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'A Civil and Useful Life': Quaker Women, Education and the Development of Professional Identities 1800-1835

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Abstract

Exhorted by George Fox to live a 'Civil and useful life', educated middle-class Quaker women who did not feel called to undertake a recognised ministerial role within the Religious Society of Friends still used their education and skills to the benefit of the wider community. This article examines the engagement of Quaker women with education by focussing on the work of Mariabella and Rachel Howard (mother and daughter), who were involved in several educational charities between 1800 and 1835. The article seeks to address the irony of two educational campaigners who as non-professional women sought to professionalise the work of women in teaching. Through the use of their journals, letters and published texts, the article explores how they sought to transmit their knowledge and provide a system of training for other women to emulate, particularly those women who wanted to gain employment as professional teachers. In examining the professionalisation of teaching, my work seeks to add to that of Christina de Bellaigue (2001)[1] and Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin (2004)[2] by looking at professionalisation processes in teaching through the lens of Quakerism.

Keywords

Quakers, women, education, nineteenth century, professionalisation

Quaker women in the nineteenth century had a range of opportunities open to them that was more extensive than for many of their contemporaries. If acknowledged by the Meeting to be under the leading of the Holy Spirit, Quaker women could engage in a travelling ministry, they could enter the world of commerce without disapprobation from their Society[3] and in pursuit of their religious beliefs they could enter the public world of political debate.[4]

There was a strong feeling within Quakerism that many who suffered from poverty, or became involved in crime and prostitution did so as a direct result of an

inadequate education. Quakers felt that greater access to practical education would enable people to learn a trade or embark on a career and become financially self-sufficient. Hence, Quakers aimed to make at least some level of education accessible to all. Quaker women's participation in the provision of education for the poor embraced a variety of roles. Dependent on the type of school and its needs, philanthropic Quaker women were involved with fundraising, the maintenance of buildings, the appointment and management of staff, the admission of pupils, the selection and implementation of the curriculum and classroom teaching.[5] The Religious Society of Friends itself had established, or contributed to, a range of educational organisations from its inception and continued to do so throughout the nineteenth century. For its own members the Society had established schools run either by an official Quaker Committee or by Quakers as private individuals. As part of its philanthropic endeavours for those who were not members, the Society initiated and ran First Day schools (these took place on Sundays), many of which later evolved to become, or include, Adult schools.[6] The Quakers were a major force in the development of the Mechanics Institutes and the Royal Lancastrian Society (later known as the British and Foreign Schools Society), Prison Schools and Schools of Industry.[7] Quaker women also assisted with the running of a variety of charity schools in Britain and abroad that did not come under the direct auspices of the Religious Society of Friends.[8]

Hannah Kilham's committee work, her publications and first-hand experience of teaching in Sierra Leone established her as an 'expert' in the field of educational work abroad.[9] In 1818 Elizabeth Fry was called by Parliament to deliver a report to the House of Commons, in recognition of the expertise she had gained in her work for the reform of conditions within prisons, a major part of which included the introduction of schools.[10] The educational work of Kilham and Fry was not unusual within Quakerism. Memoirs and letters of less well-known Quaker women demonstrate many to have held strong interests in the development of education beyond the needs of their immediate family. They often saw work in the field of education as an alternative means by which they could fulfil Quaker obligations to minister to society.

Their philanthropic work within education did not make Quaker women unique, although they may well have participated in larger numbers than women from other denominations. The aims and educational philosophies that motivated women into philanthropic action in education were varied. The Anglican Evangelical writer Hannah More saw women's participation in the propagation of education for the poor as a vital means of maintaining stability in society, easing social tensions and preventing the circumstances that led to the uprisings and revolution in France from occurring in Britain. For More, the poor were to be educated to a level that enabled them to read their bibles and recognise themselves as sinners. Catherine Cappe, Priscilla Wakefield and Elizabeth Hamilton saw education as the patriotic duty of British women; believing in Enlightenment notions of social progress, education was a valued means of building up the nation.[11]

Mariabella and Rachel Howard were a Quaker mother and daughter based in London and Yorkshire who worked in partnership. Although not acknowledged ministers of the Religious Society of Friends they saw their work in education as

religiously motivated. Both Rachel and her mother taught, wrote pedagogical texts, established and supervised the running of schools, encouraged women to train for teaching and eventually appointed themselves as inspectors of the schools in the locality in which they lived. They drew on a wide experience which included involvement in educational charities, committee work for the Quaker Meeting schools (particularly Ackworth) and eventually the management of their own schools.[12] Addressing a young trainee teacher desirous to emulate her 'art of teaching', Rachel replied in a religious manner, similar to that used by acknowledged Quaker ministers:

> Reflecting on the wish thou expressedst the other day, that thou hadst 'my art of teaching' I thought it might be some encouragement to thee, if I were to tell thee, as faithfully as I can how I have come by it. To say that I am not conscious of possessing it, would be only to put on a false humility: for I do not feel it to be a talent, for the use of which I shall have to give an account: and it is not merely from custom or from reason, but from experience, that I say it has been entrusted to me, by Him who is the source of all good... From Him, no doubt, I received the will and the power to devote myself to the cause of Education, with the desire of making known to the dear children that precious Saviour whom I had found. Undertaking the task with these feelings, I resolved to avoid all harshness in my proceedings with them, and endeavour in the first place to gain their love and it was wonderful, to myself, how much patience was granted me in the pursuance of the work. From the very first commencement of the undertaking my mind was much drawn into prayer.[13]

Acknowledging that her work was religiously inspired, Rachel Howard felt it important to recognise the theoretical and practical training in education that she had received, before feeling qualified to lecture, train and act as mentor to other women entering teaching:

> While however, I attribute my own capacity for giving instruction entirely to the enlightening influence of the Holy Spirit, I must not omit to refer to the instrumental helps that have been afforded me. First then I have learned much from listening to the instructions of other, and more experienced teachers: next, I have greatly benefited by reading various books on Education: and, thirdly, I have found great advantage from the study of Scripture History, Scripture Geography, the figurative language of Scripture, Natural History of the animals mentioned in the bible, and the Manners and customs of the Jews and other Eastern nations. On each of these it would give me pleasure to furnish thee with the best works I can think of, as thou findest time to read them; and, as far as in other respects it may be in my power, thou mayst always depend on the assistance of thy sincere friend.[14]

Rachel Howard began her major work in education like many women, by opening a school for the poor run jointly with her sister in the parental home. From the outset, Rachel always planned that the school would include additional staff. Aged 19, she wrote in her journal in 1823:

> If we conclude to put in practice our plan of having a little school in the garden room; I should like with my father's leave to select from our books at Tottenham a number of valuable small publications which might be useful for lending (with suitable remarks on their contents) to the elder children, and to their parents. It will be very useful to have

> a 'Manual of the British System', for our own and the Mistresses we use. Of all the employments in life, the education of young children appears to me the most interesting; and that which of others, I should choose.[15]

Rachel initially based her curriculum and mode of teaching upon the Lancastrian, or British System developed by the British and Foreign Schools Society (BFSS). The BFSS gave many women, including the Howards, the opportunity to become involved in the organisation and management of a national, and increasingly, international, system of education, either in the role of voluntary members of a formal school committee or in the capacity of Lady Visitors.[16] Supported largely by charitable donations, Lancastrian schools involved women like the Howards in fundraising, supervising the curriculum, monitoring the progress of the students and maintenance of the buildings. In a structure similar to that operated within the Religious Society of Friends, at the BFSS a dual committee system had been established both for the society itself and for the schools that were established. Although the main Ladies Committee was formally subordinate to a male committee, this structure was still able to empower many of its female members by giving them an official space to voice their opinions, and the confidence and authority necessary to carry out work on behalf of the BFSS in the public sphere.[17] For their female pupils, the British schools provided an elementary level of education that largely consisted of reading, writing, basic arithmetic and vocational training, usually aimed at enabling the girls to enter domestic trades. The schools also acted as training institutions for those wishing to become teachers, with many women training most notably at the Borough Road School and Training College in London.

The women's training college in Borough Road was established in 1812. Women entering the college were normally over eighteen and had frequently served a teaching apprenticeship or participated in a form of 'pupil teacher' scheme prior to entry. The method of training a teacher in a junior capacity under a more experienced teacher had been used by charity schools since the 1700s. Training colleges were initially thought to be too expensive[18] but gradually, during the nineteenth century more teacher-training colleges were established. The Borough Road College was one of the earliest.[19] It accepted women from all denominations. Ideally women attended for six months, and fees were reduced if they were prepared to spend a period of time teaching in one of the BFSS schools. Academic studies were undertaken at the College and teaching practice was conducted under supervision in the Borough Road School. Many women who were already teaching attended for shorter periods. At the end of their study a certificate would be awarded by the College.[20] In addition to obtaining posts in Britain, women who had attended the Borough Road were employed by missionary societies and sent to work abroad.

Although Rachel Howard based her work on the British System, her desire to improve education meant that she was not content to accept an 'off the peg' curriculum and teaching method, despite the fact that it was extensively used and was thought to be a successful system.[21] By 1826 she was writing to a friend 'It really seems to me, that some branches of instruction, which exercise the thinking faculties rather more than the routine of a Lancasterian school, would be a desirable finish for the education of girls going out into service'.[22] The monitorial system used in both

the BFSS schools and later the National Schools was a cost-effective scheme to bring basic education to large numbers of people who could afford to contribute little towards the cost of education. Monitorial schools initially employed a single teacher in overall charge assisted by a series of monitors. Each monitor was in charge of a small number of pupils and was assigned to teach one component of the curriculum. When the children had achieved success in this task, they were given a small reward and progressed to a higher group. The curriculum was heavily prescribed with little opportunity for children to exercise their own educational initiative. Critics of the system found evidence that the children and monitors did not always comprehend what they had learnt. There was also a fear that children would progress into the adult world prepared to work only for material reward, without regard to moral and religious precepts. There was little consideration given to character formation or a child's psychological development; children who struggled to progress within this system could become dispirited because little recognition or reward was given for effort.[23]

In 1833 Rachel Howard decided to adopt the educational ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.[24] In a letter to her sister Elizabeth she wrote: 'those who now constitute the highest class I am giving Pestalozzian lessons—on vegetation, geography, health etc., which they seem to enjoy'.[25] Quakers had been widely introduced to the ideals of Pestalozzi by the American Quaker John Griscom, a scientist and educationist, who in 1818 and 1819 published *A Year in Europe Comprising a Journal of Observations*. In his journal Griscom observed of Pestalozzi's pedagogy that:

> There is nothing of mechanism in it, as in the Lancastrian plan; no laying down of precise rules for managing classes, etc., It is all in the mind and feeling.[26]

Pestalozzi's philosophy of education appealed to Quakers because, like them, he believed that children contained the Spirit of God and it was the responsibility and task of the teacher to lead and direct the child into closer communion with God.

When they were unable to find classroom text books to meet their pedagogical requirements, Mariabella and Rachel Howard were prepared to adapt or write texts. In 1827 Mariabella wrote *Hints on the Improvement of Day Schools*, and, encouraged by her mother, Rachel wrote and published a series of lessons on arithmetic[27] and religious instruction.[28] In 1829 her mother wrote to her:

> My very dear Rachel,
>
> [I] was pleased to hear of the Lions den going on well, I hope thou wilt take care to have some impressions taken off on pretty good paper. Ascertaining how much per hundred extra Hulmandel will charge for them, perhaps shouldst thou think well 50 might be taken off on the best papers, then 500 on common, but if there is an opportunity it might be well to have a proof of both—I hope the beautiful camel is not spoiled I should be quite sorry if it were, I have seen a living specimen here, very much resembling thine, I think the bunches on the back better described by thee.[29]

Being aware of the costs involved in the production of books, both women tested new manuscripts among the female members of the family, before moving towards publication and marketing. In 1833 Mariabella wrote to Rachel: 'I have submitted thy little manuscript to the inspection of thy aunt and sisters separately'.[30] Despite the

satisfaction of meeting an educational need it did not come without personal cost. In 1833 Rachel wrote to her sister:

> We sadly want a simple geography—but I do not at all relish the trouble of writing one, though I dare say Elcock would finish it and indeed I do not mean myself again to be involved in such a multifarious engagement as for two or three years past—being convinced that I have suffered in more ways than one from this cause.[31]

Although motivated by religion as Quakers, Mariabella and Rachel Howard were pragmatic and believed that as well as leading individuals to God, education had to be useful. Upholding views espoused by Priscilla Wakefield in 1798, they agreed that women's education ought to enable women to be financially self-supporting should it be required.[32] Recognising that teaching was becoming increasingly professionalised Mariabella Howard wrote *Hints on the Improvement of Day Schools* so that women who ran small schools and dame schools would be able to continue to earn a living, as expectations for standards in education rose. Dame schools, as working-class schools run by the working classes in their own homes, came in for particular criticism from inspectors.[33]

Mariabella Howard was aware of the Infant School Movement associated with Samuel Wilderspin. Wilderspin was the most well-known advocate of Infant Schools in the 1820s. In his view, men were the best qualified to run these schools because as heads of families they automatically commanded respect from children. Wilderspin also thought men physically and intellectually superior to women.[34] In the introduction to *Hints on the Improvement of Day Schools*, Mariabella Howard warned women teachers of the changes that were happening in education and of the dangers to their livelihood if they did not heed her advice:

> It is probable that many of you have heard of the *Infant Schools*, which have lately been opened in many places on a large scale, and in which the children are taught a great deal, in a manner that affords them pleasure as well as instruction. Now it appears to me that unless there should at the same time be an effort, on the part of those who keep small schools, to improve them in the same way, there is danger, in many places, of the new schools swallowing up those on which *your* livelihood depends; and believing that, even in the small rooms many of you occupy, and with all the inconveniences that you may have to bear, you still have it in your power to do something, and I am induced to offer the following hints for your consideration.[35]

The educational advice that Mariabella Howard gave was not theoretical, dealing with education in the abstract; nor was it pure Christian idealism. It was practical and realistic about the capabilities of children. It advised women how to arrange and structure their classes, cope with mixed age and ability groups, devise the curriculum, monitor the progress of the children and where to buy most cheaply text books and teaching aids. Knowing that many teachers only received a scanty salary and might well be unable to buy these books, she suggested in a postscript to her book:

> N.B. If some school mistresses should find it difficult to purchase these things, I hope there are in many places young ladies or other persons, who would take pleasure in helping such individuals they believed were worthy to be trusted with the care of children, and disposed to adopt an improved plan.[36]

In accordance with Quaker philosophy, Mariabella Howard viewed education as a community venture. The classroom teacher was not working in isolation.

The Howards also provided practical assistance to teachers and schools, albeit on a small scale, by acting as a voluntary clearing house or teaching registry. For this, they drew on their Quaker networks. In 1829 Mariabella Howard saw an advertisement on the cover of the *Missionary Register* for a schoolmistress to teach the girls at a school of industry in Hampshaw. She sent the advertisement to E. Pyott and monitored Pyott's progress continually until she obtained a teaching post. Although Pyott's application to Hampshaw was unsuccessful, Mariabella used the Quaker network to enquire about other posts. In Pyott's case success came via the Forsters (family friends), and Elizabeth and Mary Dudley, both Quaker ministers.[37] This example indicates that within the Religious Society of Friends recommendation from another Quaker rendered further references unnecessary. This was not the case with Mary Hopwood, who was appointed as a teacher at another of the schools that the Howards supervised. Mariabella Howard made an initial assessment of her suitability for teaching before recommending her to Rachel. Mariabella inspected the whole family and asked for further references before arriving at a decision about Mary. Mary Hopwood was not a Quaker, but after making enquiries Mariabella felt confident enough to write to Rachel:

> I see nothing to render her unsuitable for the undertaking. Tho neither from her brother or herself did I hear any religious professions, but found on asking that they belong to the Church of England, I entered also into conversation with her and find her quite desirous of entering into thy plans, but told her thy patronage would depend on her own management and giving thee satisfaction to that effect.[38]

Although she appointed other teachers to her school Rachel often taught the children herself when able, adopting a fluid approach to teaching and managing roles. In 1830 she wrote to her sister Elizabeth how busy she had been teaching:

> Since I came down I have been very busy with my school... [T]he loss of several of my scholars and the introduction of new ones, occasioned me a good deal of trouble, in classing them and fixing the course of instruction for each class... [M]any an hour do I spend in mending pens, ruling copy-books, and 'counting books', correcting their answers to my questions, fixing their lessons, preparing questions in arithmetic.[39]

In another letter she wrote that education should be as pleasant an experience as possible:

> I am not of the opinion that the value of learning is to be appreciated by the difficulty of its acquisition: on the contrary, I make it my study to render it as agreeable as possible.[40]

Official government inspection of schools gradually became widespread with the introduction in 1833 of government grants for education. The concept of accountability and inspection in conjunction with donations for education was a long-standing concept evident in the earlier charity schools.[41] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries women were often involved in charity school inspection, management and the examination of children in a voluntary capacity. Their levels of

authority varied according to the terms and conditions of the charity. Sometimes schools were solely under the jurisdiction of a ladies committee; on other occasions a dual committee of men and women was in operation.[42]

The Howards inspected and advised in the four schools that they totally or partially funded on a charitable basis. Because of their practical experience in education and their involvement in the management of a variety of schools they also felt authorised to inspect schools that were not under their immediate jurisdiction. A large part of Mariabella and Rachel Howard's work became the inspection of schools. These were usually, but not exclusively, in the areas surrounding their main residence in the North of England. In 1826 Rachel Howard wrote to a friend:

> Our attention has been very much occupied since our return from Kendal with the subject of Dame Schools and the means of improving them. Many difficulties present, even in theory, and still more in practice: yet there seems room for concluding, that some rational improvements might be introduced, and that the acquisition of the elementary parts of learning that is, reading, writing and mental arithmetic—might be rendered much more certain and more interesting and agreeable, than it is now allowed to be in the common village schools, and in addition to this (which is of itself important), I think we may believe that the influence which would be gained by visitors of such schools might be turned to good purpose, in encouraging the more frequent reading of the Scriptures, and the questioning of children on what they have read, which is really a very great advantage of them: much however, very much depends on the Mistress.[43]

On another occasion she wrote to her sister:

> I would take this opportunity of this temporary release from the duties devolving upon me towards my parents—and take a little tour with my cousin to York, Knaresborough and Addingham to visit schools and make researches into the state of education in that part of the country.[44]

On a visit to Brighton, Mariabella reported:

> I took a carriage and went to a very superior building about a mile from home containing 3 handsome school rooms. 2 for boys and girls on the Lancasterian plan and one for an infant's school. The 2 former on slight inspection appeared orderly, the other noisy but it is not easy to form a decided judgement on a school particularly in a short time, but I should rather have seen an infant school under the care of a woman and girl than under the superintendence of a youth under 20 and this I intend to tell some of the managers if opportunity should occur.[45]

As women brought up within Quakerism, the Howards were trained from childhood, particularly within their Meetings for Worship, to come before God with an open mind, and to quietly observe and reflect, before making a judgement or comment. These were skills essential to school inspectors.[46]

When unable to visit a school themselves, or requiring an external assessor to provide an objective assessment of students' attainment standards within their own schools, the Howards would request others with expertise in education to inspect and then report back. In 1830 Mariabella requested her daughter Rachel to speak to Robert Whitaker and his wife Hannah,[47] who were in charge of the Quaker school at Ackworth, to examine the children entering one of their schools:

> Will thee please with my kind regard to R.Whitaker and wife, to tell him that I have a wish when the school of C C [Charles Clarke] is opened to have a little account taken of the children's proficiency or deficiency in reading etc., on their admission so as to enable us to make a comparison afterwards should it appear desirable, and if not asking too much I should be much obliged by the assistance of H.Hawley, or by one of the masters by their fixing some time which might suit and hearing the boys read a little ...and marking what page the younger boys are capable of reading...etc....explaining that if it is inconvenient to H.H. or another of the masters, or at all encroaching on their home duties, then I wish the master to do it as well as he can by himself, not attempting to do all in one day.[48]

The standing which Mariabella Howard felt she had both within the Religious Society of Friends and as an educationist is highlighted by the fact that she was sure that her request would be complied with. The letter also shows the interrelated gender roles of men and women within the Religious Society of Friends. Mariabella accepted that as well as their professional duties as teachers, the masters had duties of equal importance within the domestic sphere.

External acknowledgement of Mariabella Howard's expertise was given by those who increasingly sought her advice. Writing on behalf of Friends at Highflatts who were about to establish a First Day School, John Firth enquired about suitable reading materials for the school.[49] The publishers Dean and Munday commissioned Mariabella to compile an anthology for the Home and Day Schools and for export to the East and West Indies.[50] It was Mariabella Howard as an individual who was commissioned by the publishers, but the consensus approach taken by Quakers within the Meeting was continually reflected in the work of both Mariabella and Rachel Howard. Their educational ventures were always undertaken in consultation with other members of their family, or with other members of the Religious Society of Friends. After receiving the request from Dean and Munday, showing an awareness of the issue of intellectual property rights, Mariabella Howard wrote to her daughter Elizabeth:

> I am asked by Dean and Munday to make a selection of moral and religious poetry for Home and Day Schools which he thinks in connection he should have considerable demand, for he exports to the East and West Indies in addition to his home trade, can any of you help me to a few instructive pieces in easy language and taken from works where there is no copyright. I do not like to avoid embracing what may prove an opening for usefulness.[51]

Whether in a charitable or a private venture, Quaker women were aware that in order for continued success, they would need to recruit new committee members or teachers to staff their schools. Rachel Howard deliberately sought out women whom she thought would be able to expand her educational work. In 1833 she commented to her sister:

> On 7th Day I am going to see Deborah Spencer to take a silent survey of things there... I should like to encourage them to commence an Infant School in the populous village of Stanley, where they reside,—an undertaking which I believe nothing but want of funds has hitherto prevented them from beginning.[52]

Quaker women were also aware that new teachers would need a period of training and assistance. Both Edith Pyott and Mary Hopwood, recruited as teachers by Mariabella and Rachel Howard, were required to read educational texts and visit other educational establishments as a condition of their employment, but the Howards did not expect the women to finance the training themselves. Having decided that Edith Pyott needed to 'gain a little further instruction'[53] the women of the extended Howard household gave donations to fund the training, and Rachel Robert Howard, Mariabella's daughter-in-law, offered to organise it.[54] Mary Hopwood was sent for a period of training at the Borough Road before taking up her post. It was not presumed within Quakerism that teachers would be able to adopt good pedagogical practice without prior and continued training.[55] As part of his report in 1864 to a Royal Commission Sir Joshua Fitch wrote of teacher training at The Mount School, York:

> I noticed on the part of all the teachers a professional aptitude, and a skill in oral explanation and in collective teaching, which are very unusual in higher schools. I attribute this to the fact that the Friends are the only religious body in which there is a distinct recognition of the need for training, and a definite provision to meet that need.[56]

Teachers in schools linked to the Religious Society of Friends had the advantage that they were part of a Society that had always promoted education, and which viewed teachers as valued members of the community.[57] The integrated links between the individual teacher, the school and the local Quaker community were extensive. This gave Quaker teachers a strong support network beyond the immediate school environment. Often, Quaker teachers had additional roles and responsibilities within the community, which strengthened their authority within the school.[58] Girls growing up within Quaker culture would have been used to seeing women in administrative roles. Rachel and Mariabella Howard were not only role models within Quakerism but they acted as mentors to the women they assisted into teaching.

Despite the autonomy that they could justifiably maintain in the running of their schools, the Howard women adopted what might be seen as a democratic management style in schools for which they were privately responsible.[59] In the Howards' schools, teachers, pupils and parents all participated. When Sarah Grice, a teacher employed by the Howards, wanted to introduce singing into the school, an activity which at this time went against Quaker precepts, Mariabella Howard was initially reluctant. But after discussion, an agreement was reached and singing was permitted within certain guidelines.[60] Relationships were also built with the parents of the pupils. The Howards invited parents to inspect their schools before requesting admittance for their children and they were encouraged to attend the yearly examination of their children. In addition to it being a test of the children, the yearly examination was an opportunity to show the parents what the children had been learning and for parents, children and teachers to engage together.[61] Parents felt able to discuss the educational needs of their children with the Howards, and the Howards' care for the children extended beyond their period of study within the school. Often Rachel

Howard used her Quaker networks to secure work for her pupils when they left the school; and she always encouraged them to maintain contact with her, in case they ever needed further assistance.[62] In their attitude to education, the Howards adopted a holistic approach. For them, education was about developing the mind, the body and the spirit. They hoped that the education they offered to their students would eventually enable them to integrate as citizens into their local community, fully able to serve others, and add to the well-being of that community.

NOTES

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15. Howard, *Life and Death of Rachel Howard*, p. 100.

16. Goodman, J., and Leach, C., 'At the Center of a Circle whose Circumference Spans all Nations: Quaker Women and the Ladies Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, 1813–1837', in Morgan, S. (ed.), *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain, 1750–1900*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 53-71.

17. The result of property laws in the nineteenth century meant that while women might be solely responsible for bringing money into a BFSS school, they were of necessity dependent on the assistance of their male counterparts to invest the funds and this occasionally created tensions between the committees. Goodman, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration*, pp. 20-24.

18. Jones, M.G., *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1938, pp. 97-107. The pupil teacher method was used by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, but unlike participants of the 1846 British Government scheme applicants did not have sit exams either prior to entry or during the course of their training.

19. Turner, B., *Equality for Some: The Story of Girls Education*, London: Ward Locke Educational, 1974, pp. 64-69.

20. Bartle, G.F., 'The Role of the Ladies Committee in the Affairs of the British and Foreign School Society', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 27.1 (1995), pp. 51-61; *idem*, 'Early Applications by Women Candidates to the Borough Road Normal College', *History of Education Society Bulletin* 18 (Autumn 1976), pp. 35-45.

21. Bartle, 'The Role of the Ladies Committee in the Affairs of the British and Foreign School Society'; *idem*, 'Early Applications by Women Candidates to the Borough Road Normal College'.

22. Howard, *Memoranda of the Life and Death of Rachel Howard*, p. 240.

23. Miller, P., *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West 1500–1900*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998, pp. 152-62.

24. Silber, K., *Pestalozzi: The Man and his Work*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965; Pestalozzi, J.H., *How Gertrude Teaches her Children: An Attempt to Help Mothers to Teach their own Children and an Account of the Method*, London: Quantum Reprints, 1966.

25. Rachel Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin, Welcome Institute, PP/HO/M/A11 (henceforth WI).

26. John Griscom cited in Lacey, P.A., *Growing into Goodness: Essays on Quaker Education*, Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1998, p. 189.

27. I cannot find this in a library catalogue but mention is made of it in a letter from Mariabella Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin in 1832. 'Should anyone want Rachel's Arithmetic or "Ciphering made Easy" I apprehend both it and "Key" are now ready for sale at E. Fry's', WI, PP/HO/M/A53.

28. Howard, R., *Lessons on the Old and New Testament in Question and Answer: For the Use of Private Families and Teachers of Sunday and Other Schools*, London: Darton & Clark, 1844.

29. Mariabella Howard to Rachel Howard, WI, PP/HO/M/A1.

30. Mariabella Howard to Rachel Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/24.

31. Rachel Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin, WI, PP/HO/M/A11.

32. Leach, C., and Goodman, J., 'Educating the Women of the Nation: Priscilla Wakefield and the Construction of National Identity, 1798', *Quaker Studies* 5.2 (2001), pp. 165-81.

33. Dame schools were often working-class schools which combined childcare for the under-sevens with the provision of a very basic curriculum. For working-class parents they had the advantage that they were local; and their proprietors, usually themselves working-class, understood the requirements of their clientele. During the nineteenth century, as increasing numbers of educational institutions came under government inspection, dame schools came to be viewed as academically inferior institutions. Purvis, J., *Hard Lessons: The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, pp. 72-73.

34. Clarke, K., 'Public and Private Children: Infant Education in the 1820s and 1830s', in Steedman, C., Urwin, C., and Walkerdine, V. (eds.), *Language, Gender and Childhood*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985, pp. 74-88.

35. Howard, M., *Hints on the Improvement of Day Schools: Addressed to School Mistresses and the Friends of General Education*, London: Harvey & Darton, 1827, p. 3.

36. Howard, *Hints on the Improvement of Day Schools*, p. 24.

37. Mariabella Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/6,14 and 26.

38. Mariabella Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/26.

39. Howard, M., *Memoranda of the Life and Death of Rachel Howard*, London: Darton & Harvey, 1839, pp. 244-45.

40. Howard, *Memoranda of the Life and Death of Rachel Howard*, pp. 244-45.

41. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, p. 104; Edmonds, E.L., *The School Inspector*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962.

42. The only limitation on a women's involvement in the management of charity schools was that under the common law of 'Couverture' a married woman was not able to act in a legal capacity and so could not bind herself by contract; consequently she could not become a trustee. Goodman, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England*, pp. 20-22.

43. Howard, *Memoranda of the Life and Death of Rachel Howard*, p. 240.

44. Letter from Rachel Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin, WI, PP/HO/M/A6.

45. This example also reiterates Mariabella's commitment to protecting occupations for women. Mariabella Howard to Rachel Howard, WI, PP/HO/M/A1.

46. Sheila Browne, Senior Chief Inspector of Education, wrote in 1979: 'The basic principle has always been close observation exercised with an open mind by persons with appropriate experience and a framework of relevant principles', cited in Wilcox, B., and Gray, J., *Inspecting Schools: Holding Schools to Account and Helping Schools to Improve*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996, p. 6.

47. From 1804 to 1834, Robert Whitaker was Superintendent of the Quaker school at Ackworth. In 1812, he married his second wife, the school housekeeper Hannah Dumbledon, who had been at the Institution for twenty-four years. Vipont, *Ackworth School from its Foundation*, p. 56.

48. Mariabella Howard to Rachel Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/6.

49. Mariabella Howard to Rachel Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/79.

50. Mariabella Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin, WI, PP/HO/M/A60.

51. Mariabella Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin, WI, PP/HO/M/A60.

52. Rachel Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin, WI, PP/HO/M/A17.

53. Mariabella Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/14.

54. Mariabella Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/14.

55. Joshua Fitch cited in Campbell Stewart, *Quakers and Education*, pp. 97-98.

56. Joshua Fitch cited in Campbell Stewart, *Quakers and Education*, pp. 97-98.

57. In contrast to the experience of teachers in Quaker schools, although from a slightly later time period, Bruce Curtis cites several cases where teachers experienced problems with pupils and the local community and were not supported by the trustees of the school. In 1863 W. Young wrote: 'In my efforts to introduce good order and discipline I have been so thwarted by the trustees and parents of the children, that I have been under the necessity of seeking the protection of the Magistrate and have had some of the scholars fined for disorderly conduct'. Curtis, B., *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836–1871*, Lewes: The Falmer Press, 1988, pp. 150-56.

58. Martha Routh was also a minister in the Religious Society of Friends. Routh, M., *Memoir of the Life, Travels and Religious Experience of Martha Routh*, York: W. Alexander & Son, 1824. Christine Majolier Alsop, minister and governess, assisted William Allen with his Schools of Industry at Lindfield and several times accompanied him when they were researching into educational practices in Europe. Braithwaite, M. (ed.) *Memorials of Christine Majolier Alsop*, Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, 1882.

59. Jill Blackmore has found that studies of schooling in Australia in the nineteenth century 'have clearly indicated that teaching offered an independent and relatively autonomous occupational niche for women prior to state intervention in the 1870s'. Blackmore, J., 'In the Shadow of Men: The Historical Construction of Educational Administration as a "Masculinist" Enterprise', in Blackmore, J., and Kenway, J. (eds.), *Gender Matters in Educational Administration and Policy: A Feminist Introduction*, London: The Falmer Press, 1993, p. 47.

60. Mariabella Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/59.

61. Mariabella Howard, LMA, ACC/1270/21/77.

62. Rachel Howard to Elizabeth Hodgkin, WI, PP/HO/M/A3.

AUTHOR DETAILS

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