at a special meeting,³ that a member of the Birmingham League intended to attack Church of England training colleges in the House of Commons. This Member of Parliament's aim, according to the inspector, was to close such colleges by attempting to introduce legislation which would reduce the governments' grant from 75% to 50% of the annual expenditure. Although such a measure never materialised, the mere threat to throw a greater financial burden on the college was sufficient to cause the Carmarthen committee to limit its increase in student intake to the most slender proportions. Thus, while the undenominational colleges in Wales had increased their accommodation by 74 places, the

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1. Caernarvon College, Minutes of Management Committee 18.3.72.
 2. Carmarthen College: Minutes of Management Com. 12.12.72.
 3. *ibid.* 28.11.72.

Church institutions remained virtually unchanged. In contrast, the colleges in England provided 800 extra places between 1870 and 1875.¹ As there were far more Board Schools, in proportion to the population, in the Principality than there were in England, it would seem that the Welsh institutions would have difficulty in meeting the demand for teachers. Ostensibly this was the kind of situation which college management committees liked.

The Committee of Council, however, was well aware that the schools could not be staffed from the output of the colleges alone, and, consequently, regulations were introduced whereby teachers, who had been favourably reported upon by government inspectors could be granted certificates without examinations. There were over twelve hundred such teachers by the end of the decade.² Recruited from the large number of pupil teachers who had passed the Queen's Scholarship but who had failed to gain admission to the training colleges, these untrained teachers were, naturally enough, not popular with college committees. Thus, Bangor college submitted a memorandum to the Committee of Council in 1880 suggesting that some modification should be made to the regulation.³ Their attitude was probably typical of many such bodies; the local committees understandably were primarily concerned with the welfare of their own institutions and they knew

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1878-9, PIX.

2. *ibid.* 1881-2, PXIX.

3. Bangor Normal College, Annual Report 1880. p.11.

full well when the law of supply and demand operated in their favour; on the other hand, it was the duty of the Committee of Council to assess constantly the overall position and to resist suggestions made by bodies which were not disinterested. The colleges, however, need not have worried for the demand for trained teachers remained unabated.¹

These were halcyon days for the undenominational colleges in Wales. Year after year the institutions at Bangor and Swansea were inundated with applications for admission. Until 1876 the Queen's Scholarship examinations were held in the week prior to the certificate examinations in December, but after that date they were held in June or July as the interval between the examinations and the start of the academic year was considered to be too short. A random selection will show the striking increase in the number of candidates for admission to Bangor in the years following the 1870 Act; their numbers rose from 41 in that year to 100 in 1878 and to 180 in 1885. Moreover, from

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1. This was in spite of the large number of acting teachers. The following table appears in the Cross Commission: Returns of Principals 65485-11;

Year.	Trained Teachers produced.		Acting teachers awarded certificates.	
	No.	%	No.	%
1883	831	39%	1317	61%
1884	875	33%	1812	67%
1885	899	32%	1884	68%

1877 onwards, there were always some candidates for Bangor who sat the examination elsewhere. Indeed, so great was the demand for places in 1880 that nearly half the candidates had to take their examinations at the local school.¹ Although a very large proportion of these candidates failed - four fifths of them were unsuccessful in 1881² - the management committee were in no way perturbed, as they could always accept candidates who had been unsuccessful in England. After Bourne had met Hugh Owen and the Bangor principal in London, the British and Foreign Schools Society came to the conclusion that it would not henceforth be in the general interests of Welsh education to exclude Welsh candidates from Borough Road. This decision the Bangor authorities amicably accepted and they certainly had the better part of the bargain, for not only did they manage to attract large numbers of students from South Wales (more than half their intake between 1870 and 1886 came from the southern counties)³ but they were also free to accept English candidates without in any way offending the Borough Road committee of management. Indeed, the North Wales college was well placed for accepting English students, as Borough Road was the only undenominational men's college in the whole of England. So confident were the

1. Bangor Normal College Annual Report 1880. p.11.

2. *ibid.* 1881. P.10.

3. Abstract from B.N.College reports for the years in question.

Bangor managers of their position, that they informed all English candidates that only those who passed the examination in the first class or very high in the second¹ would be given preference over those who came from Wales. This stipulation which became operative in 1870² was incorporated in the college bye laws in 1892.

Bangor's position was thus an enviable one, for there was no other provincial men's training college in the kingdom which could afford to be so selective in its choice of students.

At Swansea, from the outset, the applicants for admission were in excess of the accommodation available. Yet, as in the case of Bangor, many of these failed the Queen's Scholarship. Thus, in 1876, 22 out of 62 candidates failed and in 1877, 32 were unsuccessful from a list of 84. These were not exceptional years in this respect for in the first nineteen years of its existence, out of 2313 young women who took the scholarship examination no fewer than 930 were unsuccessful. That fewer than half of those candidates who did pass the scholarship were accepted³ into the college indicates clearly that Swansea, also, could attract students of fairly high calibre; in fact, of the 637 women who were admitted into training at the institution during these years, 302 of them had passed in the first class.

Swansea always admitted women from across the border, and although

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1. The list of Queen's Scholars was published in order of merit, irrespective of the colleges which they had elected to enter. It was divided into 3 classes and each college would accept students according to the position they held on this list.
 2. Y Cymro, Mawrth 28. 1901. The principal, Daniel Rowlands, stated this in that year.
 3. Swansea Training College, Annual Report 1890, p.9.

these were few in the early years, they steadily increased in numbers until, by 1884, more than half the entrants came from England.¹ As the British and Foreign Schools Society had always regarded² the Swansea institution as a college which would cater for the needs of both the west of England and Wales, it is safe to assume that Welsh women were not given priority.

Carmarthen, like Swansea, had far more applicants for admission than it could accommodate,³ and like Swansea it accepted many candidates from England. Unlike Swansea, however, Carmarthen, 'where Welshmen appeared to have no preference over the nationalities', was filled for the most part, with candidates rejected by the metropolitan and other colleges which had a 'higher name'.⁴ That this college, situated as it was on the fringe of a populous area, could not attract more students from its immediate neighbourhood is not altogether surprising. The attitude of the Diocese of Llandaff towards the institution has already been noted. Moreover, as English students trained at Carmarthen tended to seek employment beyond the border,⁵ the National Schools in the two dioceses in South Wales were probably

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1. *ibid.* 1894. p.9; of 41 admissions, 23 were from England, 19 of whom passed the Queen's Scholarship in the First Class.
 2. B & F.S.S. Report 1872.
 3. Carmarthen College, Annual Report 1877; e.g. in that year there were four times as many applicants as there were places.
 4. Report of Committee of Council. 1876-77, p.695.
 5. Carmarthen College, Annual Report 1876.

forced to accept English trained schoolmasters of low standard, as the better qualified Englishmen were generally reluctant to accept posts in the Principality. Consequently, not only was the failure rate of the pupil teachers high, owing to the poor tuition they received, but also the two Diocesan Boards of Education felt in no way indebted to the college.¹ In the circumstances, the institution was obliged to accept candidates, inferior though they were, from England, and the dimensions of the influx can be gauged from an inspector's observation in 1883 that the number of Welsh students had by then been increased to about one third of the total in residence.²

The proximity of the Church college at Caernarvon to the now flourishing undenominational institution at Bangor no doubt caused the management committee of the former to be more sensitive than perhaps it otherwise would have been to the difficulties which were facing it. The principal, on being questioned by the local administrators why the Normal college at Bangor managed to attract good students, could only reply that their college was filled by the refuse of many other colleges.³ Caernarvon, of course, was badly placed for receiving pupil

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1. Carmarthen College, Annual Report 1890: even as late as 1890, Oakley, the inspector for Training Colleges, stated that the Diocesan Boards should take more interest in the training of pupil teachers.
 2. Carmarthen college, Minutes of management committee 10.5.83.
 3. Caernarvon College. Minutes of Management Committee 15.8.73.

teachers from the immediate locality, for its catchment area was not only sparsely populated but it also embraced possibly the poorest English speaking portion of the Principality, a factor which was bound to have an adverse effect on the pupil teachers' performance in the entrance examination. The Annual Report of the college for 1874 had this to say: 'The best pupil teachers (and these must have been very few) go to England for the sake of language and other attractions. Of the residue, the great majority have such a very slender acquaintance with any but their native tongue, that they seldom or never speak or write a word of English by choice, because they cannot do either with any degree of correctness. English, in fact, is quite a foreign tongue to them". Again, it was a period of extraordinary prosperity in the slate quarries¹, and school managers had but little chance of selecting as pupil teachers young men of more than ordinary ability. Moreover, the college itself, as has been seen, was experiencing much financial hardship and was therefore in no position to offer exhibitions and other prizes, as other institutions could do, to would be candidates. Caernarvon shared with York the unhappy distinction of being the only training institution which was not full to capacity at a time when there was an inordinate demand for qualified teachers. Indeed so precarious was its position by the end of the 1870's

1. Report of Committee of Council 1876-7, p.642.

that Sharpe, the inspector, suggested¹ that 'if hard set' it might have to become a college for women. This, surely, would have been the greatest indignity which could have befallen the college at this time. In 1881 its administrators resolved² to set up a committee to enquire into the various aspects of the problem which confronted them, the scarcity of Welsh pupil teachers entering Caernarvon, the measures to be taken to ensure an adequate supply of Welsh pupil teachers without lowering the standard of attainment, and the action to be taken by the institution to meet the educational needs of the two dioceses. But there was no easy answer to their difficulties, for the college, although originally designed for North Wales pupil teachers, was virtually an English establishment, for year after year its intakes were dominated by students who had been apprenticed in England; of the 33 students who entered in 1880, only four came from Wales, while in the following year, every one of the 26 incoming students came from across the border³ - a trend which started in 1870 and continued until the end of the century. The college committee could, with justification, point out that there was no alternative policy which they could adopt, for not only were pupil teachers from National Schools in Wales rare, but also the failure rate among them was extremely

1. Caerns. College, Minutes of Management Committee 17.6.79.

2. *ibid.* 27.1.81.

3. Caerns.College, Annual Report 1881. p.8.

high.¹ The college was caught in a dilemma - it could not encourage the Church schools in North Wales to produce pupil teachers as long as its very existence depended upon students who had been apprenticed in England.

The period now under review has been aptly described² as "an age which believed in the virtue of facts and in the value of frequent examinations, and had little if any faith in knowledge which could not be tested by examination or in results which could not be calculated in figures". Inspectors' reports gave a great deal of prominence to the attainments of the colleges as shown in the annual government examinations. Nobody was more aware of the disparity in the quality of the intakes to the various training establishments than inspectors Sharpe and Oakley, and they rightly pointed out that the work done in any given college could be accurately measured only when consideration was given to the ability of the students on entry. Bowstead, in 1873, spoke of some colleges being 'more advanced' and of others being 'more backward'. "In the race for the Christmas examinations", he wrote,³

1. Abstract from Caerns. Annual Reports: The Queens' Scholarship.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Nos. of Pupil teachers.</u>	<u>Nos. successful</u>
1876	12	0
1877	16	2
1878	20	2
1899	20	1
1881	18	0
1883	13	2

2. Board of Education Report 1912-13, p.21.

3. Report of Committee of Council 1873-4, p.243.

"the colleges do not start upon equal terms. London colleges demand the elite of candidates, mainly first class. Smaller colleges cannot fill with their own, and so are forced to take people low on the list elsewhere". Oakley was very aware of this situation and he always tried to assess the work of the colleges in relation to the quality of the students with whom they had to deal. "I will add", he wrote,¹ "that the class list of any particular college is no index of its merits or of the work that has been done in the two years for the students, unless we also note and carefully take into account the positions held by them respectively at the admission". As has already been stated, the two Church colleges in Wales were generally forced to take rejects from elsewhere in order to make their institutions viable, while the college at Bangor, and to a lesser extent the one at Swansea, could demand high qualifications on entry from their English students. The measure of this disparity can be fully appreciated only when the Queen's Scholarship lists are examined in some detail.

The colleges, naturally, were keenly aware of their good fortune or misfortune, whichever the case might be. The

1. *ibid.* 1886-7. p.407.

Caernarvon committee, after commenting adversely¹ on its student intake in 1874 - "with the college's ranks made up of such material as this, it would be idle to expect Caernarvon to stand anywhere but at the bottom of the list" - issued a list in the following year in which they compared the calibre of the student intake in the three Welsh men's colleges for the three previous years. In this period it transpired that whereas Bangor and Carmarthen had 18 and 14 students respectively who were placed in the first 300 in the Queen's Scholarship list, Caernarvon had been able to attract only 5 who belonged to this category.² But worse was to follow, when in 1883 the Committee of Council threatened to withdraw its grant to the college owing to the poor results. On this occasion, the principal successfully pleaded that the institution was forced to take candidates from the bottom of the scholarship list because of its geographical position and the high fees which had to be charged there.³ A clear picture of the quality which the Welsh colleges found in their students emerges from the information given by the four principals to the Cross Commission in 1886. In the three years (1884-6) the number of first class Queen's Scholars accepted by the colleges was as follows: Bangor 43, Swansea 31, Carmarthen 5, Caernarvon 1. More striking, perhaps, was the list issued by

1. Caernarvon College. Annual Report 1874, p.11.

2. *ibid.* 1876, p.12.

3. "Reunion of North Wales Training College for Church Schoolmasters" Michaelmas 1883, p.16.

Oakley, in 1887, for he had worked out the average position on the class list of all the students who went to each college in that year - this was certainly the age of figures! In this way, he was able to give an accurate estimate of the total intake to every college, for the list¹ took into account the positions of candidates who were placed in the second and third classes. Of the sixteen men's colleges in England and Wales, Bangor was fifth after the three large metropolitan colleges and Cheltenham, while Carmarthen was thirteenth and Caernarvon last. In the following two years, Carmarthen was to oust Caernarvon from the bottom of the list and Oakley estimated that the students there were 'one year's study' behind those of the London colleges.² Some inspectors were apparently indifferent to the varying calibre of students on entry, but Oakley was never unsympathetic to those institutions which had to cope with poorer candidates. The staffs of the more fortunate colleges felt comparatively little of the drudgery imposed upon some of the institutions by the low calibre of their students, and it must have given comfort and encouragement to the Carmarthen and Caernarvon teaching staffs and management committees that Oakley was such a fairminded and understanding witness of their efforts.

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1886-7, p.406.

2. Caernarvon College. Minutes of Management Committee 29.5.90.

In the period which followed the Act of 1870, the contribution of the training colleges to Welsh elementary education was perhaps not as great as it might have been. It is not suggested, however, that this was the result of any deliberate policy on their part. The majority of certificated teachers, motivated by a desire for advancement sought posts under the larger school boards, and as Wales was a comparatively rural community many young Welsh men and women accepted employment in the English industrial regions. Although their numbers never reached serious proportions, for as has been seen the number of Welsh pupil teachers who trained in the Welsh colleges was never high, Welsh education would have benefited at this time if they had elected to remain in Wales. Again, many pupil teachers from South Wales in particular, following incidentally, the advice Hugh Owen had given to Welshmen forty years earlier, preferred to undergo training in English colleges. There were indications that the profession was becoming more sophisticated and that its members were no longer attracted by the principles which Kay Shuttleworth had laid down as its guide lines - a life of penury and self denial cheerfully borne. The appeal of Caernarvon college¹ for men "who will be content with £50 to £60 and tend a few sheep in the wilderness quietly and steadily in the good old Church way" sounded as unrealistic as did the pious hopes and intentions of the founders of the colleges when their institutions

1. Caernarvon College, Annual Report 1874, p.8.

were established to train Welshmen for service in the schools of Wales. That the unsectarian colleges in Wales in the 1870's and 1880's were able to function slightly more in accordance with this ideal than were the Church institutions was in no way a reflection on the latter's attitude, for they were governed by forces over which they had no control. For Welsh Churchmen, the colleges, in every respect, proved to be a bad bargain.

CHAPTER VIII

The advent of Science, Psychology, and Drill

The most striking feature which characterised the work of the training colleges after the Act of 1870 was the extension of the syllabus to include certain sciences and languages. Moseley, who was the inspector in charge of the colleges in the 1850's, had made a plea for the inclusion of science in these institutions in his Report for 1853.¹ He expressed the view that the science of every day things, as he called it, should have a place in elementary education, and the methods he advocated for its teaching were far in advance of those which were fashionable at that time: "Having laid a sound foundation of knowledge in physical science", he wrote, "the next step is to apply it to the work of the elementary school teacher. This application is obviously to the things which immediately surround the life of a poor child, and which stand in a close relationship to its material and its moral wellbeing; the things on which, under the providence of God, depend health or sickness, clothing or nakedness, want or abundance. The tendency to know about such things is instinctive to the child, and from his earliest years the tendency is apparent to apply such knowledge. To make with an adoption to some purpose and for some end, supposes a beginning of such knowledge, however imperfect; to develop the character of the maker in the

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1853-4, p.442-3.

child, as contrasted to the worker, is the function of physical science in elementary education. This I hold to be industrial education in its only reasonable form". An approach of this kind was alien to the concepts of teaching which were in vogue in the training colleges at this time, but even the remote possibility of Moseley's scheme being adopted was completely destroyed by the Revised Code, which discouraged any kind of new thinking and shackled instruction to the traditional elements.

It was the Science and Art Department, formed after the Great Exhibition of 1851, which played a leading role in introducing science teaching to the training colleges. This Department, originally under the aegis of the Board of Trade, moved to the Education Department in 1856 and three years later it began to make grants for science classes on a payment by results basis. At first, most of these grants went to evening classes conducted by elementary school teachers, but in 1867 the examinations of the Department were opened to training college students. From the outset, the aim of most teachers, particularly after the Revised Code of 1862, was to augment their miserable salaries by gaining as many passes as possible for their pupils in the evening classes. In fact, these grants were the only channel of state aid available to those who gave or received instruction in science. As such teachers had little or no knowledge of the educative value of the subjects they taught,

the tendency was to cram their pupils with factual information. In this way, science teaching to the masses had inauspicious beginnings, and many who genuinely cared about education were naturally suspicious of the claims made on its behalf. Thus, T.H. Huxley, who together with Spencer, did more than anyone to popularise the study of science, stated in evidence¹ before the Devonshire Commission that science held a 'nocturnal' and 'somewhat surreptitious' position in the educational sphere. He made a strong plea for the inclusion of science at the elementary level: 'scientific teaching', he claimed, 'ought to be made a fundamental part of all primary teaching in the kingdom and be made a part of the day's work'. Aware of the antagonism which existed between the Science and Art Department and the Board of Education, he maintained that science instruction had been introduced 'in the teeth' of the latter. Such antagonism was perhaps not unnatural for on the one hand the Board of Education was inured to the belief that education should pay its way, while on the other, the Science and Art Department was faced with ever increasing demands from people who wished to take its examinations in order to share the largesse it was able to offer. Defective though the teaching was in its science classes - and, indeed, it was inevitable that it should

1. Report of the Royal Commission of Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science (The Devonshire Report) Vol.I (1872) Minutes of Evidence, p.24.

be so, owing to the shortage of qualified science teachers - the Science and Art Department played an important part in the history of English education, for through its 'South Kensington grants' it encouraged the study of science at all levels throughout the country. The training college was one of the first establishments to make a conscientious attempt to tackle science teaching in an organised way, and much of the credit for this must be given to the Department.

The New Code for schools, published in 1871, had a marked effect on the syllabus of the training colleges. Among other things, it stipulated that a grant of 3/- per subject would be paid in respect of every scholar in Standards Four, Five and Six who passed in such subjects as English literature, mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, German, Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Physical Geography, and Animal Physiology. These were known as 'specific subjects' and in the years which followed, the pupils' success in them was to prove a useful means of augmenting the schools' income. Several of the larger School Boards were very much alive to this and since science classes in the schools could be taken only by teachers who had themselves passed the Science Department's examinations, there was great pressure on the training colleges to produce teachers who were thus qualified. On this development Sharpe had this comment to make:¹ "The proper consideration of the relation of the

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1884-5, p.421.

science subjects to the other subjects of instruction has been affected to my great regret by the general encouragement given by some of the school boards to the holders of several science certificates". Again, teachers who were qualified to undertake the instruction of pupil teachers, saw in the teaching of the sciences an opportunity of increasing their salaries by earning grants in respect of pupil teachers who passed the Department's examinations at the elementary level. In many cases, these examinations were taken, not to improve the pupil teacher's education, but to benefit the teacher financially, with the result that it was customary for pupil teachers to enter the training college holding a great number of certificates. Sharp^e, in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1884) stated¹ that whereas it was commonplace for entrants to the colleges to hold eight such certificates, he knew of one pupil who had collected as many as twenty-two. But it was not only this state of affairs which gave encouragement to students in training to undertake a study of the sciences. The Committee of Council, although satisfied with the number of students who had taken the science examinations in 1870 and 1871, decided² that in the following year, 'with a view to encouraging the future study of scientific study', proficiency in the Science and Arts Department's examinations should be taken into account

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1. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1884) Minutes of Evidence 3481.
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1871-2, p.xv.

in determining the students' position on the certificate class list. College managers, always sensitive to the position which their institutions achieved in the government's examination results, made every effort to present as many students as possible for the science tests. But, more important perhaps, was the financial reward which accrued to the colleges for successes in this field. At a time when these establishments were hard pressed to find a quarter of their annual expenditure, it became a significant source of revenue.

The Welsh colleges, perhaps motivated more by the prospect of financial gain than by the desire to make their students 'more competent for the work of training the rising generation'¹ took up science teaching with alacrity. In 1870 Carmarthen was offering tuition in Physical Geography, Animal Physiology, Mechanics and Mathematics, and Bangor, in the last three of these subjects. Swansea and Caernarvon were not to be outdone, and although the latter college presented no students in 1871,² it earned £121 in grants from the Science and Art Department in respect of examination successes in 1873. According to their Lordships, the most popular science subjects in the colleges were Animal Physiology and Physical Geography - a choice determined so Sharp maintained, not by the staffing that was available, but rather by the ease with which passes could be gained in them at

1. Bangor Annual Report 1870, p.9.

2. Report of Com. of Co. 1872-3, p.XV.

the examinations.¹ Occasionally, however, a college would offer instruction in a subject because a member of staff happened to be genuinely interested in it. One such instance occurred at Bangor, where Botany, which was probably the most unpopular subject in men's training colleges, was taken almost without a break between 1870 and 1890. Indeed, in the years 1879 and 1890 Bangor was the only college which presented students in the subject. The tutor in question, although his knowledge of Botany was considered to be inferior to that of a fourth form boy in a modern grammar school,² and although his teaching methods were not all that they might have been, managed to engender such interest among his students that, significantly, the chairs of Botany at the three Welsh university colleges were later held by former students of Bangor college.³ In view of Sharp's comment, however, such dedication to one's subject was a rare occurrence.

The distribution of the grants earned by college lecturers from the Science and Art Department caused the college management committees some concern. In many cases, tutors were not paid on a fixed basis, but rather had to earn what remuneration they could from the number of passes their candidates gained in the examinations. This not only led to dissension among staff

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1. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1884) Minutes of Evidence 3478.
 2. J.L. Williams, op.cit. Vol.III. p.81.
 3. R.W.Phillips, (Bangor) A.H.Trow (Cardiff) J.L.Williams (Aberystwyth)

members but also influenced the choice of subjects which the various colleges offered. It was, according to Sharp^e,¹ a 'vicious system' whereby the lecturers had 'reduced to a science the finding out how to pass the easiest examinations and so earn the largest grants'. From the outset, Sharp^e had been aware that the disposal of the grant money was going to present a problem to all concerned. Indeed in 1871, he suggested² to the Carmarthen committee that the money which accrued from the science classes should not be given to the lecturers, but rather that it should be used, surprisingly, to buy uniforms for the Volunteer Corps at the college. In spite of these views, however, Carmarthen, in common with most other colleges, continued to share the grant among its tutors, in proportion to the examination successes which each had achieved. During his annual visits Sharp^e returned to this aspect of college administration again and again until finally in 1883, after the Principal had suggested that all science grants should be paid into the college funds, the local committee decided³ that henceforth all such monies should be equally divided among its staff members. Although this measure did not go as far as Sharp^e had wished, the compromise did to some extent obviate the evil which he was at such pains to eradicate.

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1. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1884) Minutes of Evidence, 3478.
 2. Carmarthen college: Minutes of Management Committee 31.8.71.
 3. *ibid.* 26.6.83.

The 'Kensington grants' represented the very worst aspects of payment by results and although some spoke¹ strongly in their favour, most authorities eventually came to realise that their effect was not altogether beneficial. Induced by pecuniary considerations, the colleges were now devoting undue attention and time to the sciences. Thus, Sharpe was far from pleased with the emphasis which the Caernarvon staff placed on science instruction in 1876,² while three years later he flatly announced that the lecturers at Carmarthen were neglecting their "other work". Nowhere, perhaps, was this trend more evident than in the annual reports of the college at Bangor; the prominence which had been given formerly to the students' successes in the certificate subjects, was now replaced by detailed accounts of their candidates' performances in the science examinations. In their enthusiasm, the colleges, very often, were allowing inferior candidates to pursue the science courses, and this was a common abuse which persisted in spite of admonitions from the inspectorate. "In disregard of explicit warnings on the subject addressed to the authorities of the Training Colleges", wrote³ Sharpe in 1879, "they have permitted

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1. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1884) Minutes of Evidence 3573 (Col. J. F. Donnelly) "I am a great believer in payment on results. Teaching is a great drudgery and to make a man's reward depend immediately upon his exertions is an incentive that you certainly cannot dispense with".
 2. Caernarvon College: Minutes of Management Committee 27.6.76.
 3. Report of Com. of Co. 1878-9, pXXI.

their students to take up special subjects without due regard to their capacity of studying such subjects with profit'. In consequence, not only were the results in science poor, but so many students were involved in science classes that the colleges inevitably neglected the certificate subjects such as English, geography and history. This tendency which had manifested itself in the instruction of the pupil teacher during his apprenticeship,¹ was now further accentuated in the training college. It was a failing to which one of the inspectors, Canon Tinling, continually drew attention. As early as 1874 he observed,² "I doubt whether the students are as good scholars and teachers for the additional subjects as they would have been had they applied themselves to deepen the lessons in English grammar and literature, in history and in geography, which subjects already hold a place in the syllabus". Then he went on laconically, "But no additional grant would have been obtainable by way of prizes for this". The exaggerated importance attached to the sciences tended to distort the work of the training colleges and to deflect them from their true function, for in spite of the demands of the larger School Boards, the bulk of the teachers' energies would still have to be devoted to teaching the traditional elementary subjects in the schools.

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1. Cross Commission: Minutes of Evidence 11719 (Canon Daniel). "Pupil teachers come to college with ten Sciences but the basic subjects are very low".
 2. Report of Com.of Co. 1873-4, p.262.

It should be noted, however, that the London authorities, no doubt prompted by the remarks of the inspectors, did make an effort to rectify the position by confining the study of science in the colleges to more reasonable dimensions by measures¹ which were introduced in 1878.

In the circumstances, it was only to be expected that the teaching of the sciences would be defective. Practical work was almost non-existent and lecturers were apt to apply the same methods to teaching the new subjects as they had been doing to the more traditional ones. Once again, the ministring of arid unconnected facts was all that was required. As Canon Tinling reported² in 1878, "The minds of students have been filled with physiological phrases which they have retained without a conception of their meaning. The memory of students has been charged with scientific terms which they use merely by chance in their right connection". Morrell, another of the inspectors, likened the knowledge of science displayed by students to the knowledge of a geographer who had studied a map but had never walked the country. At the Bangor college, the teaching of science was described as follows:³ "Yn anffodus, gellid pasio

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1. By Minute of 17.1.1878 students who had previously been allowed to take three Sciences were now allowed to take two. Moreover, those who had failed to pass History and Geography with credit in their first year were obliged to take them in their second year to the exclusion of the sciences.
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1878-9, p.823.
 3. J.L. Williams, op.cit. Vol. IV, p.37.

pob arholiad ar bwys cofio llyfr neu ddau, heb ddim gwybodaeth ymarferol am wrthrychau'r wyddor ac heb weld arbrofion yn cael eu gwneud i brofi ac egluro'r ffeithiau; ac mae hynny fel y gwyddys yn anhepgor mewn addysg wyddonol". In spite of Sharp's representations to the Carmarthen committee that an acre or so of its ground should be used for experimental farming, the college continued to teach agriculture as a purely theoretical subject, while as late as 1884 - when science had been taught there for fourteen years - Sharp¹ made the observation that the college should have a laboratory of even a 'humble kind'. Cramming in the sciences was as prevalent as it was in the other aspects of training college work, - indeed, not only did the methods which the tutors employed encourage this, but also the practice of holding the Science and Art Departments' examinations in May forced the students to amass what 'information' they could in a few short months.²

Loading the memory with facts and employing a purely theoretical approach were in themselves a serious indictment of the methods adopted in teaching science. But this was not all, for the scientific knowledge acquired by the student would be of little use to him when teaching young children in the elementary school. The science certificates gained at college encompassed the knowledge required for teachers of adults or older scholars, and no attempt whatsoever was made to deal with those simple

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1. Carmarthen college: Minutes of Management Committee 30.5.84.
 2. By the Minute of 17.1.1878, the authorities partially remedied the evil by stipulating that henceforth the examination would be held in December.

aspects of science which touched upon the ordinary life of school children. In fact, the examination of the Science and Art Department had no bearing either on the kind of work the colleges should be doing or on the real necessities of elementary teachers. The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction drew attention to this aspect of science teaching in these words:¹ "The answers received by the examiners to such questions as the following. 'Write out the heads of a lecture to an elementary class on the chemical and physical properties of water, mentioning the experiments you would show and your object in showing them' prove conclusively that the students have no idea as to how such a simple matter ought to be brought before a class". Again, the Principal of Battersea, among others, suggested² to the Cross Commission that the Education Department should set about drawing up a syllabus for science which would be appropriate for training colleges. It would appear that these establishments had little or no guidance as to the kind of science training they should undertake - a neglect, undoubtedly, arising from the divided responsibility which the Education Department and the South Kensington authorities assumed for them.

In fairness to the Science and Art Department, however, it should be stated that it was aware, to some extent at least,

1. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1884) Vol.1, p.526.

2. Cross Commission: Returns of Principals (C5485-11).

of the problem which confronted the training colleges, who had from the outset, to teach science with their existing staffs. The tutors were generally men who had no scientific background and who therefore could do little more than communicate to their students such scientific facts as they themselves had but recently acquired. Indeed, such was the haste with which the training colleges took up the various branches of science, that no other course was open to them. Moreover, in the years which followed the 1870 Education Act, college committees in an attempt to meet the multiplication of subjects on the timetable, were forced to augment their staffs by appointing some of their abler students who were just completing their course of training.¹

Appointments of this kind were many, and the colleges at Bangor Caernarvon and Carmarthen were obliged to accept² on their staffs inexperienced students whose only acquaintance with science was that which they had made during their training period. In order to mitigate this situation, the Science and Art Department arranged short summer courses of six weeks' duration at South Kensington for both second year students and college lecturers. Some training colleges were more disposed than others to take advantage of this facility. Those teaching science at Borough

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1. This category of lecturer did not stay long at the colleges, for they were attracted by the better salaries which some of the school boards could offer: by 1883 the average salary of 294 masters in the metropolitan area was £253.13.10d. Report of Com. of Co. 1883-4, PXXI.
 2. e.g. Owen Phillips at (Carmarthen) and W.A. Savage, T.M. Williams, T.J. Williams, R.W. Phillips (Bangor)

Road, Carmarthen and Caernarvon in 1879 had never attended a South Kensington course, while members of the Bangor teaching staff had been there every year since 1874.¹ In these courses, conducted under the direction of T.H.Huxley, the lecturers were taught how to set up and organise apparatus, with every effort being made to move the teaching away from book learning. Huxley was never tired of emphasising that the child should be taught through his own senses, the hands, the eyes and the ears. "The principal constituent of the skeleton", he wrote,² "and the changes of form of contracting muscles may be felt through one's own skin. The beating of one's heart and its connection with the pulse may be noted: the influence of the valves of one's own veins may be shown; the movement of respiration may be observed". "If scientific education", he stated elsewhere³, "is to be dealt with as mere bookwork, it will be better not to attempt it, but to stick to the Latin grammar which makes no pretence to anything but bookwork". Huxley knew better than most that the fashion of 'cramming' which had resulted from the Revised Code, also applied to the examinations of the Department, yet it would be unrealistic to expect lecturers who had been inured to such an approach in their teaching to abandon, after a short course, their erstwhile methods on returning to college.

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1879-80, p.497.

2. Collected Essays (Huxley) Vol.3, p.298.

3. *ibid.* p.125.

In the event, they could with justification point out, not only that the apparatus and facilities they used at South Kensington were not available at their own colleges, but also that their own proven methods were more likely to gain success in the science examinations. There was, no doubt, among training college staffs a certain innate resistance to the method of science teaching which Huxley advocated at South Kensington - in no other way, can the persistent reluctance of some college authorities to send their lecturers there be explained. Indeed, there were some training college authorities who were prepared to assert¹ that the methods they adopted in their own institutions were better than those employed at South Kensington.

In spite of the conscientious efforts of Huxley and his colleagues, the indications are that the courses held by the Science and Art Department had but little impact on the teaching of science in the training colleges. It was a situation which exasperated some members of the inspectorate, for Sharp, Warburton and Wilson, as late as 1883 petitioned² their Lordships for permission to send to South Kensington "for examination" training college lecturers who had given 'no evidence of their ability to teach science'. So accustomed had lecturers become to the idea that education was nothing more than the conveying

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1. Cross Commission: Minutes of Evidence 11751; Canon Daniel, Principal of Battersea. "I consider that we can teach a great deal better than South Kensington".
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1882-3, p.186.

of information to the students, that they now tended to shun any approach which called for observation, experimentation and deduction on the part of their charges. It was, of course, a method which was altogether foreign to training college concepts, for it implied less teaching - by way of supplying facts - on the part of the tutor and more learning by self discovery on the part of the student. Most lecturers were content to teach science purely as an 'information' subject. Geography and English had been taught by memorising long lists of names and vocabularies and by learning large chunks of grammar by heart, and it was perhaps understandable that they were now prepared to tackle the sciences in the same way. The mere communication of the facts of science could hardly contribute very much to the students' intellectual powers, for competent science teaching involved the development of the ability to observe, to reason and to draw conclusions from experiments. No doubt it was the way in which the sciences were taught which led Matthew Arnold to state in his Report on Elementary Schools (1876) that language was a better means of intellectual training than elementary science. Defective though the teaching must have been in most cases, some benefit possibly did accrue from the introduction of the sciences into the college syllabus, for as Huxley stated¹ before the

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science (2nd Report) Huxley's Evidence.

Devonshire Commissioners, "I must confess that however superficial this knowledge may be, I think if it is honest so far as it goes, it is all for the good. There is a wonderful difference in the state of mind of a person who has never heard of a subject, and one who has forgotten what he has heard". Nevertheless, nothing demonstrates more clearly the colleges' conservatism - their resistance to change, their reluctance to accept a new challenge, and their entrenched belief that examination results were the only criterion of good teaching - than their attitude towards the sciences in the period now under review.

One other notable addition to the syllabus during these years was that which affected the subject of school management. As has been seen earlier the study of education as a subject had been confined to such practical measures as the keeping of registers and the arrangements of desks within the classroom, but in 1879 Locke's Thoughts on Education was recommended as a set book with the result that students at the Christmas examinations in the following year were, for the first time, expected to answer questions dealing with the principles of education. Sharpe had for some time been aware that some colleges had attempted to acquaint the students with the 'humbler rudiments of psychology' and with the phraseology employed to describe the development of the intellectual faculties. "A

wordy theoretical lecturer on the science of education" he wrote¹ "is one of the greatest foes of the true art of education". It certainly was undesirable that elementary school teachers should learn from books or from lectures scraps of science and terms which they had the utmost difficulty in understanding. The study of education was in its infancy, and it was inevitable that false theories and disputed axioms were bandied about at random. The approach to teaching as expressed by Locke, however, was considered sound as it had been deduced from his own observations in the classroom; his book was free from technical jargon and disputed points of mental science. Two years later, in 1882, in order, perhaps, to give clearer guidance to college tutors, it was suggested that the science of education should be conducted under certain headings 'carefully arranged after conference with our best writers and thinkers on education';² these were -

- (1) Order of development and laws of growth and operation of the mental faculties
- (2) Formation of habits and of character.
- (4) Training of the senses, the memory, the imagination and taste, the power of judging and reasoning.

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1879-80, p.493.

2. *ibid.* 1880-1, p.498.

The only objection which Sharpe had to this syllabus was the omission of any definite allusion to the physiology of bodily growth. In his view, human physiology, particularly in relation to the nervous system should be made the first science in every training college.

The introduction of work of this kind, ambitious though it was, was commendable, for it shows that those in charge of teacher training were beginning, at last, to give some consideration to the child. Perhaps the only criticism that can be levelled at their Lordships is that they were launching in the colleges a difficult science under the worst possible conditions. Yet not to have introduced it at all would have been a far more serious error, for they then would have been, seemingly, content with producing technicians rather than educators. As Rich has succinctly put it,¹ education is the interaction between the mature and the immature mind, and unless the former is sensitive to the complexities of the latter, full benefit cannot be derived from such intercourse. At that time college lecturers were certainly not competent to teach educational psychology, for the vast majority of them were men who had never had any acquaintance with this branch of science. Consequently, and indeed inevitably, the students - and there were "first class Queen's Scholars who were perfectly ignorant of the meaning of words commonly met with in school reading books"² -

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1. The Training of Teachers in England and Wales (R.W.Rich) P.2.
 2. Cross Commission: Return of Principals: S.F.Trevor, Principal of Chichester Training College C5485-11.

were encouraged to use terms and phrases which were completely beyond their comprehension. As Morgan Owen, one of the inspectors who marked the School Management papers stated,¹ "The reiteration of the terms 'educe', 'deduce', 'elicit', 'obtain' and 'extract' was deplorable....The fault lies with the college staffs and it is high time that they should be told that we may as reasonably expect the Sahara to refresh the parched throat of the traveller at the option of the latter as expect to get a child to supply all the matter of an oral lesson by means of 'socratic', 'tentative', 'preliminary', 'introductive', 'deductive', 'inductive', 'eductive', 'educational', 'recapitulatory' and 'artistic' questions. Among other methods of instruction the following were given, 'mechanical', 'experimental', 'synthetic' 'analytical', 'elliptical', 'incidental' and 'diacritical' The students themselves, brought up as pupil teachers, doubtlessly when they arrived in the schools, continued to teach in a mechanical fashion without ever having the will or the opportunity of putting into practice much of the theory presented to them at college. Henceforth, psychology became a regular feature of the education course in training colleges and, although its treatment has for various reasons been rather superficial, it has claimed more and more of the students' time. Even today

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1881-2, p.523.

students are apt to question its value as an integral part of their training, for they fail to see its relevance to the classroom situation. Perhaps, to a lesser extent, this is true also of students in university training departments, where the subject of educational psychology is studied in greater depth. In general, the present method is to present the students with a corpus of abstract information in the hope that someday they may be able to apply some of it in a practical way. It would possibly be more effective if attempts were made to build up such information from a series of actual classroom experiences - at least, this would have more to commend it as a method of teaching within the colleges. How to bridge the gap between theoretical considerations and their practical application is certainly a problem over which lecturers would do well to ponder.

The proliferation of subjects, brought about mainly by the addition of the sciences, increased the pressure on the already heavily laden timetables of the colleges. At the Normal College, Bangor,¹ as many as seven hours were spent in the classroom daily, and after allowance was made for meals, the students had only one hour for private study at the end of the day. Subjected as they were to seven hours of lecturing, the students certainly had little inclination to apply themselves to independent study - a state of affairs which the college authorities

1. *ibid.* 1877-8, p.619.

tacitly acknowledged, for the private study sessions were usually supervised by a member of the teaching staff. The inordinate amount of lecturing which went on in the colleges was considered by the tutors to be a necessary evil, for lecturing was the safest means of ensuring examination success, and the colleges' reputation was dependent on the certificate list. As a result, the colleges were more concerned with presenting formal knowledge to their students than they were in fostering in them the habit of developing independent ^tudy. It was assumed, of course, that the general body of students had such small capacity for continuous thought, and had been so badly taught before admission to college, that they required constant guidance. By adopting this attitude the colleges, certainly, made no allowances for the range of ability which existed among any given group of students; the heavy lecturing programme was designed to meet the needs of the poorer type, with the result that the better students were given little opportunity of pursuing private studies which tended to promote a habit of independent self culture.

Sharpe was always much concerned with the disproportion between the number of hours devoted to lecturing and to private study in the colleges. He felt that the better students could, with advantage, be allowed more time to work independently. In support of this opinion he quoted a letter¹ from one college

1. *ibid.* 1877-8, p.619.

principal who had adopted Sharp's suggestion that no lecture or class work should be conducted after the morning session. In this particular instance, it was found that the students had done their work better and that they had reacted most favourably to being treated more like men and less like schoolboys or pupil teachers. The inspector, no doubt, would like to have seen such a policy in vogue in all the colleges, and in an effort to bring this about he suggested that the first year students might study the ordinary subjects required in elementary schools with a limited amount of the 'higher' subjects in proportion to their different capabilities, while a more extensive study of these higher subjects in the second year should be permitted only to the better class of student. In deference to Sharp's wishes, the Committee of Council resolved¹ that subjects of the second year should be formed into groups with the intention that lecturing time at the colleges should be reduced. In this way, those colleges which commanded a large percentage of first class candidates in their admission lists were encouraged to allow more time for private study. Thus, Battersea was able to discontinue lectures at 11.45 a.m. each morning, while at Homerton no lectures were given after lunch.² But tradition died hard, and in spite of Sharp's efforts, the 'full day' was very much a

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1. The following groups were formed (a) School Management (b) English (c) Geography and History (d) Algebra, Geometry and Mensuration (e) Science (f) Languages. All students had to take (a) and (b) and any two others but no more.
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1879-80, p.500,503.

feature of training college life, particularly in the provincial institutions, at the end of the period now reviewed. H. Oakley, who succeeded Sharpe as inspector of colleges, in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction observed¹ that in the 'inferior' training establishments the students were too much crammed and subjected to "endless lectures".

It evidently required more than the urgings of the inspectorate and the regulations of the Department of Education to effect a change in the attitude of the Welsh colleges. Professor R.W. Phillips who was a student at Bangor college in the 1870's stated² that the students there were at their desks for nearly fifty hours a week and were 'lectured at for most of the time'. Nor did the situation improve much in the following decade when 'students were under instruction for about seven hours daily and scarcely any time was left for private study'.³ Again, both Sharpe and Oakley unavailingly advocated a reduction of lecturing hours at Carmarthen. As late as 1884 Sharpe reported that the students there were "too much crammed with lectures", while Oakley was concerned⁴ two years later to find that the college in its twelve hour day devoted no less than eight hours to lecturing. But, perhaps, the plague of over-lecturing is best exemplified in the Swansea timetable⁵ of 1895,

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1. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction; Minutes of Evidence 3559.
 2. The Normalite May 1904, p.75.
 3. Report of Com. of Co. 1881-2, p.537.
 4. Carmarthen College: Minutes of Management Committee 27.5.86.
 5. See Appendix.

when the authorities there were teaching no fewer than sixteen subjects. Of course, it may be argued that the tutors at Carmarthen and Caernarvon, in view of the low calibre of their intakes, had no option but to continue with the lecture as the main means of teaching their students, and that the colleges at Swansea and Bangor, although they were dealing with better candidates, possibly did not have sufficient teaching staffs to deal separately with the different categories of students.

The heavy lecturing timetable, naturally threw a great burden on the tutors. In fact, they were teaching almost without respite; at Caernarvon in 1882 the three members of staff lectured for 32, 35 and 27 hours respectively every week, while at Bangor four tutors shared a lecturing time of $83\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week. In these circumstances, lecturers had little time to prepare or, indeed, to keep abreast of their subjects, and when it is remembered that they were committed to these long hours at a time when several new subjects were being introduced in to the college syllabus, their treatment of the new material could not be other than superficial. Indeed, continuous employment of the staff became as much a tradition in the training colleges as the excessive hours of lecturing which the students were expected to endure. It is a characteristic which has lasted to this day.

It should be borne in mind that this onerous regime was imposed upon the students at a time when living conditions inside the colleges were far from satisfactory. As there had been no government grants for buildings since 1861, most college authorities had been unable to improve their amenities, although in some cases there had been a considerable increase in the number of residents. Thus at Bangor sixty students were sharing accommodation which had been originally designed for 41. There was no bathroom,¹ but this was quite in keeping with what obtained at other similar institutions at that time.² The dormitories were separated from each other only by a low partition, so that they resembled a row of horse boxes. These cubicles were described³ by one old student there in graphic terms; "By standing on the rail of my bed", he wrote, "I could see the smoke chimney out of the corner of some one else's window. The Junior dorms were so artfully constructed that when a trunk was introduced, one had to climb over the bed to reach the wash stand". At Caernarvon, where in the mid 1870's all 43 students

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1876-77, p.692.

2. One old student of a London college described his experiences as follows: "The British notion of cleanliness was sternly set at nought at the Russell Street college; each youth washed himself as best he could in a minute basin, but the cold tub was unknown. The pious founders apparently considered that washing takes the stamina out of a man, and they arranged so as to let every student cleanse himself in the orthodox way about once a month". Report of Board of Education (1912-13) Appendix 1, p.48.

3. The Normalite, Christmas 1912, p.42-3.

had to wash at one tap,¹ the kitchens were "wretchedly unwholesome", while the practice there of having a water closet in the dormitory was roundly condemned by Oakley.² Nor were the facilities any better at Carmarthen where, as late as 1895, the authorities could provide only three bathrooms to cater for the needs of sixty students.³ Completely inadequate as these ordinary amenities were, there was perhaps, one aspect of college routine, which, more than any other, made the students' life irksome - the compulsory gregariousness which the conditions inside the buildings imposed upon the residents. ^{The provision of} Libraries and common rooms were the exception rather than the rule, so that students in most instances, were obliged to spend most of their waking hours in the classrooms. At Caernarvon the principal in 1885 was authorised to spend fifty pounds to found a library in the college - this was after the institution had been in existence for nearly forty years, while the Carmarthen committee proudly announced six years later that they had provided a novel feature for the students, a recreation room "with daily newspapers".⁴ No one was more conscious of the antiquated conditions under which he lived than the student

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1. Caernarvon College; Minutes of Management Committee 24.8.75.
 2. *ibid.* 8.6.86.
 3. Carmarthen Coll: Minutes of Man.Com.11.5.95.
 4. *ibid.* 20.5.91.

himself. The School Boards had for years provided for the children schools, which, by the prevailing standards, were models of hygienic excellence, with facilities and apparatus which far outstripped those which existed in the training establishments. The physical disadvantages under which he studied and lived were certainly brought home to the student when he saw the conditions which obtained within the school buildings when he visited them during his school practice. No doubt, the college authorities would have liked to improve their buildings structurally and thereby improve their public image, but they were private institutions and so they could not hope to match the rate-aided Board schools. Thus the old had to stand side by side with the new.

It was noticeable that in the 1870's government inspectors attached more and more importance to the participation by students in military drill. The main reason for this appears to be the encouragement given to school managers under Article 24 of the New Code of 1871¹ to include drill instruction in the curriculum. A memorandum² issued by the Committee of Council had this to say: "There are Volunteer detachments now in most parts of the county and these drill in the evenings under government instructors. Elementary drill suitable for boys

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1. Report of Com. of Co. 1870-1, PCIX; "Attendance at Drill, under a competent instructor, for not more than two hours a week, and twenty weeks in a year may be counted as school attendance".
 2. Report of Com. of Co. 1870-1, P.CXXXVI.

could be imparted by either Artillery, Engineer or Rifle Volunteers and would be sufficient to teach the boys habits of sharp obedience, smartness, order and cleanliness. It is suggested that many teachers who are volunteers could become drill instructors in the schools after they become sergeants". Obviously, by fostering drill instruction in the colleges, their Lordships intention was that students, on completion of their training, would be qualified to teach it in the schools, and as the above minute suggests, its inclusion in the syllabus was seen as an aid to school discipline. It is possible also, that participation in drill was regarded as a means of enforcing discipline in the colleges, for in 1878, after his visit to Carmarthen, Sharp in referring to the insubordination which had characterised the institution in the previous year, commented¹ that it was regrettable that there was no volunteer corps in the college. At no time did the inspectors, who annually watched the students 'doing their evolutions' consider the exercises as a means of relief from the dreary existence of college routine. Yet it was surely here that the value of military drill lay, for it did much to offset the cramped living conditions within the colleges and the sedentary nature of the life the students were forced to lead.

1. Carmarthen College: Minutes of Management Committee 23,3,78.

The colleges in Wales, faced with the difficulty, from time to time, of finding qualified officers, could provide instruction in drill only sporadically. The students at Carmarthen at one time formed part of the 2nd Carmarthenshire Volunteer Corps; those at Bangor belonged to the 2nd Caernarvonshire Artillery Volunteers while at Caernarvon, where Oakley at one time was delighted¹ with the heavy gun drill, the students were attached to the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers. Here, every student was required to make himself efficient by embarking on a cruise of seven days on one of Her Majesty's ships, by completing twenty heavy gun and twelve field exercises, and by showing competent knowledge of all drills, rowing in a brigade boat and making the ordinary service knots. One old student from another Welsh college described the activities in which he participated in these words:² "For drilling purposes we were given a navy blue tunic and a similar trousers decked along its outer side by a broad scarlet braid. On Saturday nights we were expected to present ourselves at the drill hall down town to perform some military duties. Some of the students enjoyed this form of break in the routine of college work. In early summer we had to join the Volunteer Camp in a nearby

1. ibid. 5.6.89.

2. Private information from Matthew Williams (Rhostryfan)

village for one week every year. I thoroughly enjoyed this in spite of all the rebukes by the sergeant major for my awkwardness at drill". While these operations would not appeal to many students today as a recreative pastime, it is not surprising that most training college residents at that time enjoyed participating in them, for membership of a volunteer corps not only afforded an opportunity for the students to make contact with people outside the sphere of teacher training in term time, but it also brought into their lives a practicality which college life so often lacked. Military drill remained in vogue in most colleges until 1895 when the Military Drill Certificate was no longer recognised as qualifying its holder to give instruction in the schools.

During the week, the half hour drill period did not provide a sufficient outlet for the physical energies which these young men had to expend. One source refers¹ to the continual 'horse play' that went on within the college building, and this he attributes directly to the lack of facilities for outdoor recreation. In the training colleges of those days, the fashion was to teach and house the students under the same roof - hostels, as separate buildings, did not appear until the turn of the century. In these circumstances it is not surprising that

1. The Normalite, May 1904, p.76.

the administrators of the day gave but little thought to the provision of sporting amenities. Carmarthen, perhaps, was in a better position than most to supply playing pitches, for there were eight acres of ground attached to the college. Yet it was not until 1879 that the principal there was authorised¹ to lay out a cricket pitch for student use. Even in 1884 Sharp^e had to suggest to the management committee that it should provide three or four tennis courts for the residents' recreation. Bangor and Caernarvon had no such ground available, and the best that could be done was to rent totally unsuitable plots of land at some distance from the colleges. The students' enthusiasm was sufficient to overcome these difficulties and by 1887 the two colleges were playing each other at both soccer and cricket.² It is doubtful whether the teaching staffs looked with much favour on such developments - there was more than one reference in the annual reports to the minor ailments which students suffered through the playing of games -³ for so imbued were they with the notion that examination success was the all pervading purpose of college life, that any activity which did not contribute to that end was nothing more than a frivolity. It can be argued that any facilities which the students gained at

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1. Carmarthen College; Minutes of Management Committee 28.3.79
 2. Third Calendar, Caernarvon College, Dec. 1887.
 3. e.g. Annual Report. Bangor College 1889. p.14.

the hands of the authorities to satisfy their recreative proclivities were possibly acquired under duress. Indeed, the colleges, locked in deadly combat with each other to prove their academic supremacy, could hardly be expected to provide, of their own volition, facilities which gave nothing more in return than innocent enjoyment to the students. To the college administrators of those days, education was a hard grind and a sombre business.

For two decades following the Act of 1870 conditions in the colleges remained strikingly unchanged. In spite of all the suggestions for improvement, made by the government inspectors of the period, the college authorities continued to provide instruction as they had been doing for nearly fifty years. While the deficiencies in college buildings can probably be attributed to lack of funds, the apparent reluctance of the institutions to change their ways in academic matters is not so readily explained. College tutors, almost without exception, were of an educational background which tended to reject any innovation - they were the products of a 'system' and, with their limited horizons, the injection of new ideas into the educational machinery was unnecessary and uncalled for. To them, new subjects, such as science and education were merely grist to the mill and they failed to realise that they would have to change

their teaching methods to a radical degree if the educative value of these subjects was to be fully exploited. Perhaps they were aware of their own inadequacies and were, therefore, content to continue as they always had done. In any event, they could rest secure in the thought that their methods were well adapted to the primary need of the student - that of gaining examination success. Thus, it came about that the training colleges, from which ideally new methods and experiments in education should have emanated, had not the basic resources to implement any forward looking policy.

CHAPTER IX

New Departures, 1888-1898

In the late 1880's the end of the monopoly which the residential institutions had enjoyed in the field of teacher training was in sight. This was brought about perhaps more by force of circumstances than by any feeling of hostility towards these establishments. The denominational training colleges were the result of the opposition led by the National Society and the bishops to the setting up of a state training college in 1839. These institutions, aided by government grants, were to remain unchallenged as long as elementary education was based on the denominational system. The Act of 1870, however, removed education from the control of the voluntary bodies, and from that time onwards the place of the denominational training college in the general pattern of elementary education was to come under scrutiny.

In the twenty years after 1870 the school population had risen threefold while training college accommodation had increased by only a fraction of this amount. Moreover, it was the School Boards with their undenominational religious teaching, which were responsible for the great increase in school buildings while the extra accommodation for teacher training was provided mainly by the Church authorities.¹ The overall accommodation

1. Of the six new Training Colleges built in this period, four were denominational.

in the training establishments was certainly inadequate for by 1886, 3379 candidates who had successfully passed the Queen's scholarship were applying for 1632 vacancies at the colleges.¹ It was the pupil teachers at the Board Schools who were at the greatest disadvantage for, with only eight undenominational training colleges in the whole of England and Wales, less than a fifth of the candidates could be admitted to them.² Not unnaturally, therefore, the greatest agitation for increasing training facilities came from the large School Boards who were very sensitive to the unfair competition which their pupil teachers had to face. They rightly pointed out that, since the increase in school accommodation had been brought about by the School Boards, any corresponding increase in training colleges should be of an undenominational nature.

The Birmingham School Board approached the Education Department in 1885 with a view to setting up a day college in the city and its lead was followed by Manchester, Leeds and Cardiff.³ The Birmingham memorandum, drawn up by the Reverend E.F. McCarthy, headmaster of King Edward's School, Five Ways, and vice-president of the School Board, was couched in these terms;⁴ "1. The

1. Cross Commission, Final Report P.93.

2. *ibid.* p.286.

3. *ibid.* p.101.

4. Cross Commission (Vol.2) Minutes of Evidence 33200.

Training Colleges are unable to supply in sufficient numbers, teachers who are themselves adequately educated before they undertake to educate children. 2. The large majority of existing Training Colleges, being of a denominational character, are not regarded as suitable to them by a considerable number of those who are desirous of being elementary school teachers. 3. A large number of highly qualified young persons who would not be likely to leave home to enter boarding training colleges would be willing and even anxious to enter the teaching profession if institutions at which they could qualify themselves, existed within reach of their homes. 4. The supply of teachers would not equal the demands unless special inducements in the way of a very inexpensive course of training were held out. 5. The cost could be met by Government or local subscriptions or both. Your memorialists believe that the only solution to these difficulties is the establishment of day training colleges in England with general government aid such as is granted to non residential colleges in Scotland, and that the School Boards be empowered to establish and maintain such day training colleges".

The Birmingham authorities, while casually expressing dissatisfaction at the calibre of the training given in the residential colleges, were mainly concerned with increasing the provision of training facilities free of denominational restriction. They envisaged the establishment of School Boards

which would control not only the schools but also the colleges, with the Government, by means of its grants in aid, wielding the same power over these institutions as it was already doing over the existing residential colleges. Perhaps the main objection to such a scheme would be that the proposed colleges would tend to become too local in character, and, more important, that the Board of Education, while it would obviously enjoy the prospect of exercising its influence over a wider field of teacher training, would have difficulty in meeting the expenditure incurred in erecting new institutions. Significantly, the Birmingham School Board made no reference to any use that might be made of the many newly founded universities and university colleges, but the latter were quick to seize their opportunity and the Education Department received applications from the Yorkshire College at Leeds and from the University College at Cardiff, to mention only two, for permission to accept Queen's Scholars.¹ These institutions were, obviously, in a stronger position than were the School Boards, for their buildings were already in existence and, as most of them did not have many students, they saw here an admirable chance of augmenting their numbers.² Thus, the advisability of training teachers in

1. Cross Commission, Vol.3, p.322.

2. e.g. Bangor University College had only 117 students in 1890, while Aberystwyth in the first eight years of its existence had only 313.

universities became one of the main issues upon which the Cross Commissioners had to deliberate, and the evidence given by several well known witnesses not only made interesting reading but raised points of fundamental importance in the education of teachers.

In one way or another, several witnesses were not disinterested in the results which might accrue from the Commission's recommendations. College principals, no doubt sensing that the monopoly which they had held for so long might at last be threatened, obviously believed that the best way to ward off the challenge was to extol the virtues of their own institutions; much was made of the benefit which emanated from residence, and while the Newcastle Commission in 1861 had attributed the conceit and narrowness of outlook displayed by students to the segregated existence which was thrust upon them, the principals now felt that a residential college, where there was a close personal relationship between the teacher and the taught, was the only institution which could guarantee to foster a sound morality among the students;¹ they stressed the social discipline of collegiate life and the control which the staff could exercise over the students; regular attendance at lectures, punctuality and thorough preparation were qualities which no other institution could instil into its students;²

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1. Cross Commission, Minutes of Evidence, 11954; Canon Daniel, Principal of Battersea Training College.
 2. *ibid*, 11648.

moreover, their colleges were a cheap bargain for the country as a quarter of the cost of training was borne by voluntary bodies.¹ But the principals went further than this - they missed no opportunity of denigrating the universities and university colleges in whichever way they could: discipline was lax, the kind of education dispensed there was unsuitable for students who intended taking up teaching as a career and above all, university staffs were failures.² While these were, naturally enough, biased views which can be readily accepted as such, the attitude of the government inspectors towards university participation in teacher training is not so easily explained.

For nearly half a century the inspectors had continually striven to bring about a change of outlook in those responsible for the work in the training colleges. They had rightly pointed out that the staffs were content to convey to the students nothing more than a catalogue of disjointed facts, that their great preoccupation was examination success, and that they frequently failed to distinguish between the subject as learnt and the subject as taught. Above all, they were concerned about the mechanical nature of the system, about the obvious evil of acquiring knowledge at the expense of encouraging intelligent

1. *ibid*, 7828.

2. *ibid*, 11,887.

appreciation, and about the complete absence of any philosophical approach to education. Although Matthew Arnold, Sharpe, Oakley and others had subscribed forcibly to these opinions, they were as staunch in their support of the residential colleges as were the principals themselves, when they gave evidence before the Commission in 1886.¹ Thus, Matthew Arnold, who had earlier been most vociferous in his condemnation of what the colleges were doing, was now content to say that he would prefer to see intending teachers trained at a normal college rather than at a university,² while T.W. Sharpe, who had continually proclaimed that the students had too much done for them and were over-lectured now made the astonishing claim, that the college course was calculated to develop the students' intelligence and to throw them upon their own resources.³ He also came forward in defence of the residential system; "I certainly prefer" he said⁴ in evidence, "the present system; they are better looked after, and upon the whole, there is a more homely feeling and better teaching". Oakley, who was Sharpe's successor as chief inspector of training colleges, went even further by stating⁵

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1. In this, there was only one exception among the inspectors, Warburton. In evidence, he referred to the over-lecturing and note taking that went on. He could see nothing that could remedy the artificiality of the whole system.
 2. Cross Commission, Minutes of Evidence 5623.
 3. *ibid* 4438
 4. *ibid* 4366
 5. *ibid* 59185

that in face of any competition, he would protect the residential colleges "from any injury which might arise to them". This 'volte face' on the part of the inspectorate is one of the most interesting features of the Cross Commission Report and some attempt should be made to analyse the circumstances which brought it about.

It has to be conceded that the inspectors were conscientious and dedicated individuals who genuinely wished to raise the standard of education in the colleges, and the observations which they made in their annual reports were, no doubt, conceived in good faith. They believed, however, that the improvements which they envisaged could be affected within the existing framework - the pupil teacher apprenticeship, the residential college, the college trained tutor and the certificate examination. To bring about a ^{de}change of outlook in the people involved in any one of these facets in isolation was utterly impossible, for the system of the day was a vicious circle, in which the government examination demanded that the college lecturer should continue to teach the students in the way to which they had been accustomed as pupil teachers. It was a system which was well entrenched and one which the promptings of the inspectors during their annual visits could do little to change. No doubt, the inspectors wished to see an improvement in teacher training, but as they disliked the means contemplated to bring this about,

they felt disposed to defend the residential colleges.

The majority of the inspectors had been appointed to their posts with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and although they were aware that the Revised Code and the Act of 1870 had done much to elevate the status of secular knowledge in the professional sense, they still could not conceive of a system of teacher training in which the authorities accepted no responsibility for the inculcation of religious dogma. In their efforts to prevent the universities from participating in the education of teachers, they alleged that the presence of young people of various denominations was incompatible with college life. Yet, there was ample evidence that this was not so. In Wales, as has been seen earlier, the Church colleges were never averse to accepting nonconformist candidates for admission, while Swansea Training College was able to report¹ that no fewer than 171 Church of England students had been trained there since 1872. In fact, in the British and Foreign Schools Society colleges in 1886, 28% of the students belonged to the Church of England, and Bourne was given the opportunity before the Cross Commissioners of refuting the popularly held belief that the Society was a Dissenting institution.² The point to make here, however, is that at no time in any of these colleges was there

1. Swansea Training College: Annual Report 1890, p.9.

2. Cross Commission: Minutes of Evidence 10089.

reference to any dissension among the students on the grounds of religion. That the inspectorate should hint that the contrary was the case indicates how desperately anxious it was to preclude the universities from participating in teacher training.

The inspectors had probably another reason, and that a personal one, for rejecting the dilution of the residential system. At the time of the Cross Commission, the Committee of Council was the one and only arbiter in the affairs of the colleges and consequently the inspectors, as their Lordships representatives, wielded considerable power. The universities were independent bodies outside the control of the London authorities and if the plan to educate teachers under the aegis of the universities became a reality, the inspectorate would lose much of its erstwhile influence. Moreover, for economic reasons, it was in the sphere of the universities rather than of the residential colleges that the main expansion of training facilities was likely to take place, and this would greatly reduce the inspectors' control over the field of teacher training generally. They were, doubtless, dismayed by the prospect of this diminution of their authority, and it is in this context that their remarks concerning the efficiency of the existing institutions should be considered.

There is, however, yet another aspect to their apparent reluctance to accept the principle of university participation in the training of school teachers. The inspectors, to a man, were products of the older universities, where any kind of vocational training was regarded as anathema to a liberal education. Indeed, most of the witnesses before the Cross Commission did not envisage that Oxford or Cambridge would be involved in any scheme which associated the universities with the production of teachers. The tendency throughout was to look to the newer universities and university colleges. There was a notion that those who attended a university did not need any training in order to teach, and that any technique which may be involved would be automatically acquired by those enlightened people in the process of teaching. They were men who enjoyed a different status and indeed a different designation - 'schoolmastering' even today has a different connotation from 'school teaching'. This trend has been perpetuated to some extent by government authorities, for the university graduate without training is still considered to be certificated and competent to teach.¹ The attitude towards vocational training was also to affect the status and esteem accorded to the Education Departments established within the universities near

1. The National Advisory Council for the Training and Supply of Teachers has pressed the Minister to make training compulsory for graduates from 1968 onwards.

the end of the century. While the science of education, in spite of the efforts of some of the early professors, was hardly accepted as a university discipline, it was undoubtedly the association of the departments with the professional aspect of the students work which adversely affected their standing.¹

Drawn from an academic background where university education was regarded as the prerogative of the upper and upper middle classes, the inspectors who appeared before the Cross Commission regarded any intrusion by the lower orders upon these elite institutions with considerable disfavour. Teacher training was for the working classes; the education of the poor was to be confined to the poor and, in the eyes of the inspectorate, the residential colleges and not the universities was the place to train the teachers.

The large and divergent membership of the Commission militated against the production of a united report, and with a division of opinion on almost every issue of importance, eight of the twenty three members eventually felt constrained to write a minority report. The majority, while prepared to support the establishment 'on a limited scale' of day training colleges, attached to the universities as an experiment, maintained that the residential system was the better,² and they wished to regard

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1. See University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire: A Short History of the College (A.H.Trow and D.J.Brown) p.65.
 2. Cross Commission, Final Report p.102.

the proposed new colleges as merely supplementary to the existing institutions. The minority report, on the other hand, was particularly scathing in its remarks on the training colleges and especially on the teaching staffs.¹ It recommended that day colleges be set up on the Scottish model, where the training colleges were already closely associated with the universities,² and, in direct contrast to the lukewarm advocacy of the majority, the report suggested that there should be competition between the old and the new so that the monopoly of the former could be broken. In the event, it was the view of the minority which prevailed, and far from 'supplementing' the work of the residential colleges, the increase in the provision of training facilities was effected almost entirely by the establishment of day colleges. By the end of the century, sixteen such

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1. *ibid*, p.288; "We need for the training of our elementary teachers that those who educate them shall have wide knowledge of the subjects which they teach, and shall kindle intellectual enthusiasm and stimulate power of thought rather than aim merely at securing passes at the examinations".
 2. Cross Commission, Minutes of Evidence, 38491-2; Dr Morrison, Principal of the Free Church Normal School, Glasgow stated that in Scotland the whole of education was opposed to residence and that it was "not attended with any moral danger".

institutions were in existence. The regulations¹ governing the operation of these day colleges were announced by the Education Department in May 1890 and they were incorporated in the New Code of that year. Within the next four years training departments were established at the university colleges of Cardiff, Aberystwyth and Bangor. The alacrity with which Wales accepted the provisions offered by the new regulations was foreshadowed by the evidence given by Lewis Williams, chairman of the Cardiff School Board, before the Cross Commission, when he spoke² of the 'serious deficiency in the means of training elementary teachers' in the Principality. The development of day colleges was, of course, eminently suitable for Wales with its predominantly nonconformist population and large number of Board Schools.³

1. Circular 187, Education Dept. May 1890:

"(a) Local Committee to make arrangements for lecturers to give lessons on the theory and history of education, superintend school practice, give model lessons and preside over criticism lessons.

(b) Candidates at Queen's Scholarship could opt for Residential or Day College

(c) For certification, students would have to take Education Dept. examinations in professional subjects. But in general subjects College or University examination would be accepted under the following conditions; programme of studies approved by the Dept. and examination answers sent to the Dept. to be adjusted to Residential College standards.

(d) Local Committee to send copy of arrangements concerning school practice, terms of admission, and lodgings to the Dept.

(e) These colleges to be free of denominational restrictions, but the authorities to be responsible for the conduct of the students.

2. Cross Commission, Minutes of Evidence 39416.

3. Report of Com. of Co. 1893-4, pXLVII; Number of Board Schools in Wales in 1893 was 678.

The Welsh training colleges, faced with competition for the first time, were naturally apprehensive. They feared that the better candidates, lured by the prospects of gaining a university degree, would prefer to train in one of the new institutions, with the result that the residential colleges would in time come to be regarded as inferior establishments. Access to better libraries and to a greater variety of professional and other teaching, together with the prospect of studying with students who had no intention of becoming teachers, would make an appeal which the residential colleges would find difficult to counter. Most of all, the day colleges could offer to students a collegiate life unhampered by those petty and irksome restrictions which for so long had been a feature of teacher training. Indeed, the fears which the college authorities now entertained had been hinted at a few years earlier by some of the inspectors. Thus Fitch had reported¹ in 1886 that recognition of the day colleges would weaken the residential ones by withdrawing from them many of the best candidates and by 'diminishing the inducement' to undergo the domestic training and discipline to which the managers attached so much importance. Not unexpectedly, therefore, when the day colleges became a reality, the training college management committees showed considerable concern about the future welfare of their establishments. For example, the Bangor

1. *ibid.* 1886-7, p.453.

Normal College authorities were constrained to ask Oakley what effects the new developments were likely to have on their institution.¹ The reaction of the inspectors to many such enquiries was rather ambivalent for, on the one hand, they tried to allay any fears which were expressed to them - as, indeed, Oakley did in the above instance by saying that the day training college could not in any way affect 'this college or any other training college' - and, on the other hand, they tried to exploit them. When the same inspector did not find things to his liking at Carmarthen (the Bishop had failed to meet him during his annual visit there) he informed the local committee that the college would be "utterly swamped" by the new establishment at Cardiff.² It was a theme to which Oakley returned two years later, and he added now that the college could expect stern competition from both Cardiff and Aberystwyth. Again, Oakley's successor as inspector of Training Colleges, Scott Coward, did little to instil confidence in the teaching staffs at Carmarthen, for he suggested to the management committee that 'professional experts in the English language and history' from Cardiff University College should be called upon to lecture to the students. This measure, he felt, would not only improve the image of the college

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1. Bangor Normal College; Minutes of Management Committee 8.7.90.
 2. Carmarthen College; Minutes of Management Committee 31.5.89.

in the eyes of the public but would also be of benefit to the resident lecturers there.¹ Furthermore, according to the inspector, there should be appointed to the staff men with a wide knowledge of the philosophy of science and of teaching who held a good university degree. Although nothing could be more calculated to instil a sense of inferiority in the Carmarthen staff, yet Scott Coward could rightly claim that he was implementing the policy advocated by the minority report of the Cross Commission - fostering competition as a means of raising the standard of work in the older institutions. Throughout this period, the residential colleges in England and Wales were keenly aware of the position in which they found themselves, and that some concerted effort should be made to safeguard their interests is not surprising. In this, the principal of Lincoln Training College was the prime mover, and it was he who wrote to the various colleges suggesting 'a sort of united action between the committees of training colleges in order to watch the interests of the colleges'. Although the grievances can only be surmised - the exact contents of the communication are not known,- it is significant that the committee of Bangor college were sufficiently concerned to 'signify their willingness to co-operate with other colleges for such a purpose.'²

1. *ibid.* 6.7.96.

2. Bangor Normal College: Minutes Management Committee 14.1.96.

It would be relevant here to attempt to analyse the relationship which existed between the old and the new, by recounting briefly the events which occurred at Bangor in 1890, the year in which the Education Department decided to establish day colleges for the training of teachers. There, the close proximity of the University college to the training institution was a constant and visible reminder to the latter of the competition it would have to face. Again, the Normal College had probably more to fear from the new establishments in Wales than had any of the other training colleges, for as has been seen it could command a better class of student in its admission list.

The university college was established at Bangor in 1884 and from the outset some of those who sponsored the venture considered that such a development could be of mutual benefit to the two institutions. Sir Henry Lewis in an admirable memorandum¹ in support of the city's claim as the venue for the proposed university had this to say; "Were the college established in Bangor, it would be of incalculable advantage to the existing educational institutions, and these could in their turn act as 'feeders' to the college. The young men in the Normal College, and the boys of the Grammar Schools of Bangor and Beaumaris would feel the inspiring influence of a University

1. U.C.N.W. Belmont Papers M.S.S. 67A.

College, visible to them every day. Their ambition would be stimulated and they would be early drawn into the struggle for high academic honours of which they would be constant witnesses". As the founders had anticipated that student numbers might be small in the early years, it was only natural that they should expect the near-by training college to take advantage of any facilities which the university had to offer. The authorities of the latter institution made its first overture¹ in 1886 when it asked the Normal College committee to consider any steps that might be taken to bring this about. Significantly, it was the University which took the initiative in attempting to establish some kind of co-operation between the two institutions, and some measure of the training college's attitude can be gauged from the dilatory manner in which its committee dealt with the offer which had been made to it. After deliberating for two years, the training college came to the conclusion² 'that it would be impracticable for the students of the Normal College to go to the University college to attend any lectures'. This decision was reached after the committee had received from the college tutors a memorandum couched in these terms; "(1) The work of the two colleges and the examinations for which they are preparing are quite different. (2) The work of our syllabus is quite as

1. Bangor Normal College Minutes of Management Committee 12.10.86

2. *ibid.* 10.4.88.

much as our students can accomplish and we consider that it would be inexpedient for them to attempt any additional work which would not help them in their examinations at the end of the year. (3) Our students would be unprepared to benefit by attending special classes at the other college and we consider that our method of teaching here, involving tutorial oversight as well as teaching is fully adapted to their requirements. (4) Our terms and vacations are different and our men could not go down to attend lectures without a serious loss of time which could be turned to much better account by attending regularly to the work of the Normal College. (5) The work of this college has a special reference, in the training and teaching, to the work for which our students are preparing as schoolmasters, and we believe that the benefit they could derive from their stay here would be seriously neutralised by their also trying to attend a college whose scope and aim are so entirely different, seeing especially that their time here is so short and that their preparation on entering is so inadequate". This document, it is felt, epitomises the attitude of training college staffs to the efforts that were being made at that time to liberalise and to elevate the education of the elementary school teacher. So entrenched was the belief that the training of students had to be conducted along rigid lines in order to ensure success in the

certificate examinations, that any academic exercise which did not contribute to this end was dismissed out of hand. Moreover, there was, no doubt, an element of professional jealousy in the situation, and in order to safeguard their position, training college tutors would be happy to see the association between the two types of institutions reduced to a minimum.¹

The relationship between the two colleges at Bangor was, however, thrown into high relief by the circumstances which surrounded the appointment of a new principal at the training establishment in 1891. The management committee, which included several members who were anxious to take advantage of the proximity of the university, had already resolved² "that upon the appointment of a new Principal, the Committee take steps to ascertain how far the University college may be utilized for the benefit of the students of this college". John Price, the vice principal, was one of the candidates, and as one of the instigators of the staff memorandum submitted to the management committee three years earlier, he had, clearly, alienated any support he might otherwise have had from the protagonists of the university. Again, Professor Keri Evans, a member of the

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1. The only connection between the two institutions academically was that a series of Extension Lectures was given by one of the university professors on 'Psychology in relation to Education'. This was discontinued in 1889, 'seeing that the students are too fully occupied with their ordinary work to derive much benefit from such a course'.
 2. Ernest Roberts Private Papers No.30.

university staff was an applicant, and his claim was being staunchly supported by Professors Reginald Phillips and Sir Henry Jones, who were both, incidentally, old students of the Normal College. Neither of these made any attempt to conceal the fact that they wished to bring about a closer working arrangement between the two institutions - indeed, Henry Jones, in evidence before the Cross Commission had stated¹ that university participation in teacher training was "the only hope one had of elevating the schools". Thus the question of whether to accept or reject the university's offer to help with the education of the students at the training college became an integral part of the struggle for the principalship.

Old students of the college, whose sympathies and loyalties were naturally with Price organised petitions and passed resolutions in the hope that they might be able to influence the management committee in its selection. Aware that the vice principal, a non-graduate trained at Borough Road, had in his candidature to face competition from highly qualified graduates, the teachers from as far afield as Nottingham and Middlesbrough maintained that no undue importance should be attached to the possession of academic honours. This was a point that was made even in the more moderate and mildly couched resolutions. Thus,

1. Cross Commission, Vol.3, p.322.

old students residing in London expressed their views in these terms:¹ "That, while under ordinary circumstances this meeting fully recognises the claims of men of University distinction to be elected to such a position, it is unanimously agreed that Mr Price's high character and undoubtedly great ability and culture, added to the fact of his long and distinguished services at Bangor college, ought to far more than outweigh the claims of other candidates who may have obtained University Honours", Even at this stage, before the graduate teacher had appeared on the scene, it was evident that the university's role in producing teachers was going to create a schism in the ranks of the profession. Very soon, and for the first time, the two year trained teacher would have to face competition and he saw in the emergence of the trained graduate a threat to his professional status and to his standing in the community.

There were others, of course, who were equally convinced that training college principals should be graduates of some standing. Various government inspectors from time to time had advocated such a policy as a means of elevating the image of these institutions in the mind of the public. Sharpe, as early as 1879 had stated,² "As a general rule I think that the Principal

1. E.R.Papers 25.

2. Report of Com.of Co. 1878-9, p.806.

and Vice Principal should in future be required to have obtained a degree in one of the universities of Great Britain", and this was a view that had been complied with, for in 1890 all the eighteen men's colleges in England and Wales had university men as principals.¹ More important, perhaps, the communication which their Lordships sent to the Normal College concerning the reorganisation of the staff there, made it clear by implication that they did not envisage the appointment of John Price. Yet, the contention whether the elected principal should be a graduate or not was only incidental to the main issue - it has been mentioned here merely to draw attention to the attitude of serving teachers to graduates in general. The election of the principal, in reality, became a struggle between the training college and the university. "The latter" wrote² one headmaster, "have formed certain plans for the advantage of the University quite regardless of their effect on the other college". In the event, Price was elected to the post, and, needless to say, the relationship between the two institutions was vitiated throughout his term of office. By amicable arrangement, students at the Normal College could at this time have qualified by staying in residence for a third year for the external degree of London University. That

1. Those elements of the press which opposed Price's candidature made ready capital of this fact (e.g. Editorial, North Wales Chronicle 18.4.91).

2. E.R.Papers 28.

they were not allowed to do so can be attributed wholly to the prejudice and blind jealousy of the administrators. It was a state of affairs which drew this comment¹ from one of the inspectors in 1898; "It is a little surprising, that though the college has on the whole a larger proportion of highly placed students than any other in Wales, and though it is close to an admirable University College, not one student at the time of inspection was reading for a degree". This account of what happened at Bangor has been given some prominence here in order to indicate the forces which were at work in the sphere of teacher training at this time.

That they were latent or less pronounced in other parts of the Principality can possibly be attributed to factors which, in any case, would not permit of any satisfactory working arrangements between the various colleges. Unlike Carmarthen, Swansea had some students who could with advantage have pursued some university courses, but neither of them, by virtue of their isolated geographical position could have availed themselves even had they so wished, of the facilities which the university colleges at Aberystwyth and Cardiff had to offer. On the other hand, the committee of Caernarvon college, after the transfer of the institution to Bangor in 1891, could have worked in close

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1898-9, p.347.

liaison with the university there, but the quality of their students was so low that such an arrangement could not even be contemplated. There is, however, no doubt that the training colleges were suspicious of what they considered to be the intrusion of the universities into their sphere, and when the new institutions established their own day training departments they had perhaps some cause for feeling concerned.

Yet the competition for Queen's Scholars between the training colleges and the university departments did not develop in the way in which the former had feared. The university colleges in Wales, in their early years, had to be content, in the main, with local students and the small numbers which they attracted could be attributed largely to the lack of secondary education. Thus Aberystwyth university college which in the first eight years of its existence was attended by only twenty two students from the populous county of Glamorgan, had only 26 on roll in its opening year. These new institutions, which in the 1880's were nothing more than preparatory schools for the degrees of London University, saw in the establishment of the day training departments an opportunity of augmenting their numbers. They did this to such good effect, by publicity and advertisement¹ at the newly founded intermediate

1. Minutes of Council, U.C.N.W. 16.12.96.

schools and pupil teacher-centres that by 1897 the three university colleges had a total of 126 men and 131 women in their training departments.¹ But the effect of the Intermediate Act of 1889 was not felt for some time, and with the Queen's Scholarship as the only means of admission to the two types of colleges, even First Class Scholars preferred the well established residential colleges to the untried university departments. While Bangor Normal College could claim 16 First Class candidates among its entrants in 1892, the university colleges at Aberystwyth and Cardiff could attract only three such students, and this trend was reflected in the general lists of entry for all colleges in England and Wales.² This was a situation which was surely disturbing to the authorities of the day colleges, for at the outset they had entertained high hopes of attracting students of good calibre. Indeed, the Council of the University College at Bangor had made it known that their students would be selected from candidates who held high positions in the Queen's Scholarship examination and who gave evidence of 'being able to follow with profit ordinary college classes arranged with reference to a University degree'.³ The university colleges, evidently, had completely misjudged the

1. Report of Com.of Co. 1897-8, p.342-3.

2. *ibid* 1892-3, p.119. In 1892 there were 392 First Class candidates in 18 Residential Colleges, while in the 12 Day colleges there were only 37.

3. Minutes of Council U.C.N.W. 17.1.94.

situation, for it had not occurred to them that students brought up through the pupil teacher machinery would tend to avoid institutions which claimed to dispense a liberal education. Subjected to a rigid routine from the age of thirteen, these candidates were naturally apprehensive of entering colleges where they would be largely thrown on their own resources and where they would be expected to mingle with young people who would be entering professions other than their own. Moreover, the failure of so many students to gain degrees greatly discouraged many prospective candidates from undergoing teacher training at the new institutions. Indeed, the probability is that, in Wales, those who did enter the university colleges' training departments in the early years, did so after failing to gain admission to the undenominational residential college at Bangor. Whereas the older institutions were an integral part of the system, with pupil teacher apprenticeship designed to produce candidates suitable for them, the day colleges were in reality catering for a type of student which virtually did not exist. It was only when secondary education had been established for some time that these colleges were able to produce in substantial numbers trained teachers who were also graduates.

The participation of the universities in teacher training of necessity called for certain changes in the examination syllabus and in the regulations which governed the residential colleges. The concession that each day college could, to some

extent, adopt its own course was essential to the success of the scheme. Henceforth, the courses for all colleges were divided into two parts, the first of which included reading and repetition writing and school management and was obligatory for all students whether at residential or day colleges. The second part comprised the so called liberal subjects, but students who passed a university examination in them were not required to take the government examination in these subjects. This was a most significant departure, for it represents the first inroad made into the undisputed control which their Lordships had exercised over the whole range of teacher training for nearly fifty years. The part which the universities had to play in teacher training was brought under review by the Bryce Commission in 1896, and among its recommendations was one which stipulated that the whole of the teacher's education - professional as well as academic - should be placed under the control of the universities. On the professional aspect of the teacher's training, it stated:¹ "It ought not to be handed over to the Central Office because it might induce undesirable uniformity. Freedom and variety would, in our opinion, best be secured if the Universities were to take up the task as has been done in the two Scottish Universities and very recently in Durham". This suggestion was implemented

1. Bryce Commission Vol. 1, Section 160.

by the Board of Education in the following year when it announced¹ that any graduate in arts or science would be recognised as a qualified teacher provided that he held a 'certificate of proficiency in the theory and practice of teaching issued by a University or collegiate body'. Thus, it was that the day training colleges, which the Government had so readily accepted on the grounds of economic expediency, became initially responsible, by destroying the uniformity which had characterised the education of teachers for so long, for bringing about the diversification and decentralisation which exist today, in the realm of teacher training.

Perhaps the most conspicuous change brought about by the establishment of day colleges was that affecting the academic year, which since 1846 had corresponded to the calendar year. As the university year ended in July and started in October the Department of Education rightly considered that training college students who were studying for a degree were at a disadvantage as they had only from February to June to prepare for the first university examination.² Oakley, who always had the interests

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1. Minutes of Com. of Co. 1896-7, pVI-VII; In 1897 a double class list was issued for the first time (technical subjects and liberal subjects). This was intended as a safeguard against the tendency of the day colleges to neglect the professional subjects (Board of Education Circular 383. Feb. 6. 1897).
 2. There were no such students in Wales; yet three metropolitan colleges entered all their students for degree examinations in 1891 (Report of Com. of Co. 1891-2, p.414). By 1895, Battersea, Borough Road, Chelsea, Cheltenham, Chester, Exeter, Saltley, Westminster and Winchester had men students who were taking university examinations instead of Part 2. (Report of Com. of Co. 1895-6, p.265).

of the residential college student at heart, pointed out¹ that whereas the day student could qualify for a certificate and a university degree at the same time, his training college counterpart was obliged to study for two separate examinations. This defect in the administrative machinery was remedied in 1895 when the terms of the training colleges were made to coincide with those of the universities. These were changes which affected the residential institutions in Wales, but as none of them had students who were studying for a degree, they continued to function, as they had always done, under the aegis of the Board of Education. Yet, the day colleges at Aberystwyth, Cardiff and Bangor, after being in existence for a few years, had succeeded in gaining for themselves a fair measure of academic freedom from their Lordships. It was a development which could hardly have pleased training college administrators, and although they have themselves by today managed to a large extent to gain control of their own affairs, they still do not have the academic independence accorded to the university education departments.

In addition to the establishment of day colleges the Cross Commission also considered the practice, which had been going on for some years in the urban areas, of setting up pupil teacher centres. As in the case of university participation in the training of teachers, the Commissioners were divided in their

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1890-1, p.421.

views on the merits of the pupil teacher system. While one witness had no hesitation in saying¹ that it was at once the 'cheapest and the very worst possible system of supply', the principals of training colleges and the inspectors were equally convinced of its virtues. In its Final Report the Commission was rather guarded² in what it had to say about such centres; "Notwithstanding the evils which have been pointed out to us, we fully acknowledge that the intellectual advantages obtained are a very strong recommendation of the centre system, although it will require careful vigilance". From now on the pupil teacher system was very much on trial and the Departmental Committee set up in 1898 to investigate the whole structure of apprenticeship, maintained that perpetuation of elementary syllabuses and studies in the pupil teacher course constituted a serious barrier between primary and secondary education.³ Yet, although the Committee saw in the establishment of pupil teacher centres an opportunity of introducing some elements of secondary education, it did not fail to point out the weaknesses which prevailed at that time in such institutions; the teaching at the centres had all the disadvantages of the lecture system with insufficient contact between the teacher and the taught; in many cases, the staffs

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1. Cross Commission, Minutes of Evidence 32765-8; Dr Crosskey.
 2. Cross Commission, Final Report p.92.
 3. Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System (1898), p.5.

were imperfectly qualified; there was a tendency to subordinate educational aims to the pressure of examinations; inevitably instruction in teaching was considered to be of secondary importance, while the bond of personal relations between the pupil teacher and his school's headmaster - 'hitherto the strongest point in the system'¹ - was continually being undermined. Thus the Committee, while welcoming any development which would bring about an improvement in educational standards, was obviously striving for something better. In short, it considered the centres as nothing more than 'substitutes and supplements in an imperfect system'.

While the pupil teacher system, by ensuring a constant supply of candidates for admission, had served the colleges well for nearly half a century, it was now acknowledged that the idea of combining paid apprenticeship with academic study was not altogether successful. The establishment of pupil teacher centres was an attempt to satisfy the increasing demand for higher academic attainment in college students, and it was the proliferation of such centres more than anything else which brought about the decline of apprenticeship as it had hitherto been administered. School Boards throughout the country concerned themselves with setting up centres and central classes, a development which was described as the most hopeful sign for

1. ibid. p.12.

the future of training colleges.¹ As has been seen, the Church colleges at Carmarthen² and Bangor had for years suffered from a lack of suitably qualified pupil teachers, and consequently they had been obliged to devote much of their attention to work which students should have mastered before entry. Obviously, it was the colleges who could command only the poorer type of Queen's Scholar on entry which would benefit most from the establishment of pupil teacher centres. While these centres were usually found in the urban areas, it is significant that the School Boards at Carmarthen and Bangor both provided facilities for the collective instruction of pupil teachers. This was probably because of their close connection with the colleges and with teacher training generally over a number of years. At Bangor the centre was under the direction of a trained graduate who was assisted by certificated teachers, while at Carmarthen the principal and vice-principal of the college were actively engaged³ in the instruction of the pupils. In Wales, school boards were often able to attract to the centres scholars from the secondary schools who, in some instances, had not been elementary school pupils. The Ffestiniog School Board selected promising scholars in the higher standards of the elementary

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1895-6, p.167.

2. Carmarthen College: Minutes of Management Committee 29.5.90; only 5 Welsh pupil teachers from 44 candidates, passed that year.

3. Report of Com. of Co. 1894-5, p.109.

schools and educated them, at the Board's expense at a secondary school for two years before they underwent a limited period of training. This plan, which did not confine the teaching at the secondary school to intending teachers, was strongly advocated by the Committee of 1898. The specific example set by the Ffestiniog Board, it claimed,¹ was well worthy of imitation in England. But in Wales there was no strong line of demarcation between elementary and higher education as was, unfortunately, the case in England. In most parts of Wales the pupils in the intermediate schools were drawn largely from the elementary schools, and these pupils in their turn were beginning to find their way into the three constituent colleges of the University of Wales. Again, in due course, the day colleges attached to the university formed another link between the elementary schools and the higher seats of learning. It was in this way that the preliminary education and training of teachers came to be regarded as a form of higher rather than of elementary education.

The decade now under review differed sharply from the preceding years, for the machinery of teacher training which had undergone no significant alteration for forty years, was radically changed in the era which followed the Cross Commission. The establishment of pupil teacher centres was not unconnected with the participation of the universities in the education of teachers.

1. Departmental Committee on the Pupil Teacher System, p.19.

The tendency for graduates to contemplate teaching as a career brought about an immediate demand for raising the academic standard of candidates at entry, and the vicious circle which had confined the teaching in elementary schools to pupils who had undergone apprenticeship followed by two years at a training college was gradually being demolished. Similarly, following the example of the universities, the training colleges were slowly made to realise that tutors with a broad liberal education were needed on their staffs. By breaking the monopoly which the training colleges had enjoyed in teacher training, the Cross Commission - perhaps unwittingly - helped to raise the general standard of the teacher's education. By the turn of the century, the training colleges were looking more and more to the secondary schools for their recruits, and although the abler students now tended to go to the university departments and to accept posts in grammar schools, those who entered the training colleges were certainly in advance of their predecessors who had received their education in a mechanical way during their apprenticeship.

While the establishment of day colleges and the growth of pupil teacher centres had a considerable influence on the training of teachers in both England and Wales, another development, not unrelated to the Cross Commission, took place in the period now under review which was to affect the colleges of Wales only - the return of the study of the native language

to the certificate examination in 1893. Yet it was the circumstances which brought this about rather than the event itself which are interesting, for they indicate clearly the indifference of both training college authorities and the practising teachers in Wales to the position of the Welsh language in elementary education.

Essentially, as has been seen, the outcome of the Cross Commission was a devolution of responsibility for teacher training, from central and national bodies to local regional bodies. By their nature, the School Boards, newly empowered to establish pupil teacher centres, and the newly established day training colleges were more deeply concerned with the needs of the schools within their localities than had been the older training colleges which had conceived themselves, not without justice, as meeting the need for teachers far beyond the confines of Wales. Many of the arguments which had been adduced to deny a place to Welsh in the curriculum of intending teachers at these colleges had less force in the new establishments designed specifically to meet local needs and conditions.

The entry of the university colleges upon the scene was to affect the status accorded to Welsh studies. As part of the impetus to establish these colleges had come from the demand to preserve and propagate the Welsh language, not only was the language from the outset included as a subject in the matriculation

regulations of the university in 1893, but also the study of the literature and history of Wales was given a place in the syllabuses of the university colleges. It is conceivable that the respectable position accorded to Welsh studies in these quarters would in the long run at least influence the attitude of the training colleges towards the language.

At the same time the very proliferation of training establishments rendered feasible a degree of diversification unimaginable in earlier times. That this was possible in the 1890's is in itself an indication of the advances that were being made in the provision of teacher training in England. When the teacher training scheme was first initiated only a national system, which embraced both England and Wales, could meet the needs of the times. Such a system, in its infancy, inevitably could afford little or no diversity; it had for various reasons to promote uniformity, and it was only now, in the 1890's, that the developments proposed by the Cross Commission made it realistic to think of diversity rather than uniformity. In these new circumstances, therefore, it was likely that the demand of a few enthusiasts for consideration of the place of Welsh in education would be given a somewhat more sympathetic hearing than in the past.

The agitation for the inclusion of Welsh in the educational system in the 1880's was conceivably a reaction to the adverse

report of the Commissioners of 1847 and to the complete disregard to national differences displayed in the Revised Code and Forster's Act of 1870. The movement, not unpredictably, found most support among the better educated and more well to do section of the community, for as already stated, the vast majority of the working classes in Wales, identifying education with the acquisition of English, was steadfast in the belief that the introduction of Welsh into the curriculum would mean that less English would be taught in the schools. The movement derived its impetus from the Cymmrodorion Society, and although the chief instigator¹ was a sub-inspector of Schools in Wales, its most prominent advocates were London based Welshmen. Among these were Sir Marchant Williams, Isambard Owen, Stuart Randall, the Earl of Powys and J.H.Puleston. Indeed, it was the Rector of Benfleet² in Essex, the Reverend D.Jones Davies who, in a lecture to the Cymmrodorion Society, first brought^t to its notice the desirability of including Welsh in the curriculum of the elementary schools. Thus, once again, a movement designed to improve the education of Welsh children had its origins outside

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1. Dan Isaac Davies (1839-87) Born at Llandovery, trained at Borough Road: 1858 Appointed to Ysgol y Comin, Aberdare; 1868 Sub-Inspector of Schools; 1870 Sub-Inspector of Schools in the Cheltenham and Bristol areas: 1883 transferred to the Cardiff district.
 2. "On the necessity of Teaching English through the medium of Welsh in Elementary Schools in Welsh spoken Districts"
Y Cymmrodor. Vol.5 Jan.1882. p.1-13.

the Principality.

The replies to two questionnaires¹ sent out by a sub-committee of the Society, one to some thirty prominent Welshmen, and one to all the headmasters and headmistresses of elementary schools, indicate clearly the attitude of people involved in education to the language question at that time. Thus, no less a figure than William Williams, H.M. Senior Inspector of Schools for Wales, considered that it would be inadvisable to introduce Welsh as a 'class' subject as it would necessitate the omission of one of the ordinary subjects, while as many as 257 persons² in charge of schools were critical of its introduction as a 'specific' subject. Notwithstanding this, the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language was formed at the Aberdare National Eisteddfod in 1885. Understandably, this organisation was sensitive to the lukewarm reception which its policy was likely to have from those very people who would be called upon to implement it. The Society in its prospectus³ issued in October of that year, stated that it was one of its express objects to promote the more intelligent acquirement of the English tongue by scholars in all parts of Wales, while in its memorial to the Cross Commission it maintained that it was not contemplated to make Welsh the general language of instruction or to relax the

1. Bangor M.S.S. 6160-6159.

2. *ibid.* 6161-2.

3. *ibid.* 6168.

obligation laid upon pupils to speak only English during school hours.¹ Yet this mildly couched and half apologetic declaration of the Society's intent did but little to assuage the feelings of the teaching profession in Wales. Sir Marchant Williams in a letter² to Dan Isaac Davies described the teachers' attitude in these words: "I discovered among the teachers of Glamorganshire at Llanwrtyd and Llandrindod this year a very decided feeling of hostility towards the S.U.W.L. They are in a state of alarm about it; they fear you are about to saddle them with an addition to their already unduly heavy burdens". But the apparent reluctance of teachers to use the Welsh language in the schools cannot be wholly attributed to the fears they entertained concerning the prospect of the extra work which would devolve on them.

The teachers' attitude was conditioned largely by the kind of training which they had undergone in the colleges. These institutions in every detail resembled their English counterparts; they were subjected to the same syllabus and to the same examinations with no concessions whatsoever made for the existence of the native language. As one old student succinctly remarked,³ "Bu^asai'r holl baratoad yn gwneud llawn

1. *ibid.* 6189, p.7.

2. *ibid.* 6185. This letter is quoted in a communication from Dan Isaac Davies to Isambard Owen, dated Sept.6.1886.

3. J.L.Williams, *op.cit.* Vol.IV. p.75.

cystal ar gyfer ysgol yn Surrey; ar hyd fy nwy flynedd ym Mangor ni chlywais yn swyddogol air am Gymru nac am yr iaith Gymraeg, nac am yr un alaw Gymreig". The teaching staffs in the colleges deliberately avoided the use of Welsh,¹ although, according to Henry Richard, a member of the Cross Commission, Rowlands, the principal of Bangor college, admitted that he did occasionally speak the native language. This was a fantastic state of affairs especially as Rowlands had for over thirty years been the editor of 'Y Traethodydd', one of the outstanding Welsh literary journals of the last century. Indeed, Hugh Owen's remark of the 1850's that British schools in Wales were English schools could equally be applied to the training colleges in the Principality during the first fifty years of their existence. They were, in fact, thorough going English establishments. Nor did the situation seem in any way incongruous to the principals and administrators of the Welsh colleges. When these authorities were invited by the Cross Commission to register their views on teacher training in general, significantly, not one of the four Welsh principals felt constrained to mention the absence of any study of the language, literature or history of Wales in the colleges' curriculum.² Moreover, the composition of the Council of the Society for the

1. Cross Commission: Minutes of Evidence 4567, 4568

2. Cross Commission: Returns of Principals C5485-11.

Utilization of the Welsh language possibly gives some indication of the training colleges' attitude to the Society's policy. Although this body included the names of most of the leading educationists in Wales¹ the training establishments had no representative on it,² a fact which amply testifies the extent to which these institutions remained outside the new current of educational thought in the 1880's.

The evidence given by some of the witnesses, before the Cross Commission, notably by Beriah Evans and Sir Henry Jones, succeeded in gaining some recognition for the native language, for in the Code of 1890 not only was Welsh included as a 'class' and as a 'specific' subject, but also translation from Welsh to English was accepted in place of English composition, while encouragement was given to the teaching of the geography and history of Wales. This was a development which neither the inspectors nor the parents accepted with enthusiasm. While the advocates of the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language considered that the introduction of Welsh into the schools would do nothing more than provide a better means of teaching English,³ some of the inspectors had long since come to

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1886-7, p.364.

2. Cross Commission Vol.3, p.1.

3. Note Dan Isaac Davies' remark before the Cross Commission. "Welsh should be taught, not in order to keep the language alive, but in order that the children, by learning both Welsh and English, should be able to learn English better".

the conclusion that the only efficient way of teaching English was to exclude the native language completely from the classroom.¹ This uncompromising attitude towards the language was vigorously supported by William Williams. On the eve of the publication of the new Code he expressed the hope that there should be no vain endeavour to extend and prolong the use of the Welsh language, and he warned that any attempt to teach Welsh apart from its immediate connection with English would not be favourably received by the public in general.² Schools where only the English language was used, he forecast, would be the only popular ones with parents. This prophecy was soon fulfilled for there were reports from as far apart as Pembrokeshire, Montgomeryshire and Merthyr Tydfil not only that children left for schools where English was the only medium of instruction but also that very few teachers availed themselves of the opportunity provided in the Code.³ Teachers and school managers were naturally sensitive to the wishes of the parents and as Dan Isaac Davies had pointed out⁴ the implementation of a bilingual policy by the teachers would come about only after the parents had been enlightened as to its advantages. Thus, with the parents resentful⁵ and teachers and inspectors plainly unenthusiastic, it was not surprising that the colleges, steeped

1. Report of Com. of Co. 1882-3, p.421.

2. *ibid.* 1888-9, p.366. W.Williams' Report on the Welsh Division

3. *ibid.* 1890-1, p.404, 409.

4. Bangor MSS. 6185.

5. See Higher Education in Wales (T.I.Ellis) p.161-2.

as they were in the English tradition, should view the inclusion of Welsh in the certificate examination with a mild and detached interest.

Even at best the native language was considered to hold an inferior position to English in the schools, and this inevitably reacted unfavourably upon its status as a subject in the training college curriculum. Indeed, so lacking was the subject in prestige, that the college authorities at Carmarthen and Swansea decided to exclude it completely from their timetables. While the two Bangor institutions made provision for some of their students to take Welsh in the certificate examination, the time allocated to its study compared most unfavourably with that granted to English and even to Latin. In one of these establishments tuition was confined to one hour per week on Saturday mornings with the college secretary in charge of the class.¹ Oakley's warning², in dealing with the introduction of Welsh into the colleges, that "it might be a danger to go too far in that respect", certainly fell on willing ears. The manner in which the subject was treated and the small number of students who took it indicate how readily the college authorities acquiesced to his suggestion. Welsh was certainly not a popular

1. Bangor Normal College: Annual Report 1894, p.18.

2. Bangor Normal College: Minutes of Management Committee.
July 11. 1893.

subject with the students, for in the five years between 1894 and 1898 in the two Bangor colleges only 18% of the total number of students were entered for the certificate examination.¹ Thus the schools and colleges had reacted with conspicuous indifference to the opportunity which their Lordships had offered them in the Code of 1890. However, the importance of the movement initiated by the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language lies in the success it achieved in gaining a place for the language, insignificant though it was, in the educational system of Wales towards the end of the last century. This step constituted the first break from the English tradition in Welsh elementary education and from such small beginnings have sprung not only the establishment of two thoroughly bilingual training colleges in this century but also the demand for complete parity between the two languages in the schools of Wales.

Thus in the last decade of the century developments were afoot which were not only to alter radically the whole pattern of teacher training but also to change the concept of what the teacher's education should be. Whereas the residential colleges had confined their attention mainly to the business of training, the university day departments addressed themselves more to the broader aspects of education, and by formulating educational principles, by evolving new methods of approach and by researching into the history of education, they gradually raised the subject to the status of a university discipline. This was work which

1. Abstract from Reports of Com. of Co. 1894-98; 56 took the examination in Welsh from a total of 294. One student took the Welsh examination at Edgehill college in 1899.

the training colleges could never have successfully tackled, so that any advance which the teaching profession gained in popular esteem can be attributed to the participation of the day training colleges and university education departments in the training of teachers. Again, the establishment of pupil teacher centres, very many of which after 1902 became secondary schools, heralded the end of apprenticeship; this in turn was to create a liberalising influence which could not fail to improve the outlook and, indeed, the academic standards of prospective college entrants. In the Welsh schools and colleges the introduction of the native language into the curriculum indicated that the educational administrators in London were now prepared to make some concession to national differences. All these were most significant developments which were to have an abiding influence on the training of teachers in the twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

The years surveyed in this study constitute a well defined period in the history of teacher training in Wales. Our story begins with the establishment of a state sponsored plan for the training and production of teachers on a national scale; it ends in 1898 when the Report of the Select Committee on the Pupil Teacher System made it clear that the method of preparing students for entry to the colleges, which had been a cardinal feature of the whole edifice of teacher education for over fifty years, was no longer adequate to meet the prevailing needs. Moreover, the application of the principle of 'payment by results', which had such a disastrous effect on schools and colleges for over three decades had just been abandoned, while four years earlier the opening of the Day Department at Cardiff University College completed the list of institutions established in Wales for the training of teachers in the last century. Again, the sweeping changes brought about by the Act of 1902 and the sudden increase in the provision of secondary education which followed, give to the second half of the last century a clear delineation in the history of teacher training. Throughout this period, teacher training had been fettered to the "elementary" tradition and the efforts to improve teacher education were basically attempts to remedy the difficulties and

weaknesses which arose from this. The Act of 1902 released teacher training from the constrictions imposed by its identification with the elementary tradition. The period therefore has a special character and there is ample justification for treating it as a complete entity in its own right.

The movement for training teachers on a nation-wide basis was firmly established by the Minutes of 1846 and, like many other commendable projects, it owed its origin almost entirely to the vision and enthusiasm of one man, in this instance, Kay Shuttleworth. It was he who was responsible for providing the initial impetus to the scheme and his views were to serve as guide lines for its future development. The early years, when the tempo of activities was comparatively slow, gave opportunity to reflect and to philosophise; it was a period when statements of policy seemed all important and Kay Shuttleworth's pronouncements were given their due share of prominence. Yet, not surprisingly perhaps, the course which events took were not as had been originally envisaged. National schemes involving a large number of people tend to be self propagating, with their sheer momentum carrying all before them. In time, and in contrast to the earlier period, individual opinions make but little impact, with the result that the formulating of policy is determined more by the weight of circumstances than by anything else. Thus by the end of the century the views of Kay

Shuttleworth which had enjoyed general approval fifty years earlier were as outmoded and outdated as to be almost meaningless.

The story of teacher training in Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century is dominated by three themes; the gradual erosion of the denominational system with the consequent growth of a sense of professional unity among teachers, the almost studied refusal on the part of the schools and colleges to accept the native language, and the constant dilemma in which the training institutions were placed by the dual function which circumstances thrust upon them. While it is convenient here to deal with these aspects separately, there was of course much interaction between them. Again, much of what happened in the last century has had a lasting influence on the pattern of teacher training, and in some respects the present system cannot be fully appreciated without taking note of the circumstances which prevailed and the forces which were at work during the years covered in this survey.

In spite of Kay Shuttleworth's claim in 1846 that he had successfully combined state aid with the denominational system, it is significant that almost every important measure taken by the government in the field of education undermined the authority of the Church and damaged the status of religious teaching in the schools and colleges. The monetary value attached to the government certificate, the augmentation grants, the policy of

'payment by results', and the establishment of rate aided undenominational School Boards could not fail to inculcate in students a materialistic outlook towards their life's work. In short, the cash nexus between teacher and pupil, between teacher and school manager and between college and state was all pervading, and secularisation inevitably became the price which the Church had to pay for the intervention of the government in educational matters.

The Church schoolmaster, chagrined by the higher social status accorded to the clergyman, came to resent the latter's interference in a sphere which he rightly regarded as his own. No longer disposed to tolerate the meddling of amateurs, the Church teachers in 1870 felt so free from the clergy's domination, that they combined with the British and Wesleyan school teachers' associations to form the National Union of Elementary Teachers. This development indicated the existence of a professional consciousness and a readiness on the part of the teachers to control their own affairs and to solve problems which belonged to their province of activity and to theirs alone.

While the secularisation of education and the consequent change in the teachers' attitude had an adverse effect on the small rural schools, the effect on Wales, where such schools were more numerous than urban ones, was nothing short of disastrous. Spurred by the desire for material advancement, students from Church and undenominational colleges alike, sought the more

lucrative posts which only the larger schools in England and Wales could offer. As the smaller schools were generally shunned by the certificated teacher and were therefore unable to produce pupil teachers for the colleges, it is doubtful if at any time during the last century the training institutions in the Principality completely fulfilled the purpose for which they were originally designed - that of providing Welsh teachers for the schools of Wales. It was a development which Kay Shuttleworth had not foreseen when he enlisted the aid of the State in 1846.

Again, the government did nothing to encourage the use of the Welsh language, for any reference to it was studiously excluded from every Code before 1890. Its attitude can possibly be attributed to the indifference displayed by Welsh parents, teachers, and educationists generally towards the place of the language in elementary education. Once the agitation for the inclusion of Welsh in the curriculum had made itself felt, the central administrators reacted most favourably. However, the demand for Welsh in the 1880's was completely out of keeping with the tradition, short though it was, of elementary education in Wales. The majority of Welsh working class parents were actively opposed to the teaching of Welsh in the day schools not from any antagonism towards the language, but from a deep

seated conviction that once Welsh was introduced there would be less time devoted to the teaching of English. It can be readily understood how this fear gained currency in the last century; the technique of second language teaching was not even in its infancy, while English mass media were nothing like the potent force that they are today. It is, therefore, pertinent to ask whether the parents of those days would have reacted as they did to the teaching of Welsh, had there been available the plethora of mass media and communication - radio, television, newspapers and periodicals not to mention language laboratories, - which today form part of the child's daily life. Unconscious, as yet, of the growing threat to the survival of the Welsh language, the parents of the day, predictably and not unreasonably, were swayed by the evident advantages of learning English.

It was to the working poor, quite naturally, that these advantages appeared most attractive and it was from the middle classes, therefore, that the later campaign on behalf of Welsh drew its main support. The campaign formed part of a wider movement which drew its strength from a political awareness that the Principality as a separate entity deserved special dispensation in the educational sense. It was a kind of cultural nationalism which was at that time much in vogue in some of the European states and which in Wales found expression

in the formation of 'Cymru Fydd' associations in various parts of the country. In its attempt to take culture to the masses the movement, no doubt, was much influenced by the idea of Young Ireland, and the establishment of university colleges in Ireland stimulated the agitation for higher education in Wales. Its demands had some solid achievements to its credit - the formation of the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language, the Welsh Intermediate Act of 1889 and the establishment of a degree conferring University of Wales in 1893. This national awakening in a cultural sense had its roots in the educated middle classes and, from the outset, the 'Cymru Fydd' movement was closely identified with young Welshmen at the colleges of Aberystwyth and Oxford. Consciousness of a separate culture naturally gave rise to a demand for the recognition of the native language, but in the sphere of elementary education, it was a demand which came from without rather than from within. Nothing illustrates this more pointedly than the indifference or, indeed, the reluctance with which the teaching profession availed itself of the concession to the language granted in the Code of 1890. In contrast to the middle classes, the parents, teachers and college administrators had sound economic reasons for neglecting the furtherance of Welsh in schools and colleges. While the teachers felt that the learning and teaching of Welsh would militate against their professional vistas, the college

managements and staffs were probably aware that any prominence accorded to Welsh would give their institutions a local complexion, which would adversely affect the quality of their student intake.

Unhampered by such considerations, the protagonists of the Welsh language could afford to be dispassionate. Secure in the thought that their own economic position was sound, they were genuinely apprehensive of the considerable inroads which the English language had made in the Principality, and they saw the decline of the native language as a threat to the Welsh way of life. Thus, towards the end of our period while the working classes were anxious that their children should learn English, the middle class stratum of society was anxiously campaigning for the preservation of Welsh. With certain modifications the struggle for the language broadly follows the same lines of social demarcation today. As the educational services by now are actively engaged in promoting Welsh, and as the majority of parents has mellowed from a state of antagonism to one of indifference (although the reaction to the recent Gittings Report seems to belie this), circumstances are certainly more propitious for the language today than they were in the 1880's. But the stimulus for furthering the claims of Welsh continues to spring in the main from the professional classes. This is a tragic development, yet it is difficult to see how events could have

been otherwise. Identified as it now is with the educated and cultured section of the community, the Welsh language is in grave danger of eventually being relegated to the status of an academic study.

While the training college authorities remained indifferent to the claims of the native language, they were deeply concerned with the problem arising from the dual function which their institutions were called upon to fulfil. Much of what went on in the colleges was merely a continuation of what the students had experienced in their apprenticeship, with very little thought given to the way in which they should present the subject matter to the children. The tendency was for students to treat their pupils in very much the same way as they themselves were taught in the colleges. Indeed with no attempt made to discuss the rudiments of child psychology, it was inevitable that it should be so. Since the subject of 'education' meant little more than instruction on how to fill up registers and to arrange desks, it is not surprising that of all the subjects in the curriculum, its status was the most depressed. Even after the study of the elements of educational psychology was introduced towards the end of our period, little improvement was effected, for students were then encouraged merely to commit to memory words and phrases, the meaning and significance of which, more often than not, completely eluded them. Their training therefore fell into a

stereotyped mould and they left the colleges with inflexible minds and stifled imaginations. Much of this, unfortunately, is true of the training colleges to this day: the humdrum nature of the training has left the students with little or no enthusiasm to explore new methods or to involve themselves in the problem of curriculum development. Belatedly, the Schools Council has made commendable efforts to counteract the evil effects which have resulted from the mechanical nature of teacher training by encouraging practising teachers to participate in various research projects. That such measures are necessary is, in part, a sad reflection on the teachers' education.

It was the students' general education, however, that claimed most of the lecturers' time and attention in the colleges during the last century. Not only did the weighting granted to general subjects in the certificate examination encourage this, but also the staffs themselves were so ill equipped in the professional subjects that they were virtually incapable of giving any prominence to them in the curriculum. In short, they had nothing to teach. They could, with justification, point out that as the students' general standard of attainment was abysmally low owing to the absence of secondary education, they were obliged to follow the course they did. Continual improvement in standards, however, is inherent in education, and

even after the advent of the secondary school the colleges have continued with their dual role. The true function of the training college is an issue which is still with us today, and the dilemma which faced it in the nineteenth century still exists, only perhaps in sharpened form. The lengthening of the college course to three years in 1965 and the consequent controversy of how best to utilize the extra year are indicative of the uncertainty which exists. Yet, while the course is extended, so does *pari passu* its content increase. While there is an increased demand for the liberal education of the teacher as seen in the recent establishment of the B.Ed.degree, the study of the professional aspect of his education has been extended to include such topics as statistical theory, sociology and comparative education. In the circumstances it is doubtful whether the colleges of education, as they are now called, can survive for long in their present form. There are already signs that some of them, at least, cannot effectively cope with the professional aspect of the students' education.

Nor is this the only circumstance which is likely to bring the colleges and the universities closer together. While the training colleges, since their inception, have been concerned with providing teachers for the elementary schools, the university departments have always identified themselves with training students for undertaking secondary work. However, with the

extension of non-grammar secondary education, the training colleges have increasingly undertaken training for secondary education. The acceptance of the comprehensive system in 1965 further weakened what justification might be claimed for the separate training of secondary school teachers. Moreover, methods of organising education on a three tiered system have the effect of blurring the age-old distinction between primary and secondary education, with the result that both kinds of training establishments are preparing teachers for virtually the same market. Thus, it is likely that in the future some kind of fusion will come about in the realm of teacher training; while the colleges of education may become establishments for teaching the liberal arts, the professional training of graduates and non graduates alike may be undertaken in separate institutions.

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APPENDIX IBATTERSEA TRAINING COLLEGE 1842DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD WORK

(History of St. John's College, Battersea"
T. Atkins)

Scrub and dust bedrooms	No. 26
Scrub upper and lower stairs and passage	No. 9
Scrub upper classroom	No. 32
Scrub lower classroom	No. 17
Scrub dining hall and attend to stove	No. 11
Scrub cellar stairs, cellar and passage	No. 4 & 38
Attend to Dining Hall and classroom lamps	No. 44
Attend to tool shed	No. 34
Clean large wash-house and attend to towels soap boxes, shoes etc.	No. 39
pump water	No. 42-33
Scrub back yard and outbuildings and sift cinders	No. 41
Clean knives and forks	No. 3, 5, 29
Clean windows of classroom, hall and wash-house open and close shutters	No. 34, 19
windows and doors secure for the night	No. 38
Clean and prepare vegetables for use	No. 15, 16, 42
Clean bedroom and stair windows	No. 10, 18
Scrub and dust masters' rooms	No. 10
Ring the bell and attend to gate bell before 7.0 a.m. and after 9 p.m.	No. 18
Feed and milk cows	No. 13, 25, 57
Feed pigs and attend to drill ground	No. 16
Attend to gymnastic apparatus	No. 37
Churn milk on Mondays and Thursdays	No. 18
Collect wood for fires	No. 7
Carrier of letters	No. 38

Receive orders for garden work	No. 26, 41
Superintendent of garden work	No. 22
Stewards	No. 4, 36
General superintendents	No. 38, 40

APPENDIX IIBRECON TRAINING COLLEGE

Regulations for admission of students

(Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd, 1845 p.345)

1. Qualification of Candidates

(a) Religious principle. They did not want a Sectarian spirit but the organisers wished to safeguard the religious claim of education, but they opposed Sectarianism.

(b) Activity and energy.

(c) A competent measure of abilities and attainments. The Committee required candidates capable of receiving the instructions to be provided in the Normal School.

(d) Gentleness of disposition.

(e) The age of the applicant must not be less than 18 and not more than 30.

2. Terms of admission

Persons eligible. The Committee decided to cater for three classes of students.

(a) Young men who desired to become teachers but lacked the basic instruction and general information deemed necessary. These would remain for twelve months to receive the elements of general knowledge and a further six months for training in the principles of teaching.

(b) Young men who needed instruction only in the art of teaching.

(c) Those who were already engaged in teaching and who wished further instruction. They would remain for a limited period dependent upon the circumstances of the candidates and the judgement of the Committee.

3. Fees of Admission

The Committee did not wish to make a charge or accept any fees but as funds were limited each student was required to contribute 5/- a week towards his own maintenance. In doing this they were incurring considerable expense - the Principal's salary, house, furniture, servants, equipment and other expenditure.

APPENDIX II (cont)

Timetable, Brecon Training College (Commissioner's Report
1847, Part II, P206-7)

Hours	Monday to Friday	Saturday	Sunday
5½ a.m.	Bell Ring		
6	Names called		
6 - 7	English Grammar	English Gram.	6 - 8 Bible Class Meeting
7 - 8	Geography	Moral and Religious Instruction	For prayer & Religious Instruction
8	Prayers. Breakfast		
9	Names called	9 - 11 Recapitulating History	9 - 11 Service
9 - 10	D.W.A. - Teaching in the School D.W.B. - Private Reading		1 Dinner
10 - 10½	Mental Arithmetic		
10½ - 11½	D.W.A. - Teaching in School D.W.B. - Private reading and writing notes	11 - 1 Recapit English Gram. & looking over exercises	2 - 3½ at our Sunday Schools
11½ - 12	Vocal & instrumental music		
12	Names called & class dismissed.		
12 - 1¼ p.m.	Drill class		
1¼	Dinner		
2	Names called	2 - 3½ Recapit Maths	
2 - 2½	D.W.A. - Teaching in School D.W.B. - Private reading and writing notes	3½ - 5 Recapit Natural History and natural philosophy	

Hours	Monday to Friday	Saturday	Sunday
$2\frac{1}{2} - 3\frac{1}{2}$	Writing		
$3\frac{1}{2} - 4$	Drawing upon paper		
$3\frac{1}{2} - 5$	Natural Philosophy	5 - 9 At own disposal	
4 - 5	Natural History and Physiology		
5	Names called and tea		7 - 9 Service and Prayers
$5\frac{1}{2} - 6$	Vocal music		
6	Names called		
6 - 7	Latin and Greek		
7 - 9	(Junior class) Arith and mensuration		
7 - 9	(Seniors) Algebra Euclid and Trigonometry		
9 - $9\frac{1}{2}$	Model lesson		
$9\frac{1}{2}$	Names called. Prayers	Prayers	
$10\frac{1}{4} - 10\frac{3}{4}$	Theory of music (seniors) Writing notes (juniors)		

Names of Students, their previous occupations and schooling

(Commissioners' Report 1847, P II, P 189)

Name	Age	Date of Entrance	Absent Weeks	Prior Occupation	School and period of prior instruction
John Curtis	19.0	March 3	12	Farming under father and assisting to keep school for a quarter	At Llanddeusant private school for 4 yrs. during the winter quarters when a child! 2 quarters at Mrs. Thomas's at Llandovery 1 quarter at Swansea since 3 years ago
James Reynolds	19.3	Jan 1	11	Tailor up to time he came here	At St. David's private school for 5 years
David Jones	30.5	"	13	Carpenter up to time he came here	At Peullan when a child at private schools for 4 or 5 years
David Davis	24.9	"	12	Farming under his father & schoolmaster at a farmhouse for 6 months	2 or 3 quarters at private school near Llandovery when a child, $\frac{1}{2}$ a year with John Thomas, & $\frac{1}{4}$ yr with Mr Davies at 18 yrs; after at Mr. Davies's school at Froodvale for $1\frac{3}{4}$ years

Name	Age	Date of Entrance	Absent	Prior Occupation	School and period of prior instruction
David William (sen)	24.5	Nov 12	-	Schoolmaster for 8 years at Little Newcastle Pembrokeshire	Previously at private schools for 12 months
John Lewis	29.11	Sept 1	-	Farm labourer all his life-time except schoolmaster for 6 months	Llandovery private academy 3 months previously $\frac{1}{2}$ year Froodvale at Mr Davies's private academy previously when a child for $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.
Rees Williams	27.1	Jan 19	11	In coal mine at Nantyglo as collier	When a child at Mr. Rees's at Nantyglo for 4 years
Lewis Pugh	20.8	Sept 1	-	Farmer	At Aberdare church school for 2 yrs. nine years ago.
John Philips	20.7	Sept 1	-	Served in grocer's shop	At Mr. Evan's private school, Tipson, 2 years; and 5 months at Heull a private school lately.
David Williams (jun)	22.9	Oct 16	-	Ship Carpenter for 3 years at Cardigan	In 1886 at Mr. Owen's private school at Cardigan for 6 months; at Mrs. Jones's at Cardigan this year for 6 months

Name	Age	Date of Entrance	Absent	Prior Occupation	School and period of prior instruction
Thomas Jones	18.1	April 3	14	Assistant in Grocer's shop	At Mr. Powell's private school at Trecarth about 6 years of irregular attendance
John Jones	22.9	Oct 31	14	Weighing iron at forge for 2½ yrs.; cutting stones for masonry for 2 yrs. & as farm labourer previously.	At Mr. Philip Morgan's private school, at Pontypool for 3 years, irregular attendance, before 10 years of age; also 6 months before coming here, at Pontypool British Sc.
Warriote Edwards	35.3	Nov 28	14	Schoolmaster at Llandwr & Sandersfoot for 5 years.	At Rhydyceisiaid nr. St. Clair's 4 yrs., irregular attendance at Mr. Davies's.
Daniel Williams	22.6	Nov 13	14	Farm servant for 8 & keeping school for 2 months at Penygroes previous to his entrance	Never in a day school except 9 months the year before last with Mr. Dawkins at a British & Foreign School at Narbeth now at Begelly
Richard Davies	21.9	Feb 19	11	Shoemaker for 5 years	Taught exclusively at home and by himself

Name	Age	Date of Entrance	Absent	Prior Occupation	School and period of prior instruction
David Evans	22.1	May 25	12	Assisted in Account Keeping for 2 or 3 yrs. at mines	At Mr Grove's private school at Tredegar for 2 years, about 6 years' ago; at Mr. Williams' Merthyr for 12 months 3 yrs ago.
John Powell	28.8	April 14	10	Blacksmith & farmer from 10 yrs old	At Llandegley Radnorshire between 3 or 4 years when a child; 6 weeks lately at the church Llanfihangel Nant Melan, & at a farmhouse for 6 weeks altogether
Jeremiah Gored	26.6	Sept 1	-	Farm labourer	14 years' ago at Llanddewi Ystad densey; at Mr. Watson's for 2 months & at David Evan's, Bettws Disserth for 1 month, 2 years previously

APPENDIX IIIExtract from the Trust Deed of the North Wales Training College

(Printed by H.Humphreys, Castle Square,
Caernarvon, 1858)

... Upon Trust to permit the said Premises and all Buildings thereon erected, or to be erected, for ever hereafter appropriated and used as and for a Training School, or Institution for the Education and Training of Masters for National and other Schools in connection with the Church of England in the two Dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor, and as a Residence for the Principal, Students and Scholars of the said Training School or Institution and for no other purpose whatever. Provided always that the said Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, and the Vicar of the Parish of Llanbeblig for the time being, shall also be members ex-officio of the Managing Committee of the said Training School, and which Committee for the time being shall have the general management, control and government of the said Training School and Premises, and of the funds and endowment thereof, and also of all the School Apparatus, Fixtures, Furniture and all other Property now belonging, or hereafter to belong thereto; and the selection, appointment, and dismissal of the Principal, Vice Principal and other officers of the said School shall be vested in and exercised by the said Committee of Management from time to time; and the remainder of the said Committee, exclusive of the said Bishops and Vicar of Llanbeblig, shall consist of twenty four members in equal proportion from the said Dioceses, of whom not fewer than one half part shall always be Laymen, and all of whom shall be Donors of not less than Ten Pounds each in one Donation, or Contributions of not less than Twenty Shillings each in School current year, towards the support of the said Institution or Training School, and shall be elected in the first instance at a General Meeting to be held in the month of January, consisting of Subscribers of not less than Ten Shillings each in the current year towards the funds of the said Training School. Provided that eight members, four Lay and four Clerical, shall retire annually in rotation, but be capable like other qualified persons of being re-elected at a General Meeting, to be held each year in the month of January as aforesaid. And provided also that the Members acting, and the Members to be elected or re-elected at the said Annual Meeting, be equal in number as Lay and Clerical for each Diocese. And the said Committee for the time being shall have power to make such Byelaws, Rules and Regulations as may be found requisite for carrying on the affairs and business of the Institution, and

which shall not be inconsistent with this Deed; and all matters brought before the said Committee, of which six Members shall always form a quorum shall be decided by a majority of votes of the members attending the same and voting on the question; and if there shall be an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second, being the casting vote. The Bishop of Bangor shall be Chairman of all meetings of the Committee at which he shall be present, and in his absence the Bishop of St. Asaph when present shall be Chairman. And if neither of the said Bishops shall be present, the other members of the Committee present at the meeting shall elect a Chairman thereof, by a majority of votes; and if any vacancy shall occur in the Committee appointed for any current year by death, resignation, incapacity or otherwise, the remaining Members of the said Committee shall be authorised and enforced to fill up such vacancy by the election of a person qualified as aforesaid; provided that every person so nominated stand for retirement and re-election in the same position as the person in whose room he shall come. And provided also no default of election, nor any vacancy shall prevent the other Members of the Committee from acting until the vacancy shall be filled up. And the said Training School (hereforth to be known and designated by the name of "The North Wales Training College") shall be at all time open to the inspection of the Inspector or Inspectors for the time being appointed by her Majesty in conformity with the Order in Council of the 10th day of August, 1840. And shall always be in union with, and conducted according to the principles and in furtherance of the ends and designs of the National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales. And it is hereby declared that the Principal of the said Training School shall be in Holy Orders, and the Vice Principal and other, the Offices of the said School who shall be appointed by the said Committee from time to time, shall each, every and all of them, be Members of the Church of England. And also the Lay Members of the said Committee of Management for the time being shall in like manner all and severally be Members of the Church of England, and in default thereof shall not be qualified to act as Members of the said Committee. And the said Training School or College, and the instruction therein given, shall at all times, and uniformly be and be conducted in strict accordance with the principles and formularies of the Church of England, as established in the Realms. And the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be Visitor of the said Training College or School, with such authority therein as would appertain to the office of Visitor in the care of any Endowed School which is subject to the visitation of the Ordinary.

APPENDIX III (Cont.)

Constitution of the Swansea Training College, 1874

1. Constitution

I. RULES

1. Name The College shall be called "The Swansea Training College for Educating Mistresses for Welsh and other Elementary Schools", or briefly, "Swansea Training College".

2. Principles The Institution shall be conducted as a branch of the operations of the British and Foreign School Society, and strictly on its principles, - training being given to persons of all religious denominations, and the Bible being used as the only text-book of religious instruction.

3. Object The object of the Institution shall be to provide for pupil teachers and others a means of training, and for Elementary Schools a supply of trained teachers.

4. Government The government of the College shall be vested in a Council consisting of the President and 41 other members, six of whom shall be nominated by the General Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, and the remaining 35 elected by the donors and subscribers - donors of ten guineas or more, and annual subscriptions of one guinea or more being alone eligible for nomination or election.

5. In the election of the Council and in all meetings of donors and subscribers each donor shall be entitled to one vote for life for every five guineas contributed to the funds of the College; and each subscriber to one vote for every half guinea annual contributed.

6. Election of President and Council The President and the Council shall be elected by means of voting papers, at a meeting of donors and subscribers, to be held one week before the Annual Meeting. The Principal and two scrutineers appointed by the Council shall count the votes recorded and report to the Annual Meeting. The Council is authorised to fill any vacancy

occurring in the Presidency or in the Council between one annual election and another.

7. Election of Officers and Committees
At the first meeting after the election (or at some more convenient time) the Council shall elect out of its own members a Chairman, a Treasurer an Auditor, and a College Committee (of which, as of all Sub-committees, the President, Chairman, Treasurer, and Auditor shall be ex-officio members). At the same time the Council shall appoint the Ladies' Committee.
8. Meetings of Council
The Council shall meet in the months of July, October, January and April, and at such other times as may be necessary.
9. Alteration of Rules
These rules shall be altered only by the donors and subscribers at the Annual Meeting, or at a meeting specially convened for the purpose.
10. Annual Meeting
The annual meeting of donors and subscribers shall be held on the second Friday in April, or on any more convenient date, provided that at least a fortnight's notice of such date be given by advertisement in not less than four newspapers published in Wales.

II. BYE-LAWS

A. COUNCIL

1. Power All Executive power is vested in the Council, but it may depute its authority to any Sub-Committee.
2. Notice of Meetings Seven days' notice shall be given to each member of any ordinary meeting of the Council, but a special meeting may, if necessary, be convened at shorter notice. The notice of any meeting shall set forth the nature of the business to be transacted.
3. Quorum At any duly convened meeting of the Council seven members shall form a quorum.
4. Rescinding Resolutions No resolution may be rescinded at the meeting in which it was passed, nor at any subsequent meeting, unless notice of intention to move its rescinding appear on the agenda.
5. Increase of Officers' Salaries Notice of application for increase of salary must appear on the agenda of the meeting preceding that at which the application will be considered.

B. COLLEGE COMMITTEE

1. Number of Members The College Committee shall consist of not less than eleven or more than fifteen members.

APPENDIX III (cont.)

Extracts from the Bye Laws of Bangor Normal College (based in part on the "Bangor Normal College Deed" and in part on established usage, and adopted by the Management Committee on April 9th, 1889).

1. Government

The College shall be governed by a Committee of Management, to consist of forty eight members - of whom not more than fifteen shall be resident within five miles in a direct line from the College, and not more than eight shall be resident within the Parliamentary Borough of Bangor - out of the persons who shall have made a donation for the said Establishment at any one time of any sum not less than Ten Pounds, or who shall subscribe to the same the sum of One Pound annually at the least.

II. Election of Committee of Management

1. The Committee of Management shall be elected at an Annual Meeting, by persons who shall have made a donation to the College at any one time of any sum not less than Five Pounds, or shall be subscribers to the amount of Ten Shillings annually at the least.

2. All Subscriptions for the current year shall be considered to have become due on the first day of January then last, and no person shall vote at any Annual or other General Meeting, unless he shall have put his name down as a Donor or Subscriber to the amount before specified in the books of the College, on or before the first day in the month of January next before the Meeting, and shall have actually paid his donation or subscription before the commencement of the Meeting.

3. Any Protestant Congregation subscribing One Pound at least annually to the same, shall be entitled to give one vote in the said election at every General Meeting of the Donors and Subscribers; but such vote shall not be received from the person tendering the same, without production to the Meeting of a certificate in writing, under the hand of the Chairman of a meeting of the office bearers of such Congregation, authorising him to vote in that behalf.

5. No person shall be eligible to act on the Committee, or be competent to vote at any Annual or General Meeting, while holding any office or employment of emolument in connection with the said Institution, or while holding a contract under the Committee.

6. One third of the members of the Committee, consisting of those who shall have been the longest in office since their last election shall retire annually, provided that any retiring member, if continuing to be qualified, shall be re-eligible.

III. The Committee of Management

The Committee shall have the entire management, control and direction of the said College, shall appoint and at their discretion remove the Principal, Vice-Principal, and all other permanent officers and servants of the Establishment, who whilst officers of the Institution must devote the whole of their time and attention to the business of their respective offices; shall prescribe their duties and services, and settle the amount of their salaries and the time of payment, and shall direct all the payments on account of the Institution; and shall also regulate the terms and mode of admission Students, and their continuance in and discharge from the Establishment, provided that in all matters when the Committee shall have made no provision, and until they shall do so, the Principal shall have the entire government of the Establishment; provided nevertheless that no regulation shall be made or suffered to continue in the management of the said Establishment, which shall be at variance with the principles of the British and Foreign School Society.

V. Officers

1. The Committee at their first meeting after each Annual Election shall elect a Chairman, an Honorary Secretary, a Treasurer, a Finance and House Committee, and Auditors.

2. The Chairman shall preside at each Meeting of the said Committee, and at any General Meeting of the Donors and Subscribers, and in case of his absence, a Chairman shall be chosen by the Meeting.

3. The Honorary Secretary shall render such service to the Committee as may be necessary in the absence of the Principal, who, in addition to other duties connected with the superintendence of the Institution, shall discharge the office of Secretary of the College. As such the Principal shall conduct all the correspondence, and keep minutes of the proceedings at the Meetings of the Committee in a book to be provided for such

purpose, and shall have the custody of all the deed, documents, papers and letters of the Committee, and shall keep the accounts of the Committee, and give the notice of all Meetings, General, Ordinary, and Extraordinary, to the Members of the Committee and to others according to the directions from time to time given to him by the Committee, and shall call together the Finance and House Committee, and any other Sub-Committees that may be appointed by the General Committee.

5. The Finance and House Committee shall meet every quarter, and oftener when occasion requires, to look over the accounts and examine the vouchers for the previous quarter, and also to examine tenders for the ensuing quarter. They shall also look into whatever extraordinary expenditure that may be required in connection with the establishment, and report thereon to the Committee. No expenditure is to be incurred without their authority if amounting to £2 and upwards, and none under £2 except by the authority of the Principal, or in his absence of the Vice-Principal or Senior Tutor.

VI. Persons Eligible as Students

The Students for the College shall be selected from Candidates for Admission in the order in which they stand on the Class List of the Scholarship Examination, provided that the certificates as to their health and moral character, together with their conduct during the Scholarship Examination are satisfactory; but the applicants from England shall be informed at the outset that preference will be given to candidates from Wales, unless in the case of those who, other things being satisfactory, shall have passed the Scholarship Examination in the First Class or very high in the Second.

VII. Inspection

The College and the Students thereat shall be open and subject at all times to the Inspector for the time being appointed by Her Majesty for the Inspection of Schools.

VIII. Practising Schools

The Senate shall have power to make arrangements from time to time, subject to the approval of the Committee of Management, for the use of the public Elementary Schools in Bangor, or as many of them as may be deemed necessary as Practising Schools in connection with the College.

IX. The Senate

1. The Principal and the other Officers of the College shall meet together at least once in every month, and oftener when circumstances may make it necessary, to consider the progress and conduct of the Students, and other things that may concern the efficient working of the College, and shall submit a record of their proceedings at each meeting of the Committee.
2. Meetings of the Senate may be called at any time by the Principal or Vice Principal, or by any two Members of the Senate subject to three days' notice.
3. The Senate shall have full power to enforce discipline in the College, only in case an immediate expulsion is deemed necessary, the Finance and House Committee must be consulted and give their sanction.
4. The Students must conform with the Rules prepared for them by the Senate, and approved by the Committee of Management, and no Student is to absent himself from the College except with the permission of the authorities, or to be absent from any lecture without the special permission of the lecturer.

APPENDIX IV

A Report on Chester Training College - Internal Management

(Presented by a Sub-Committee to Caernarvon Training College
after a visit to Chester 1857)

The Chester Training College is a fine and extensive Building, comprising 3 Schools under one Principal; but it has no Lecture Rooms, Dining Hall or Dormitories equal to ours. I shall endeavour to lay before the Committee the result of my enquiries as concisely as I can.

Each Student, on entering the College, must provide himself with a plain Cap and Gown, for both of which he himself pays a Guinea. This, it is supposed, besides giving a status to the young men themselves, has a tendency to raise the College in the estimation of those who are out of College, without any additional expense to the Institution.

The Masters wear their academical Caps and Gowns during School hours, the Students their gowns only. Every person on entering sinks his name and assumes a Number instead, for domestic purposes only. His Linen and Dormitory, above the door are all marked with that number. There is nothing specific as to Dress besides.

Kitchen Department

The Range, at Chester, is Longden's, Sheffield, with partly an open Grate, and partly a Roasting Oven. There is a large Hothearth besides, heated by steam, with a two-shelved closet beneath, for warming plates and dishes. The Principal says the Range may be improved upon, and does not altogether recommend it. The Hothearth does well for boiling and stewing.

The Crockery is altogether of the Common Willow Pattern, that being considered cheaper than any other and so easily replaced. They have no stated regular plan, or dietary regimen at the College as at Cheltenham. But it will be worth while ascertaining whether or not some saving may not be effected by a fixed weekly regimen.

All the Bread is baked in College, there being a large Brick oven within the Building, and by this means, it is roughly calculated, they save about 50 per cent. They bake every day, so that the oven remains hot for puddings, etc. until next day and saves much firing.

The Principal recommends the buying of the Best Flour; all which he procures himself direct from Frost the Flour Dealer. As to the purchase of meat, the price per lb. at which it can be sold, it ascertained previously at the beginning of each month, so that it is known what the cost will be before the Order is issued. There is a knife cleaning machine within the College by which considerable expense is saved. The manservant cleans the knives daily and the shoes of the Students only twice a week.

Dormitories

The great majority of the Bedsteads are of Birch measuring on average about 6 ft x 3 ft and some are 6 ft 3 in. x 2 ft 8 in. It is considered that iron injures the mattresses and will be unsteady if not on castors. The cheap Iron Bedsteads at Chester have been the source of constant expense. Iron to be durable must be of the best quality with cone dovetailed joints. The average cost of each Bed and Bedstead is about £5. The Principal recommends hair mattresses (certainly) and palliasses on Wood Laths; cord and ticking have been discarded, as giving way, making the Beds hollow and occasioning much trouble. Each bed has four blankets, which are considered ample; a white quilt (not counterpane) and three Calico sheets; the latter article being considered cheaper than linen. All washable articles and materials are preferred to coloured ones and such as will contract dirt. On this ground no moreen would be admitted into the College.

Each student has to furnish himself with a clothes bag. Some of the Washstands are moveable, others are fixtures, being small shelves of wood in a corner of the room. The Chamber Ware is white, consisting only of a urinal, basin tooth brush and soap stands. There are no jugs as they would be knocked about and might be broken. The water is applied daily by servants in the basins. There are other Lavatories to be used during the day. Each student has to find his own Looking Glass. Some of the dormitories are furnished with small chests of drawers, some without. They are not considered needful. The students are allowed to take their Trunks into the rooms; and most often do so. There should be one Windsor Chair and one Hanging Peg to each Apartment.

Six or eight Footpans will do for 50 Students. There are appointed evenings, at the College, for feet washing; one of the students superintending and taking the whole responsibility upon himself. Each student has two shirts a week and one night shirt fortnightly. Coarse Canvas or sheeting is recommended as a curtain instead of moreen; it might be washed twice a year. The entrance into the Dormitories is not altogether open, being a little boarded on both sides. None of the students are allowed to go to their Bedrooms during the day, Each makes his own bed and brushes his own clothes.

Rooms washed monthly; sheets changed once in about three weeks.

General House Management

The Contract System, to use the Principal's words, has a tendency to stint and screw the students; and he is decidedly of opinion that it will never answer. The House Steward System again is more expensive than it is worth. Three systems have, for the last 17 years, been tried at Chester; viz 1 Contract, 2 House Stewardship, 3 Book System by which the General House management of the Institution is, at present, carried out. The Principal is of opinion that the latter is far-infinitely-more saving than either of the other two; but requires constant supervision on the part of those in authority. The Principal and one of the Undermasters carry on and supervise the whole at Chester and they do it with comparatively little trouble. The work is done and the labour lessened by what I have called the Book Keeping System which requires explanation. This System, though not like, is somewhat analogous to the system of Post Office Order. Order Books, Ledgers of various kinds, and Receipt books are prepared and printed purposely for the College.

The Order Book is printed off in three separate columns, the first being a duplicate like the first column in a cheque book; the second the order upon the Tradesman which he is to retain until the end of the month, when he is paid; and the third a Bill from the Tradesman red lined, in which he is to describe the order, and the articles obtained and which much always be returned with the Goods. The Duplicate Order and Bill have each the same number in Large Figures like a P.O.O.

These numbered Bills (corresponding with the Duplicate and order) are transferred to the Regular monthly account, and in another Ledger, all on the left side of the book, and concurrently with this account, on the other side, is kept an

account of the Incidental Expenses such as Wages of servants and other minor things. And towards the close of the month, the different items are classified into distinct Heads, such as meat, flour, butter etc., and incidental expenses showing the total expenditure of the College under each Head, while by Alphabetical References is shown in another book, the amount due to each Tradesman; so that it is difficult to conceive anything more perfect or simple in itself; or yet more calculated to guard against fraud on the part of the Tradesman or of collusion on the part of those in authority. The Authorities get nothing but what they order under their own hand; the Tradesmens' Bills correspond with the order; and their Receipts (when they are paid) must correspond numerically with the Orders and Bills; while on the other hand the Principal is bound to pay each Bill within the month, and none are paid except such as are checked by the Undermaster.

All these accounts are settled regularly every month and the General committee meetings are held only twice a year. The Undermaster in carrying out the Book System acts as a check upon the Principal, the Principal upon the Undermaster while the Principal is alternately responsible to the Committee, with whom of course he has a separate account. Still the Principal is not a contractor; for that which by way of distinction, I have called the Book System of Managing the Household Department is distinct in itself and different from the Contract System, as well as that of House Stewardship. What may be the limitations imposed on the Principal by the Committee, I do not know; but I have reason to believe that the management of the Institution during the past year was considered by them more than satisfactory.

The economy of the whole consists entirely in the effective management of the Institution, and in careful attention to minister. The Savings from Dripping, Pigswash and Bones during the last half year amounted to £14. 7. 3.

No Beer is allowed in College.

The sum of £92. 15. 2. was paid for coal during the past year at 10/6 per ton, i.e. for the whole of the Institution, comprising 3 schools etc. There were 8 servants, there are now

only 7 belonging to the College - 6 females and one man.

The females' wages graduate from 4/- to 5/- per week, according to their usefulness and standing in the College, with an extra 6d per week for Beer.

The Matron, so called, superintends the Dormitories, the Linen and Washing; and has to act the part of Housemaid and Launderess. There is a separate staircase to the dormitories so that there is a complete separating between the domestics and the students; none of the servants sleep in College.

The manservant's wages average from between 5/- to 8/- per week - that being the highest amount paid; his principal employment being to clean knives and shoes, and do the hard work of the College.

The servants lay the cloths and serve the Dinners. The cutlery is of the commonest kind, consisting of plain knives and forks, with black handles; spoons few and common. The tea is made in urns, with thin perforated Brass Metal Globes for the tea inside.

The cost of each student, including coal, wages, candles, household washing, vacation expenses, etc. all but gas amounts to about £18.18.0. per annum. Deducting household and vacation expenses it would be less than 9/- per week.

There is a splendid Laboratory in the College and workshops on a large scale with all sorts of mechanical apparatus for work in carving and hardware, etc., where the students are employed to advantage in their leisure hours.

In closing this Report, I have to express my most grateful acknowledgements to the Principal for the kind manner in which he received and entertained us and answered all the enquiries that were proposed to him promising further aid and information when it may be required.

E. Pughe
Hon. Sec.

Tables and Calculations added to the foregoing Report

The following calculations are taken from the Cheltenham and Chester Reports and from other sources

(1) Cost per head at Cheltenham, including coal and beer but exclusive of washing, wages and gas in the month of May - 31 days	<u>Per week</u> 7s. 5d.
Cost of Coal and beer per head, Coal 8½d, beer 7½d.	1s. 4d.
Average expense of food per head at Cheltenham	
Bread and flour	1s. 2d.
Butter	7d.
Tea and Coffee	4d.
Sugar and other groceries	8d.
(too little) Milk	1½d.
(too little) Vegetables	1½d.
(too much) Meat	<u>3s. 0d.</u>
	<u>6s. 0d.</u>
(2) Beer - Cost of for 40 for 10 months at £1. 5. 0. each per week as at Cheltenham	£50
(3) and average of 42 Students at Caernarvon for 10 months in the year	
1d. per week for each student amounts to	£7. 0. 0.
2d.	£14. 0. 0.
3d.	£21. 0. 0.
6d.	£42. 0. 0.
1s.	£84. 0. 0.

Allowing Matron 8s. per week for each student viz. 6s. for food, 8d. for washing (including College linen etc.), 6s.8d. There will remain 2s. 4d. upon each student amounting to £112, and including sale of sawings, dripping, etc., about at least £120 from which deduct food for 3, being the number of servants proposed to be kept.

N.B. 6d. is the amount paid for each student's washing at Cheltenham.

(4) It is calculated that 6s. 0d. per head is sufficient for provision for each student considering the saving in grocery and

other articles. The Caernarvon matron admits that 6s. 6d. is ample, without taking into account the saving that may be effected in providing for a large number and also the College savings. The matron also considers 8d. a week sufficient for washing.

(5) It is calculated that Coal, Gas, Wages of servants, etc., added to the sum of 8s. per head will render the cost of each student higher than Chester and Cheltenham.

APPENDIX V"The Education of the People" (Derwent Coleridge)"On the connection between the Government and the Schoolmaster"

The schoolmaster has been induced to prepare himself from an early age for a certain service to which certain specific advantages were understood to be permanently attached. No other understanding was possible, first because the service was required to be permanent and secondly because it involved permanent consequences and would not have been undertaken if the inducement had been understood to be precarious. This inducement may now be withdrawn, but the reasonable expectation which it has raised must be made good to those by whom the offer has been actually accepted. If the schoolmasters as a body were to throw up their trusts, would they not be held to have played the Government false? Does not the Government require from the schoolmasters whom it has assisted to educate, a repayment of its outlay, as the price of an honourable release from his engagements; and shall the Government be acquitted of false dealing, if it breaks loose from its engagement to the schoolmasters without a similar compensation? It is vain to plead that the service of the schoolmaster is already due in requital for the cost of his education, independently of other conditions. This education was neither offered nor accepted for its own independent value, great as this may be, but as a preparation for a certain specified service, attended by certain specified advantages. It was not education as such that was offered, but training, the value of which was held to consist in the prospects which it was understood to hold out in connexion with a particular service. Neither can the fulfilment of the expectations thus raised be evaded by giving up the corresponding claim of service. For the schoolmaster cannot be placed in status quo. He has given his time which cannot be recalled for a particular object. He has probably lost his opportunity for entering another way of life. He has certainly lost the start of many years. His choice may have lain between some lucrative appointment and the career held out to him by the Government; not to mention that his training has been partly at his own expense, and may have cost himself in money, or in money's worth, as much as it has cost the Government. The Government is in fact as much, and as little indebted to the schoolmaster, as the schoolmaster to the Government. Each is bound by the terms of his agreement. Such a liability must have entered into the original understanding

The body at large are true to their engagements and are entitled to those rewards of their service which they have been encouraged to expect. Or will it be alleged that a fair equivalent is offered to the schoolmaster and that he will be no loser by the change? It might be replied that whether this is true or not, the one party can hardly free itself from its engagements without the consent and against the will of the other; but it is not true. The prospect of an equivalent salary even if it were certain, would by no means replace the advantages at present enjoyed, when the schoolmaster receives a portion of his salary as an honourable distinction, free from risk and may take this portion along with him from school to school. But it is not certain that he will receive an equivalent salary; it is not even probable except perhaps in the case of the most taking masters when engaged in his largest and most lucrative school. For the great majority of certificated masters, in the vast majority of situations, there is no such prospect.

APPENDIX VICARMARTHEN TRAINING COLLEGE - Special Report

Education Department,
October 27th, 1866

Sir,

I wish to call your special attention to the state of this College. I regret that at my last inspection I had not the advantage of a conference with the Local Council, but I was told that it could not be summoned with any hope of forming a quorum.

On the 13th August I gave notice of inspection for the first week in September. On the 28th I heard from the Principal, who told me that the College had only just reassembled, that the Secretary was absent, and that it would be more convenient to defer the inspection. I therefore put it off till the week commencing October 14th, and on arrival at Carmarthen, was informed by the Secretary, that on no day in that week could he get a meeting of the Board.

This was peculiarly unfortunate, as the circumstances of the College require careful consideration.

There were three subjects on which I should have been glad to confer with the Managers before making my report -

The extravagance of the expenditure in 1865
The inefficiency of the instruction in 1865
The state of the building in 1866.

1. The expenditure has always been in unfavourable contrast with that of other Training Schools, and has constantly been a subject of remonstrance and objection. But in 1865 it seems to have reached a climax, while the proficiency of the students being extremely low, exhibits the anti-climax.

Of course the expense shows unfavourably per head, when the number of residents is small, because the permanent charges are divided by a smaller number; but that part of the expenditure which is classed under the head of "Board and Keep", will be less liable to this explanation.

I report under both heads.

The total expense at Carmarthen in 1865 was £63. 0. 4d. per head (twenty-six students being in residence). With the exception of Chester (where the staff of teachers is very large, this is the highest charge in any Church of England Training College. The average for all the male Training Schools is £52. 4s. 2d..

But let it be compared with the other Training Schools in Wales:

					£.	s.	d.
At Carnarvon,	with 22 students	it is			51.	14.	9.
At Bangor	" 30	"	"	"	47.	0.	8.

This shows great extravagance at Carmarthen. But when we take that part of the total expenditure which ought to be sensitive to change of numbers, the result is more startling, and it shows where the mismanagement lies.

In the Report of the Committee of Council, 1865-6. pp.382-3, there is a table where the total cost is divided into three parts:

1. Tuition and other Expenses of Instruction
2. Board, Fuel, Servants' Wages, and other Expenses of Keep.
3. Permanent Establishment Charges (Rent, Rates, Insurance Repairs, etc.)

The second item is that to which I refer as one which ought to vary directly with the number of inmates.

I extract the particulars for those Training Schools where similarity of circumstances justifies a comparison:

			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
Bangor	30 students	598.	6.	1	or	19.	18.	10	per head	
Chester	20 "	480.	7.	0	"	24.	0.	0	"	"
Carnarvon	20 "	486.	9.	3	"	24.	6.	5	"	"
Winchester	19 "	496.	11.	2	"	26.	2.	8	"	"
Carmarthen	26 "	860.	9.	6	"	33.	1.	10	"	"

The Principal informed me that fourteen-pence a day was the average cost of each student for provision, etc. Supposing them resident 300 days in the year (which is more than the actual number), this would give £17. 10s. per annum, or £455; so that half the cost of board, or nearly so, arises from some other demand on the College Funds.

The establishment consists of two Masters (only two are boarded), twenty-six Students, one Matron, and eight Women Servants. The Principal's household arrangements are mixed up with those of the College, and it is extremely difficult to separate accurately the expense of a large family and two servants from the expense of a very small College and nine servants. These results are absolutely unsatisfactory, and I beg to remind you that they are taken from returns furnished by the Secretary of the Managers, and examined by Mr. Hamilton, so that it is too late to plead mistakes.

That they do not give very correct information on details, I can readily believe, as the note below will show;* and therefore I declined to enter upon details with the Principal or the Secretary, because, however the expense is distributed, the glaring fact remains that in the aggregate this is the most extravagant of our Training Schools in its expenses for board and keep of students.

I now pass on to the miserable result of the instruction in 1865.

The students of the second year, thirteen in number, did well in Scripture, Composition and School Management; but badly in Arithmetic, Grammar and Euclid.

The students of the first year, seven in number, did well in no subject; badly in Scripture, Mental Arithmetics, Grammar, and Composition and History.

(N.B. - You will observe that only twenty students are brought up for examination; the other six were in a Preparatory Class. It is probable that they were resident only part of the year, and therefore that the expense per head is in reality greater than it is made in the preceding pages, for the divisor ought to be less than twenty-six.) Take the first year students: - Of seven only three did themselves credit; the others failed.

* The item "Laundry", is put down at £42. When we visited the Laundry there were three maidservants employed, although we were told only two laundry-maids were kept. Two women servants could not cost less than £50 (17 keep, £9 wages), and then there is the cost of material, fuel, etc., etc.

The reason given is their incapacity, but they had passed the Admission Examination; and with so few students in the College, each would have more care bestowed upon him, and students who might fall behind in a large class would, under such circumstances, have a better chance of doing well, or at least passing an examination which many Acting Teachers, self-taught, are able to pass.

The fact is, there have been perpetual changes in the staff of teachers. There have been at least four, if not five, Vice-Principals since I have inspected the College, and corresponding changes in the Assistant Masters. Whenever complaint is made of financial or educational mismanagement, there is always forthcoming a bewildering multiplicity of excuses, and the Principal proves entirely to his own satisfaction that Carmarthen labours under every possible disadvantage; that it is not a cheap country (although I found that they were paying $6\frac{1}{2}$ d per lb. for mutton, while it was 9d. at Swansea); that these disastrous results cannot be avoided; that every branch of expenditure is economical, though the aggregate is monstrous; and that all the conclusions I draw from the printed accounts are fallacious.

II. The building exhibits signs of want of proper maintenance. Patches on the walls show that the damp has penetrated in many places. The walls of the Principal's house are unsound here and there, and the painting has never been completed.

With respect to the signs of damp, I was told by the Principal that this was a necessity from the climate, the materials, the bad building, etc. etc.; but that some of the stains which I noticed, and have noticed before, were dry and so on.

I suggest that a Surveyor of independent position should be employed to go thoroughly over the building, and report on its present condition, and what repairs are needed to keep it sound; and that the work be forthwith done at the College expense.

	£.	s.	d.
The College income for 1865 was	2070.	10.	8.
And the expenditure for 1865	1697.	0.	3
Leaving a balance of	373.	10.	5

I think, therefore, this is a suitable time to call for the application of this balance, or so much of it as may be needed, to the necessary repairs of the fabric.

On pointing this out to the Principal, he immediately assured me that there must be some mistake; that the accounts were fallacious; that there was no surplus, etc., etc., etc. But I suppose the Committee of Council will be guided by the actual returns of the Financial Officer of the College. To what extent this Report might have been modified, if I could have conferred with the Council, I do not know; but there seems very little opportunity of escape from the conclusions to be drawn. In fact, if one or two men of business had been present, I cannot doubt they would have seen at once that there was sound foundation for them.

And I present them as follows -

1. That it is intolerable that maximum expenditure should concur with minimum efficiency, and that Root and Branch Reform is needed.

2. That as the accounts show an excess of income over expenditure for 1865, the balance ought to be applied to putting the College building in thorough repair, wherever such repair may be needed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
 Yours obedient Servant,
 The Secretary,
 Committee for
 Council on Education (signed) B.M.COWIE,
 H.M. Inspector of Schools.

APPENDIX VIIUnpublished Letters and Documents

Letter from William Reed, Principal of Carmarthen College to
Bishop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, Training College
Carmarthen, 12th August, 1862.

My Dear Lord,

I enclose a printed copy of the proceedings which took place at the conference of Principals of Training Colleges in London, on the 15th and 16th of July. This meeting was only preliminary to another to be held in October. It was attended by nearly all the Principals. A few were absent on the continent and in other distant places, whither they had gone for their vacations. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was the chairman; the meeting was also attended by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Archdeacon Sinclair, two members of Parliament, Messrs. Pullar and Acroyd, and by Mr. John Martin. The non-conformist Training Colleges were also represented by their Principals. I would here observe that whilst fears were entertained of the stability of all the colleges belonging to the Church of England, those of the non-conformist bodies, although they would be subject to a diminution of funds by those measures which are expected to come forth from the Committee of Council on Education, would have no difficulty in maintaining themselves. The reason for the differences is obvious. The institutions of the Church of England are too numerous and ruin each other by a competition for students, while those of the non-conformists are not more than adequate to the supply of candidates for training and of masters, for their schools, and in whatever pecuniary difficulty they may be left by the many alterations which may be introduced into the existing Code, no difficulty will be experienced in supplying that from subscriptions and donations.

The chairman stated that by united action he had hopes of reversing the action of the Committee of Council in Education - that Lord Granville had been betrayed into recent measures by Mr. Lowe - had been unprepared for the opposition they incited - and had supported Mr. Lowe more from a principle of honour than from a conviction of the expediency of the changes introduced by him.

I took the opportunity of expressing my conviction that the Church of England Training Colleges were more than

enough, and that this fact was becoming most apparent every year. I also expressed an opinion that it was a circumstance that ought to be dealt with under whatever Code existed. I was glad to find my opinion corroborated by all the principals present - they all agreed that the training colleges were too numerous. There was, however, an indisposition at that time to go beyond the admission of the fact. Further consideration of it was postponed till the meeting in October.

At the early part of the meeting we were not in possession of the scheme which the Committee of Council on Education propose to adopt with respect to Training Colleges in 1864. Mr. Cowie, it seems, had communicated it under secrecy to the Principals of those Colleges which he had visited this year, but from them we derived no information. Later in the day, we were joined by Mr. John Martin, upon whom Mr. Cowie had called, had put him in possession of the scheme and requested him to make it known when he pleased. The scheme will be found in pp.5.6 of the enclosed paper.

One point of the scheme only was considered. Assuming that the Committee of Council will not pay more than 75% of the expenditure, it was admitted that the most prosperous colleges under the existing Code would not be able to go on. Suppose a college received 100 students. For every student 25% of the maintenance of each student must be derived from private sources. Taking the average cost of maintenance to be £50 per head per annum, £12. 10. 0. would have to be furnished by subscriptions, etc. Such a college would, therefore, require an income from subscriptions of £1,250. To raise subscriptions to that amount was admitted to be next to impossible.

Mr. Cowie invited me to dine with him and at his house I met Mr. Cory, Mr. Sandford's substitute, in whose department all matters connected with the examination for Scholarship are managed. Mr. Cowie restated the scheme as I had heard it. I repeated to him my conviction that Training Colleges were too numerous and that the circumstance ought to be dealt with both as a matter of economy and as a step towards an adjustment of existing difficulties. He said the Committee of Council were aware that Training Colleges were too numerous, but would not interfere because it made no pecuniary difference to them. I said that was exceedingly hard upon managers.

With full colleges the maintenance would probably be under £40 per head per annum, but with colleges half full nearly £60, and that although the pecuniary difference to the Committee of Council was nothing - yet it is a material item in the accounts of Committees. To that he said nothing.

I next mentioned that under existing circumstances, many colleges must be closed. He said that would be the case, but that Carmarthen College in consequence of the grant from the W.E.C. would not be one. He said the Worcester Diocesan College would probably be the first to close - that it had always had a difficulty in maintaining itself, and when the Government's grants were diminished, it had no prospect of replacing them by subscription. That Battersea would most probably be given up, as the Principal was indifferent to its being maintained, and the National Society would be unable to support it and St. Marks, and that at present it was contemplated to convert Cheltenham Training College into a training college for mistresses. These three Colleges receive 100 students each. As he had visited each of these colleges, he spoke, I presume, the conclusions he had formed from conferences with the Committees. Mr. Cowie will visit Carmarthen in September.

I found Mr. Cory candid and communicative. I mentioned to him the condition to which we had been reduced by the paucity of Queen's Scholars last Christmas, and enquired if any alteration had occurred in the method of electing Queen's Scholars. He replied none whatever. I then enquired why so few had been elected at Christmas. He said it was purely accidental and arose from the candidates not being equal to the standard. He added "we diminished the standard in order to embrace as many as possible". I then put this question "Is it the intention of the Committee of Council next Christmas to elect as many Queen's Scholars as will fill all the vacancies in all the Training Colleges provided they come up to the standard. He said "certainly". There I might have rested content with the information obtained for all useful purposes, but I could not resist the temptation to discover what views he entertained of causing an outlay of nearly £4,000 on the extensions of this College, when the Committee of Council knew that the accommodation in the various colleges was greater than was required. He gave me the answer which Lord Granville and Mr. Lingen gave your Lordship, viz; that it was a promise of long standing. I asked him if that was a satisfactory answer under the circumstances, and if it justified so large an

expenditure of public and private means. He said "I confess it is not".

The conclusion I have come to from all the information here detailed is

- I. That the small number of students now in residence is an accident and may be repaired next Christmas.
- II. That this College is on a firmer footing financially than most Training Colleges, and provided it can be filled with students, it will receive more from the Committee of Council under the proposed Code, than it has hitherto done. The proposed Code contemplates £50 per head as the minimum of Government aid.
- III That the policy be pursued in order to allot it a chance of permanence is to take all the means possible to fill it with students likely to become Queen's Scholars, and that in addition to the reception of ex-pupil teachers it would be advisable, and a safer proceeding, to increase the sum offered for travelling expenses to Queen Scholars at the next Christmas examination so as to induce them to enter the college.

I remain, My Dear Lord,

Faithfully yours,

Wm. Reed.

The Exhaustion of the Welsh Fund

(Letter from Bishop of St. David's to Bishop of Llandaff)

17.4.71

Abergwili Palace, March 31, 1871

My dear Bishop,

Our Training College is at the moment in a very critical position. We have just been informed that the fund of the Welsh Education Committee is entirely exhausted and that we can no longer look either to it or to the National Society for that part of an Income which we have hitherto received from it. There is a deficit of £462 - last year's Balance - lying at the Bank; and if this be spread over the next three years, it will reduce the deficit to some £250 and the question is how this is to be made up. It has been suggested that an appeal should be made to the friends of the Church in South Wales, partly by means of collections to be made in the churches under the sanction of a pastoral letter from the Bishops and partly by means of a Deputation which should round both Dioceses for the purpose of spreading information and awakening interest and soliciting subscriptions and donations for the college - we are aware that this is not a merely temporary strait but the need of the like effort may continue for an indefinite time to come. It is however, a question of life or death to the college and it has been thought that the importance of the object justifies the treating of it as a charge on the resources of the two Dioceses which may fitly be allowed to take precedence over every other. Without the co-operation of both I see no prospect of effecting the object. I promised that I would bring the subject before you and ask how far you are disposed to second this movement in either of the ways which have been suggested or in any other that may occur to you. We should be very thankful for any suggestions that you may offer.

I am, my dear Bishop,

Yours faithfully,

The Lord Bishop of Llandaff. C. St. David's.

Bishop's Court, Llandaff,
April 1, 1871.

My dear Bishop,

I really do not know what answer to give to your important question. It has always appeared to me that the Carmarthen Training College being out of our sight is out of our mind, and though we have benefited by it, has excited very little interest in the Diocese. Our annual gift of (I think) £10 from the Education Board has been rather disappointing but perhaps this may have been from the small funds which we have at our disposal. Since we met in London, I have had, as you most probably have also, solicitation for help from the National Society, the National Education Union, and if I am not mistaken, some other Society. I have been afraid to mention the Irish subscription; and as I said in London we have put off the proposed public meeting of our Diocesan Church Extension Society in Easter Week at which we had intended to bring forward the question of clerical education in consequence of the numberless matters we have had to attend to.

Having thought it my duty to go to London last Monday, I have been obliged to put off a week's confirmation till Easter week; and therefore shall be absent from the committee meeting of the above named society on the Thursday. But if you think it well, I will send your letter to the Archdeacon of Llandaff and ask him to lay it before the meeting and take their advice upon it.

Further than this, I do not know at present what to say, except that if you deem it expedient to draw up any statement for circulation my name may be subscribed to yours, and the paper circulated with my sanction in the Diocese. I fear, however, with little result. It may be that the Education Boards may be willing to make some small grants out of the contributions resulting from the late meetings. But this is uncertain and could not be looked to as a permanent thing.

Believe me, my dear Bishop,

Yours truly,

The Lord Bishop,
of St. David's.

A. Llandaff

April 21, Bishop's Court,
Llandaff

14.4.71

My dear Bishop,

Though I had not heard again from you I thought I might place your letter in the hands of Archdeacon Blossie, that he might read it at the meeting on Thursday of last week. He laid it before the Education Board; and he has informed me that the Board, considering the many objects which the Bishop had had to bring before the Diocese, did not think it desirable that he should issue a letter to the clergy on the subject of the training college; but that there would be no objection to a Clergyman from the Diocese of St. David's, sanctioned by myself, visiting our Diocese on its behalf, and seeking assistance from clergy and laity by personal application or sermons or in any other way that might suggest itself. It was understood that something of this kind had been done with advantage in your Diocese. Our Education Board seems therefore to have come very much to the same conclusions as the Local Council of the Training College, as expressed in your letter received by me last night. I am very willing to allow Mr. L.M. Jones, or any other representative of the College to say that he has my sanction to undertake the proposed canvass and I shall be glad if the result proves satisfactory. But I think he must not be very sanguine. There is an inclination in this Diocese to look rather to the English Training College than to the one at Carmarthen.

I remain, my dear Bishop,

Yours truly,

A. Llandaff

The Lord Bishop,
of St. David's.

Communication from Education Department to Normal College
Committee

Education Department,
Whitehall, S.W.

23 March, 1891.

Sir,

My Lords have heard with satisfaction that the Committee of your College have, in consequence of the report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspectors, taken steps to re-organise the Staff.

It may be convenient to the Committee at this stage to learn the view taken by their Lordships as to the further measures which are, in their opinion rendered necessary for the due establishment of discipline, and also their decisions as to the students implicated in the recent outbreak -

1. Their Lordships regard it as essential that the Principal should be in future resident.
2. They have no doubt that it is not compatible with the welfare of the College that any officer of the Staff should take an active controversial part in politics - His salary in a great measure is paid from grants of public money, and his influence among the students should not be directly or indirectly of a political character. Their Lordships do not go so far as to require that the Vice Principal should retire from the Town Council. That body is not essentially, though it may be incidentally, a political body; and if the Vice Principal remains a member of it, their Lordships will be satisfied if his attendance at it in no way interferes with the discharge of his duty to the College, and if he abstains from taking a prominent part in political affairs.
3. It appears to be necessary that at all meals, at least two officers of the College should be present, one being either the Principal or the Vice Principal, and a rule to that effect should be made.
4. Monitors or Prefects should in future be selected on account of their character and conduct, and not on account of

the places which they occupied at the examinations.

5. Their Lordships trust that the Committee will insist upon disciplines being more firmly enforced, and that their selection of a new Principal may be largely influenced by this consideration.

As regards the Students, My Lords think that, with two exceptions, they cannot distinguish between them in their decision.

The case of Nichols has already been dealt with. The other Student to whom their Lordships would specially refer, is the Senior Recorder, Williams. They do not consider that he ought to have been re-admitted to the College after the outbreak, and they will deal with him as if he had at that time been expelled. He will, therefore, not obtain the benefit of his late examination, and will, until he again attends and passes the Certificate examination, be recognised as a Certificated Teacher of the 3rd Class only.

As regards the remainder of the Students implicated, My Lords feel that the laxity of discipline in the College, though it may to some extent explain, cannot excuse their conduct, and while their Lordships are not desirous of imposing upon them a penalty which may affect their future usefulness or prospects, they cannot pass over unnoticed, the part which these Students took in the outbreak. Their Lordships think that, under the circumstances, it will be sufficient that one year of probation, in addition to the period required under Article 62 of the Code, should be imposed upon each Student.

I am to request that you will bring this letter under the notice of the Committee, and that you will inform the Students who have left, as well as those who remain, of their Lordships decision.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J.W.Kekewich.

The Rev. Daniel Rowlands,
Normal College,
Bangor.

Resignation of Rev. Daniel Rowlands M.A. (Bangor Normal College)
1890

Dear Mr. Lewis,

From the minutes of the last meeting of the Normal College, forwarded to me by Mr. Glynne Jones, I find that the Committee feels constrained, in view of the Report of the Government Inspector as to the alleged want of discipline, to consider the question of re-constituting the staff of the College.

As it is clear that such a re-constitution, if carried out on the lines indicated in Mr. Oakley's report, would involve a complete re-arrangement of the duties of the Principal, and require his residence at the College, with a direct and constant responsibility for the discipline both on Sundays and on week days, I feel that it would be impossible for me to undertake such an enlarged measure of responsibility without relinquishing my sacred calling as a minister of the Gospel.

I am also anxious that my personal interests should not stand in the way of the Committee in carrying out any proposals made with a view of improving the College and promoting the cause of Education in my dear country; and in order to facilitate the way of the Sub-Committee, of which you are convener, I shall feel obliged if you will place my resignation in the hands of that body, with an assurance of my deepest interest, in the future as in the past in the welfare of an Institution which I have been privileged to serve to the best of my ability for the long period of twenty-three years.

Yours very truly,
Daniel Rowlands.

Extracts from John Price's application for the post of
Principal of Bangor Normal College (March 25, 1891)

Gentlemen,

I very respectfully beg to apply for the post of Principal of this Institution. In support of this application I desire to call your attention to the following considerations:

- (1) That I have been connected with it as Vice-Principal from its very commencement, and have therefore an intimate knowledge of the duties of the post.
- (2) That the College has always occupied, to say the least, a very respectable position in comparison with similar Institutions, being often among the highest, and on two occasions was the highest in the whole kingdom, which for a Provincial Welsh College must be termed brilliant and very creditable to all connected with it.
- (3) That Her Majesty's Inspectors have through a long series of years spoken in very favourable terms of my abilities and qualifications for the post I now occupy. I will quote a few of their entries upon my parchment

As soon as it was understood that Mr. Rowlands had resigned the Principalship, a number of Old Students spontaneously, without any instigation on my part or any consultation whatever with me, the whole thing being nearly completed before I had heard a word of it, circulated a petition among the ex-students in favour of my appointment to the vacant post and in the course of a very short time, it received about 250 signatures and was presented to you at your last meeting, and it was through Mr. Henry Lewis, the secretary of the Subcommittee, to whose care it was entrusted that the petition and the names of those who had signed it first reached me. In the list of names I see those of Professor Rhys, M.A., Oxford; Professor Owen Prys, M.A., Trevecca; Mr. E.H.Short, H.M.I. Inspectors; Rev. E.O.Davies, B.Sc., Oxford; Professor T.Rees, B.A., Independent College, Bangor; Mr. A.H.Trow, B.Sc., Cardiff, and a long list of others who have distinguished themselves after leaving this College.

In addition to appending their signatures to the aforesaid Petition, the Bangor Students resident in London held a meeting, and the following is the report of the proceedings.

"At a meeting of former students of Bangor College, engaged in London, held at Anderton's Hotel, Fleet Street, on Thursday evening, February 5th, 1891, Mr. W.B.Adams, F.R.Hist.S., Head Master of the Fleet Road Board Schools, Hampstead, presiding, the following resolutions were unanimously carried:-

(1) Proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. T.H.Jones, Headmaster of the Duncombe Road Board School, Hornsey Rise;

That this meeting of former Students of Bangor College engaged in London is unanimously of opinion that the best interests of the Bangor Normal College would be secured by the appointment of Mr. John Price, the present Vice-Principal to the office of Principal to the office of Principal of the College.

(2) Proposed by Mr. J.F.Adams, Barrister-at-Law, seconded by Mr. J. Tom Evans, Head Master of the Angler's Garden Board School, Islington - That while under ordinary circumstances, this meeting fully recognises the claims of men of University distinction to be elected to such a position, it is unanimously agreed that Mr. Price's high character and undoubtedly great ability and culture, added to the fact of his long and distinguished services at Bangor College ought to far more than outweigh the claims of other candidates who may have obtained University Honours".

I should like to quote extracts from letters of old students in which I am referred to with great affection and esteem and by which I have been greatly touched, letters, be it remembered not written to me personally, and only coming to my knowledge indirectly as I have already stated, but I must desist. I will also content myself with merely referring to letters sent to the Committee from congregations and individuals who have been constant subscribers to the funds of the Institution for many years, and whose feelings and opinions should not, I think, be totally ignored.

APPENDIX VIII

Timetable - Swansea Training College 1895 Senior Students

TIME-TABLE 1895									
SENIOR STUDENTS									
Day	Time	Class A				Class B			
Monday	8.30-9.15	..	..	..	..	Arithmetic	..	..	..
	9.15-10.0	..	..	..	..	Geography	..	..	..
	10.00-11.0	..	..	Grammar and Composition		..	..	..	..
	11.15-12.0	..	..	..	..	French	..	..	..
	2.30-3.15	*							
	3.15-4.15	..	..	..	..	Needlework	..	..	..
	4.15-5.15	..	..	..	..	Hygiene	..	..	..
	6.00-7. 0	..	..	..	..	Physiology	..	..	..
	7.00-8. 0								
Tuesday	8.30-9.15	..	..	..	..	History	..	..	..
	9.15-10.0	..	..	Penmanship and Dictation		..	..	..	..
	10.00-11.0	..	..	..	..	Physiology	..	..	..
	11.15-12.0	..	..	Grammar and Composition		..	..	..	..
	2.30-3.15	..	..	..	..	Hygiene	..	..	..
	3.15-4.15	..	..	..	..	French	..	..	..
	4.15-5.15	..	..	..	..	Mapping	..	..	..
	6.00-7.00	..	..	..	..	School Management	..	..	..
	7.00-8.00	ss							
Wednesday	8.30-9.15	..	..	..	..	Arithmetic	..	..	..
	9.15-10.0	..	..	..	..	Music	..	..	..
	10.00-11.0	..	..	..	..	Geography	..	..	..
	11.15-12.0	..	..	..	..	Reading	..	..	..
	2.30-3.15	*							
	3.15-4.15	..	..	..	..	Scripture	..	..	..
	4.15-5.15	..	..	..	..	Drawing	..	..	..
	6.00-7.0	..	..	..	..	History	..	..	..
	7.00-8.0	ss							

* Private Study of subjects selected by Students.

ss " " " " " by Teacher in charge.

Drill on Wednesdays from 12 till 1.

Day	Time	Class A	Class B
Thursday	8.30-9.15	.. .. Arithmetic	.. ..
	9.15-10.0	.. .. Physiology	.. ..
	10. 0-11.0	Crit.Lesson(Miss Hendy)L.H.)	Reading
	11.15-12.0	† ") ") ")	† Music
	2.30-3.15	*	
	3.15-4.15	.. .. French	.. ..
	4.15-5.15	.. .. Drawing	.. ..
	6. 0-7.0	.. .. Grammar and Composition	.. ..
Friday	7. 0-8.0	§	
	8.30-9.15	.. .. Arithmetic	.. ..
	9.15-10.0	.. .. Grammar and Composition	.. ..
	10.0 -11.0	Reading)Miss Charlton)B//Crit.Lesson	.. ..
	11.15-12.0	Music) " Rodwell )"// "	.. ..
	2.30-3.15	.. .. Hygiene	.. ..
	3.15-4.15	.. .. Needlework	.. ..
	4.15-5.15	.. .. Music	.. ..
Saturday	6. 0-7. 0	.. .. History	.. ..
	7. 0-8. 0	§	
	9. 0-10.0	.. .. Needlework	.. ..
	10. 0-10.30	.. .. Penmanship	.. ..
	10.30-11.30	.. .. School Management	.. ..
	11.30-12.30	.. .. Drawing	.. ..

* Private Study of subjects selected by Students

§ " " " " " Teacher in charge

Drill on Wednesdays from 12 till 1. † Or Logic (Principal)