

UNBROKEN COMMUNITY—DAVID W. BOLAM

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The Story of the  
FRIENDS' SCHOOL

Saffron Walden

1702—1952

by

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CLERKENWELL	- - - -	1702—1786
ISLINGTON	- - - -	1786—1825
CROYDON	- - - -	1825—1879
SAFFRON WALDEN	- - -	1879—

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1952



1951—BEFORE WORK BEGINS  
Boys and Girls enjoy the Avenue

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FRIENDS' SCHOOL, SAFFRON WALDEN

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## INTRODUCTION

In the pages which follow, David Bolam has written the story of the growth and development of a community through a period of no less than 250 years, one-eighth of the whole time which has passed since the birth of Christ.

No wonder that, in so long a period of time, the "Workhouse" which was established by London Friends in 1702 stands in such marked contrast to the School on the hill at Saffron Walden which we know so well in 1952. For so the England of Queen Anne and Hogarth and Defoe, who lived when the "Workhouse" was founded, stands in similar contrast to the welfare State of 1952.

This community has survived all the vicissitudes of two and a half centuries because it has always been adaptable. In each generation there have been men and women who have seen the next step forward, and who have, by their foresight, enabled the School to meet new demands and serve its constituency in new ways.

Our "Fathers and Founders" have endowed this School with extensive grounds and fine buildings. But they have done much more than that. They have endowed it also with a spirit of sturdy independence and with the idealism of Christian faith and service.

David Bolam's story will help this generation to understand the mistakes as well as the achievements of the past, and thus prepare the community of to-day to continue to grow and develop into something even better to-morrow.

HOWARD DIAMOND,  
Chairman of the School Committee.

*Cambridge, May 1952.*

## A FOREWORD ON THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (Quakers)

The Society of Friends had its rise in the disturbed years following the English Civil War. Its founder, George Fox, became convinced of a divine quality in man, enabling him to experience God for himself. A form of worship developed, based on silent waiting; there were no outward forms and no minister. By 1660, the movement numbered about 35,000 people, drawn from all social classes, in an England whose population was about five and a half million.

Their beliefs brought Quakers into conflict with the State. Many were imprisoned, mainly for refusal to pay tithes and for holding their own meetings. By the Act of Toleration, non-conformists gained freedom of worship; freedom to teach was still disputed when the story opens in 1702.

During the time of persecution, the "Meeting for Sufferings" evolved—a name still given to the main executive body of the Society of Friends. In Quaker organisation, the local groups ("Preparative Meetings") are linked with those of wider areas ("Monthly Meetings"), several of which together form "Quarterly Meetings." Finally, all Friends are free to attend the "Yearly Meeting." The "Six Weeks Meeting" is the financial committee of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting.

Friends in the eighteenth century were very conscious of the ways in which their beliefs differed from those of their

FOREWORD ON THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

contemporaries, and tended to become a rigid and self-contained minority group with a number of peculiarities. These peculiarities inevitably appear in the course of the story. It is hoped that their historical significance will be appreciated by the reader.

PART I

AN EXPERIMENT IN COMPASSION  
1702—1811

*A Plan is Shared*

John Bellers had a plan. He lived in an age of plans : an Englishman had planned a London destroyed by fire; a German was working to bring all knowledge into one system; a Frenchman was to dream of a united Europe. Schemes grew apace in this quick-witted age of the new Royal Society. Everywhere men were exploring, experimenting with light and gases, with the growth of trees and the speed of ships. Travellers' tales brought excitement to a London that had listened to the great Mr. Newton explaining the movements of the universe. At such a time John Bellers worked away at his own busy ideas—schemes to give prisoners work, to improve government, to abolish poverty. One plan was especially dear.

This plan was for a community—"Proposals for raising a Colledge of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry"—and was published in 1695. Colonies were to be founded all over England, of about five hundred poor people each—men, women and children. Every kind of work would be carried on in the colony; everybody, young and old, would have a part to play. By work, those who lived there would supply all their own needs : "As it may be an Epitomy of the World, by a Collection

of all the useful Trades in it; so it may afford all the Conveniences and Comforts a man can want, and a Christian use."

In addition to supplying basic needs, the community would also care for its old people and sick, train its children, and make a profit for the public-minded men who had supported the scheme with capital. Above all, the life of the community would be harmonious. No man would need to be a rival of his fellows, "everybody is working for him." "This Colledge," Bellers claimed, "will be a Community something like the Example of Primitive Christianity that lived in common, and the Power that did attend it bespeaks its Excellency."

Bellers was more than a dreamer. He had successfully administered a relief scheme for the unemployed, which set the men to cloth-making. He had much of the practical idealism of his fellow-Quaker, William Penn, who was busily at work in his colony of Pennsylvania. Bellers was convinced that his plan held the answer to some of the key problems of his age.

In a London where parishes were being increasingly burdened by the demands of poor relief, he set out a way of answering the problem of poverty; the poor would contribute to society by their work. In the same way, his plan would meet the dangers of lawless youth—the "Black Guard"—by which the city was troubled. Bellers also gave special thought to the care of the sick—one of his friends was Sir Hans Sloane, the physician. The London of his day had known plagues and was still poorly supplied with hospitals; sickness and death were real fears.

Bellers was not alone in thinking about these problems, and often his ideas ran side by side with those of other men. This is especially true of his concern to educate and

train children—a whole section of his plan is devoted to it. Three years later the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded. This body did valuable work throughout the eighteenth century in organising Charity Schools for boys and girls. Behind them was the same concern to train the poor.

Bellers appealed to the practical benevolence of his age. Along with a sincere caring for the poor, his plan offered a means for them to work out their own salvation. His colonies would enable the resources of the country to be developed. Bellers' enthusiasm was unbounded. He envisaged that the colonies would become an integral part of English life. Once given a chance, he was sure his planning would remove the ills of society.

A Parliament, burdened with the difficulties of foreign wars, never looked at his scheme, although they had been on the point of doing so. Would Bellers find other supporters close at hand?

(ii)

Bellers belonged to the community of men and women who, dissatisfied with the Church of their day, and kindled by the flame of Fox's personality and message, had formed themselves into the Society of Friends. Yet his fellow members were not always sympathetic to Bellers. Perhaps they mistrusted a man who mixed with some of the leading personalities of his day, was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and pressed his schemes upon Lord and Commoner, on the Mayor and Aldermen of London, on the "Physicians of Great Britain," and on "Men of Wit and Pleasure." Or did the quiet elegance of his country estate in Gloucestershire seem to deny the required simplicity? Slowly, however, the idea and the occasion came together.

In 1695 the Yearly Meeting sent out an Epistle, which expressed a widely felt need for more schools—not least for the training of the children of poor Friends. The Epistle was read and discussed in Quaker meetings all over England; 25 years of active interest in education had begun. During the same year, Bellers' proposals were published. For a time there was little response, despite the active persuasions of the author. In 1697, however, a group of leading Friends, including William Penn, Robert Barclay and Thomas Ellwood, strongly recommended Bellers' proposals, while Meeting for Sufferings sent out a letter to Quarterly Meetings urging them to give serious thought to the scheme.

Only London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting, however, attempted to put the scheme into practice. Perhaps Friends in this area were faced more acutely than in other districts with the burden of poor children and old people, or perhaps the presence of Bellers himself stimulated their efforts. At all events, by 27th July 1702, the new adventure had begun. A fund of £1,923 had been raised, in the face of the severe financial difficulties of London Friends of that day. A workhouse had been leased at Clerkenwell. A committee had been formed, with representatives from each of the London Monthly Meetings, to administer the scheme. Old people and boys were ready to enter. A new community had come to life. Yet time was to show how far London Friends could fulfil Bellers' plan of a self-supporting "Colledge of Industry."

(iii)

Who were the men who met together at those early Committee meetings? Among them was John Freame, the kind father of a family, a goldsmith of Lombard

Street, a partner in the London Lead Company and a founder of Barclays Bank. Throughout the century several men like him would serve the Committee with their counsels: merchants, bankers, underwriters growing rich by their energy and integrity in an expanding England. Besides John Freame was Daniel Quare, who made clocks and watches for three kings of England. He had his goods distrained several times through his refusal to pay tithes, and had refused the office of King's Watchmaker, because of his testimony against the oath. Quare was but the first of a long line of skilled men who were to take an active interest in the Clerkenwell experiment: chemists, doctors, scientists, men with a public reputation, and sometimes Fellows of the Royal Society. Between Freame and Quare was Robert Fairman. Fairman was a brewer of Southwark, remembered at the Workhouse for his gift of brewing utensils. The majority of the Committee members were to be like him: tradesmen, sometimes prosperous, nearly always unknown beyond their own district—men whose service was often at the cost of precious time from their work. What did these merchants, craftsmen and traders share in common with Bellers' ideas? They all had a strong sense of stewardship for the poor. At that time they were especially concerned to look after the old, the sick and the children among their own poorer members. The practical step seemed to be a workhouse community. Friend Bellers had inspired the idea; but once the Workhouse began, these men busied themselves with running it efficiently, not in asking how far it fulfilled Bellers' theories.

For all the compassion behind the Workhouse adventure, there was also a hard business-like approach. Had not Bellers himself pointed to the success of such schemes in

## UNBROKEN COMMUNITY

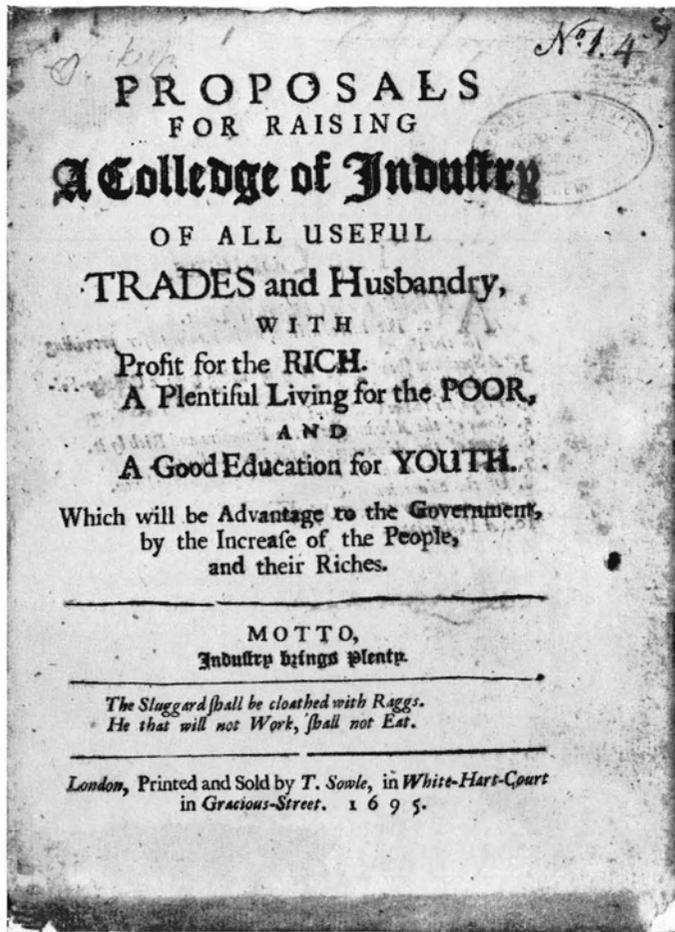
Amsterdam, and at Franke's great orphanage in Halle, which housed hundreds of children very cheaply through the work they produced? And had not Mr. Locke, the King's friend and philosopher, just advocated "working schools" in each parish? In 1702 there seemed every hope of combining caring with economy.

Yet nearly all who belonged to or helped with the Workhouse in those early days were linked by a deeper bond—the fellowship of suffering for their religion at the hands of a hostile society. John Heywood, one of the old men who lived at the Workhouse, had been arrested 30 years before at an unlawful assembly near Spitalfields. Together with him were George Barr, the first Steward of the Workhouse, and Thomas Minks, an active member of the first committee. "They were conveyed to New Prison, and received by the Keeper, a man of rugged disposition, from whom they met with very hard usage." On another occasion, John Heywood with other Friends including John Bellers himself, had appeared before the Lord Mayor. Bellers' fine was paid in court, but John Heywood stayed in prison "longer than any of them." Many families had suffered seriously through the imprisonment of the father or mother, or through the distraint of goods, reducing them to poverty. Although the severest period of such suffering was well over, in 1702 Friends still felt they were aliens in society. There was need for a workhouse for children from homes brought to poverty, and to serve as a haven for old folk like John Heywood. Behind the Clerkenwell experiment was an experience of suffering, which had drawn Friends together into a closely-knit fellowship, and moved them to take care of every member in difficulty.

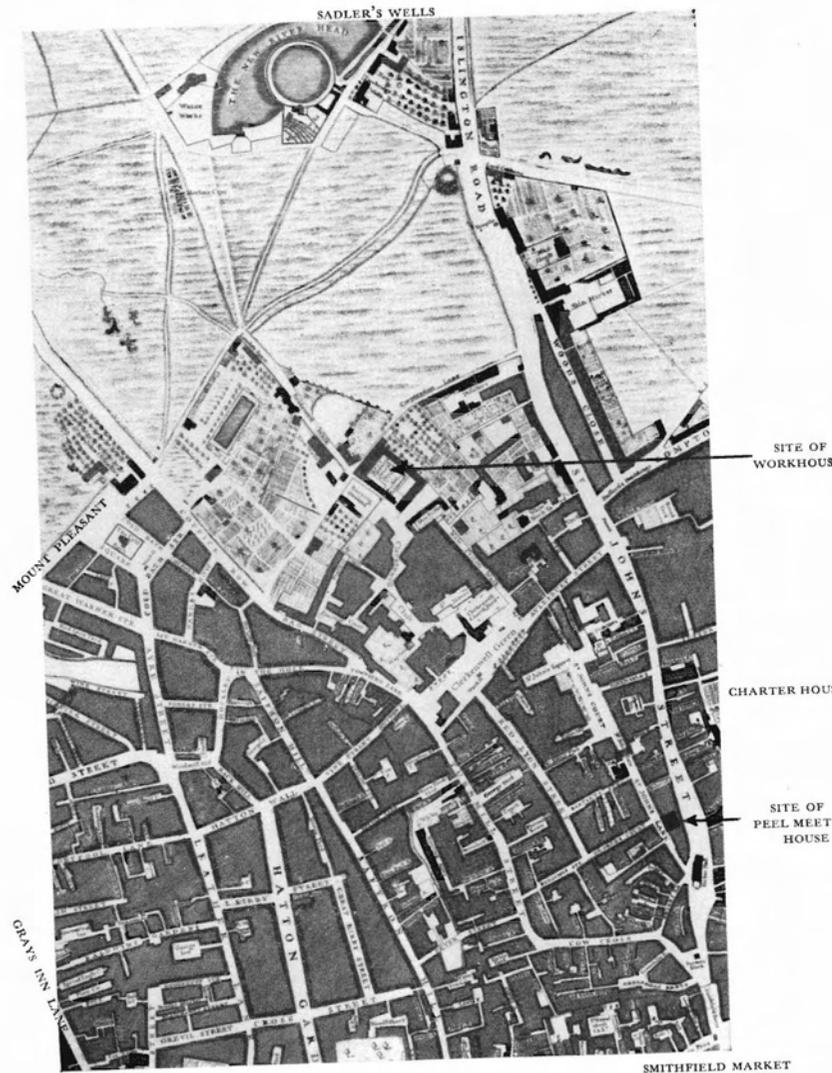
Yet Bellers must have been sad at heart. Instead of

## A PLAN IS SHARED

colonies all over England, here was one solitary result: a scheme, moreover, limited to Friends, whereas Bellers was willing to "Go into the Streets and Lanes of the City, and the Highways and Hedges that the House may be filled." A comprehensive, self-supporting colony had been replaced by a small workhouse, from which children left to work in the world, and to which old people came with their working-life behind them. If "a Virtuous Education" was aimed at, along with a "charitable subsistence of the Disabled," yet the heart of the thing—"a sufficient employment of the Able Poor"—was left out. Bellers may have recognised the valuable qualities of the men who had shared his plan—a common religious faith, a concern to make charity efficient, and a caring fellowship forged in suffering, and for a time he remained close at hand to watch and guide. Was it possible for the Workhouse to be an adventure in compassion, and remain sensitive to new needs?



TITLE PAGE OF JOHN BELLERS' PROPOSALS, 1695



FROM JOHN ROCQUE'S MAP 1747  
 [Site of Islington Road School was to be just off Map to the North]

## *The Experience of the Workhouse*

1702—1774

### THE PATTERN OF LIFE

The buildings had a regular pattern: three sides of a quadrangle, tied together by a high wall. They had been built 40 years before as a workhouse for the parish of Clerkenwell. Rough soldiers—"Kirke's Lambs"—had once been billeted there; for a time the premises were used for a school of industry—a "Colledge of Infants." By 1702, the experiment had failed, and a new experiment began.

The Committee considered the buildings "extraordinarily convenient" for a healthy pattern of life. They were airy and near to the fields—in the courtyard an elder tree bloomed. Hard work could keep the rooms sweet and clean. "Scouring sand," "Rubben Brushes and Birch Brooms" are bought; the local scavenger is paid out quarterly; pots of ale are given to "2 women yt scowered Pewter" and to "the feeble old folks washing the Rooms." A regular order was placed with a Christopher Fox "to Destroy . . . the Vermin," and the work was so "Effectually performed" that "now the Weather grows warm have not found above three Live Buggs." When the swill of local pig-sties caused the "great Ilconvenience of an offensive smell" the Stewards bought "sweet Bryer and Poseys for the Committee Rooms" as though the Friends were judges at the Old Bailey.

### THE PATTERN OF LIFE

The array of windows, opening out on to the quadrangle, meant well-lit rooms. Rising at five in summer and six o'clock in winter, the children made every use of the morning sunlight, but in the evening, when candles were brought in, four had to serve for nearly 50 children at work. An objection to worsted-spinning was its requiring a candle a wheel. The rooms were not always very warm, and fires, being expensive, were rare—even though the children suffered from the cold. In a plea for another serving girl, the conscientious Steward, Richard Hutton, notes that the present girl "dresses (the children's) soare hands and feet in the winter Season, having many of them sore, which business alone generally takes several hours every day."

To most of the children, coming from the cramped housing quarters of Spitalfields, Ratcliff, Southwark or Clerkenwell itself, the rooms of the Workhouse must have seemed pleasantly spacious. There were 46 rooms, of which the largest, 20 feet by 85, was finally used as the boys' dormitory. Within ten years, the new community numbered more than 50; throughout the century numbers were rarely less and not often more than 90; always there were more children than old people, more boys than girls.

The meals were good, even if they had a routine pattern, without motherly extras. The Steward's Cash Books, of which a complete set has survived, show large purchases of meat—beef, mutton, "cow heeles and ox heeles"—together with many kinds of vegetables, and of seasoning—sage, herbs, rosemary, garlick, mustard, pimento, "Jamaco pepper," cloves, "Minte and Marygolds for winter," and "Bay and Peter's Salte to Pickle the Porke."

For all its austerity, life at the Workhouse was very

healthy in comparison with the living conditions of the age. During the hundred and nine years the Workhouse existed, 1,159 boys and girls lived there, of whom 44 died from smallpox and other illnesses. Yet just over half a mile away from the Workhouse, Captain Coram established his Foundling Hospital. During the first 15 years of its life, 1,348 children entered, and the kindly philanthropist, Jonas Hanway, found it very remarkable "that only 724 died in all this time."

At first sight the pattern of life seems formal, all children being treated alike, but a closer look shows the care with which each child was provided for. In 1728, the Workhouse welcomed Scipio Africanus—"a black Boy"; he was looked after as conscientiously as the other boys. Lengths of material were bought to make his coat, waistcoat and breeches, as well as yarn to knit into stockings for him. The girls would help to make these clothes, while Scipio's hat, gloves, buckles, and "a black Perriwig" would be bought from outside, along with knife, fork, spoon and "an Ivory Comb." Each of these latter articles would be marked with Scipio's name, for there was trouble from boys stealing each other's. Perhaps that is how Scipio lost his knife and fork, for he is later bought new ones, as well as a new leather apron. Now and again, the Steward charges Scipio's Monthly Meeting for having "To shav head."

When Elizabeth Gerrard came to the Workhouse in 1713 from her poor home in Ratcliff, lengths of cloth were also bought for her to be made up into bodices, gowns, and petticoats—doubtless with the help of the other girls. She was frequently unwell, and the Steward charged her Monthly Meeting "To cutting an issue," "letting blood 6d.," and "To a perpetual blister." Her father

must have been glad when he received this letter from her:—

*Honoured Parents*

*My duty to you. Hoping you are in good health which Blessing (through mercy) I enjoy at this time more perfectly than I have done in the three or four years last past, for which I desire to be thankful: I present these few lines unto you hoping you will be pleased with my endeavours, who am your dutiful daughter*

*Elizabeth Gerrard*

*Fr<sup>de</sup> Workhouse 18<sup>th</sup> of 3<sup>mo</sup>. 1718*

Throughout the Workhouse story, small acts of kindness to individuals break the regularity of the pattern. Soon after little William Seale came to the Workhouse in 1702, he went sick. For six weeks after, little extras are sent to him: "Ale for Will and she that sat up with him," "a Cake, Metheradate Treacle and ale for Will," and "Calfes foot for William"—as well as ointment for his head, eggs and French Barley. On another occasion, George Barr, the first Steward, "Gave the Boys (Being Pretty good) to incorage them a peny a peece." Again, two guardians once wrote to old John Heywood, who had known the harshness of persecution: "to take some care and notice of little Charles Toovey . . . that he may not do such work as spin mop yarn . . . I have a great

respect for the child." And the fines of Committee members, for non-attendance, were divided out as small gifts to the old people and children.

(ii)

Each day had its own pattern of work and activity. The children helped with all the jobs of the house and kitchen, from the making of beer to the dipping of candles for winter light. The girls were far busier about the house than the boys: it was looked on as a training for their future life as servants. "Two or three or more of ye biggest and most handy of ye girls," declared the rules (1721), "be ready as occasion requires to assist in ye Family, especially at washing times, and ye School Mistress to assist them in getting up hers and their Linnen." They were also to help to clean the rooms. Some of the old people also gave domestic help, perhaps sitting up through the night to nurse their fellows when ill and helping to lay out their bodies at death. In the early days Hutton wrote, "the looking after the Boys linnen, Woolen Cloaths, washing their Rooms, making the Beds and Combing their heads had been . . . done by two of the Antient Women."

The children spent an hour before breakfast, and at least the whole of the mornings, in the workrooms. Work, in all its diversity had been the heart of Bellers' plan, "For at Four or Five Years old," Bellers wrote, "besides Reading, Boys and Girls might be taught to Knit, Spin etc., and bigger Boys Turning etc., and beginning young, they would make the best Artists." William Penn had also stressed the value of children's activities: "Children

had rather be making of tools and instruments of play, shaping, drawing, framing and building than getting some rules of propriety of speech by heart." And the enlightened contemporary, Mr. Locke, had said the same.

At first, local trades were experimented with: weaving, winding Bengal silk, and making thread; but an effort to dispose of a glut of shoe-maker's thread on "the going out of the Next Virginia fleet" was one of several signs that such work did not pay. The work at Clerkenwell quickly narrowed down to the spinning of mop-yarn and a certain amount of oakum picking; such work brought in money for several years, and was a job which even a small boy of seven could do, with "one Bigg Boy and two Little ones Working together."

The girls soon stopped spinning mop-yarn, as it was thought undesirable to have them working in the same room as the boys. Although sewing work might bring in a little more money, Hutton admitted that it was "very difficult to manage ye Girls relating to their Health since they have left ye Stirring Exercise of ye Wheele." They spent a great deal of time in repairing clothes for the family. For a while a sewing mistress was employed to teach them fancy needlework, but this came to an end in 1728. Such needlework did not pay. Besides rich Friends wanted the girls as servants in their homes, their attitude being generally wrapped in moral phrases. "We think," wrote women Friends at the time, "that the educating them in Seamstry of a Nicer sort tends rather to destroy the end proposed, by begetting Apprehensions in them (and probably in their Parents, etc.) that they are qualified for Seamstresses, Gloveresses, Mantua Makers, Quilters, etc. or some business by which they may live at their own

Hands (as they call it) and from whence we apprehend very ill Consequences to arise." In the end, it was economy, and their being poor, which determined the children's work, rather than any ideal of training.

(iii)

"The Body," Bellers had written, "requires more Hands and Legs to provide and support it, than Heads to direct it"; a community needed more farmers, tailors and shoemakers than scholars. The children spent only about two hours every day at school work, learning the rudiments of reading and writing; the boys also learnt cyphering. These were the things "civil and useful in creation" which would help the children to be honest traders and servants. The girls had less book-learning than the boys, and were more liable to be called off to household jobs. The Rules of 1753 show that half the boys spent the mornings in school, and their afternoons in the workroom, and vice versa. The girls still had regular school work only on three afternoons a week, although by then they too, were learning cyphering. None the less, the girls were luckier than most of their contemporaries. This concern to educate girls, even the poorest, helps to explain why Friends had an almost wholly literate membership.

Reading and writing were learnt through Biblical Catechism; the fundamental aim of all learning was religious. Both the technique and the aim were the same as those of the contemporary Charity Schools, except that the catechisms used at the Workhouse set forth a distinctive Quaker interpretation of life. For the most part Barclay's

learned catechism was used, but there were also copies of Freame's, composed for his own children. These works not only set out Quaker beliefs, but suggest recent Quaker experience :—

Q.—"What saith the Apostle of the Righteous undergoing Tribulation?"

A.—"We must through much Tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God.

Yea, and that all that will live Godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer Persecution."

In making learning subordinate to a religious aim, the Workhouse was a distant reflection of the old monastic school.

(iv)

Like a monastery, the community had its moral pattern of life set out in a body of rules. The rules were somewhat piece-meal, added to as occasion arose, but they dominated everybody, from Committee members to the children, and they touched every aspect of life. Nor was anybody allowed to forget them; rules were posted up for all to see and were read out monthly.

Every old person applying for admission had to be of "sober life," "clear of debts," "not under dealing for disorderly conduct," "not in a state of insanity," and "not requiring personal assistance." The rules were read to every entrant, and he or she had to promise to obey them. From the beginning of the day rules also directed the children's lives: "That about the 5th Hour in ye Morning in the Sumer, and ye 6th in ye Winter, or when ye Bell is rung, all the Boys and Girls shall then rise and prepare to work, one hour after which on the second

## UNBROKEN COMMUNITY

ringing of the Bell, they shall appear in the Work-Room—Dress'd with their Faces and hands wash'd, ye Heads Coomb'd, their Cloathes brushed" (1709).

In the workroom, at meals, at play, the rules—embodied in their teachers—watched over the children. They were rarely allowed to go out, except in a group under the supervision of a teacher. After 1729 the children might visit their homes for a week at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, and on three days in between, although many of them lived very near. Needless to say, they were kept from "Reading of Idle, Romanticle and Prophan Books and Pamphlets, that often infect the minds of Youth." They had to be plain in their speech. When the boys went to bed, two "Antient men" slept in the room to keep them in order.

On rising the children must keep silence "to wait upon and Worship God." "It is ordered for the Benefit of ye Family . . . that after the Boys (and girls) are dress'd . . . they read as many Chapters in ye Bible as (the Steward) shall see meet." Sometimes a child was asked to read a passage aloud to his, or her, fellows. The same was to be done on going to bed "which shall be at the 8th hour in the Winter and ye 9th in ye Summer."

Both the kindness and the strictness which the children experienced, drew their strength from this religious concern. This in turn was strengthened by the feeling that as Quakers had suffered for their beliefs, Quaker ways must be preserved in a hostile world.

(v)

If the world was hostile, it was also ready to admire. "Some persons of note," writes Richard Hutton, "did come to visit us, and see the ordering of our family and

## "HEDGED FROM EVIL"

were well satisfied." In 1739, a Mr. Maitland had published a great guide-book, describing all the important places and buildings of London. In it he wrote:—

This House which stands in Bridewell Walk, Clerkenwell, being both an Hospital and Workhouse, it contains Eighteen old Men and Women, who are provided with all the Necessaries of Life in a very clean and decent manner; as are also Forty Boys and Twenty Girls, who besides, are not only taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, but likewise, to inure their young Fingers early to Labour, are taught to spin, sew and knit; and the Boys, when put out Apprentices, have Five Pounds given with each. These Children, who are clothed in very good Cloth and Callimanco's, are not, like other Charity Children, permitted to stroll and ramble about out of School Hours; but when 'tis judged convenient to divert, or air them in the Fields, they are attended by their Masters and Mistresses, therefore have not the least Opportunity of committing any Irregularity.

"Mr. Wesley," wrote one of his friends in 1744, "intended to have gone to see ye Quakers' Workhouse and I with him, but time would not admit. That is said to be ye best to take a Plan from of any in London." Outsiders found much to praise in this pursuit of a fugitive and cloistered virtue.

## "HEDGED FROM EVIL"

*Children "must be hedged from Evil more by wise management than Discourse; as we see Colts are tamed more by it than words."*

(BELLERS.)

This private way of life was not secure from the world. The children played in the winds of their times in spite of all the care of their elders to raise thick hedges to protect them. Against the eastern wall of the Workhouse was a

pleasure-ground called "The Mulberry Gardens." The Committee protested in vain against "the practice of firing Gunns and letting off Fireworks," for the local "swells" enjoyed these things and came to listen to the band.

Some of these people of fashion may still have lived in Clerkenwell Close, where stood the town mansion of the Duke of Devonshire. Only a hundred yards' walk would bring them past the Workhouse and out into the country of Spa Fields. From there they could stroll to the fashionable Sadler's or Bagnigge Wells. The trades-folk of Clerkenwell enjoyed bowls on the green close by the Workhouse, or sitting out at drinks in "The Cherry Tree Tavern."

Many of the inns of Clerkenwell were more wild, and many of the sports more cruel. Cock-fighting was still popular, as well as prize-fighting in Spa Fields. Less than a quarter of a mile away was the notorious Hockley-in-the-Hole Bear Garden, with its duels with scimitars. It was a time, moreover, when violence was common. "Cut-throat Lane" ran along the north wall of the Workhouse; travellers wishing to cross over to Sadler's Wells at night took a link for fear of attack. Not far south lived the "Black Boy Alley Gang," a group of reckless young murderers, who defied the authorities of London for many years during the reign of George II. Hogarth is said to have depicted them in the night-cellar of his series on the Idle and Industrious Apprentice.

The violence of the age was matched by the severity of its punishments. At the end of Bowling Green Lane was a whipping post. Clerkenwell still kept its pillory and people were still tied to a cart-tail and lashed through the streets. Some of the horror of this age of Hogarth was

even nearer: the south wall of the Workhouse was also the wall of a prison, an overflow from the City Bridewell. The place was "full of debauchery and wickedness." Seriously overcrowded, half-starved and condemned to beat hemp, the prisoners were often violent and only restrained by brutal punishments. Friends had been imprisoned there during the days of persecution, and, perhaps that is why "those good people, the Quakers, used to send in to the poor prisoners from their workhouse . . . both meat and broken victuals."

Not all the life of Clerkenwell was this mixture of pleasure and horror. By day the narrow streets and courtyards were busy with trade. The carts bringing in goods from the country districts trundled along the main street, a street which led past Smithfield Market to St. Paul's and Newgate, less than a mile away. So too, the nearby River Fleet flowed down to the Thames, active with trading vessels and small pleasure boats. For the Workhouse was near the heart of a busy city, a London, which was not only the centre of English government, but the home of a vigorous community of merchants, then gaining interests over the whole world.

(ii)

When Richard Hutton sat down in the evenings to write his accounts or draw up some new memorandum for the Committee, he can hardly have been unaware that the Workhouse was part of that society. There were taxes to be paid, as well as the Quarterly Bill for the Watchman, or for the water from the New River Company. The Bills

of Mortality he purchased would tell him of the deaths in surrounding parishes. If a person was very ill in the Workhouse he was sent out to St. Thomas's. Good stewardship exacted a close watch on local trade to see what vegetables were cheap or dear, at what price yarn could be bought or mops sold. Somehow or other the books must be balanced favourably; the strain of some new economic crisis needed to be answered with anxious care.

Nor did the walls keep out the life of the times from the children. They remembered the early experience of their homes: their fathers, being poor tradesmen, would have known times of distress and riot. A visit home or an errand for the Steward, let alone an escape, was a chance to share excitedly with one's fellows what one had seen. From the windows it was possible to pry and glimpse at what was happening in the Mulberry Gardens, or Bridewell Walk, or Cut-throat Lane. As the boys or girls came back from a "guarded" walk, they could see some of London's important buildings: very clear and close was the dome of the new St. Paul's, still unfinished. The old people were good talkers; they could gossip about the colourful and varied lives behind them, and, having a freer access to the streets, could enlarge on the news. The Workhouse had a flavour of the wider world. For a time a Frenchman lived there, and a German from Danzig, while Scipio must have been an especial source of interest. Thus, there were many chances for the children to know something of the hardness of the life outside, and to have absorbed something of its standards through the things they saw and heard. Perhaps they watched with the greater curiosity, because they were so aware of being peculiar and different.

(iii)

Yet, in a sense, the world entered the Workhouse in the most immediate way of all, through the human nature of the children themselves. Even the most concise and formal Minutes let out hints of trouble. The children fought each other with sticks or their fists, cheated at their cyphering, and complained fiercely about their food. Sometimes there seems to have been trouble with boys forming unruly gangs. Once a complaint is made of "some irregular practices committed by some of ye Boys especially some written reflections on ye horstler and mayd." The stewards sometimes had trouble with boys running away and "telling divers notorious lies." Another time the boys broke a hole through the wall into a part of the house that was let out as a tenement, and "layd out money." The old people, moreover, were even more difficult to control, some going out when they wished and without permission, or returning at times "disguised with liquor." Their tongues were the biggest source of unrest—querulous amongst themselves, or giving "hard and reflecting language" to the Steward, they helped create an atmosphere of suspicion and malice. The difficulties this created may be sensed from Hutton's account of Elizabeth Rand.

Elizabeth Rand was one of the old people. She had refused at times to do the work asked of her, and publicly aired her rebellious views. . . . "She talking or rather scolding: both loud and fast in a passionate way of expression, ye Girls being in ye same room at ye same time at Breakfast. . . . And in a very unhandsome manner saith to me holding up her hands in the Publick Workroom: 'My heart pitties these poor Creatures that

are under thy Care for thou will pinch them. . . .  
When the maids dont please Elizabeth Rand she calls them proud Saucy Sluts and saith theyre upheld in it . . . if (the children) do not Speak just as She would have them, She fiercely calls them wicked Lying Children and Saith they are Countenanced in it. . . ." Elizabeth Rand was not the only nuisance among the old folk, which is perhaps why the Committee forced her to give a written promise of good behaviour.

In comparison with the wild gin-drinking workhouses of Hogarth's London, the bad behaviour was extraordinarily mild. Many of the children's escapades can hardly have been more than a natural remedy for relieving the boredom of mop-spinning or Biblical catechism. An enclosed community, with so wide a range of ages and temperaments, inevitably had its conflicts and disputes. Sometimes individuals found themselves defying a pattern of life which failed to answer their need.

Such a cry of need comes from John Gordon's story. John's father was a cordwainer in Ratcliff, one of the districts of London most troubled by economic depression. There were at least five children in the family, three of whom went to the Workhouse. John was the fourth child, and went to the Workhouse in 1712, when he was 12 years old. He found the life there unsympathetic and that there would be little he could look forward to after leaving. The Steward at the time was Richard Hutton. For all his conscientiousness, Hutton shows little sign of understanding or even humour. Carefully writing this account for the Committee, he states:—

Besides several faults too tedious to mention here he (i.e. John Gordon) latly pick one boys pocket of sixpence and another of threepence, and run away and spent it. And at

another time he went to a neighbours and told em he had not victuals enough and desired trust for buns etc. He had then stole a knife and fork from a boy, and one of the House knives and sold em for three halfpence, which when I knew I sent for again. Since, we found a knife in his pocket belonging to the House. At another time he gott a candle over night, and gott up about twelve a clock at night, and took a pain of glass out of the store room window and gott in; from when he took about four pounds of plumb puding; although he, as well as the rest of the big boys, had a full pound for dinner, besides their suppers. And he eat so much in the store room he could not come thence without leaving behind him what is not fitt here to mention. And about a week ago he privatly stole the key of the street door; towards night, we suspected him, and tasked him with it but he confidently denied, with such a countenance, as if he had really been inocent: so that we searched diligently for it a great while, but in vain, which made us very uneasy. However about 5 next morning we went up where he lay and asked him about it again but he denied it; then we made him come out of the bed, and found the key under him. He intended as he confessed to have taken the knives out of the draws and to have sold them with the key. We have since kept him as close as we can, but he has been up dressed in the middle of the night for what intent we do not certainly know, for there is no believing him: so that every day we are in danger of having things stole, and every night of some misfortune or other; for he said openly to the horsler, if any body should fire the (hey) in the stable, he believed it would burn the House, or something to that purpose—and no body knows but he may at one time put such bad thoughts in practice. And if at any time he is corrected for his faults, he cutts his truss and lets down his rupture, so that we find him not only to be a very bad example to the rest of the children, but indeed very unsafe to live in such a house as this.

Had the gates been left open by accident and a young delinquent of Hogarth's London walked in?

(iv)

How did authority answer the situation when any of their rules were defied? One can gain some idea from the rules themselves, from Committee decisions, and from the writings of two men, who, in the early days, were active councillors of the Workhouse—John Freame, and Bellers himself.

The first line of appeal was to the inner conscience of the child. "The Boy," declared the Rules, "which enticeth another into a fault shall receive double punishment; but if he that is drawn into the fault shall confess it, before it be found out, He shall in that case find Favour." A master was to bring a child to this self awareness of his wrong-doing, rather than punish him: the master was to offer a few words, "Kind, Grave and Sober, representing the Unbecomingness of the Fault." "Fear," continues Freame, "which is settled upon a Bottom of Love and Duty is far more durable than that which proceeds from the Fear of Rod and Punishment." This accorded closely with Bellers' own view—"Stripes weakening that Presence of Mind which is needful to a ready Learning."

If these appeals failed corporal punishment was certainly used. The first Steward, George Barr, buys in "a Ratoon for the Boyes id."! While a mother who learns that her boy has been "whipt and beat with a cane" is more bothered to learn what he has done than to complain at the punishment. Severity was necessary for moral reasons; it "being easie," wrote Freame, "to bend a Twig while 'tis Young . . . therefore we should endeavour to break their Wills whilst they are Little, and

as soon as ever they are capable, to make them sensible that Their Wills ought to be entirely subject to ours. . . ." The rod was to be used "when they are obstinate, and wilfully Disobey their Parents or tell a known Lie, or the like." As Bellers had said: "a Rebellious temper must be subdued by Correction (far better be Unlearned than Ill-bred)."

There is little comparison between corporal punishment used in this way and the barbaric punishments inflicted in the Bridewell next door, or on many young people in the homes and schools of the day. Throughout, there were safeguards. "The rod must only be used rarely," wrote Freame, "and for a Great Offence; it ought to be performed with a great deal of Discretion, and that without Anger or Passion." The same idea lay behind the rule that the Steward must be present "if the boys (or girls) stand in need of particular correction."

As well as this sense of restraint, there is a genuine kindness. "Understanding," wrote Bellers, "must rather be distilled, as Children can take it, than drove into them; Grief hurting the memory and disordering the Thoughts of most; Raise a child's Love to what he should learn, by Rewards and Emulation." A teacher, Freame suggests, must guide "in a Gentle, Winning and Persuasive Way, not in the Rough, Rigorous and Severe Method of Blows and Stripes . . . for a school should not be a meer House of Correction, but rather a Place of Delight and Recreation." Here was the kindness which broke the pattern of life, an individual relationship which the framework of an institution could not supply.

The most extreme punishment was expulsion, which also cut a child off from any gratuities. Throughout the whole period 1702-1811, no girls and only three boys were

expelled. One of the three was John Gordon. The Committee minute ran :

John Gordon, a Boy in this House . . . being charged with notorious Ill practices which by his own confession before ye Committee he is guilty of, and he having Long continued in hardness and Wickedness notwithstanding the repeated Endeavours of the Steward for his amendment, but ye same being grown out of hopes the Horstler is now ordered to go forthwith and take said boy home to his father and mother.

This extreme remedy Bellers himself advocated for adults in his original plan, otherwise "it will relish too much of a Bridewell" and "Their ill Company and Example will tend to corrupt the Youth." Bellers was insistent that children should be "hedged from evil." He urged this more strongly because he knew the catastrophies of young people engulfed in the harsh life of the times, outside the Workhouse walls. His desire to protect children is only the outward side of his desire to redeem those who were already victims. No plea of his is more deeply felt :

One considerable Branch of these Poor, are the distress'd Children call'd the *Black Guard*, who are some of the most helpless Part of humane Nature, whose Ignorance and Necessities expose them the most early to all Manner of Immorality and Profaneness, whilst such of them as escape being starv'd with Hunger and Cold, or some rotten or malignant Distemper doth not prevent; after having done many irreparable Mischiefs, frequently supply your Jayls and Gibbets with miserable Malefactors. The longer it is before they are taken care of, they will grow the more numerous, and difficult to be reclaim'd; it not being easy for such who have been accustom'd to do Evil to do good; and as Necessity hath no Law, Hunger will break Stone-Walls; private Persons being afraid to take them out of the Streets. Whilst every day they are neglected, they not only infest the Streets of this City, but it may be the Loss of Souls in another World, and of a useful Posterity in this. . . .

## A SOCIETY IN MOTION

The Workhouse was a busy little society—active, quarrelsome and in movement. As the children looked up from work, or played on the paths of the quadrangle, they would know the excitement of visitors.

Tradesmen came in with the flour, malt, butter and cheese, meat and coals. Sometimes a master may have sent a boy who had been at the Workhouse himself. Perhaps Will Butcher came with the shoes he had helped repair, or Samuel Barnes helped his master bring the coals. Sometimes a new bulk of yarn would arrive, to be carried into the workroom; or boys would be sent out with completed mops to a purchaser.

The girls were in a better position to get to know their customers more closely, when they came with fine clothes to be repaired, or the material from which garments were to be made. Richard Collet came to have eight shirts made; Zachariah Newberry had to pay for "mending six shirts; wrist banding a pair of sleeves." Several Committee members came with orders. Perhaps these Friends watched the girls at their work—making shirts of "Irish" or "fine Holland linen" with or "without tucker"; sewing sheets, table-cloths, or napkins—with an eye to future usefulness. For the Workhouse had many visitors, and the children were part of the movement of life they watched.

(ii)

Out of this parade of important people probably none loomed larger in the interest of the children than the Committee men. In the early days meetings were held as often as once a fortnight, and between times

members of each Monthly Meeting in turn came to inspect. But beyond this close watching of every detail of the House, these men undertook a large share of organisation. During the first decade, for instance, Robert Freame helped with the work of the boys. He enquired of the Bristol workhouse (another Quaker experiment) how their boys achieved "great Earnings," and followed up the suggestion of employing a weaving master; he negotiated with a dealer in mop-yarn, and arranged for Will Seale (the boy who had been kindly treated when ill) to be apprenticed to a local cooper. Legal affairs too, were very much the field of this active man. He helped to examine the lease to see if sheds could be built against the Bridewell wall; he abstracted all the legal decisions into a book for references; he procured "ye Clauses of Such wills as have Left any Thing for ye use of This House." To which activity he added many jobs to help the Steward: obtaining oats and malt at the best price, letting the tenements, or arranging for a Meeting for Worship to be held at the Workhouse. Many other Committee men were to help in equally varied ways.

Yet these busy men had intimate links with the children. Every person in the Workhouse was cared for by a different group of London Friends. Each Committee man would thus have a special interest in the children and old folk who belonged to his own Monthly Meeting. The numbers, moreover, were small enough for this link to be a personal one. For the first few decades there were 30 men on the Committee to 60 people in the Workhouse, though in later years it was 18 men to a community rising towards a hundred. So Elizabeth Gerrard, who needed special treatment; John Gordon, who was expelled; and John Heywood, in prison "longer than any of them,"

would all have had a special interest in the men who came from Ratcliff Monthly Meeting, and they in them. The children probably knew the men by name, and may have seen them at Meeting, when they hoped to have news of their parents.

Committee members must have come into the children's lives with all the stimulus of rich and varied personalities, rousing curiosity by some individual mannerism, charming a child by some small kindness. Unfortunately, little is known of these men, almost 300 strong, who served the Workhouse during the first 70 years or so. One can get glimpses of this diversity through three members from the 'sixties and 'seventies. The most austere of the three was Jacob Hagen (1715-1795). By trade a stave merchant of Bermondsey, he gained the name "Vinegar Hagen," because of his "impatience of contradiction." "He was a tall, well-made man, dressed neatly, and uniformly wore light drab-coloured clothes, with a bushy wig and a large, orthodox, triangular hat."

A more eccentric figure was Thomas Wagstaff . . . "a bulky man, rather above the middle height . . . he wore his own hair, at a time when the heads of other plain Friends, were decorated." By craft he was a maker of long-case clocks (a fine example of his work being still in use in the Dining Hall at Walden). He was also an enthusiastic recorder of the lives of early Friends. And lastly, there was the lovable personality of William Allen, a brewer in Ratcliff Highway: "a venerable old man, whose countenance I loved to contemplate, as the seat of benignity, and innocent cheerfulness." As a Minister, he did not speak frequently, ". . . but I have heard him preach with peculiar pleasure, mild and unassuming, and affectionate." Once again, a merchant,

a craftsman and a tradesman, but each was as different from Freame, Quare and Fairman, as all the members of the goodly company were from one another.

Not all the people who visited the Workhouse were Committee men. From almost the beginning, a few women Friends had been appointed to visit and make suggestions for the bodily health and well being of the children and old people. London Friends also came on their own to spend a warm-hearted hour with some of the family. If book-learning was scanty by modern standards, the children had every chance of the learning which lies in meeting all kinds of people.

## (iii)

These visitors helped to build up the sense of belonging to a large and active Society of Friends. Perhaps the best agent here was the stables. This short-lived scheme for providing a hostelry for the horses of Friends on a religious visit to town meant a lot in the children's lives. They could watch the hostler at work; perhaps sometimes they helped him, though many of his jobs were too skilled for them. Not only did he shoe horses there, but he repaired their harness—providing a new curb or bridle, stuffing a saddle or mending a stirrup leather. Some horses needed closer care: "for medicienss," "Roweling and attending him," "for curing a deep wound in her shoulder," for "corn and beans everyday by his order." An alert child must have found something closely interesting in all this work, just as he would in Daniel Rosier at his shoe-making, or in the old man who kept on his trade of mending watches. The hostlers seem to have been men who loved

to gossip, enjoying the confidences of both the children and the old people, and in their turn being able to share the latest news—who had brought in a horse and what they were doing in town.

Several of the riders had come long distances, from Cumberland or East Anglia, having behind them several days of hard riding. Certainly it was the business of Yearly Meeting which brought Thomas Story to town in May 1715. Only the December before, he had returned after 16 years in the American Colonies, very active years of travelling to Friends' groups as far apart as Boston or Barbados, as well as holding high office in Pennsylvania. He had come a week early to Yearly Meeting to do quiet negotiations among Friends over an issue which divided them—whether they should avail themselves of the right to affirm instead of taking the oath. Story also busied himself in approaching several members of the House of Lords, to press for a legal settlement of this issue.

When his business was finished, he paid his bill at the Workhouse: "To 17 nights 31. 3mo: 17. 4mo. that is 8 at house, 9s. 4d. and 9 at grass 6s. Stuffin a Sadd. 6d. 4 shoes 2s.—17s. 10d." And off he rode to Norwich, sailing within a month from Lowestoft for his travels in Holland, Friesland and Germany.

Much of all this would have been appreciated only by the old folk, but the children could hardly have failed to sense the excitement of events. Even in a stables in a corner of a Workhouse in Clerkenwell one could feel the moving of a keenly alive society struggling for public recognition. The Society of Friends was still a society in motion with a message to deliver, and to the children at the Workhouse it must have seemed that they lived at the centre of it all.

(iv)

The only alternative centre of their Quaker world would have been Peel Meeting House—the scene of much that was exciting, tedious, and entertaining in the children's lives. On their visits there on Sundays and Thursdays, they probably quickly heard of the days of persecution: how informers had sat among Friends, how "ruffian soldiers would rush in and lay about them cruelly with their muskets," dragging many away to prison. Seven hundred and nineteen men and women had been arrested in those days when the children's parents were young. There were, however, more immediate sources of interest—especially the overcrowding. "Some women Friends were much straitened for a conveniency in standing when they have something to declare"; moreover "their backs being towards the men, so that a man and woman sometimes stand up together to speak"! And there were always some troublesome folk to keep things going: there had to be a standing committee "to speak with disorderly preachers," and two Friends were appointed "to keep James Jackson out of the gallery"!

At first the formality may have oppressed: the long uniform rows, the men with their broad-brimmed hats, the women with their bonnets, and all dressed in quiet-coloured clothes. Children would quickly learn to pick out the people who came into their lives at the Workhouse: Richard Claridge, who had been the central figure in the trial which helped to vindicate Friends' right to teach; John Skelton, who the year after Story's visit had himself travelled 1,660 miles on a journey of Ministry; Mary Elson, who had been a "mother in Israel" in the days of persecution, caring for the "prisoners for truth's sake."

These, and many of their fellows were the men and women whose lives made Quaker history—people whose convictions had been put to the test. If such conviction carries with it a compelling power of its own, then their Ministry is likely to have had a power which children would feel, even if they did not understand. The people who gave Ministry, would often have come from distant corners of England, or even from abroad, bringing news of many Quaker groups, of their difficulties and achievements. The Peel Meeting may have helped to develop in the children a sense of belonging to something which linked them all together: boys and girls, the Stewards, the Committee members, the old people, the men who bought the mops, the tradesmen who came to the Workhouse, the riders on horse-back, of belonging to something which linked them with men across the Channel or in the distant lands of New England, as well as with their parents and those for whom they would go to work.

(v)

Friends remained a minority within English society—itsself a society in motion, busy and growing. Committee members had always been active in trade. By the middle of the century they were prominent in a variety of ways: Benjamin Bartlett was a Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries; John Fothergill and Gilbert Thompson—both doctors to the House—took a leading part in founding the London Medical Society.

No Friend could enter Parliament, but Committee men were not without influence on public affairs. David Barclay was examined at the bar of the House of Commons on the affairs of the American Colonies. "We derived

more knowledge from him," declared Lord North, "than from all others on the east of Temple Bar." The early months of 1775 found Barclay and Fothergill in earnest negotiations with Benjamin Franklin, attempting to avert the catastrophe of war. Out of the deputations which in the following years pleaded with George III for peace, there was hardly a man without close contacts with the Workhouse. To the older children events in English society had the closest relevance to their lives, for they were soon to go into the thick of its movement to live and work.

### SERVICEABLE IN THEIR GENERATION

*" . . . the advantage of such a careful nurture and Education as would tend to make them Serviceable in their generation, there being doubtless divers poor Children who have excellent Capacities and want a proper Education and Learning, which as far as it is necessary to most common traders is carefully bestowed on them here. . . ."*

(Committee Report to London Friends, 1718.)

When 14 years old, the boys and girls stepped out into the life of London. The City, the busy banks of the Thames, the crowded suburbs, all became the new scene of their lives.

Bellers had pleaded for a community that was to be "an Epitomy of the World, by a Collection of all the useful Trades in it." At least, the children went out to a wide range of jobs, which served the basic needs of man—clothing, housing, and a variety of handwork and shops.

The only main exception to Bellers' wish is that no children worked on the land—except for two boys who went to gardeners. Most of the girls became servants; most of the boys in the years before 1774 went to tailors, shoemakers and weavers. Hogarth's picture is neither of Workhouse boys nor of a Quaker master, but it shows the trade which 45 of them entered.

The Women Friends, as has been said, did not want the girls to become "seamstresses, governesses, mantua-makers, quilters, etc."; they had stopped them from learning fancy needlework. The boys in turn were shut out from entering the world of trade and science for which the Grammar School education of the time might have fitted them. Few of the trades which the boys entered need a difficult training.

Even when the boys entered a skilled trade, it is unlikely that they learnt the more intricate processes. The watch-making trade, for instance, was highly sub-divided: a simple and distinct process could be carried out by an isolated worker in his garret—most of the 7,000 workers in Clerkenwell would be of this kind. The Workhouse boys are likely to have carried out these more elementary tasks. Sometimes the records state—"watch plate enameller," "watch movement maker," or even "Hour Glass Maker." It is significant that no boy was apprenticed to any of the leading Quaker watchmakers, even though Wagstaffe and Quare were on the Committee. The masters and mistresses of the girls were also not among the richest households; hardly one went to the home of a wealthy Committee member.

The children, however, were saved from the "mean occupations." A few boys went to tallow-chandlers, one to a slop-seller, one to a japanner, but no one became a

chimney sweep or a link boy. The girls never undertook the rough work of some eighteenth-century women—street sellers or scavenging. The recipe throughout for boy or girl was useful, hard work; trades which were respectable, using one's hands, and without a trace of social ambition.

George Fox—the founder of the Society of Friends—had himself been a shoemaker; among his early followers were many artisans and humble tradesmen. By the middle of the eighteenth century, John Woolman found himself upholding the ideal of the handworker, against Friends who had become rich and important in the life of their times. The trades which the Workhouse children entered suggest how large a group of humble workers the Society still embraced. If many of the Committee members were rich and upheld class differences, they also kept alive Fox's spirit of caring for young people, when they began their work in the world.

(ii)

Care the Workhouse boys and girls certainly needed; London was a cruel and difficult place.

Something of the toll of sickness and death can be seen from the Gordon family. John, the lad who was expelled, died at the age of 20 from dropsy, his father having died from a fever a month before, aged 58. A few years later, his brother George died from consumption in his early 'thirties. During the ten years that followed, his sister Elizabeth seems to have lost two of her children in infancy, while his brother William certainly lost his two daughters before they were three years old.

This story of sickness partly reflects the dangerous and uncertain conditions of work. Many trades were more

affected by seasons and weather than they are to-day, and there was little control of disease. London life was also disturbed during the eighteenth-century by the "dislocating transitions from peace to war."\* No boys could have been more aware of this than the weavers in Spitalfields. Few London trades suffered more from periods of distress and the ills of irregular work. No wonder that riots broke out there. No wonder, too, that Hogarth (as the name on the jug shows) chose it as the scene of his picture.

This picture, and the series of which it is a part, "were calculated," said Hogarth, "for the instruction of young people." Friends were equally aware of the moral dangers of London. The London of Hogarth's idle apprentices knew a hooliganism and a delinquency far greater than today: the "Black Guard," who raised Bellers' compassion; the "Black Boy Alley Gang" in Clerkenwell; the lawless youth, who fought against those of other parishes. Even under a Quaker master, the life of an apprentice was peculiarly open to frustration. During his agreed term, a child might be driven hard on uninteresting work, and with very little of the responsibility his rising years deserved. And there was no security that he would be able to establish himself in the world.

The difficulties were real both for girls and boys. Within the life of the Society, they would continue to know both its material care and its moral discipline, equally with all other young people; but in some ways the Workhouse boys and girls seemed to receive especial care.

\* *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, by Mrs. D. M. George, gives an excellent picture of the life of poor apprentices. She quotes at one point from the reports "Disease in London," by Dr. Robert Willan, who gave his services as physician to the Workhouse from 1785 to 1810.

(iii)

The first step was to find a good master or mistress: they must be honest and sober Friends, ready to be conscientious in their care of young people. At the same time, the child must like his work and master. From the first, children went out "upon liking," "and if he does not settle to receive him in again." Twenty-three boys were helped in this way; one boy came back twice; a few changed trades at a later stage. In some cases a child seems to have been adopted by a Friend. The little deaf and dumb lad was kept in the Workhouse as a servant.

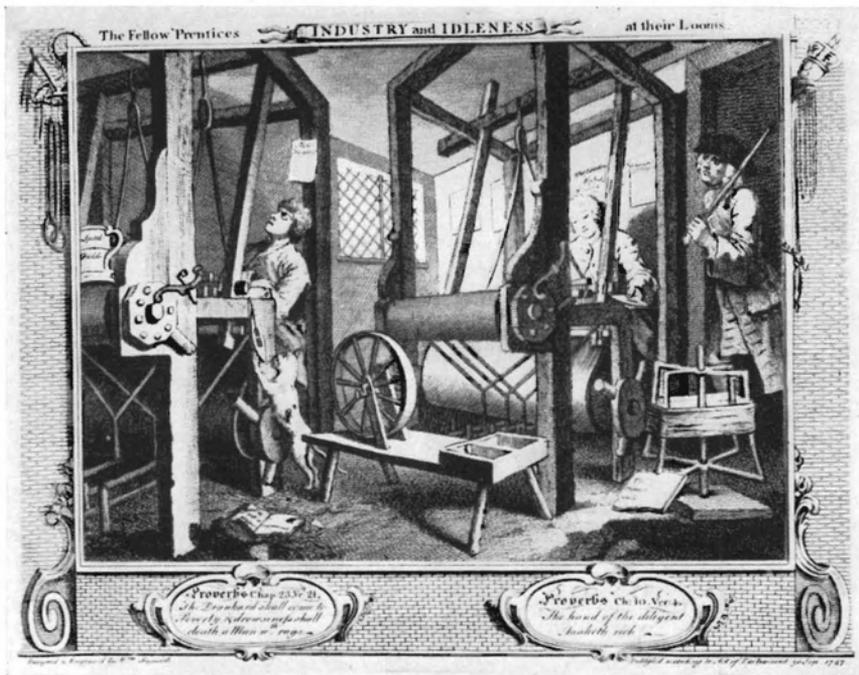
When the boys, and the few girls, were set to a trade, legal indentures were drawn up. The fee given was £5; the agreed term was seven years. The treatment of apprentices in the eighteenth century was often cruel; Quaker children were lucky in having a vigilant society behind them. William Gordon, for instance—the brother of John who was expelled—worked for a master who also kept a victualling house. Instead of teaching the boy his trade, the master often employed him in drawing and serving the beer. Friends from Ratcliff Meeting were appointed to go and enquire. The master made promises. Still the boy was taken from his work to draw beer. The Friends came back three months later, and changed him over to a new master. Sometimes a personal disagreement arose between a master and a boy; again Friends would be appointed by the Monthly Meeting to visit. When for instance, young Thomas Gains had an argument with his master, John Oxden, and left him, Ratcliff Friends sent William Sanders to make the peace. He did this successfully and Thomas returned. Every year the local Monthly Meetings were told which boys and girls had come to

work within their area. They were expected not only to look after the behaviour of the children, but also to see that their master or mistress kept them well fed and supplied with clothes.

At every point this provision is superior to that given to the parish-workhouse children. This was still true even after the efforts of Hanway and others had achieved the Act of 1767, which laid down that no child should be apprenticed beyond the age of 21, and that the minimum fee should be £4 2s. Many parish overseers, in fact, were glad to get children off their hands to any unscrupulous master, but the essence of the Workhouse Committee's attitude was watchfulness. In many ways the name "workhouse" is misleading; the truer comparison is with the efficient Charity Schools organised by the S.P.C.K. Many of these also offered a £5 fee with a child, and the range of work undertaken is similar. One suspects that the Workhouse children may have had a more individual watch taken over them; the small numbers and the close-knit nature of London Friends gave every opportunity for this. It is as though the communal caring, which the children had experienced in the Workhouse, continued unbroken for another seven years of their lives.

(iv)

The hope was that by then they would be established in their work, and become active Friends themselves. One cannot find any of the children becoming prominent in the Society of Friends, though closer search might find them giving quiet service in the life of Monthly Meetings. The only boy who became a well-known and loved figure at Yearly Meeting was William Rickman, who was at the



WEAVING APPRENTICES IN SPITALFIELDS  
 [Plate I of Hogarth's series: "Industry and Idleness," 1747]



"A rural villa surrounded by pleasure-grounds" (Malcolm)  
 THE SCHOOL IN ISLINGTON ROAD

Workhouse from 1752-1759. After leaving, he was in America for 16 years and, on returning, he kept a school at Rochester. If a boy ran away, he gave him an hour or two's start for the sheer pleasure of the pursuit in a post-chaise. He also travelled widely in the Quaker ministry in Europe, England and America. Nor did he forget the Workhouse: for a time he taught there, and occasionally he let a boy come on afterwards to his school.

It was not to be expected that the children would grow wealthy. Instead, one finds several boys establishing themselves in a little business, as clog-maker, patten-maker, or hatband maker, and then taking in Workhouse boys and girls as apprentices. Links were made between boys and girls by marriage. James Lammin, for instance, was at the Workhouse from 1722 to 1728. He came from St. James, Clerkenwell, but gained work as an ironmonger in Queenhithe. In 1737 he married Lydia Davis at the "Bull and Mouth" Meeting House. Lydia had been at the Workhouse from 1721 to 1724, but had stayed on to work as a seamstress. Two years later, in 1739, they took on a Workhouse girl, Mary Hall, as a servant. Then in 1742, it seems that James was the "James Lammin" who became schoolmaster at the Workhouse for 17 years, for little more was asked of a schoolmaster than literacy.

The way young men themselves took in Workhouse boys as apprentices is one of several signs of gratitude for their own life there. One boy, James Hill, paid back to his Monthly Meeting £7 10s., being the money they had spent on him when a boy at the Workhouse. More than that, "he hath commendably and voluntarily added the lawful interest to this sum (making the total £10.14.0) which this meeting kindly accepts." And young Thomas

Sands sent this charming letter of thanks to Richard Hutton in October, 1718:—

Kind Steward,

These are to acquaint thee that I am safe arrived at my Uncles House where I was kindly received my love to thee and thy wiffe also to all the friends of the Committee and to my Master that taught me to write my love to all the antient friends and all the children of the workhouse which were my school fellows and I should be very glad to heare of any of their welfare as well as for my own I thank thee and the Committee for all I have Received My Uncle is about placing me at Exeter to Auther Purchas a Tucker I am in all due respects thy Friend.

## *Friends With Ideas*

In 1774—a year of great unrest in the American Colonies—the Workhouse could look back on over 70 vivid years of life. As the years passed by, there had been many small improvements—better clothing for the children, shorter and more regular hours of work, a new row of windows along the east side of the house. Something of the early sense of urgency had gone; the days of persecution were far distant. Often the community had had to struggle against severe difficulties of money. The interest of the story, however, lies in there always being men who kept alive the sense of experiment: men of ideas, who wanted to mend and change. From the best friends of the Workhouse, we learn about its faults.

Schooling for children had not been the first aim of the Workhouse, but it soon became one of its main features. In 1707, there had been a proposal to add a boarding-school. The idea was dropped, but several of the suggestions made at the time were repeated with greater cogency by Bellers to London Friends in 1718.

The Workhouse, he argued, should be enlarged in numbers and should become a boarding-school for less wealthy Friends; not for the poor only, but also for those who would gladly contribute a little towards the costs. The activity should be enriched by “all Sorts of Learning and Languages,” “A Library” and “all Sorts of Handicraft Trades.” Further, the name ought to be altered to “Colledge” which “bespeaks a more Liberal Education.” This change of name would both encourage more Friends to send their children there, and stress the importance of educated Friends to English society . . . “since we are

become a considerable Body in the Nation, there is a Duty incumbent on this Body, to exert itself in all Christian offices to propagate Vertue, Charity and Piety among men; Good examples being more convincing than Precepts.”

Unfortunately his proposals are now more interesting as prophecy than achievement. A broadening of the membership of the “Colledge” would have helped to remove the idea that the poorest children needed very little book-learning. Greater emphasis on “useful learning” would have added interest to the humdrum lives of the school-teachers. As things stood, their frequent coming and going was a weakness of the community.

Other men had also taken a personal interest in the children’s school work. Of especial significance was the interest of John Fothergill, who was doctor to the Workhouse from 1747 to 1765, and knew its life intimately. On one occasion in 1757 he gave some copies of John Jeffery’s “Addresses” and “Piety Promoted,” desiring the steward to “encourage ye reading of (the books) amongst ye children and order them at times to transcribe some passages out of them” and bring to the Committee for inspection. In 1760 Fothergill brought an important report on education before Yearly Meeting, and in 1779 he helped to found Ackworth School. It was against this background of a renewed concern for education throughout the whole Society of Friends that the most sustained attempt to improve the Workhouse was to take place.

(ii)

Handwork had always been part of the educational ideal, just as it was in the contemporary “Schools of Industry.” In Bellers’ original plan, boys and girls

would have learnt the whole art of service or a trade, by working alongside the adults in the busy life of the community. Instead, as the Workhouse boys fingered out more yarn and girls threaded yet another needle, they were not learning a skill and could have had only a vague feeling that they were helping the profits of some impersonal thing called "the House."

An attempt to improve this was the proposal of 1712 to turn the Workhouse into "a manufactory for the regular employment of the poor," for children and adults—one of the several proposals before Bellers' death in 1725 which reflect his active personality. The idea was not taken up, nor were several other suggestions to introduce new kinds of work—especially cotton, worsted and linen spinning. Hutton has careful memoranda to explain why these would not pay.

John Fothergill saw farther. He wanted to see the children's work related to their jobs in the world. In 1758, he was allowed to undertake a scheme whereby "ye Labours of the Children might be rendered much more conducive to their future benefit and to the advantage of the House than ye business they have hitherto been engaged in." He offered to pay for any losses—a promise which he generously kept in 1761, by paying £30, although he was convinced that the accounts were wrongly drawn. It is not clear what the scheme consisted of, though a training in the local industry of weaving seems to have been part of it. In 1765, just before Fothergill resigned, a project was undertaken of knitting nets—a Thomas Bradshaw of "Fish Street Hill" promising to teach the children the craft and supply the twine.

Problems remained unsolved. How could young children perform work which was both intricate, suitable

to their ability, and profitable? How could the time needed for work and training be reconciled to the demands of book-learning? These were the rocks on which many eighteenth-century experiments in "Schools of Industry" had foundered. In 1774, the Workhouse was on the eve of vigorous years of reform. The conflict of work and learning was never really solved; for in attempting to reform the Workhouse the community was to become a school.

(iii)

"Too few of the youth educated therein," said Fothergill, "have turned out useful and respectable members of society." This is less a reflection on the Workhouse, than on the oversight of the children afterwards. For all the care taken in setting up children in careers, there were certain serious weaknesses. Nobody saw this more clearly than Timothy Bevan, the apothecary of Plough Court Pharmacy (now Allen & Hanbury's). In 1746 Timothy Bevan drew up "An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Friends' School and Workhouse"—a short pamphlet which had the full support of the Committee. He centred his criticisms on the £5 apprentice fee: "It is with great difficulty that Persons of suitable Trades and Characters can be procured to take (the children) for so inconsiderable a sum. . . . They are either put out to Such whose Trades are less suitable; or they are placed in Families merely as Servants, without a Possibility of acquiring a Trade, whereby to provide a comfortable Subsistence for themselves as a Family: Or lastly, They are placed with such whose Characters are less agreeable, and by this means they are in danger of losing the Fruits of a sober and virtuous Education." He

advocated the raising of a fund so that the apprentice fees could be raised from £5 "to a sum not exceeding £20." He also recommended that every boy should be given £10 at the end of his apprenticeship "to purchase him Tools, etc." and that each girl "at the Age of Twenty One Years, be entitled to a Sum more or less, as their Characters appear to deserve it."

Bellers and Fothergill had often found little support for their criticisms, but Bevan's at once gained the support of the Committee, and his proposals were ultimately achieved. His fund grew, and by 1774 the money available included three main bequests: £500 from Samuel Brewster, £100 from Cornelius Taylor and the legacy of Devereaux Bowley. Bowley was well enough known to have the details of his will published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* :—

. . . £6000 to the London Hospital; £6000 to the Quakers' charity school, Clerkenwell; £300 to St. Luke's Hospital; £1800 to St. Thomas's; and £500 to each of the Quakers' Meetings in London.

There were, of course, smaller amounts given by the many friends of the Workhouse. When in 1774 the years of vigorous reform began, Friends were lucky to have such resources at hand.

(iv)

Several far-sighted proposals for reform had failed, because of the attitude of Committee Friends to economy—the Workhouse, they insisted, must pay its way.

Here the Clerkenwell Workhouse had a more fortunate experience than most of its contemporaries. The early years of the eighteenth century had seen an enthusiasm to introduce manufactures into the old poor-houses—the very reason why the name "workhouse" grew up. This

way of making benevolence self-supporting had been eagerly taken up by many large towns. The workhouse idea seemed a modern answer to the problem of poverty. By at least the middle of the century, hopes had been blighted. The long aftermath was to be seen in the hated workhouses which Crabbe and Dickens condemned.

"The Friends' School and Workhouse" developed in a very different way, but for many years Committee members had exactly the same attitude to poverty. Bellers himself was very much a child of his age in this. London Friends, moreover, had very good reasons for economy. When the Workhouse began they were in a critical financial position: the period of persecution had seriously taxed their resources. For the next 60 years or more, Friends' attempts to care for their own members were achieved only in the face of severe difficulty. No period of years was more difficult for the Workhouse than the 'fifties, which was just the time when London Friends themselves were most seriously in debt.\*

Friends' attitude to money was understandable, but it has been seen how many of the weaknesses of the Workhouse were the result of this economy, especially the humdrum nature of the children's work. Another symptom of trouble was the Committee's jealousy of other schemes of philanthropy. From 1727 a cautionary minute was read to every new member of the Committee, warning him against divulging "any part or branch of the trade of this House," to any outside person.

It is difficult to date improvement. The 'sixties and 'seventies certainly see the Workhouse once more making a profit on its sales. Mrs. George—the historian of

\* A full discussion of the financial problems of the Workhouse and of London Friends can be found in *London Friends' Meetings*, by Beck and Ball.

London—considers this period to be one of improvement in social conditions throughout London: the Workhouse would benefit from this, just as it had been the victim of periods of distress, when no market could be obtained for the mop-yarn. One suspects also that the attitude of Friends to poverty was slowly changing: the feeling that the life and training of children was of first importance, not the profits from their work. In the reforms of the 'seventies, the children came first.

This hopeful attitude had been built up over many years by far-sighted friends of the Workhouse: Bellers, Bevan and Fothergill all pleaded for a fuller life for the children. It is unfair to forget the many people who made such an attitude possible: the individuals who made generous gifts, the Committee men who struggled over long years with the hard problems of the Workhouse finances.

(v)

From the beginning the Committee had always had an answer to difficulties—stricter discipline. Nothing had been more ceremoniously carried out, since the first decade, than the reading aloud of the rules, and the exacting of a promise to keep them, from every entrant, man or woman, boy or girl. In the difficult years of the 'fifties when the Workhouse was running at a loss, several Committee members feared that the life of the community was too lax, that not enough work was being done. So in 1753 a new set of rules was drawn up.

One of the men who helped with this was Thomas Corbyn. Corbyn was an apothecary, active in the business affairs of London Friends; he had once served on a deputation to George III. A contemporary said he was

“a stern disciplinarian and noted in being clad in drab from top to toe,” refusing to listen to any reason in opposition to a rule of the Society. Corbyn represented an attitude that was becoming widely shared in the Society of Friends—the feeling that Quakerism could only survive by a strict orthodoxy. Such a viewpoint was austere, but was compatible with a genuine social interest; it was the Quaker counterpart of the Evangelical movement. Throughout the reforms of the 'seventies not a little of their vigour sprang from this moral concern.

(vi)

Criticisms of ill-discipline always hinted at the laxity of the steward and his wife. Actually bad stewards were rare. Samuel Trafford (1709-1711) left the cash-books in chaos, and had sailed from the Downs for America before the Committee members could contact him and get satisfaction. But he was probably more happy-go-lucky than a rogue in any way. The “Idle and disorderly Behaviour of many of the Boys” was especially complained of, when George Reynolds (1737-42) was Steward. He had several disputes with the school master; a few old people were guilty of pawning sheets and returning “disguised in liquor.” In the end, Reynolds and his wife were dismissed for re-engaging a servant in defiance of the Committee. Even then Reynolds wanted to know in writing, why he and his wife had been asked to go. The Committee “unanimously” agreed “That it was not only for this repeated disregard of the Committee’s orders, but, also, for the haughty and imperious Temper of the Stewardess, which neither private entreaty, nor long forbearance were able to soften, much less subdue.”

There was much to be said for an "imperious Temper." The stewards were carefully directed by the Committee; at every point there were standing minutes to be obeyed. When the Committee made a decision—and its decisions touched every detail of workhouse life—Friends watched carefully that it was carried out. The representatives from each Monthly Meeting in rotation were appointed as visitors for the month: it was their duty to scrutinise everything, from the petty cash-book to the kitchen.

Some of the remedies put forward by the stewards (especially the conscientious Richard Hutton) suggest the hasty answers of men who were struggling against a very difficult situation. Anxious rules against gossip and whispering are side by side with suggestions for keeping the old people strictly separated from the children, the boys from the girls. One can find such rules being noted down by Hutton in his "Complaints Book," before they are adopted almost in the same form by the Committee at a future meeting. Sometimes Hutton shows anxiety lest he should be losing control, and appeals to the Committee. He writes: "We desire the Committee, would please to use their authority in discouraging such disorderly Spirits so resolutely bent; if their wasteful humours are not answered . . . (will) run down and make void all manner of Government in the family." Even Hutton's formal style cannot hide the underlying human fears: he jots down for his personal use some advice against losing one's temper; he is clearly hurt at the complaints that he and his wife are not giving the old folk enough to eat, and that he is over-working the children. He was so pleased with a boy's letter of thanks that he copied it down in his book.

No one can read Hutton's "Complaints Book" or the

long lines of large account books, without feeling that the stewards were very faithful in their trust. Each detail was noted down with exact care; the expenses of every child and old person were drawn up in a detailed list to be given to his or her Monthly Meeting. The stewards had a most unusual family to look after. "Our Family have Consisted generally speaking of a sort of dissatisfied Persons very unfitt for a Community." That the family ran as smoothly as it did was largely due to their conscientious service.

The stewards had always found that the most troublesome members of their family were the old folk—especially those who paid for such extra privileges as a room to themselves, or of having meals with the Steward. The old people, Committee members said, were a bad influence. In 1702 the first concern of London Friends had been to care for their weaker members—old people and poor children. By 1774 Friends had come to see that the needs of the two groups were incompatible. What mattered, moreover, was not the poverty of the children, but that they were children who demanded in their own right to be trained for their lives ahead.

So often the faithful Steward, Treasurers and Committee members felt that their efforts were unavailing. Through these men and women the Workhouse had carried on its service during 70 strenuous years. The ideas of Bellers, Fothergill and other Friends seemed to have been passed by unheeded. In 1774 there was a concern, shared by London Friends, that a new purpose and vigour should be given to the Workhouse. Above all, everyone agreed that the children should come first.

## *First the Children*

1774—1811

### NEW LIFE IN A NEW HOME

In 1774, 12 years of vigorous reform began. Sometimes the Quarterly Meeting took the initiative, sometimes the Committee. Never before had changes crowded so closely together.

In 1774 the Quarterly Meeting asked Monthly Meetings "to visit from time to time" the children put out from the Workhouse as apprentices and servants, "to advise as they see occasion and to make report." In 1775 the Quarterly Meeting set up a committee to make a complete revision of the Workhouse rules, and to enquire into the state of apprentice fees, making new recommendations as to their amount. In 1776 the Workhouse Committee were requested to draw up "some suitable instructions to leavers." In 1777, a new Bill of Fare was drawn up. The advice of the women visitors was seen also in a fixed scale of prices for the girls' needlework: marking was to be done at "a halfpenny a letter, a farthing a figure," the money to be kept by the girls, "who were to leave the Workhouse, with the gift of a deal box, equipped with lock and key." In the same year the salary of the stewards was increased from £40 to £50, of the schoolmaster from £25 to £30, of the schoolmistress from £15 to £20. There was more enthusiasm than system about these reforms. Another decision of 1777 was that any certificate for a gratuity must have the approbation of the local Monthly Meeting in which the child was working.

### NEW LIFE IN A NEW HOME

Moreover, by 1778, the children were getting the benefit of the newly-suggested scale of apprentice fees. An apprentice fee of £15 was to be given with the boys, and to it £5 was to be added after three years. The girls placed out as servants were to receive a gratuity of £1 at the end of each of the first three years. Girls "who through bodily infirmity or other reasonable causes, are improper to be placed out as servants, may be bound apprentices" to suitable work. At the end of their time, boys were to receive a gratuity of £15 to set themselves up in business, and the girls were to be given a marriage portion of £20. Timothy Bevan's efforts had borne good fruit.

The years 1778 and 1779 saw special scrutiny given to the proposed advice to leavers and the drafting of the new rules. The correction of the rules alone took the time of one Quarterly Meeting and of three adjourned meetings. This publication in the early months of 1780 was the key-stone of reform for those who emphasised the value of a guarded education for youth. Never before had the Workhouse printed rules.

In April of the same year, a gift of £200 from the Quaker merchant, John Eliot, was spent in buying books for leavers: 12 copies were bought of Barclay's *Catechism*, Penn's *Advice to his Children*, and Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, John Woolman's tract *God's Protecting Providence*, and Field's *The Fear of God*. The value of good books was also stressed four months later in Fothergill's gift of 14 copies of an abstract of Dean Percy's *Key to the New Testament*, which Fothergill had drawn up for the use of Ackworth pupils.

In August 1780, two Friends reported to the Committee that they "have called on John Dutch, Silk Throwster in Spitalfields, who expressed his readiness to lend all

Assistance in his power both in providing Engines and sending a suitable person to instruct the Boys in Winding Silk." From the viewpoint of later history, however, the most significant event of 1780 was the examination of the children, "relative to their progress in learning," by the Committee, with the help of John Fothergill, Gilbert Thompson, and Robert Howard. This Day of Judgment became an annual event, growing in importance with every new emphasis on school-work—a check on teachers as well as pupils.

The early 'eighties saw no pause in the good work; the masters of the apprentices were not let off. The Committee refused to pay the apprentice fees of two boys to Joseph Talwin, "citizen and dyer of Bromley Hall," because he "hath omitted to cause the said apprentices to be enrolled, for want of which the binding is understood not to be legal, which puts it into their power to leave him at pleasure, and in consequence of which one actually did leave him . . .," in short, "an omission . . . injurious to the safety of youth."

In 1782 the Committee also decided to go farther afield to find good masters for the boys and girls, ". . . considering that suitable masters and mistresses are not always found readily amongst Friends in this City for all the Children," consequently, "there is a Danger sometimes that Friends may be induced to take up with such, whose Conduct is not enough exemplary for them to have Youth placed under their Care, and likewise that it may be of advantage to the children, some of whose parents may not be good Exemplars, to be situated at a Distance from them." The schoolmaster also experienced the new broom. In 1782, being "charged with reproachful conduct, seven Friends . . . deputed . . . to come to

the House and direct the Steward to discharge him." Thus the scrutiny of the Committee was brought to bear on every aspect of the life and on every member of the Community.

The crowning achievement, however, remained—a new home for the children. In 1786 this great move took place, and the boys and girls went to the attractive house which had been prepared for them, half a mile away along the Islington Road. The old people remained at Clerkenwell, until they too gained a new home at Plaistow. Although (for reasons of the expense of two establishments) the old people came over to Islington in 1792, they were kept strictly apart from the children, in a separate new wing. They grew fewer in numbers and finally left in 1811. The children had gained a life of their own, and the ground had been cleared for the future development of a school.

## (ii)

The ground had been cleared through this busy work; the following years were to see results. The spectacular gain was the new home on the Islington Road. The learned topographer, Malcolm, described it as a "very commodious building . . . the whole occupying a very large space of ground. . . . The outside has the appearance of a rural villa, surrounded by pleasure-grounds, gardens and trees. It is not only a House of Industry, but also a Meeting House . . . also a Charity School for boys and girls. It is sufficient to have mentioned that this belongs to and is occupied by Quakers, to convey to the mind of the reader an idea of the most perfect cleanliness, order and decorum. . . . The ceilings are remark-

ably high, the windows large, and the rooms airy; it may truly be said of these people, who appear like a distinct race of mortals, when compared with the rest of mankind, that whatsoever their hands find to do, they literally do it with all their might."

One wonders how far this admirable good order was helped by the revived attentions of women visitors. One remarkable woman, Hannah Plumsted, served in this way for 18 years (1784-1802): "an excellent woman," wrote Jenkins, "of great piety and benevolence—being blessed with ample means, her charitable ideas were many. She was an Elder of London." Elizabeth Fry undertook this service for five years (1805-1810). Epidemics of scarlet fever and "Scald Head" (ring-worm) made this a somewhat anxious period for the health of the children and led to new health measures—a new Bill of Fare, the creation of the office of housekeeper, and a decision that each child was to be inoculated. Elizabeth Fry would almost certainly have shared in such discussions, and those concerning the system of prizes for needlework. Nor did she break her links in 1810, but came back later on examination days and subscribed £10 for Croydon School. More and more women were to play an active part in the affairs of the household and of the girls.

The reforms also gave the chance for boys and girls to lead a more interesting life in the world outside. The children now went to work in many counties of England, not least to Yorkshire: five boys in the 'eighties and 'nineties went to Sheffield cutlers, and one to a Huddersfield clothier—a sign perhaps that the vigorous policy was enabling boys to enter usefully into the new stream of industrial life, instead of providing cheap mass labour, as the children from the parish workhouse were beginning

to do. And lastly, it was no accident that the list of masters and mistresses now included members of well-known and wealthy Quaker homes and firms: Townsend and Compton, the fashionable pewterers and tin-foil beaters; Sampson Lloyd of Birmingham; and not least, the home and shoe-shop of Thomas Shillitoe. Shillitoe tested every step of his life by deep inner searchings. In this way he felt led to become a simple shoemaker, later to travel in Europe—pleading with drunks, visiting prisons, and preaching before kings, "like a cork on the ocean," he said, "wafted hither and thither as the Spirit of God should blow."

A person of the same intense piety as Shillitoe was Sarah Lynes Grubb. She came as a girl to the Workhouse the year after the printed rules came into force, when strictness was the rule. She was born in Wapping. Her father died when she was six, leaving a large family in difficulty. Sarah's years at Clerkenwell and Islington were not happy ones; they show in her a precocious piety. She occupied herself by reading the Bible and the Quaker books in the library. When 13 years old, it is said, she felt drawn towards the Ministry: "She was often contrited in a sense of the Lord's power and love, and when alone, would exclaim 'Lord make me a chosen vessel unto thee!' She at times addressed her companions in a religious way and once saw several of them in tears whilst she spoke to them." Soon after she was 14, she left the Workhouse, going into service with Sarah Grubb in Ireland, to look after her four children. So began the life of this determined woman: a powerful preacher, in market places as much as Meeting Houses, highly intuitive, distrusting "the will and wisdom of the creature," relentless to herself and others in a life-work of evangelistic piety. Thomas

Corbyn and his plain Friends would have admired the good fruit of their clearing.

(iii)

The spirit of those years—the moral concern, the care of young people—found its fullest expression in the “Advice to . . . . . on his quitting Friends’ School and Workhouse at Clerkenwell, London,” given to every boy after 1778. In addition to advice on learning a trade “speedily,” avoiding gaming, speaking the truth, care of money “for the account of thy master” and avoiding marriage during apprenticeship, these precepts are given :

- i. “Live in the fear of Almighty God, that thou mayst be preserved from evil. An awful care will then cover thy mind, lest thou shouldst at any time be found doing that which is displeasing to him.”
- ii. “. . . desire leave of thy master for an opportunity (to go to a meeting for worship) on a week day.” In Meetings for Discipline “wait to feel thy heart humbled before the Lord, that he may shew thee thy duty, and assist thee in the performance of it at all times.”
- v. “Be careful never to enter an alehouse, unless sent there by the master or mistress on business, nor drink to excess on any occasion: drunkenness is a most dangerous vice, unfits a man for business, is reproachful to society and has led many to commit the most atrocious crimes.”
- vii. “When sent from home to business, be careful not to loiter: many youths by associating with wicked in the streets and highways, have been enticed to many evil practices, which have involved them in ruin.”
- ix. “Keep always to that plainness of dress and language in which thou hast been educated: it will prove a defence to thee: and in case thy lot should be cast at any time amongst those who are not of our Society, they will in general respect thee the more for adhering to thy principles.”

“THE USEFUL VARNISH” (1799)

- x. “A daily looking back on thy conduct. . . .” “The Divine Principles of Light and Truth, which are come by Jesus Christ, and placed in thy mind, being regarded and obeyed, will certainly lead thee through peace and safety in this life to happiness hereafter.”

This card of advice signed by a member of the Committee, a Bible and some Quaker books, were “the whole armour of God” with which the boys were to defend Quaker peculiarity in a non-Quaker world.

“THE USEFUL VARNISH”

1799

*“It’s Labour sustains, maintains, and upholds, tho’ Learning gives a Useful Varnish.”*

—BELLERS.

In 1799 four men met together. One was tall and stout, yet with authority, “He possessed a strong mind, and that kind of comprehensive understanding which takes much at a grasp; he was pretty free of access and ready to perform an act of kindness.” One of his companions was austere in his features, a rising disciplinarian among Friends, but of a quiet and attractive manner. If he had tried to restrain his youthful enjoyment, he still retained at 46 the good taste and learning which a broad education had given him. Unfortunately, the personalities of the other two men are not known. The four of them—Robert Howard, J. Gurney Bevan, Frederick Smith and Edward Janson—met together to draw up a plan for the “Friends’ School and Workhouse.”

They had more in common than their broad-brimmed hats, their drab clothes, and their wigs “representing the

natural hair." Such things were symbols of the Quaker belief which was one of the most significant forces in their lives. Frederick Smith had come to Friends from outside, after a painful period of introspection. J. G. Bevan's attitude also had the semblance of a conversion: he looked back on the times when he was led from his gay youth "under serious impressions of mind." Howard was a busy man in Quaker affairs—responsibilities of Clerk and Elder came naturally to him. Janson was one of the many branches of a family tree in the wood of Quaker genealogy. Their Quaker ways drew these men together, but divided them from the world: Frederick Smith had lost his job in the postal service for refusing to take an oath, and by joining Friends he had roused bitter misunderstandings in his family. J. G. Bevan, son of Timothy Bevan, was troubled about his goods lest they might have been smuggled, produced by slaves, or needed a Custom House Bond—for "The Bond being given to the King contains titles, which I not thinking true, do not chuse to subscribe, such as 'King of France,' 'Defender of the Faith.' . . ." This division between Friends and their fellow-citizens was to be dramatically expressed during the period of acute shortage in the following year. In 1800, an angry mob stormed Howard's works, believing he hoarded grain there. They were beaten off by the loyal but unquakerly workmen with any weapons to hand!

Yet this disquieted conscience sometimes helped them to form links with other men of their times, who also felt deeply about social abuses. Their daily work also brought these four men into the life and activity of their time: J. G. Bevan at the Plough Court Pharmacy, building up new trade in America and the West Indies; Frederick

Smith with his humble chemist's business in the Haymarket; Robert Howard at his brass foundry and tinsplate works. As Quakers and philanthropists, it seemed natural to find these busy men meeting together on a sub-committee of a Quaker workhouse-school. In what ways would their beliefs and experience help to guide their plans?

(ii)

When these men met in 1799, England was at bitter war with the "armed opinions" of France. The philanthropist was suspect as a man of Jacobin sympathies, and many a sincere philanthropist was himself apprehensive of giving too much education to the mob among the poor. With the backing of Wilberforce, Hannah More's Sunday Schools were in full swing. By her "Cheap Repository" tracts she was providing, through safe reading, guidance to virtue: extolling simple piety against the atheistical dangers of France. And in 1799 the "Religious Tract Society" was formed.

The four Friends would have agreed to give a limited book-learning to the poor, but although the Workhouse had offered writing and arithmetic (deemed undesirable by Hannah More) from the early years, they had done no more than Charity Schools of the day. Whatever these men were going to plan, it was unlikely to result in a class-room drill distinguishable from that of other schools for the poor in England. Yet at bottom the approach of Friends was different. How far would this be revealed in significant differences of emphasis?

Friends upheld George Fox's teaching that Truth was

a vital relationship between man and God; not something believed in so much as "walked in." For Truth expressed itself in a way of life. In teaching, this placed the emphasis on doing the right thing. First of all, children must be guarded from the world and taught to live truly in distinctive Quaker ways. One Quaker witness was the accuracy of the spoken and written word. This involved the rejection of literary enjoyment with its different layers of aesthetic and imaginative truth. What was wanted was the exactness of the account-book—a thing both useful to a man and serviceable to his fellows. Not that scholarship was undesirable, but even at its best it was a "useful varnish" which but few would need.

Such views fitted happily with the minds of men trained in business. They accepted a class pattern of society and were familiar with the needs of trade: there was a clear value in giving poor boys the rudiments of reading and writing to enable them to be useful artisans. Yet in 1799, these men may have been wondering whether the changing nature of manufacture and the expansion of merchant connections were pointing to the need of a rather more thorough training in the rudiments. Otherwise the children would suffer the fate of the parish paupers and be drawn into hack work of a most demoralising kind. Certainly, a few children were beginning to go on afterwards to Ackworth and other schools—an indication that the provisions at the "Friends' School and Workhouse" were not meeting present needs.

Efficiency did not mean any new venture. For one thing, there was no need of any new equipment. The move in 1786 to Islington Road had left the school well provided. The boys' schoolroom had three forms and three desks, each 15 feet long, made of deal and edged

with copper. Round the fire was the iron fence, given by J. G. Bevan himself. Whatever need be added, apart from the annual whitewash to the walls! Of books, too, a plentiful stock had been purchased at the time. Apart from Quaker classics, the list included *Selections of Dying Sayings for Young Persons*, Hugh Turford's *Grounds of a Holy Life*, and John Gurney's *Address to the Youth of Norwich*. Three years before, in 1796, *Lessons for Youth*, Penn's *Reflections and Maxims*, and Lindley Murray's *Powers of Religion on the Mind*, had been introduced as other books from which to learn reading besides the Bible. At the same time, some books had been bought "for the children's instruction and entertainment": a list which ranged freely beyond Quaker authors and included Burnett's *History of the Reformation* (abridged in eight volumes), Goldsmith's *History of England*, two copies of Mrs. Trimmer's *Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature*, and Johnson's *Dictionary* (abridged). What else was needed could be left to gifts. Had not Wilson Birkbeck recently given Guthrie's *Grammar* and Aikins' *England Delineated*? Friend Southall had added six maps on paste-board in a portfolio, and Thomas Coar had given 12 copies of his *English Grammar*.

It was clear that new elements in the curriculum were not even in question. Not radical changes, but care over detail had brought success in business. These men wanted to see their Workhouse-school for poor boys as orderly as the ingredients on the shelves of the Plough Court Pharmacy, or rather, they were to be like the flasks and glasses—useful, unspectacular, polished only for a humble purpose.

(iii)

For the promotion of learning, the report of the sub-committee declared, we are "persuaded that the practice of undeviating regularity in business is much conducive to that end." This was the key to their plan, which had three significant features. First the plan offered a systematic time-table, which placed school-work in the centre. Work for profit was left entirely behind: a share in the work of the house would be the only thing to detract from the boys' time in the classroom. The boys over 13 were to be full-time "except that they are to attend the washing-machine in turn, they are nevertheless out of school hours to take their turn in doing the business of the doorkeeper." Apart from this, the only routine exceptions to a day of seven and a half hours schooling, beginning at 6.30 a.m. and ending at 5 p.m, were to be a break on Wednesday afternoon when they went to Meeting at Peel, a break on Thursday afternoons when the boys "mended stockings," and on Saturday afternoons, when one imagines they went for a guarded walk. Sunday was not discussed in the plan.

The pattern of the day's school-work brought out a second feature of the plan: the division of the work of the schoolroom into five activities—Spelling, Grammar, Reading, Arithmetic and Writing. Spelling and Grammar were but additional refinements of the old Reading and Writing, and the emphasis on them was not new. Since an examination had become an annual event from 1780, these were the things for which important Friends looked. The report of the second examination said of each child:—"A Small portion of Scripture was given to him to Read, Sundry words to Spell . . . with their writing and

cyphering Books for inspection." A year later the report comments on "an improvement . . . Particularly in their Reading, an improper Tone of Voice heretofore prevailing." The year afterwards in 1783, "bad habits . . . improper tones, and wrong pronunciation of Letters, also a confused hurrying way of speech." No, it was not these activities which were new in 1799, but the business-like way of planning them, giving each its due proportion.

The last feature of the plan was novel: a system of rewards and for school-work only. A competition was to be staged every quarter: the Committee would adjudicate writing specimens (impersonally numbered according to a secret list), ask questions and inspect the neatness and accuracy of cyphering books. A more ingenious competition was devised for Spelling:—"The boys to stand in a semi-circle. The eldest to propose a word to be spelled, and the next in age to attempt to spell it. If he succeed he is to take the place of the first proposer, and give forth another word. If he fail, the third in age is to try, and in like manner, if he spell the word, succeed to the proposer's place. If no one in the semi-circle can spell the word proposed, the proposer of it is to spell it audibly, and obtain the prize, after which he is to retire and the next in line is to propose a word. This exercise is to continue one hour, or until three tickets of a penny each are obtained. At the next time of such spelling the second in age to take the lead and so on until each have had his turn." Twice a year "a present shall be made to each boy equal to the value of the tickets which he hath obtained (in all subjects) . . . as a reward for his attention to learning." The four men presumably felt this device would stimulate good work, as well as being a check on progress: there is even a trace of the counter

about it—payment by results. Such schemes of encouragement were to pass away when a richer curriculum supplied a greater stimulus of its own.

(iv)

What a trivial end to such weighty deliberations! Four serious Friends had deliberated on the educational life of the Workhouse, and the only result was another notice to be fixed up in "a prominent place." Even then the notice applied only to the boys, and not the girls, and mostly to the older boys at that—to the ten, perhaps, whose names appear on the specimen rota. Yet this rota, or rather the time-table of which it was a part, was a momentous step. Previously, for all the love of regular pattern, a steward had been given a fair length of rope to hold tight or slack. For instance, he decided when the children were to help in the kitchen, who was to go on an errand, when the children should go for a walk, or finish work. Now life was to be regulated by the clock, and the central activity was to be school work. The time-table must have seemed to offer to the Workhouse a straight and narrow path, dear to its creators. Yet it was a conformity to rules which concealed a revolution: it was along this single track of classroom routine, that the community finally turned its back on the Workhouse and began a long journey to the School of to-day.

For the time being their schooling offered the boys little more than Joseph Lancaster, a year before, had started to offer to the poor children of Southwark, and which, in a few decades, the two rival societies (National, and British and Foreign Schools Society) would be offering to the poor in most parts of England. This limited classroom

drill was to prove the ground-work on which a leisure-time interest, in a wide range of knowledge, could grow, and which in turn was to be the starting point for the growth of a wider curriculum. The enthronement of grammar is also significant for the future. Here was the discipline which Friends were to regard as taking the place of the Classics as a means of mental training, in their school for poorer members. The days of Coar and Lindley Murray were already at hand.

At this time there were other "Friends' Schools," where sons of richer Quakers enjoyed a fuller curriculum. Such schools were not the concern of a Quarterly Meeting, but of enterprising individuals: Joseph Benwell's school at Sidcot taught "Merchants' Accompts and some of the useful Parts of the Mathematics; also the Latin and Greek languages"; David Dent at Cirencester employed an émigré to teach French. John Revoult at Wandsworth apparently taught the delights of Eastern Culture, and organised a literary miscellany: "and thus," a commentator remarks, "Friends became a learned body filled with men of rare intellect and polished manners." For young men who would enter the world of business, and entertain freely in their comfortable homes, such things may well have been a "useful varnish."

## A SCHOOL FOR THE SOUTH 1811

Working to a time-table soon became an unnoticed habit. Step by step the little community steadfastly moved away from the Workhouse.

A year later the sub-committee was worried about the dirtiness of the boys' "common clothes." The solution was for the boys to use flannel jackets and a "number of frocks of some washing material . . . to button close about the wrist and neck and to come below the knees; above all, to be washed regularly." Further, since "the fetching of coals from the cellar is unnecessarily conducive to dirtiness, from the awkward manner in which the want of strength and adroitness in the children occasions it to be done," the coal henceforth was to be kept on ground level. Boys who now spent so much time at their books needed to have clean hands!

Better school work also demanded better teachers, and in 1802 the Committee went to the unprecedented length of having 200 copies printed of an advertisement for a schoolmaster. In 1806, the system of prizes was modified; the boys being divided into three classes, with rewards for each class—clearly the little boys were being drawn into the pattern. The next year, the girls (whose school-work had also been re-organised), were provided with a similar competition, with special prizes for needle-work. In 1808, the office of "Steward" was replaced by that of "Master." The advertisement required a man "who writes a good hand, is competent to keep accounts, and has a good idea of the business of education . . . availing himself of improved methods of teaching and the

assistance of the elder boys." This was a sign of the times, although Lancaster's supporter, William Allen, had not yet joined the Committee.

These small improvements over a decade prepared the School for the great change of 1811; but money and the "competition" of Ackworth had first to force a decision. It became clear that the School would never pay with only 40 to 50 children. There was a vicious circle—charges were too high to attract more children; charges could not be lowered unless more children came. Again, there was an evident need for a school for Quaker children in the London district and surrounding counties, but parents found it cheaper to send to Ackworth; the local Monthly Meetings paid 5s. per week for each child at the "Friends' School and Workhouse," while Ackworth charged about 4s. In early 1811, 58 children from among London Friends were on a list of admissions for Ackworth, as well as some from Essex and nearby counties. And all the time, the premises at Islington were not being fully used.

(ii)

The need was clear, and in 1811 the changes were rapidly made. The four country Meetings of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting (Tottenham, Barking, Longford and Kingston) and nine other Quarterly Meetings (Essex, Kent, Sussex and Surrey, Dorset and Hants., Berks. and Oxon., Bucks., Beds. and Herts., Northants. and Suffolk) all accepted an invitation to send children to the School, through a system of Agents, and each group promised to subscribe so that fees could be kept down to ten guineas a year. Management was largely left in the hands of the original Committee, though

Agents could attend and express opinions. The old people finally left from next door, and the word "Workhouse" disappeared for ever. The new name was to be "Friends' School, under the care of the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex." The community had been broken no more than when it moved from Clerkenwell. Instead it had gained a new significance and new members.

(iii)

A spectacular change had taken place. Numbers certainly increased; by 1815 there were 111 children in the School. The Quarterly Meetings of Southern England supported the School, not only with their children, but also with a friendly watchfulness, although there were disputes. Altogether, the buildings were fuller and busier than they had ever been before. Yet such things are changes in the life of an institution, not of the class-room. The pattern of school-work had been firmly established 12 years before. The School remained a boarding-community, and its aim was still to give "a good and guarded education" to the children of needy Friends.

Now, however, instead of a small community, drawn from London only, there was one doubled in size by an invasion of children from Southern England. "The Friends' School and Workhouse" had been replaced by a "Friends' School" which in size, support and aim could join company with Ackworth, Wigton and Sidcot. The "Master" was soon to become a "Superintendent," though Edmund Gower, busy with his larger family, may hardly have had time to be aware of the new dignity and importance of his office.

So the children began journeys from distant counties to a school on the edge of London. The coaches trundled across an area of England still uncertain whether it would suffer an invasion from France. These, too, were the shires across which Cobbett would ride. Already, Cobbett was not alone in protesting against the ills of a changing England. In a troubled land, our community began a new course of life.

PART II  
THE GROWTH OF A SCHOOL  
*Covered Fire*  
1811—1914

A FAMILY BETWEEN WHITE WALLS

“A rural villa surrounded by pleasure-grounds, gardens and trees”: the boys and girls probably found Malcolm’s description very misplaced. A change to a school had brought no extra comfort. Rising at dawn, the children washed in long troughs. After an hour of lessons they came to a breakfast of bread and milk: “the milk to be skimmed or new milk and water in equal quantities.” The meal had to be eaten in silence. So began the severe order of the day. If the buildings seemed attractive to passers-by, they sheltered an austere life for the family within.

As families go, a hundred and fifty may seem large—though the School rarely approached, and never exceeded, this number for a hundred years. Living together all the year round, within the same walls, the teachers and children made school their home. When the boys and girls came, at seven or eight years old, they would still need the care and direction of their new “parents.” Some of these parents would seem more like didactic elder brothers and sisters, being only in their teens; even the Superintendents of Islington and Croydon days were young. The Dymonds, who were placed in charge when the School moved to Croydon in 1825, had only just left

A FAMILY BETWEEN WHITE WALLS

Sidcot, the Committee there not approving of young teachers who fell in love.

To a surprising degree, this school family interrelated. Several families came along in the full power of their numbers: Appletons and Ashbys, Farrands and Freeloves, Reynoldses and Richardsons, mix together through the years, so that one mistakes brother for nephew, or sister for cousin. Often there is a strongly regional root to a family: the Essex families of Barritt and Marriage persist throughout the Croydon days. Perhaps this was an inevitable feature of a school serving the members of an enclosed religious society in the southern counties of England. The emphasis on membership had helped to link these family groups together into a complex and far-reaching network. Where links of blood failed, all children belonged together to the same religious society. Even when non-Friends came in after 1827, the local Monthly Meeting had to promise “that he had been educated in the attendance of our religious meetings.” In a denomination which so coloured one’s thoughts and prompted one’s habits, the School was a family, sharing many ways in common.

The ways of a family lead also to the kitchen. For the children, class-work was only part of a busy day, which also found them carrying coal, laying tables, and being servers for the housekeeper—little time was left for play. Even in “play-time,” the teachers on duty had to be vigilant to see that the children had washed the potatoes with a birch-broom under the pump, swept the rooms, or polished batches of shoes. For the girls, especially, school-life was a very domestic affair. Since many were intended to be servants, or the useful wives of working men, their work took the form of a rigorous training. With six girls

kneeling on the floor, each with a separate bucket, a mistress drilled them in the art of scrubbing. For a community which lived together all the year round, clothes repairs for everybody were carried out by the girls. When repair was no longer possible, the girls would make a new article: a new smock-apron for a boy, or a dress for themselves, to say nothing of the undergarments. When John Sharp became Superintendent in 1842, he tried to alter a system, whereby 16½ hours a week were given to needlework out of the 33¼ hours for school work. He had seen, at Ackworth, that the girls spent only 6 hours out of their 30¾, and even that time was for training in fine work, not for rough mending and making as at Croydon. It was not until 1860, that the Committee asked parents to supply their children with outer-clothes; even then the underwear remained the task of the girls. A few of the elder girls assisted "1 day in the week, in washing and getting up the small linen under the direction of the laundry maid or mantua maker." In such ways the Workhouse tradition lived on. Life at Islington and Croydon was not so much that of a school as of a great household where everybody took a hand with the work. And to many Friends, the work seemed as useful a part of learning as the hours spent at the school-room desk.

This closely-knit community busy about the house was not least like a family in providing for its own continuance. Not only did the next generation of a family often come to the School, but the teachers—the elder brothers and parents as it were—came from the school community. Apart from the numerous apprentice teachers, two Superintendents, E. F. Brady (1833-1838) and John Sharp (1842-1852) were former pupils who had spent almost their entire teaching lives at the School. Both Edward and

Elizabeth Brady were there during the same years. Even if they did not get to know each other when pupils, they would certainly have some contacts as apprentice teachers. They both seemed to have lived up to the advertisement of 1816, for the master "to combine with maintenance of necessary authority a mild and tender treatment." Brady's journal reflects his care to guide the School with a fatherly authority. He wrote to his own daughters, during his fatal illness:—

Dear Children, although writing is not a very easy task to me just now, I think I shall hardly be satisfied without telling you . . . how much I have thought of you in the past week. . . . Remember, dear children; your teachers are placed over you in the absence of your parents, to endeavour to train you up in knowledge and virtue . . . "Obey them that have the rule over you and submit yourselves" is a gospel injunction, and is an acceptable means of testifying your love to your Heavenly Father.

(ii)

The Superintendents lived out the rule for the stewards of 1780, to act "as parents and directors of a well-ordered family." For although it was intimate and domestic, the community was to be guided with strictness. The small family pattern of the School made it possible for the rule of the Superintendent to be all the more dominating. Since the School was not large, there was no leaving it to ushers to control the boys. Nor was there any attempt in the 'thirties to follow the lead of Arnold of Rugby of giving the seniors responsibility as prefects: the children were too young for that to be thought of. Apart from about two teachers on each side of the house, only the apprentices

stood between the children and the direct rule of the Superintendents. Yet these apprentices might be as young as 15, and themselves only newly free from being children under strict rule. The family pattern of the School meant that the Superintendent lived very close to the children, and knew them individually, however much he seemed to the children remote and aloof, and despite their being called not by name but by number. (This practice was dropped in the 'fifties at about the same time as the Superintendent ceased to read the children's letters.) Intimacy helped supervision.

This strictness was more than a personal thing: it was a persistent feature throughout, and sprang from a moral concern. The family must needs be good. The increasing length and preciseness of the Rules was the most obvious sign of this urge. This is found even in the out-of-school life of the Junior Literary Society. This Society began early in the School's history—at least several years before 1818—and probably offered a richer experience to the child than he knew in the classroom. In its organisation the J.L.S. was a mixture of the strict and the intimate, the autocratic and the voluntary. The key positions of President, Treasurer, and Secretary were held by teachers, who probably also saw to it that the subject matter was improving and safe. Yet a lot of work—Door-keeper, Assistant-Secretaries, Librarians—was carried out by the boys. Membership was voluntary, though not easy to obtain. Once entered, however, the discipline of the Society was strict: for damaging books, for showing them to a non-member, or for divulging the Society's affairs to outsiders, fines were exacted as penalties. In April, 1818 the minutes record: "On account of improper conduct of J. Brown and T. Ridet . . . it is agreed that

they shall be fined 1d. each and the former of them expelled from attending our meetings . . . during the pleasure of the members." Almost a year later Josiah Brown was allowed to resign, "this meeting considering him a useless member." Often a teacher was "asked" (as the minutes say) to speak with a certain boy about his behaviour. Yet this pattern of strictness was probably enforced by the children themselves. Periodically a concern arises for essay writing, which lives briefly before declining again, suggesting the sudden interest of boys rather than the regular control of a teacher. Even the writings of the children mostly have a moral tone: "and while we are speaking of excess in dress we wish our members to be careful *not* slovenly in their habits, like some who go without braces, garters, shoe-strings and almost every other requisite for tidiness. . . ." Young children sometimes echo father's words!

## (iii)

Strict fathers rewarded virtue, a feature which gave scope to the human side of family life. No one took more advantage of this than Peter Bedford: he entered as a member of the Committee in 1814, and remained in the life of the school as a warm-hearted Prospero for over 50 years. If the world knew him as a social reformer, to the children he was one of the kindest and most important men in their lives. "In the evening," he typically records in his diary in 1821, "went to Islington . . . spent about an hour with the Boys, rewarded 5 of them who had committed some verses to memory, the children appeared very happy and we had a good account of them." Peter Bedford was responsible for a system of merit-tickets, and

of monitors. "In the evening," he records two months later, "Cornelius Hanbury accompanied me to Islington School, and we spent some time with the little party of monitors who for the first time met and had Tea in the little School Room. They were afterwards entertained with Cornelius Hanbury's microscope—the plan fully answers my expectation." Many of the improvements and small pleasures of school life were due to Peter Bedford. "The children," he notes, towards the end of the same year, 1821, "were unitedly of the opinion that it will be well to establish a Bank for savings—which is to be carried into effect. The exchange of tickets was satisfactory. Samuel Durston came to me there and exhibited a new invention called a Geographical Panorama which was very much admired and the children were much pleased with it."

Because the School was so much a large and busy family, the full influence of a man like Peter Bedford was felt. The community was small enough for him to watch all that happened and to be a friend to everybody. Peter Bedford often shaped and directed affairs more profoundly than any of the Superintendents. As the School became more complex and professional, the danger of such beneficent power in a visitor became more obvious. Meanwhile there was a place for such a rich and genial uncle.

Personality also began to be evident among the boys and girls. There was now a place for the child with a will of his own. Such a boy was Barton Dell, who was to become an outstanding character as a Sidcot teacher. As an active member of the J.L.S., he was elected to several committees: to investigate "the damage to Chinese Puzzle," or to look into the purchase of a chess board, and

*Paradise Lost*, or to thank a senior Friend for his gift of four volumes of church history. In November, 1819, however, there is this minute: "Barton Dell having applied to withdraw from this Society and having given the meeting to understand that the books of the library are incapable of affording him further instruction, and that he felt no interest in its welfare, this meeting, anticipating his being speedily brought to a due sense of his error, after mature consideration accedes to his unprecedented request." So triumphed a young gentleman 12 years old.

(iv)

This little family world with its work, its rules, and varied personalities, was still very much a lonely kingdom, walled in upon itself. Traditions persisted. Walks were still under guard. The children must not mix in the local life, even to buy sweets. As a School for the South, its isolation was increased. As a Workhouse for the London area, children's homes had at least been near, and one could quickly reach them on the short holidays allowed. But now, children with homes as far distant as Dorset or Suffolk, were more cut off. After having travelled on the top of a coach for several days, they were likely to spend most of the next seven years within the same walls. Irregular holidays occurred—not least to help building repairs—but there were no regular holidays until 1848, and then only a month in the summer. Visits were not encouraged—a rule equally strict for those who lived near: "Parents and Friends of children of (London) Monthly Meetings be not allowed to visit them oftener than once in 3 months and that with permission in writing

from one of the Committee . . . and not to stay on the premises for more than one hour. No visits to be allowed on any First Day, nor any of the children allowed to go home without leave from the Committee." Letters—scrutinised by the Superintendent—were rare, as postage costs remained for many years beyond the means of poor parents, and still more so of the children with their penny a week pocket money.

So the life of the school community continued, largely unchanging for half a century: an overcrowded family, with little privacy, but very remote from the world. The move to Croydon in 1825 brought little change. The new building was good, a delightful Queen Anne house, enlarged and adapted for its new use. The situation was healthy and safely clear from a growing London. The walls, however were as solid as before. As a child sat in the class-room, there was still nothing to stare at but these walls, annually white-washed, but unrelieved by pictures. A child could not look out of the windows because they were too high. Yet the children knew that outside were the gardens and lawns, with the fields and country beyond. Sometimes they made excursions there, a practice which was later to bring so much new experience and interest into school life. Occasionally the whole family had a treat—a spontaneous holiday with cakes and good fare, provided by the bounty of a Committee member, with running and games and (so a school magazine of 1831 boasts) "each boy had a glass or two of wine."

When the family returned to this Croydon home after such a holiday, the artistic iron gates closed behind them. Next morning they would rise early, as they did in all weathers and every day. For the boys there was the heavy work of the water-pump or the task of fetching the milk

from the farm. For all, on a winter morning, there was the difficult task of keeping warm. And as the family met together for a silent and frugal breakfast, the thing they would never find on the table would be news of the outside world.

## THE FEAR OF THE LORD

One autumn day a young man stood at the entrance to Croydon Fair giving out tracts. It was lonely work, and the young man felt oppressed at some of the sights he saw. Here was a place where men and women flocked together, so he must needs be severe with himself to call them to Redemption. He was John Sharp, for 11 years Superintendent of the School.

The Superintendents, as the fathers of the family, had a pastoral care over the children, and these young men felt about religion with an intense seriousness. If the community was to be committed to an evangelistic crusade, here were the dedicated priests to kindle the enthusiasm of the soldiers, and of no two men was this more true than of Edward Brady and John Sharp.

Early every morning one found these young men alone with their journals, closely examining their lives. Again and again they gave themselves bitter answers: "during the month now about to close, I am not sensible of having made any progress in my heavenward journey. I deeply lament my dwarfishness; and truly I have no power in me either to go forward in the way of holiness, or to withstand the fiery assaults of the enemy." In these brooding moments, before the rest of the house was awake, they

promised to improve every moment of their lives. John Sharp pledged himself:—

1st. To guard very carefully against wandering thoughts during religious meetings. . . .

2nd. To be more diligent in the duty of frequent waiting on the Lord.

3rd. To guard against angry feelings, particularly in my conversation with the boys, or in their presence.

4th. To rise earlier in the morning, which would enable me to devote the first part of the day to communion with Him who alone can enable me to fulfil the least of his commandments. . . .

To these young men sleep was self-indulgence: every minute was a solemn trust.

Over-strain showed itself. Brady no less frequently than Sharp watched anxiously "lest my hasty temper get the better of me." Apart from the emotional intensity of their lives, the demands of their day were very heavy. As apprentices they had forced themselves to get up early, to fit in an hour of study before their daily duties began. This brave attempt to equip themselves as teachers was one more burden in a life where they were never free from their work. In a community in which everybody lived close to everybody else, the apprentices and teachers were perpetual supervisors of every activity from boot-cleaning to Bible-reading. As Superintendents both Brady and Sharp had additional reasons for this experience of strain. Brady himself was a sick man. When 22, he had watched a close friend die of consumption; he himself was a victim of the same disease. For the last two years of his life he was wheeled round the School on a couch—dying at the age of 36. Sharp, for all the exacting duties of a school, took on himself a great deal of travelling in the Quaker ministry, including visits to Germany and France. No

wonder if sheer over-strain often helped to make these men depressed and over-critical with themselves. "My mind," Brady wrote, "had been in a distressingly low state for some time past."

It was natural for such men to find an answer to strain in prayer. "My engagements," wrote John Sharp, "press heavily upon me: may I strive increasingly to break through all, and repair daily . . . to the inexhaustible Fountain. . . ." Prayer meant more to them than a personal salve: they prayed with intense conviction for the well-being of the School in their charge. "The state of the boys' school," wrote Sharp, "continues to press on my mind, with desires that way may open for encouraging the right-minded among them, and repressing the bud-dings of evil in any. Be pleased, O Lord, to contrite the hearts of these dear children, and make them sensible of the flowing of thy love and tender mercy towards them." And again, "I had some serious conversation with (one of the boys) in the evening. I hope not without some good effect. Lord help his feeble endeavours to walk in the way which thou wouldst have him go. . . ."

Every day the family would come together for Bible-reading and worship, and at such time the Superintendents might feel it right to offer prayer. The family act of worship centred on the Bible, which lay at the heart of the Victorian religious life of all denominations. At times, there was a personal interview between a boy and the Superintendent, or between a girl and a mistress, with a strongly emotional appeal to the child's sense of right and wrong. A small group would sometimes meet together with the Superintendent and an important visitor. "Dear Peter Bedford," John Sharp recorded, after the School had passed through a serious measles epidemic, "having

felt his mind attracted towards the children and teachers who have recently recovered from illness, came to spend the evening with us. After tea we sat down with 24 boys and 3 of their teachers. We were favoured with a feeling of solemnity from the first, and our dear friend was enabled to address the objects of his tender and Christian solicitude with great freedom and power. I believe it was in my position to be covered with the spirit of prayer, and under this feeling a vocal offering was made." Illness and even death were not infrequent experiences of the School; at such times the religious ethos of the School must have pressed home with "a feeling of solemnity" upon the disturbed emotions of the children.

(ii)

The religious ethos of the School was more than the personal impact of its fatherly Superintendents. Every detail of School life was dyed with this religious colour, as though a fervent flood had seeped into every corner of it. If one entered the class-room, one would have quickly met the notorious *Lindley Murray*. This grammar book, written originally for the Girls' School at York, became the heart of the matter not only for Friends' Schools, but for many others as well. Charlotte Brontë used it at Roehead. First published in 1795, Murray's grammar held the field at Croydon until a government inspector suggested a change in 1863. Under rules for punctuation—"containing applications of the comma"—one finds this example: "The path of piety and virtue, pursued with a firm and constant spirit, will assuredly lead to happiness." Such was the zeal one would expect from a man whose first work was called *The Power of Religion*

*on the Mind in Retirement, Sickness and Death*, written the year after the school moved to Islington Road.

If one leaves the classroom and watches the leisure-time activities of the boys, the same earnestness is seen, even if it is more often in an ethical dress. The Juvenile Literary Society embraced a wide field of general knowledge and actively encouraged an interest in natural history, as well as in drawing and model-making. The value of each of these activities was seen not in the enjoyment they gave, but the moral discipline they involved. The value of art is thus its training in imagination and patience. Here contemporary practice was in tune with the Quaker emphasis on accurate detail. History nearly always meant the "lives of such persons only as may afford either instruction or useful information." If the cleverness of a man like Diogenes was admitted, yet the "depravity of his morals" was "enough to lower him in our esteem." Natural science was especially cherished, because (as the editor of a school magazine in 1836 remarked), "the study would keep us from idleness, form an agreeable amusement, and is calculated to exalt our ideas of the wisdom, power and goodness of our Heavenly Father."

School magazines share this moral colour, especially those which appeared in the 'thirties. The aim of two magazines of the middle 'thirties—*The Monthly Instructor* and *The Critical Gleaner*—is referred to in a poem called "On Writing Essays":—

One's for embellishing the mind,  
The other's of a different kind.  
'Tis for correcting all defects  
The Editor knows of or suspects  
Of scholars of this worthy School  
Not by example but by rule. . . .

In a dialogue between two boys on punishment, one advises the other: "The inward Monitor should reign; and should never for a moment be compelled to bend to interest, or even to have its seat usurped by any unworthy motive to do good."

On the girls' side also, one would have met the same odour of sanctity throughout the well-scrubbed rooms and corridors, and above all, in "The Girls' Society for the Improvement of the Mind," of which records exist for five years 1837-42. It was only to be expected that the discipline for its own members would be strict. The character of each applicant was considered: several were rejected "as the meeting cannot feel pleasure in unity with such." Each girl had to read the rules and promise to obey them. The officers were made to bear the sins of the many: the librarians were fined twopence when books were found lying about. When they left school, girls might receive a "certificate of approbation." At times this was refused: "we feel impelled by justice to come to this decision, although it is very painful to us . . . but . . . we bear in mind that her behaviour among her companions out of school has much endeared her to many of her school fellows." The motive of the society was IMPROVEMENT. A mysterious letter (for which one suspects the governess was guilty) declared to the girls: ". . . If any of your members, who wish to conquer anger, passion, pride, self-will, talkativeness, levity, untidiness or any other besetting fault, likes to write to me upon the subjects, I shall be pleased to receive and answer their communications to the best of my ability. When you write to me, I daresay your Governess will kindly allow one of you to take your notes every 7th day afternoon and lay them on the Hall table before 3 o'clock as I am

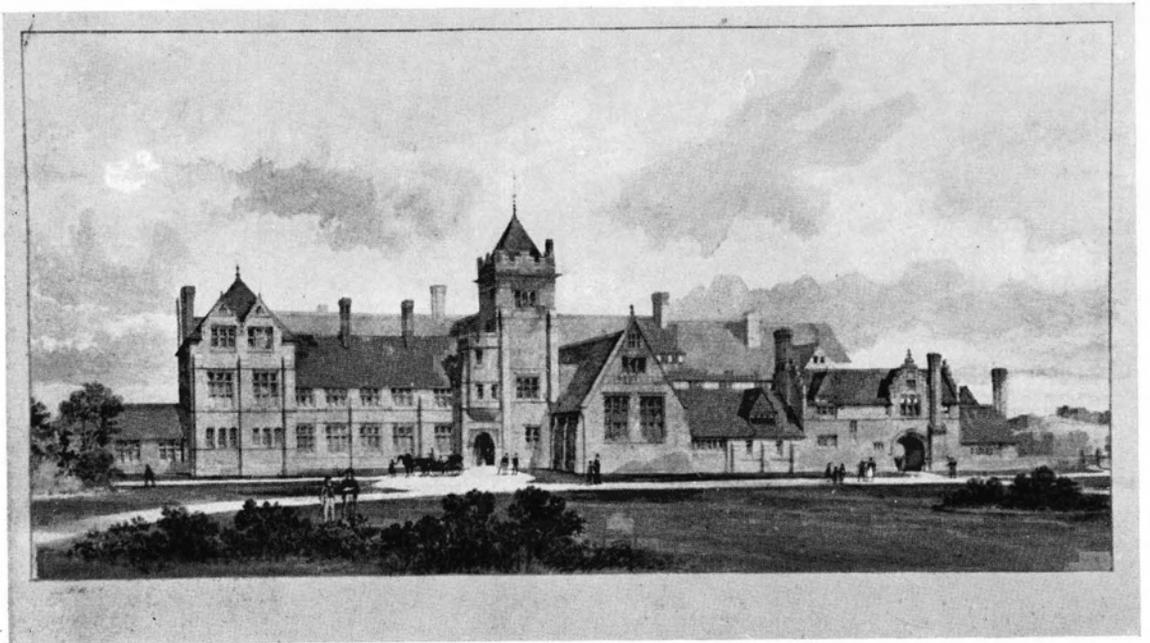
often there. . . ." Whatever success the mysterious "Ellen Angus" had, the affairs of the Society show improving comments on round shoulders, early rising, the grammatical pitfalls of the plain language, wasting time, working on First Days, as well as thoughts on politeness, gratitude, cheerfulness and eternity. As one girl said to another:

*Louisa*: ". . . my dear Matilda, I have loved thee even better than I did before and felt much happier in thy society since the day on which we agreed to seek our own and each other's improvement and I very much hope we shall persevere."

Their piety was not words alone: alternate meetings seem to have been spent in sewing garments for the poor:—babies' pinbefores, chemises, caps, stuff frocks and flannel petticoats. The girls took their gifts to the homes in the district, and saw the illness, poverty, drunkenness and death in the outside world.

(iii)

The School, however, was not just an isolated hot-house of piety, supervised by very keen gardeners: it was a small part of the great force of religious concern, which, for all its excesses, has contributed richly to the social and political life of England. Here was the passionate tide of which the distinctive Quaker current engulfed and flooded the School in every detail. The result was total: Quakerism dictated the whole life of the School from its single minded, ideological aim. First, this meant a censorship of the evil from without—and much that was "non-Quaker" was "evil." Theatres were inevitably banned, as well as many books and magazines: *Swiss Family Robinson* was removed from the library. At a later



date, a vendor of undesirable magazines, who had a shop on School property, was threatened with notice to quit unless he stopped selling them.

Once a year there was a Day of Judgment. The Committee and a body of Important Friends from the southern Quarterly Meetings came as inquisitors to examine the awed children. The day was closely planned to enable every child and every aspect of the School to be inspected. When the Friends had scrutinised the routine subjects—whether reading was “free from tone,” or if grammar had “been taught . . . so as to have a good knowledge of the rules”—these scripture-trained men and women examined the children on the “Historical, Prophetic and Practical Parts of the Bible.” In 1819, they were pleased at the “ready answers” to questions “promiscuously proposed out of the tract of John Kendal, entitled *Principles and Precepts of the Christian Religion explained by way of question and answer*”; while in 1847 the women minuted that “The readiness with which (the girls) repeated and applied Texts of Scripture illustrative of the Truths of Christianity and our various duties was very satisfactory, and proved that much pains had been bestowed on this important branch of their education.” And the Friends generally finished by observing “an harmonious co-operation for the general welfare of the Establishment; and we desire, in conclusion, gratefully to express our belief that the Divine blessing has not been withheld from this Institution.”

The main energy of the Committee, and of the Society of Friends in general, was not spent in censorship of the world or of scrutiny within, but in positive indoctrination. In such a work, the solemnity of Croydon Meeting probably made at times the same compelling impact as

Peel Meeting had done, except that the vigorous, horse-riding, message-carrying of Thomas Story's days had changed into the more conventional intensity of a later age. Visitors to the School were frequent and included the famous Quaker Ministers of the day: “Uncle Shillitoe,” “wonderful little man in his undyed garments”; Elizabeth Fry, “with her queenly presence”; the well-beloved Peter Bedford and Richard Barrett. One of the most impressive visitors was J. J. Gurney. Going out on to the playground, he would gather the boys around him. A lecture might follow on the bee, to show that, thanks to the “Divine Artificer,” it constructs its cell on mathematical principles; or the snowdrop was shown to be formed not by chance, but by the “Great First Cause.” Having discoursed on the “Book of Nature,” he met the boys and the girls together to talk on the “Book of Scripture.” A more lasting witness to his visits was a set of rules:—

- “1. Be a whole man to one thing at a time.
2. Always make the best use of our times of meeting. . . .”

In these visits of important Friends, the circle was completed: the ideological concern of the Society, seen in its travelling Ministers, formed the personal link with the Superintendents, whose fervour was the centre of the family life. “A dear Friend,” wrote John Sharp, “having expressed a desire to see some of the older boys in small companies, and kindly wishing me to be present, we commenced this evening. The first company of five boys evinced much tender feeling, and it appeared as if the counsel extended found ready entrance. . . .”

One is left wondering what the children thought of it all. Their natural defence of humour was probably forgotten

## UNBROKEN COMMUNITY

the next moment, and has left hardly a trace behind, though Stephen Grellet "gave us an address, which was 'non understood' from his French accent," and an elderly Friend who retained Quaker gaiters was to be satirised as "sparrow-legs." A young teacher writing to one or two of his fellows, training at the Flounders, describes a significant incident: ". . . Hannah Marsh who is now paying visits to Friends in our Meeting, had a sitting with the boys this afternoon after the recess. Before they separated, J. Sharp reasoned with them a little and requested that they would by not rushing out to active play, dissipate any good impression that had been made. . . . But to our great surprise, as soon as they were out, they showed such impatience and dislike to the hint, and were disposed to scoff and ridicule it that was very painful to witness. . . . I may not make sufficient allowance for their age . . . and natural heedlessness, but what I see is not mere buoyancy and animal spirit, tis the working of something bad, too deeply rooted to be soon eradicated. . . ." Whatever he thought, here were small flames which could not be stamped out: the life of the School would be disturbed until authority uncovered the source of the fire, and came to terms with it.

## WILD LIFE

### WILD LIFE

A bell sounds—"The Parcels Bell! The Parcels Bell!!" The boys press round the table for their share of the good things which sometimes come from the outer world:

Meanwhile the knife has well been plyed,  
And now a monstrous gap and wide,  
Deforms the raisin-studded side,  
Of many a noble cake.

And one by one the crowd depart,  
Each pressing to his joyous heart  
The pudding, fruit pie, cake or tart,  
Thinking of friends that with skilled art,  
These fragrant dainties make.

The regular life of this Quaker household could be disturbed by an unpredictable burst of young life.

Everyone also enjoyed those days when a party of boys surged out through the iron gates for an excursion. Sometimes on a free afternoon, sometimes Authority's response to a bright day, an excursion was always a break from routine, a break away from enclosed quarters. The masters delighted in a walk as much as their followers. Even if they passed an important Elder, he would doubtless nod approvingly: youngsters enjoying the glory of God in the safeness of the countryside. And was not the much admired Mr. Ruskin writing of the moulding and cleansing value of the natural world?

Hills, fields and woods provided pleasures round the widening circles of Addington and Croham Hurst, Mitcham and Beddington, Riddlesdown, Purley and Warlingham. Boys who fetched the milk from the farm and dug for vegetables were young countrymen in a land

covered to-day by an alien suburbia. These walks were reported with zest in *The Monthly Gleaner*, or in whatever magazine was then leading a brief life. Arrived at a well-loved place, the boys were allowed "to perigrinate for about an hour over the wide-spread hurst. The Botanist with his case slung over his shoulder, the Entomologist with his net, the Conchologist with shell-spoon, each with his eyes open for the specimens of his trade, wended his way to the spot where his valuable merchandise flourishes in abundance. . . ." The same reporter mentioned the wilder spirits who went helter-skelter down a steep pebbly slope to make a catastrophic pile-up at the bottom. However, they quickly found "a vendor of sweets, lollypops, gingerbread and other palatable ingredients for schoolboy mastication." Having met together at an arranged time, the party returned homewards, one boy "delighting his eyes with peering into the vessel that contains the valuable collection of Marine Stones; others tussling together in a manner natural to their age, endeavour by strength and stratagem, to push each other into the furze-bushes, and others plunge about very vigorously, endeavouring to extricate themselves from this precarious situation. . . ."

(ii)

The young botanist could have told you the real name of furze was "Ulex Europaeus." Official policy encouraged, and some young brains delighted in, such feats of general knowledge. Many boys had a passion for collecting. On walks, this meant the amassing of specimens of all kinds. Back in School, this meant making a museum, or writing essays which read like encyclopaedia articles, or, above all, asking questions. Questions were posed and answered with all the verve of a quiz-

programme, a very surprising fact. Questions are very deeply rooted in the life of Quaker education, but not in the ways which appeal to boys and girls. It has been seen how Fox began the practice, followed at Clerkenwell and Islington Road, of making Biblical Catechism the main work of the class-room. The children would have been familiar with the Quaker queries, and their appeal to a searching of heart. Questions, too, were the everyday drill of the class-room: the repetitive grind of lesson-book facts and figures. And even though the leisure-time questions were the choice of the boys themselves, one wonders what human appeal a boy found in such questions as:—

Q.—Who founded Salisbury Church and how many windows, marble pillars and gates has it?

A.—Bishop Poor founded it and there are 365 windows, 8,766 marble pillars, and 12 gates in it.

The most prolonged researches could not answer the question, "Who first invented the Mangle?"!

Religious fervour is not missing:—

Q.—Why do we go to Meeting and refuse to do any work on the first day of the week, seeing God rested on the seventh day and hallowed it?

A.—Primarily originated from the resurrection of our Saviour from the dead on that day. . . .

The main impression of these questions is one of chaos: subjects ranging promiscuously over the ancient world, natural history, morality, the cosmos, and much miscellaneous material as well. Nor to our modern notions could all the answers claim the virtue of accuracy.

"Q.—Who founded the Chinese Empire? A.—Noah.

Q.—Who first tamed a lion? A.—Hanno the Carthaginian."

And so the questions ran on in their chaotic variety.

Yet no such criticism damned for a moment the rush of interests in questions. Questions were the substance of meetings of the J.L.S. from the earliest days, and especially of its Select Committee. The spate tended to continue even when the flow of essays lessened. In the 'fifties, the J.L.S. exchanged questions with the Literary Society at Ackworth. Croydon boys had the same enthusiasm to collect fragments of knowledge as modern boys have for the numbers of railway engines. The knowledge collected covers so vast a range, that the pleasure seems to have lain in the collecting rather than in the subjects themselves.

For all that, the range of the library of the J.L.S. was by now certainly wide and the reading of the books was jealously guarded by its members. By 1858 a catalogue had been printed, showing that the Society possessed just under 1,000 books, catalogued under the headings of:—Arts and Manufacturers, Biblical Literature, Biography, Ecclesiastical Literature, Education, French Literature, Friends' Works, Geography, Topography, History and Antiquities, Morality and Religion, Natural History, Physiology and Health, Philanthropy, Poetry, Science, Voyages and Travel. A formidable list!

Less is known about the life of the girls, but they too, seem to have been caught up in the same enthusiasm for reading and questions. Unaware of the great questions which were perplexing Victorians, the children benefited by the popular search for knowledge, which was marked by cheap books, public libraries and evening classes. The boys and girls indeed were often learning things their parents did not know. No wonder they collected facts with such zest.

(iii)

Unexpected fields for high spirits were the School magazines, an attempt, as one editor remarked, "to unite the entertaining with the useful." The earliest magazine was *The Monthly Packet* of 1830, and by 1860, at least ten different magazines had appeared. All except one were hand-written: they were meant for home enjoyment, often copiously illustrated, and mainly written by the boys themselves. The one surviving copy of *The Monthly Packet*, under the headline "March of Luxury" describes a blackberrying expedition and the messy exploits of jam making. On the same sheet is the story of an attempt to clear the School of mice by the methods of the rick-yard, and an account of a gay outing to Carshalton. Unfortunately (apart from this fragment) it is only the more didactic magazines, in the 'thirties and 'forties, which have survived: the delights of *The Gooseberry Bush*, *The Record*, *The Phoenix*, and *The Rainbow* have disappeared along with other boyish treasures. *The Schoolboys' Magazine* of 1851, survives, with all the humour of its articles and illustrations. The magazine contains many lively dialogues from schoolboy life: waiters arguing as they lay the tables, boys gossiping in the bedrooms, still addressing each other by number. The chief delight is in the illustrations: a paddle-steamer; a journey in an open train of the period; John Gilpin's visit to the Great Exhibition of 1851—first his house, then paying for his ticket, and a racy poem as well. Above all, there are the pictures of their own doings: waiters grabbing the largest shares, the scene when parcels are distributed, sweeping the class-room, pillow-fighting, scrambles, the wild life of he play-shed, standing on stools for punishment, and

three boys in their aprons up to some prank in the cupboard under the stairs. The whole thing is padded out with poems, puns and anecdotes, weak and wild, about the holidays, food, excursions and about hangmen, Irishmen, horses and country yokels. If any teachers discovered the grubby sheets, as they passed from hand to hand, perhaps they too, enjoyed the fun.

The *Monthly Gleaners* of the middle 'fifties are a far superior production. Having lost some of the flavour of the play-shed, they have gained in literary quality, with a richer variety of subjects and types of articles. "Papers on all subjects," the editors declared, "will be acceptable, whether scientific or literary—historical, biographical or ethical—descriptive, argumentative, didactic or poetical—and those of a facetious turn of mind need not hesitate to forward specimens of their humour, provided it is of a refined character." True to their word, the "Gleaners" include vivid accounts of excursions and visits, news items of school-life, London, and "Foreign Intelligence," a Quiz corner, a serial story, playground and schoolboy scenes, biographies, poems, weather reports and autobiographies of animals and objects. These autobiographies were specially popular. Subjects range from a pony, a goat, and a dormouse, to "The Recollections of a Dilapidated Tub," "The Life and Adventures of the Grandmother Tabby," and "A Disquisition on an Old Hat." This generous plenty of the "Gleaners" was the fruit of a close co-operation between the older boys and the younger apprentices. Much of the planning and the more ambitious articles seem to have been the work of young men, whose own schooldays were so close. The ring-leaders were almost certainly Joseph Radley and T. F. Ball. Radley was to give almost 20 years of service

to the School before he became Headmaster of Lisburn School, while Ball was later to co-operate with William Beck, a Chairman of the Committee, in writing an outstanding history of Friends in London. Meanwhile, both just turned 20, heavily overworked, they flung their imagination and kindness into these high-spirited magazines.

(iv)

The apprentice teachers not only helped with the magazines but joined in the games of the playground. One taught fencing, another wrote a long poem mentioning the games of each month. January included skating and sliding, while "joyous still is the schoolboy's laugh as his snowballs fly through the air." The playground Elm and the Mulberry tree watched over many sports—Hare and Hounds, Prisoners' Base, Hopscotch, Cricket and Football (though not as we should recognise them nor against outside teams), Kite-flying and "Cutters." In quieter moments the boys could enjoy their gardens; they met serious competition here from the excellent plots of the girls. And when winter had turned the playground to slush and mud, the "Shed" came into its own with whip-top and skipping rope.

And in the shed the long rope  
Was blithely whirled around  
In whose circles, a troop of laughing boys,  
Skipped light o'er the ground.

At times the apprentice teachers would share in all these enjoyments, as freely as the big brothers of a family; at other times, however, the high spirits of the boys must have caused them harassed moments. One glimpses the

routine difficulties of a teacher in an account by a boy of his first day at School, so a magazine records. On his first night, he was beaten up with bolsters, and pulled out of bed. When he entered the schoolroom early next day . . . "boys were rushing round in all directions after one another, battering into each others uncombed heads with dusty jackets and pinafores, some retired to a quieter corner of the room, and with the aid of a dilapidated looking-glass, at which they took occasional glimpses, combing and brushing their hair, others with their fingers applied to their ears endeavoured to read amid the riot and racket."

(v)

The story began with austere adults and ends with gay young hooligans. The conflict between piety and high spirits was real. Probably only a few of the older boys were able to enjoy to the full such an outlet as the J.L.S. The core of this society was its Select Committee. This was a "steering" group, advising on the purchase of books, changing rules, and censoring articles, as well as being the most active group in plying questions and writing essays. Yet the Select Committee was as exclusive as its name suggests. When it began in 1827, it was limited to 14 members, and never seems to have been above 20—and this included apprentices and teachers.

The enemy of both boys and girls was time. What with household work, lengthy punishments, staying behind until all one's sums were correct, there was little time left over for play. One girl remembers that her safety-valve was to wake up early, and read or day-dream in the quiet bedroom. The girls had a more difficult life than the

boys. Much more housework was asked of them—even to darning the boys' socks. They were more strictly watched, and they have appeared little in this story, because so little is known about their life—especially their leisure time. No entertaining magazines survive to show the lighter side of their lives. They had, however, a better literary education than most girls of their time. One of the happiest glimpses of them is from a poem called "'Tis the Essay Meeting Night"—taken from their Literary Society records in the middle 'fifties:—

Come draw the curtains, wheel the sofa there,  
Bring in the forms, and let us place a chair  
For Sarah Fryer, who if she's at leisure  
Will come, and we shall all be pleased to see her.  
"Juvenile Members" one is sent to call.  
Here we've assembled, one, two, three, four, all  
Except the washing-girls, whom Sarah begs  
The drying-ground to search, for all the pegs.

One also finds them busy in many of the same ways as the boys—going out for walks, digging their gardens, painting, writing essays and poems. They were especially keen it seems on neat lettering work. Nor was all of their needlework humdrum. The activity in which they far outdistanced the boys was in their helping the poor. The "Dorcas" meetings, as they were called, were as frequent as the literary circles—sometimes they were combined and the girls worked away at flannel vests and other gifts while one read a poem or essay. The "Dorcas" work gave the girls a closer knowledge of the district and its life than the boys had, as well as giving them interesting links with Friends' work in East London.

For all its "improving" worth, the life of a girl cannot have been exciting. Perhaps that is why the girls' side

was never full; during the years 1840-60 there was an average of 73 boys, but that of the girls was only 49. The girls were in a less happy position. The boys' literary society began about 1815; there is no evidence of one for the girls until 1837. The boys had printed annual reports for their society from 1850; the girls had to wait until 1888. When the boys went out for a walk, the rules said the master must take care that they "be not out of call"; with the girls, the mistress had to take care "to keep them within view."

Two fragments give a glimpse of the life of the girls. One tells that they felt so hungry after some meals, that they went down to their gardens to eat nasturtium leaves, and one girl tried the young suckers of rose bushes! The other glimpse tells of a little dance and play got up by a few girls in the early 'thirties. They had turned their pinafores round, and added finishing touches with a few ribbons and collars cut out of paper. Unluckily the girls were discovered. All the finery was taken off, made into a pile in the middle of the yard, and ceremoniously burnt.

In the end, it seemed that the people who feared the Lord, feared also the wild life of the children. Such a harsh answer to high spirits was especially real on Sundays, both for boys and girls. The Committee Friends watched carefully how the children "spend their leisure time on First Days"—at least, such leisure time as they had after a ninety-minute Scripture lesson, two full-length Quaker Meetings, and the demands of Bible-reading. A young teacher remarked of Sunday duty that "it must be the most difficult part of the week's duties and requiring the most efficient disciplinarian." Another teacher noticed the re-action on the following days: "I always find," he said, "the boys unsettled on second-days, and sometimes

it extends to third-days." No wonder that by long-rooted custom (surviving right into Walden days) the boys beat a vicious tattoo with their boots on the Meeting House benches on the last Sunday before a holiday. Here again were the flashes of covered fire which it was dangerous to neglect.

## *Flashes of Anger*

During the Crimean War, the price of sweets ran high and so did the feelings of the boys. A mock petition was drawn up for Parliament :

. . . And moreover that he the aforesaid Newman, dealer in sweatmeats, oranges and buns hath of late given in exchange for the like sum of one penny only four toffees and they of dimensions considerably smaller than has heretofore been the case within the memory of the oldest inhabitants to whom the question has been referred. . . . We your petitioners have therefore RESOLVED to intreat your honourable house to take under early consideration some measure or measures calculated to restore to our country the blessings of peace, and to us the boys of Park Lane School the enjoyment of toffees at a reasonable rate; lest our loyalty and allegiance become impaired, through the unpopular action of the aforesaid Newman. . . .

Complaints were not always so good humoured. At times there are hints of deeper protest, but for the most part they are hidden by the "top-level secrecy" of the authorities. The intimate letters (through 1850 and 1851) of H. B. Smith, a young teacher at Croydon, to William Pollard at Ackworth reflect this attitude. "A very trying circumstance occurs," he wrote, "which completely disconcerted and discouraged me, startled all of us, and drew down on the unhappy cause the just displeasure, severity and pity of John Sharp. It is too serious a matter to be handled further or to be spoken of beyond our walls." Stray phrases add to the feeling that all is not well: "I have had to refer to John Sharp rather more often than I like. Some (boys) are getting quite desperate and champ most furiously."

Sometimes an individual boy became especially difficult. "Hayward Hargrave," wrote H. B. Smith, "determined to be a hero again, has signalized himself a good deal lately by his disorderly and half-witted conduct, but this evening, having been in punishment till Reading time, steals out of doors just as the other boys are going to their places—takes off his pinafore to avoid being seen, stands at the bottom of the playground for more than an hour, while we are running about the gardens and other parts with our candles alight searching . . . his object seems to have been to get into bed while we are calling over the marks and so avoid being seen and kept down to say a task."

Thieving was another problem which perplexed teachers. At Islington Road, Peter Bedford had been called in to deal with several boys who were involved in a bad case of theft, and 30 years later H. B. Smith was amused at himself and his colleagues at "10 o'clock with the tub and sieve, candles etc. strewing the flagstones and door steps with sand . . . then again early, the Crusoe or Indian inspection of their trail." Smith also records, "another Gunpowder Plot at 6 o'clock" in the morning. Two boys were guilty: a sign that such behaviour was often a gang escapade, rather than that of a misfit. Such a gang life was pictured in the serial "Edgar Barclay," which came out in *The Monthly Gleaner*. Edgar is caught up in a gang who climb over the paddock wall one evening, into Mint Walk, and go shopping. On walks the gang avoid the other boys, buy contraband from shops, throw stones at animals, as well as light a fire. Such things are not improbable: the story has a completely Croydon setting, and the climax is the igniting of gunpowder in a corner of the playground.

Sometimes bad behaviour takes the form of conscious

protest against the school. An Old Scholar (at school between 1850-1855) recalls a "rebellion"—a revolt, in his opinion, against the "too much toeing the line" and writing out texts, which left some boys with little more than "half an hour's play a week." "There were meetings held at the house of Peter Bedford (formerly living near the Islington Road School, and now removed to Croydon) . . . he was a sort of arbitrator." There is no other evidence of this "rebellion," certainly nothing to suggest that it was as formidable as the meeting at Sidcot in 1859, nor on the same scale as some of the rebellions Public Schools had known. Several Old Scholars remember a sense of antagonism between masters and boys: an antagonism which seems to persist until about 1860, when William Robinson became Superintendent, though even this kindest of men was to have to face a protest against food. Rather than eat the hated "Buster Pudding" the boys got together in the play-shed and lustily sang:

Starvation! Oh, Starvation!  
The doleful sound proclaim!  
Till each remotest school-boy  
Has learned Cock Robin's name.

When the same pudding was served up a third time the boys gave in. Robinson (with his affectionate nick-name) saw to it that the pudding never appeared again.

(ii)

Gentle tact had saved the situation. How did teachers normally face indiscipline during the first 50 years of community life in the School? One method was to isolate the offender, hoping that he or she would come to a personal sense of wrong-doing. After warm-hearted

Peter Bedford had spent about two full days on close investigation into the thefts, he put four boys into confinement. Twenty-four hours later he records in his journal: "Went to Islington and found the solitude and restraint had produced a good effect upon three of the boys. One was restored to the Society of his companions and I hope another of them will be released this afternoon." Two of the boys stayed there for four whole days, though Peter Bedford noted, "they appear to be going on nicely, my plan has fully answered my expectation." When the Croydon buildings were organised for the School's entry in 1825, three confinement rooms were constructed for the boys, each about 4 feet square. This was a feature of other Friends' Schools too. In the early 'thirties, one girl was wrongly accused of taking a pin-cushion. None the less she endured two weeks of varied isolation, was forbidden to sit at table, forbidden to play games, was locked in the umbrella closet, stood outside the governess's room, and kept in the class-room while the others were in bed—one evening she was even forgotten there. In the end, she pretended she had stolen the cushion; for a lie was the easiest way out.

Also in the early 'thirties, a girl once avoided going to Meeting. She was confined in the box-room, her bed was made up on the floor, and she had to eat her meals from off the governess's bonnet-box! Isolation was the punishment of "Edgar Barclay" 20 years later. "As he sat in the library by himself," the story ran, "through the long hours of the next day, his solitude only varied by the appearance of a teacher with his meals at the usual times, he felt wretched in the extreme." He stayed there until after the boys had gone to bed, when the Superintendent came to speak with him before his release.

The aim of the Superintendent's talks to an offender was the same as that of isolation: to awaken in the child a sense of his own wrong-doing—a Quakerly appeal to the "Inner Light." The master of this personal approach was Peter Bedford. One of the apprentice teachers sent Josiah Brown to him (the boy whom the J.L.S. had thought "a useless member"). "I had much conversation with him," wrote Peter Bedford, "and his mind was led into a very desirable state." Once Peter Bedford found a boy copying out: the boy had boasted that an ancestor of his was Lord Mayor of London, but the name not being found on the list, the boy was being punished for lying! "I went to Peter Bedford's house," records the culprit, "and received condoned punishments, and he took me on his lap and cuddled me up and gave me sixpence and sent me back to School, and I am sure that he did me more good than all the punishments." Another line of appeal to an inner sense of wrong was the forced learning of Scripture texts. This was more frequently used than either isolation or the personal interview. Texts had the additional advantage of guiding and nourishing a child in the ways of the Lord.

The ways of the Lord had a communal expression: a child's wrong was more than an individual thing. A decision of 1809 laid down that when a window was broken, the School would pay half, but the other two quarters were to be paid for by the individual and his school-fellows respectively, by stoppage of the 1d. a week pocket money. The good of the community was not generally looked after by such a sharing of the blame: the commoner method was to publicise the fault of the offender to his fellows. Until the early 'thirties, talking in class caused the girls to have their feet put in a kind of stocks, whilst they held up a black-board (presumably as

in other Friends' Schools with their offence chalked up). The practice was stopped after a girl fainted. Peter Bedford noted, after confining the four boys, that "the scene was highly interesting and affecting, and it is likely to make an impression on the whole School, that will have a striking and highly beneficial effect."

More routine examples of this advertising of wrongdoers, was the public reading out of marks, and "toeing the line." An Old-Scholar remembers having to stand on a stool in the Fourth class-room for trying to sing "A Life on the Ocean Wave" at 8.30 p.m. He fell asleep and tumbled off, badly bruising his head (the same incident perhaps as that recorded in rhyme in *The Schoolboys' Magazine* of 1851). The "Disgrace Table" also had its monitorial value: its communal lessons, it seems, were not without repercussions; for the girls' "Society" in 1839 recorded that "This meeting has come to the conclusion of not allowing any member to be present at a meeting who has, since the one previous, been sent for more than three days to the disgrace table." For a religious society which disapproved of drama, its teachers had an uncanny sense of the dramatic possibilities of punishment.

Up till 1829 the rules laid down that corporal punishment was to be given only in the presence of the Superintendent, and here the aim was to check excess rather than to publicise the event. It is hard to say when this form of punishment ceased to be officially accepted. The Sub-Committee on Education minuted in 1856 that teachers have "been distinctly informed that all corporal punishment of the children is strictly prohibited by the Committee." William Robinson, who became Superintendent in 1860, regarded himself as the first Head to refuse absolutely to use such punishment.

How far did these punishments lessen or heal the anger which flashed out in rebellious acts? Unfortunately, one fears they made the situation more difficult. Children often resented punishment because it seemed out of all proportion to the offence. A boy never forgot being put on bread and water for three days for being discovered with a dumpling, given him by a servant. A girl never forgot her punishment for talking on the way home from Meeting. "Mary Ann," the Superintendent's wife said to her, "I see thou hast no principle," and sent her to sit on her bed for two hours. Some punishments failed to heal anger, because they tended to intensify the very factors in School life which pressed harshly on the children. Isolation was an ironic answer to the ills caused in a community painfully on top of itself. Lengthy punishments only meant that there was even less time in a heavily-organised day for play or a child's own pursuits. A surreptitious journey along Mint Walk might lead to three hours' standing on the line. There was also the regular staying behind in play-time until all one's sums were correct. The more adventurous or less intelligent seemed especially to suffer from such a system.

(iii)

The life of the community was never just a crude struggle between teachers and children. Life for the teachers themselves was not easy: as members of the same community they experienced its tensions, and were hurt by just as real needs. Probably none of the teachers was more conscious of strain than the apprentices. If their nearness in age gave them the chance to share in much of the life of the children, it also increased the difficulty of

keeping them in order. The children still knew them by their nick-names, and the younger men apprentices still had to have their meals with the boys, or get leave to go off the premises. There were also menial jobs: for the young women, housework; for the young men, the filling of ink-wells and tidying the masters' room. In situations which seemed to call for direct talk, the apprentices knew they must call in a superior, because (as H. B. Smith said) of the "very unpleasant position in which I feel as regards some of them."

With this uncertain authority the apprentice entered the classroom. Inevitably their teaching was little more than routine lesson-drills. If this made the boys and girls more restless, the noise would only add to the difficulties of teaching in a large class-room, where at least two other classes were also going on.

The only way to get more knowledge was to rise very early. No wonder that illness amongst them was frequent, and that some of them deserted teaching to become a "butter-salesman" or commercial traveller. The sub-committee on education noted, in 1850, the "apparent absence of good health amongst the teachers, and the depression of spirits manifest by the apprentices at the expiration of their engagements." Nor were the apprentices free from the rebellious mood of the children. In 1855 they had to be warned that they must be more obedient to a senior teacher. The apprentices had also complained to the sub-committee about the same man. A year later all the teachers were "counselled to observe a becoming and respectful line of conduct towards the Superintendent."

The teacher's work lacked the variety and scope of to-day. For most of the time the teachers, both young and

old, were domestic watch-dogs. The sub-committee drew up a list of duties in 1855 . . . "To be with the boys in the playground-shed, etc. during play hours, to see that no improper behaviour takes place there, that no forbidden or unsuitable games are engaged in, that the boys keep within bounds, that they leave their gardens on the ringing of the first bell and get ready for school or meals, their hands washed, etc., to see that the shed and playground are at all times kept tidy, that the boys on office and other duties (fulfil) them timely and properly. . . ." Teachers were no less pressed for time than the apprentices. The arrangements for William Robinson in 1857 allowed him three and a half hours off-duty in a working day lasting from 6 a.m. until 9 p.m., so that he could go home to have meals! And the teachers were probably more conscious than the children of the restraint of living for almost the entire year in an enclosed institution.

The pivot of the institution was the Superintendent. His work included much petty detail: attending to boys' pocket-money, clothes and shoes; selling the children stationery, and spending his evenings as master on duty. All day long these men felt the burden of their responsibility for the whole community.

The irony lies in the smallness of the authority these men actually had: the real rulers of the School remained the Committee. The choice of staff, the planning of their time-table, as well as the control of the teachers in general, was the work of the sub-committee on education. The domestic life of the School down to the smallest detail of the kitchens was examined by the Women's Committee, while all purchases of furniture, fittings and of material for the children's clothes, were entirely carried out by these industrious women. Important

Friends, as well as Committee members, visited the School frequently, and this visit might be a formidable affair. Two "dear Friends," H. B. Smith once noted, "have now finished their labour in this House, having had 19 sittings, including the servants, all of whom they saw separately." The guardians were not invisible, and they were very thorough in all their ways.

(iv)

Probably no guardian visited the School as often as Peter Bedford; if he felt he was needed, he came every day. Superintendents, teachers, apprentices and children all experienced the hospitality of his near-by home. If the irreconcilable elements were ever resolved, it was by Peter Bedford. His quality as a man made him a great healer to the community. He modified its austerity by his warmth of heart; its religious intensity by his good humour; its high spirits by his understanding appreciation; and its angry divisions by his personal concern for all alike. To the Superintendents he was a personal confessor. For the young apprentices he was a father who helped them to untangle perplexities about a difficult boy, a personal worry, or even marriage. Leavers found he remembered them, and turned to him when in difficulties. Almost every child could remember some kindness of his—not least a little foreign boy whom he helped with pocket-money. The leisure-time work he encouraged by gifts of cash and books. "Our dear friend, Peter Bedford, with his characteristic kindness, benevolence and affability . . .," begins a minute. The work of the classroom was helped by Peter's long service on the

## UNBROKEN COMMUNITY

sub-committee : no member was more frequently deputed to find an apprentice, to look into school discipline, or to plan out the teacher's duties. And he helped to give fuller meaning to the religious life of the School by his work in the world and his sharing in the times of worship. He shared warm-heartedly in everything.

Perhaps no man before or since dominated the life of the School so much as Peter Bedford, nor with a more fruitful kindness. By 1860 he was an old man, with only a few years left to live. The England he knew was rapidly changing : even at school, the familiar remedies of his generation were not always meeting new needs. The School could not hope always to rely on the presence of an exceptional man : Peter's sanity needed to be interwoven into the routine life of the community. Many things required close care, especially personal relations, the activities of the children, and the links with the world of men. All these were to see far-reaching changes through the next 50 years.

## *Towards a New Community*

1860-1902

### MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In the decade before 1869, two books were published which held great significance for European life : Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and Marx's *Das Kapital*. At the time educated Englishmen may have been more caught up by Mill expounding representative government or by Newman defending his faith. It mattered more for the growing masses of industrial cities that these years saw Booth found the Salvation Army in "darkest London," and the government drastically reducing its expenditure on education. Against this background, Matthew Arnold published his book *Culture and Anarchy*, showing him to be deeply disturbed by the spiritual anarchy of his age. Arnold felt himself

as on a darkling plain  
Swept by the confused alarm of struggle and flight,  
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

These were the turbulent years covered by William Robinson's guidance of the school.

The School, in its quiet corner, was faced by its own particular anarchy. The career of William Robinson pointed to an answer based on the key importance of the teacher. The aloof and austere teacher of the evangelical pattern needed to change into a more spontaneous and kindly one. Amid the tangle of the last 50 years there were roots from which a more fruitful relationship could

grow. John Sharp had struggled with generous ideals for the class-room :

1. Never do a thing for a scholar, but teach him to do it himself.
2. Never get out of patience with dullness; or rather never get out of patience with anything, but especially with dullness and stupidity.
3. Cherish an interest in *all* the scholars and aim equally to secure the progress of all.
4. Do not hope, or attempt, to make all your pupils alike.
5. Assume no false appearances as to knowledge or character.

The eager, warm-hearted ways of young men like Radley and Ball have already been seen, as they plunged into the life of the School and produced exuberant magazines with the boys. For the most part, the details of school life thwarted a fruitful relationship between teachers and pupils, nor did evangelical earnestness provide a sympathetic atmosphere for its growth. A more generous attitude began to pervade Friends' Schools through the example of John Ford, the headmaster of Bootham School, York. William Robinson had a great admiration for Ford. A little over 20, this new Superintendent was kind and gentle in all his ways.

In other directions happy relations were growing. From the late 'fifties, the men teachers began to use their weekly meetings for a careful discussion of individual boys. The whole School was treated in this way—a few each week. Cases of "excessive misconduct" were also discussed between the teachers. And in 1860, the suggestion is put forward of drawing up a careful report of each boy, twice a year, to be sent to his parents, together with a record of his school-work. This was to include comments on his conduct and character and the use of his leisure-time.

The teachers decided upon several changes which gave a new flexibility to the stiffness of a Quaker institution. From 1856 teachers had begun to call boys by name instead of by their school number. In 1862 the children were allowed to talk at meal times. In 1868 the boys no longer had to write repetitive phrases on a slate for punishment. Instead they had a book in which to copy out worthwhile passages in their best writing. Such small changes all helped to add a new dignity to the child's place in the School.

The older boys in particular gained added marks of recognition: a sign, perhaps, that children were staying longer, instead of leaving at 14. By 1904, 13 out of 126 children were 15 or 16. In 1870 the older boys were allowed to stay up till 9 p.m. Two years later seven of them were allowed to go out for a walk by themselves, though permission was hastily withdrawn through an escapade of one or two of the boys. For many years three of the older boys had had the responsibility of being "General Assistant" ("general ass" to his school-fellows), Office Boy and Surgery Boy—menial enough tasks, but from such small responsibilities, the position of the Prefects would develop.

Kindness and goodwill were not enough: teachers needed a fuller training, and the sub-committee on education had made an attempt to improve this. In 1850 a more systematic time-table had been drawn up, giving them more free time; arrangements were also made for a tutor to visit one evening a week to guide their studies in Latin, French, Euclid and Algebra. The apprentices had to keep a diary of their work. Books were bought for a teachers' library to help widen their interests. These changes applied to the young women as much as the men :

from 1856 their French teacher was Juliusz Przyjemski, a Pole with an exciting revolutionary career behind him!

There was a strong concern in the Society of Friends for the training of their teachers, both men and women. In 1867 The Flounders was established as a training centre; in 1895 the Friends' Guild of Teachers began. This interest reflects much contemporary activity—the work of Kay-Shuttleworth and the pupil-teacher system, and the founding of training colleges. Inevitably, the quality of teachers at Croydon slowly improved.

## (ii)

Nothing helped on these changes more than the community's third great move in 1879. A series of epidemics showed that the Croydon situation was unhealthy. The houses of London were also creeping too near. Many visits were made in search of new premises. Even a brewery was inspected. The buildings were unsuitable, though the water excellent!

Why in the end did the School move to Saffron Walden? Because George Stacey Gibson would not be denied. The School wanted land; he gave them  $6\frac{1}{4}$  acres. It was objected that the Town meeting-house would be too small: he doubled its size. And almost without the Committee knowing it, he had a school dining-room planned, more baronial in size or style than many of the Friends would have approved. The School owes much to his generosity.

When the community moved to Saffron Walden, the buildings were not yet finished. Perhaps that is why the children found them so draughty. Perhaps, too, they found the buildings large and uninviting. For the first

time the community was in premises that had been carefully planned from the beginning as a school. Here at last was space, and the chance to have a little privacy. Walden lost much of the home-made flavour of Croydon; teachers and children said good-bye to many of their former domestic jobs. Class-rooms were now separate, and fast became the centres of the teachers' lives in a way they had never been before. At Walden the Superintendent disappeared; instead there was a Headmaster. This meant more than the flourish of a new title. The administration of large buildings and grounds, the oversight of a community increasing in size, added new responsibilities to the Headmaster's work. And dare one suggest that the 40 miles between Walden and London necessitated the making of on-the-spot decisions, which would previously have been referred to available Committee members?

Walden did more than give a new eminence to the Headmaster and his team of teachers. Many of the improvements of the years to come depended on the new spaciousness of the buildings, and on the new opportunities of the surrounding countryside.

## (iii)

The School community remained two communities—"male and female created He them." By 1902 this gap had already begun to be bridged in small ways, and women Committee members, teachers and girls had begun to play a deservedly more prominent part in school life.

Women Committee members had done valuable work in looking after the domestic affairs of the community,

and with almost too great a care they watched over their girls—their lessons, their needle-work, their becoming behaviour. Their Committee, however, never had much power.

Even when a woman teacher was to be appointed, the women were invited to join only a sub-committee of the men. The original minute said no more than the truth—all acts will be "subject to the approbation and control of Men's Committee." Over these years, 1860-1902, joint Committee meetings became more frequent, and in 1902 the two Committees were finally joined together.

Far too little is known about the women teachers, the kind of people they were or the life they led. Certainly in 1860 they could look back on a sturdy tradition of service: Abigail Binns (1818-25), Elizabeth Brady (1833-42) and Sarah Fryer (1853-60) carried the burden of the Institution single-handed as Superintendents for 18 out of the previous 50 years—to say nothing of the work of Hannah Sharp, when her husband was away, or of Elizabeth Brady through the years of her husband's illness. This tradition was carried on through the years up to 1902. One memorable personality was Ann Groom Brown, a teacher from 1872 until 1895: She was slim and very upright; her iron-grey hair was parted in the middle, and was always crowned by a lace cap. Girls remembered not her smile, but rather the severity of her ways; yet there is no doubt she was a very efficient teacher. While she was senior mistress the standard of the girls' work was high; inspectors admired it, and the girls found themselves very favourably placed when they went on to The Mount School, York.

The difficulty of the girls' school-work had been its limited range. Friends' opinions on this were divided.

On the one hand was the persistent belief, amongst all classes and opinions, of the restricted sphere of women, intensified, in this case, by regarding Croydon girls as the future wives of artisan Friends. On the other hand was the Quaker emphasis on the equal dignity of women and their need for a full education—a belief underlined through these years by the sensitivity of many Friends to the contemporary crusade for the education of women. In the end the girls were to win, and their lives became enriched by many of the activities described in the next chapter. When the reporter of the London *Globe* came to the School in Croydon, few things impressed him more than the life of the girls.

When co-education finally came, the girls were to hold their own easily with the boys, in class-room and in leisure societies; but this step was long delayed. In 1902 the School seemed almost as much two camps as 50 years before. In order that "our fair friends" could see the Exhibition of Juvenile Skill and Industry, the room had been "speedily cleared" of all boys. Actually, one of the hopeful changes of the years before 1902 was the coming together of Boys' and Girls' Literary Societies. From 1888 they began to have joint meetings. In 1889 they had a joint "Grand Lit" with essay, music and recitations. In 1895 the two societies joined into one. Yet for most of their school life, the boys and girls were separated. Much of their curiosity and ingenuity must have gone into underground correspondence, the discoveries of which called down adult wrath on the scribes. One can only admire the young gentleman who pointed out to a stern Superintendent the Biblical command that little children should love one another.

(iv)

Whether many children loved each other or not, certainly some became man and wife. This continuation of friendship, by a lifelong association, was aided also by the "Old Scholars" movement. This Association grew out of a need. In Clerkenwell days, the Committee had watched over the welfare of leavers for seven long years, but the material side of such after-care was, in Croydon days, limited to London boys and girls only. The common membership of the Society of Friends no longer held all old pupils in a common bond, for several, as will be seen, were now non-Friends. Old pupils were finding themselves scattered at jobs, not only over England, but throughout the world. In short, there was the desire to sustain over the years and long distance, the experience of a community known at school. At the same time, the founding of the Association suggests that the fuller training of Croydon days had produced men ready to undertake organisation and pleasantly proud to help the "Old School," which no longer had the slightest stigma of being a workhouse.

The leading spirit was John Armfield. In March, 1869, he invited four Old Scholars to his house and told them that for a considerable period his mind had been drawn with affectionate solicitude towards those especially who were at Croydon at the same time as himself, and with earnest desire for their spiritual well-being. He proposed an open meeting "of a social and religious character . . . to which such should be invited, whatever their present position or circumstances, or religious convictions. . . ." The idea was "very warmly and feelingly entered into," and from such a personal concern the Old Scholars' Association began.

From almost the first meeting, women took a full and equal part in the activities. From the beginning the Association had something more to offer than nostalgic sentiment: one of its activities, in the 'eighties, was to raise a subscription to help Old Scholars in "necessitous circumstances." Nor was the Association for leavers only; it provided a real link between old pupils and present teachers: Joseph Radley and T. F. Ball made full use of this opportunity to learn of the later experience of the boys they had taught. Again the Old Scholars tried to contribute to the life of the School, not only by their continuing interest, but by their help. When the School moved to Walden, Old Scholars gave a book-case and books, including a set of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In the next two years they tried hard to raise enough money to supply an Art Master for the School, and in the year afterwards began to give money-prizes for the best essays offered by children. Such acts seem small, but they have meant a continuous expression of good will. By the life of the Old Scholars' Association the living community of the School has been enlarged and enriched.

Changes in community life were the School's answer to its own threat of anarchy. The gain was the more flexible and friendly meeting between teacher and children; the loss was still the separation of the sexes; the hope was the continuing community through after years. Yet the world outside still knew the anarchy of which Arnold wrote. How long could the School remain safe by non-exposure? Or, if Arnold was right and the answer lay in the "sweetness and light" of a fearless culture, how was the class-room meeting the challenge?

## THE WHOLE MAN

The "ignorant armies" needed to be trained, if "sweetness and light" were ever to grace the life of industrial England. The men of power saw this as a need for skilled technicians. Many socially-minded men and women saw the need for educated workers. Yet Arnold was not alone in seeing "sweetness" as more than a political harmony, and "light" as more than technical advance. The challenge was one of ugliness, of the degradation of work, and of the threatened values of European man.

In 1860, many Committee members were concerned about social problems, and many wanted to see better standards of school work; but as a body, they had little interest in aesthetic values. Radical experiments in curricula were not to be expected. There was no intention of teaching the classics or science—subjects of contemporary debate—to any advanced level; the children were too young, apart from being intended for merely humdrum careers. The problems were simpler ones: how to get the equipment or facilities to teach at least nature study and elementary physics and chemistry; how to improve the teaching in general, but especially that of geography and history; and how far should an introduction be given to French and Latin.

The interest of the story lies in the way the scattered treasures of leisure-time activities became organised and developed as a regular part of the class work. The School, at William Robinson's entry, could begin with clear assets. Among these was the Library which boasted in 1858 nearly 1,000 books. There was also a developing interest in topography, an interest which was to bear fruit in the detailed and well-illustrated articles of *The*

*Echo* (1862)—one of the most spectacular and ambitious of all the magazines. Above all, there was the interest in natural history which, as a serious study, dated back at least to 1837 when the J.L.S. appointed a committee to look closely into it. By 1856 the study had become developed and specialised sufficiently for there to be separate curators of "Entomology," "Ornithology," "Conchology," "Botany," and "Geology." By 1860 no mean museum had been brought together, including a Herbarium, a wide collection of rocks and fossils, stuffed birds and the "natural curiosities," which pleased the boys' fancy. Besides the museum there was a collection of 40 years of essays, which in a random diversity had graced the affairs of the J.L.S., of the girls' Literary Society, and of the pages of magazines: "Circulation of the Blood," "Planet Mercury," "How do the leaves of trees and plants contribute to the salubrity of the air?"—to name only three from the early 'twenties. Presumably the children made good, if puzzled, use of the science books in the library, such as White's *Selborne*, Mantell's *Wonders in Geology*, or one entitled *Philosophy in Sport made Science in Earnest*. History had also been a strong interest owing to the enthusiasm for Biography. Geography had been examined by the Committee at least as early as 1819; the subject had obvious links with Quaker missionary interests. Much good work had been done on maps. In 1858 some children had attended a lecture on Oriental life, "illustrated by excellent drawings and by the presence of individuals draped in Eastern style." Such were the assets which were handed down to William Robinson, who himself brought to his work an alive mind, wide reading and an especial enthusiasm for Botany.

How these assets were added to and developed is not

clear. At times new suggestions were discussed, such as the proposal for giving familiar lessons on common matters of manufacture. The method of out-of-school lectures by the staff became more frequent. In the 'sixties, for instance, Joseph Radley lectured on "Geology," "Electricity," "Physiology," and other scientific subjects. Arrangements were made for both the teachers and older scholars to attend local lectures, such as a series of six at Walden in 1882 on Physical Geography. Slowly too, the opportunities for study developed. At times this was through the gifts of equipment: Joseph Pease gave a telescope, barometer and a set of thermometers, while a grateful parent offered a gyroscope! The move to Walden brought many new opportunities with it, especially as the surrounding countryside was a rich hunting ground for youthful naturalists and archaeologists. In 1892 a Chemistry Laboratory was added.

Throughout the School standards quietly improved; subjects became more systematically taught. How far were they more imaginatively taught as well? How far, moreover, had aesthetic activities entered the class-room?

(ii)

It is hard to say when Friends first plucked the forbidden fruit of Fancy, and found that it was good. Certainly in 1860 the School had had only an infant taste of this delight. Literature lived but a stunted life in an atmosphere thickened with "improving" facts: imaginative writing is not to be found except in the poems and life stories of imaginative objects in the magazines of the 'fifties, while the class-room never seems to have ventured beyond

Cowper, Gray and *Paradise Lost*. The only hint of drama is in the clandestine recitations in the bedrooms: in the early 'thirties Samuel Hare entertained his room-mates with Campbell's "Downfall of Poland," Mrs. Hemans' "The Better Land," and "Which is the Happiest Death to Die." It may be, however, that times of worship with their fervent ministry, prayers and Bible Readings, fed the imagination in a more exciting and real way than modern man can easily appreciate. The enjoyment of music was certainly forbidden: in 1860 a systematic scheme for learning hymns was introduced, but this was for words only. The study of Art, however, is more disputable. Certainly the J.L.S. had begun the encouragement of Drawing and Painting as early as 1837. Exhibitions were held and prizes given. In 1851 the teachers began to be coached by a Drawing-master for one evening a week. By 1856 there was enough interest in the subject for a "Society of Arts" to be launched, a venture which was hailed with fine words. "Man is naturally imitative" (an introduction explained), "being surrounded as he is by natural perfection from the old lichens of a gnarled oak, up to the star-piled architraves of heaven . . . and so it has ever been to copy nature is the crowning triumph of art." There lay the difficulty: Art was in the School, but rigidly limited to an exact copying. The contemporary prophet, Ruskin, would have approved of this, but he also admired colours and imagination. He defended a refined joy in man's senses against the materialism of an age of successful business. Here was a ground where Friends feared to tread.

Although the School kept to a narrow track, Drawing began to enter the class-room as a definite subject. In 1870 a few children entered for the Drawing examination

of the Science and Arts Department; in 1875 some anonymous Friends paid for Drawing to be taught in the School for half a year. John Edward Walker, who became Headmaster in 1890, taught Drawing to the boys himself, while Lucy Fairbrother, senior Mistress of the girls' department from 1894, held the Art Class Teacher's Certificate. When the Board of Education Inspectors came in 1904, they found very active Drawing classes and found much to praise.

Then came Music. In 1879 it was proposed to the Committee that Music should be added as a "voluntary subject," "because girls who leave this school frequently have difficulty in obtaining situations as governesses in families of Friends in consequence of their ignorance of Music." So piano-playing was added for the girls, with a piano paid for out of an extra charge on fees. No longer could the *Globe* reporter comment, "Whatever singing is done there, is done by the birds in the pleasant meadows back and front of the house." Even the printed report of the Girls' Literary Club (1889) could say that "Ballads gave us the opportunity for more songs and music than we generally indulge in, and scraps of 'Bonnie Dundee' and 'Lillibulero' echoed through the house for many weeks after." Literature and Drama came to take a part in school-life. In the 'eighties E. V. Lucas added to the interest of his class-mates by the numbers of *The Tatler* which he edited and produced—a boy who was sometimes as effective with the bat as with the pen! The gaiety of the concerts was balanced by the more hard-working Boys' and Girls' Literary Societies with their dialogues and subject evenings, mock parliaments, debates, impromptu speeches, anonymous essays and lectures and recitations. Shakespeare was beginning to become a

rival of the Quaker saints in providing fuel for the imagination of youth.

(iii)

Mind and imagination need an active body. Years before, Fellenberg and Owen had made manual work part of their educational ideal. Contemporary thinkers praised the dignity of work. Morris brought "News from Nowhere," where men found happiness in working. Ruskin praised the sweat of the labourer. Here and there schools such as Abbotsholme or Dauntsey's, were to blend work on the farm or estate with academic study.

Walden had the unfortunate legacy of the Workhouse with all its taint of class inferiority. The considerable housework of Croydon days sprang from no more lofty ideal than that of saving money. So Walden, set in a rich agricultural area, made no attempt to teach boys the life of the land—not least because such things had been tried in other Quaker Schools for the poor and had not paid. One strand of the old tradition which survived to become a valuable part of school life, was the girls' Needlework and Domestic Science, though at the 1904 inspection it was still of a routine nature. Another strand from early Croydon days was Model-making and Woodwork.

(iv)

In the 'forties and 'fifties models had been a feature of exhibitions—chaises "executed in a careful and even elegant manner," ships, an omnibus, gigs and carts, productions of the turning lathe (1855)—despite the plea of one critic for "good plain boxes, parts of machinery,

scientific apparatus and other really useful things." Perhaps it was in answer that telescopes, and "a working model of a pump" appear, as well as photogenic drawings and calotype. Moreover, from at least 1847, an end of the play-shed had been screened off as a workshop. Only very slowly was Woodwork to enter the class-room: it first became a class-subject under John Edward Walker in 1891. Nor was this for the boys alone. In 1904 the Inspectors found the girls busy in their leisure-time with Wood-carving.

(v)

After the hard work with class-room books, such work must have come as pleasant relaxation. The great relaxation of the early Croydon days had been play-ground games and walks. Both survived, of course, after 1860, and Walden with its large play-grounds and surrounding country provided new opportunities for them. What was new was the way that games and exercises began not so much to enter the class-room, as to be reduced to organised activities. "Gym" began modestly as regular drill for all boys in 1862, two 20-minute periods a week under their class teacher. By 1890 the boys' Playroom had a set of Indian clubs, travelling rings, and parallel bars. Already by the end of the 'eighties there were some organised athletics and a "sports day," with a renowned "tug-of-war."\* Masters gained fame for their feats on the football field; Lucy Fairbrother won prestige from her cricket. Frank Arundel even brought out his violin to liven up the play-ground drill.

\* *Cricket* was making rapid strides. The first known match against an outside team was in 1868 against "Leicester House." By at least 1889, the girls were also playing cricket with great zest. A diarist records a mixed match to give the boys' team practice!

(vi)

One result of all these changes was a new note of gaiety in school life. Memorable days were the visits of "The Foxes"—a team formed of old scholars of Friends' Schools. After a vigorous tussle at football or cricket, there was an evening concert. The fun may often seem home-made, but such concerts were a chance for both staff and children to enjoy themselves together, and both provided items. A girl diarist tells of sketches or charades, making good use of a clothes-horse and counterpanes; a boy records violin recitals, some "gay songs" on the banjo—the "misadventures of a broken-down old hoss" evidently amused a large portion of the audience.

The contrast of school life in 1902 with that of 1860 was marked: much had been done to enrich the whole life of the children. Questions still remained. How far was there a place for the exceptional child, who worked more slowly, more quickly, or had unusual interests? How far had a truer working together of girls and boys become possible? How far was the work of the class-room preparing the children for their service in the world? An Old Scholar, who distinguished himself as a doctor, felt that far too much time was spent on compound additions, as though every child was to become a bank clerk. Perhaps he was right. Here was the problem of the place of the School in English society.

## ATTACK ON THE WALLS

“The boys all ferment at the smell of bonfires and the crackling of rockets.” Not only on 5th November was the world full of excitement which they were not allowed to share. A boy never forgot his longing for the glare of London lights in the sky. Many changes were helping to heal the angry feelings of the children who still remained nervously protected from the world. Even the local boys seemed their enemies, pelting them with stones or trying to turn them off the Common. “’Twas difficult,” a master wrote, “to act up to Peace principles, some of our boys wanting to know if they ‘mightn’t put them somewhere else’.”

Though the gate was closed, only to be opened from the School hall, and though children never went through except under guard, yet there had for many years been underground communications with the world. One suspects those two apprentices, Ball and Radley, were guilty, for certainly the *Monthly Gleaner* betrays them at their best. Their two chief weapons were the Quaker concern for human welfare and the curiosity of children. The News features—especially “Foreign Intelligence”—must have been eagerly read: excitement ranges widely over Australian gold-fields; the surrender of Kars to the Russians; hurricane and desolation in San Domingo; lectures to working men at the Polytechnic; potato disease in Ireland; treatment of convicts in Cayenne; the beating-up of an American congressman who had spoken against slavery; the coronation of the Czar of Russia; campaign of the Early Closing Association; secret return of Florence Nightingale; Austrian atrocities; wild events in Italy; and

climbing Mont Blanc—to say nothing of the Persian ambassador, “in the uncommonly crack-jaw name of Suf-suf-Mouk-Miri-Pundj-Abbas.” Not only did the *Monthly Gleaner* offer this walk through the wall into the turbulent Europe of the middle ’fifties, but also gave many long glimpses of the English scene—Regent’s Park Zoo, the Coliseum, Epping Forest, “the great ship-building at Millwall”; holiday excursions of the boys, as well as the visit to Crystal Palace—a reminder of the triumphant invasion by the School of the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The accounts of social abuses were not accidental: these young men felt deeply about human wrongs and suffering. A strong social feeling is interwoven with the exuberance of these magazines. The wild gaiety of a poem on “Parcels!” ends with a plea for the hungry of the world. There are several long poems written by the same person (probably T. F. Ball) which mix descriptions of school life with reflections on the ills of mankind. An outstanding poem is called “I grieve that still . . .” The writer reviews the human wrongs—social evils of drink, sweated labour, ragged children, and the suffering of slaves—

I grieve that still the slave’s low moan  
Is on the southern breezes borne—

and the international conflicts of the Crimean War and  
British Imperialism—

England before thy vengeful sword  
Spreads havoc through each Persian vale  
Remember there is One whose word  
Can make thy boasted prowess fail.

Such was the underground work of these magazines. The girls may not have had such magazines, but they were luckier than the boys in knowing some social

problems at first hand—the value of their “Dorcas” work was great. Both boys and girls often gained a life-long social concern. At the same time men were tunnelling from the other side of the high walls of the School. Not only was John Bright active at the centre of English political life, but many Friends were taking advantage of the new chances to share in local affairs and in many voluntary services. The days of pure philanthropy were passing. Friends were now ready to work strenuously in the government of society.

(ii)

The high walls had been undermined. Cracks appeared large enough for new children to slip through. In 1873 non-Friends were admitted. This was a big step forward from the rule of 1827: the “non-Friends” admitted then probably had one parent a Friend, and had always been brought up in Quaker ways. From 1873 onwards, one can find in the School a group ranging from about 5 to 20 in number, of children who had had few previous contacts with Quakers.

From about the early 'fifties foreign children began to enter. They did not include another Scipio, but were mostly from France and Germany and Norway. A link also seems to have grown up between Croydon and the Channel Islands. The boys attracted attention both by their costume and by their names—Adolphus Quertier, Philip Lemprieve and Aubrey Carteret de Carteret. One of these foreign lads stayed on to teach and to enrich *The Echo* by the bright colour of his illustrations.

Not only did new children come in, but the boys and girls began to find new reasons for going out on visits.

Boys and girls joined in the work of the Bible Society in Walden. Once a few of the elder girls were sent round the town delivering handbills for a Peace Meeting. Diarists reveal the humorous incidents which occurred on such occasions. Another rush of life was that of young sportsmen, who scrambled excitedly through the gaps in the wall to challenge local teams. For not only were Cricket and Football matches a happy link between masters and boys, but they also brought the School into contact with teams from nearby schools and villages, as well as those of Bishop's Stortford and Walden town itself. A young diarist wrote in 1889 that one team was “a set of country bumpkins hardly worthy of our steel.” Misunderstanding was still to exist on both sides, but the days of stone-throwing were over, and the sporting battles with Newport Grammar School had begun.

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The most terrible invader did not come through new cracks in the wall, but through the front door. In 1863 an Inspector of the British and Foreign Schools Society came to Croydon. He was followed in the 'seventies by annual visitors from the Cambridge Syndicate. In 1881 both boys and girls entered for the College of Preceptors' Examination for the first time. These public Inspectors and Examiners disturbed the School more than a century of “Days of Judgment” had done. It was as though the children of a proud family had met the boys of the town for the first time, and discovered they would have to smarten up if they wanted to avoid a beating. The days of the amateur were numbered. In 1871 the Inspector made

stringent criticisms . . . "below mediocrity," "unquestionably bad." With the boys' French, the learned gentleman found "the pronunciation was very bad, the knowledge of grammar defective and the translation worthless." As regards the Algebra, Euclid, and Mensuration of the First Class, "the result can only be described as *nil*. The best boy obtained only 11 marks out of 100: a few boys got no marks at all." The value of such criticism is reflected in the achievement of the following years. By the next year even, the same Inspector could mark a great improvement. A later Inspector declared that in the two years since his last visit, he had not found a School where the reading aloud was of such a beautiful quality.

As well as insisting on good standards Inspectors also made a helpful appraisal of the curriculum. "The feature that seems to me to mark off the School from others," wrote the first Inspector of 1863, "and to constitute the individuality as to instruction, is the amount of subsidiary or rather collateral information possessed by the pupils, combined with the important feature that such information is held intelligently." Later Inspectors, while noting the ready answers of the children, doubted if this knowledge was more than a chaos of facts, with which young children found they could play. As one Inspector put it: "There is a great deal of knowledge floating about which wants methodising."

One result of criticism was to set up a new criterion of entrance—literacy. Between June 1869 and October 1871 (a sub-committee reported) 66 children entered: 12 were very backward. They "could hardly write, indeed ten could not write at all . . . unable to add the simplest figures together." Two are recorded as showing very little knowledge of Scripture History, the remaining

ten none whatever. Eleven could not read in the simplest books. "It is generally found," the report continues, "that those whose education has been thus neglected, are deficient also in moral training, a want of truthfulness being a marked feature." The better children were found to have previously attended "British or National Schools." The Committee decided to demand a statement of a child's attainments before allowing him to enter. The check of the future was not denominational exclusiveness but academic ability. The scale was to be a public one. Already the challenge of public standards was bringing vigour to the changes of the classroom. Very soon boys and girls would leave the School better fitted to take on more responsible jobs in the world.

(iv)

Here lay a crucial test. It was no use to escape through a breach in the wall, if one only went to shelter in a Friend's home. How far did boys and girls really go out to work in the thick of the world? The Clerkenwell children had mostly become weavers, cobblers, and servants in the homes and businesses of Friends who lived nearby. Children from Croydon and the early years at Walden still started with the handicap of the very limited schooling they received: the girls, with their heavier share of housework were particularly held back.

By 1902 both boys and girls were already going to higher schools, and so to the universities. Meanwhile, what was more significant was the variety of work undertaken by Old Scholars—especially the variety that sprang from leisure-time interests. One boy, Bedford Lemere, became

a professional photographer of high repute. Another, J. F. Jeffrey, became Curator of the Herbarium at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Edinburgh. A third, F. J. Horniman, was to recall all the boyish delights of specimen hunting. Horniman had a highly successful career as a tea-merchant, though he also found time to travel widely round the world, collecting specimens and curios wherever he went. In 1901 he gave his whole collection to the people of London to form a museum.

Not only was the work of Old Scholars more varied than that of the Clerkenwell apprentices, but they were carried to all corners of the earth. . . . "I am on a cattle and horse ranch," wrote an Old Scholar, "in a beautiful valley where the Red Deer River winds in and out, and enjoy the fine gallops over the prairie." The list is long and unpredictable: farmers in Australia and New Zealand, a tea-planter in the Far East, an engineer at a tin mine in Nigeria, a nurse in Rhodesia, a notary in Florida, a director of a steel works in Pennsylvania and an assayer for a "gold reduction" company in British Columbia.

These are only a few of the contrasting colours which build up a striking picture. Perhaps it was no accident that most of the Old Scholars abroad were in either the United States or the British Empire; that most had taken on humble jobs, particularly on the land. Three families, for instance, found themselves within easy Canadian distance, running small farms. They were part of the stream of English men and women who emigrated during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Out of the 1,378 Croydon Old Scholars still alive in 1882, 189 (i.e. almost one in seven) were living and working abroad: the proportion for men alone would be much higher, since over twice as many men as women went abroad.

A few of the Old Scholars abroad were missionaries, such as Ernest Sawdon, Headmaster of Chungking Friends' School in China, or Alice Wood, the Lady Superintendent of Brummana Hospital, who crashed over a precipice when taking a consumptive Syrian back to his village—a job no one else would undertake. In many small ways Old Scholars tried to help in the work of the Society of Friends—often they were Clerks at their Meetings, or helped in a local campaign against drink, the Boer War, or some other issue disturbing Quaker consciences at the time. Their most outstanding contribution was probably to Quaker education. Among those who became teachers in private schools and in Friends' Schools, are included nine future heads—Joseph Radley (Lisburn), Benjamin Townson (Leighton Park), Frank Arundel (Ayton), Elizabeth Brady (The Mount), Frederick H. Rous (Rawdon and Wigton), George Wilkie (Rawdon), Edmund Ashby (Sidcot), James Harrod (Sibford). Perhaps the most formidable figure was Lydia Rous, who for many years was the queenly ruler of the Mount School, York.

Education was one of the many ways in which Old Scholars tried to contribute directly to the life of their times. One became an Inspector of Schools in Canada; another organised schools in the Transvaal—sometimes improvising a school from tents; another (a woman) became supervisor of the Women's and Juvenile Departments in six Labour Exchanges in Yorkshire—fitting girls into the local industries of cutlery, silverware, textiles, mining, fish curing, glass-work and boot-making. Some Old Scholars managed to combine a heavy life of business with help in local or national politics. One became a Canadian M.P. and helped to draw up the report for

the Toronto Agricultural Commission. Several gained recognition from their fellow townsmen by being asked to serve as J.P.s, Councillors, and at times, as Mayors.

In 1902, a former Mayor of Gloucester, Samuel Bland, was President of the Old Scholars' Association. 1902 was a significant year for the School; it marked 200 years of continuous life as a community. For England, it witnessed a great Education Act, which opened the door for English children to gain a Secondary-school education. In November when the Old Scholars chose a new president, Bedford Pierce was elected. Leaving Croydon in 1875, at the age of 14, he had entered a firm of pharmaceutical chemists. By evening classes and sheer determination, he had qualified himself as a Doctor. For 30 years he was head of "The Retreat," the Quaker mental hospital. He had helped to raise the status of nurses for the insane, and had become widely loved. When he gave his address to Old Scholars he criticised his school days with a gentle wisdom, appealing for the School to be a family in which varied individuals could happily grow. Exposure to the world had strengthened, not broken, the community, and those who went out could freely return, bringing good things.

## "A Place of Delight"

1902—1914

*"... a school should not be a mere House of Correction but rather a Place of Delight and Recreation; which Masters may make by their Discreet and Prudent Conduct. . . ."*

—JOHN FREAME.

Places are stored with legends—the strange mixture of facts and fancy which memory enjoys. It is rewarding to follow in the steps of His Majesty's Inspectors, and visit the School about the year 1910. None of the buildings was much over 30 years old. From some, the last builder had scarcely departed. Around these buildings legend was quickly to wrap its own revealing commentary.

One of the newest buildings was the Master's Block, the place where teachers had less need to be discreet and prudent in their conduct! Both men and women were gaining a place which they could call their own. They were also gaining new responsibilities, in particular, the senior master and mistress had new tasks of organisation and of watching over the children's development. When teachers left their rooms to go into the clatter of the corridors, their conduct was doubtless prudent, but it no longer needed to be severe. The old system of lengthy impositions was quietly being changed. Instead of 30 minutes' writing, a child would now have 30 "words"; wrong-doers were branded but not kept for long from the playground. Too many words meant that one must play in a "gated" game!

Two other rooms of the School had gained a new use; for a selected few of the older boys and girls had entered

the ranks of the privileged as "prefects." As yet the title had more glory than substance. The bearers did little else but hand out bread in recess to the boys and girls, whom at other times they tried to chivy into line. The presence of prefects meant there were now boys and girls in the School old enough to help to guide their school-fellows. In 1908, 12 out of 160 children were 16 to 17. The prefects would normally be the leaders of team games, and they would probably be among the receivers of leaving scholarships. By 1906, 74 had been granted, and 11 of the recipients later gained university degrees. So, however untidy the prefects' rooms might be, they would not be without a flavour of prestige.

Although the younger children had few places in which to amuse themselves on a wet half-holiday or in the evenings apart from their classrooms or the play-rooms with the cold stone floors, these young barbarians were not without culture; for they had recently gained Literary Societies of their own. In 1910 the young boys were debating "That all punishments at schools ought to be abolished," and "That boys ought not to be allowed to bring Tuck back to school." The diary of the girls has vivid accounts of walks, of bedroom tournaments, of being invited out to tea by mistresses and of taking part in "Lower School" concerts. Everywhere one goes in 1910, for teachers and children, young and old, there seems more fun about the place—or perhaps legend deceives.

(ii)

Even legend cannot deny that for some years the trees of the Avenue were small and not the shady glory of green that we know to-day. Here was the decreed strip of land

where brothers and sisters (and others of near connection) might walk up and down at stated times. In June 1910, the Committee passed a small Minute: "The Headmaster has laid before the Committee proposals in detail for introducing mixed teaching throughout the School." Little need to say more. The younger children, and for a few lessons the older ones, had been taught together for some time; the Inspectors had suggested that to teach all boys and girls together would be an economy in staff. Above all, the proposal for mixed teaching came from the teachers themselves. They had carefully discussed the idea; differences of opinion were real, but in the end the plan put before the Committee had the support of all.

In October, the Headmaster could simply report "that the classification of the School into Forms II to VI and the adoption of mixed classes throughout the School came into force at the beginning of the term." In 1799 four men drew up a time-table, unaware that they had swept out a Workhouse and started a School; in 1910 the Committee agreed to a revolution and almost forgot to put it in the Minutes. Leisure societies, meal times, the life of the playground, came to provide the strange delights of being "mixed." Boys and girls could stroll down the Avenue without looking at half the buildings as forbidden territory. If you ask when all the ritual of "couples" began, only the trees could answer.

(iii)

Two "places of delight" to visit during these years were the Swimming Bath and the "Gym," only eight years old when the Revolution of the Sexes took place. The Bath was used not only in class-times, and the boys were

already keen on learning life-saving. Some boys and girls looked for pleasure by themselves. In a quiet corner of the buildings or grounds their school-fellows might disturb them, but teachers no longer felt it necessary to watch over children in all their movements. At School during these years were Aylmer Maude and Ronald Dunlop, later to gain reputations for literary and artistic work. One wonders how far the able child fitted into the communal pattern. At least one could escape into the countryside from which day-boys and girls were now coming to School. Many boys and girls gained a close knowledge of the fields and woods, villages and churches, by their own tours of exploration.

An outstanding example of an individual's discoveries are the diaries on architecture of Henry Skelton. Some of the accounts describe outings with parties of his school-fellows; most are of his own excursions, undertaken not least in holidays and including visits to castles, churches and cathedrals all over England. The diaries are the product of the five years before 1914, and fill out 11 inch-thick volumes. Some of these volumes contain up to 150 of Henry's own illustrations, sketches, brass-rubbings, and photographs distinguished by the clarity with which they bring out minute detail. The great joy of these diaries is in the coloured shields and coats-of-arms. Each required long, patient work, but no fewer than 45 brighten the pages of one volume alone. No wonder Henry gained the first prize three years in succession, in a competition open to scholars from all Friends' Schools. He was also active in leisure-time societies, in writing poetry and articles for *The Avenue*, and as a prefect. From a non-Quaker home, he stands out as one of the boys and girls who were coming from outside to enrich so happily the whole life

of the School, just as he would have enriched the world if he had not been tragically killed in the Great War. His diaries remain as the unequalled record of an adventurous and sensitive boy.

If the countryside recalls the pleasure of boys and girls, by themselves or in twos or threes, the "Lecture Room" suggests those times when teachers and children enjoyed things together. The name of the room is more formidable than true; lectures were held there, but so, too, were concerts and parties. For two years, the whole School had come together there on Sunday evenings for the now familiar Meetings in which boys and girls took a share in the readings. The times of sharing were full of contrasts. What is this lively room full of people? Twelve boys and a few teachers discussing books! In 1910, with five years' history behind them, the boys had a busy year reading a dozen books and plays as varied as *Heroes and Hero Worship*, *Confessions of an Opium-Eater*, and *The Rights of Women* by Mary Wollstonecraft. To this day the boys have rigidly excluded the girls from their Reading Club.

For a last glimpse of teachers and children enjoying life one must leave the School and go to Keswick, where a party of 26 were climbing mountains, singing and bathing, through a week of delight together. These "Tramps" had begun in 1906, as geographical excursions, for a party of boys and one or two masters. A close interest in the countryside persisted, but that did not prevent "Tramps" being very enjoyable occasions. This happy scramble through the Lake District was in 1910, and for the first time the girls were there, too.

(iv)

For well over half a century of its story the School had scarcely been more than a kind of residential Board School, in its class-room drill, and in the age and social background of its children. It comes almost as a surprise that by 1910, Walden was offering "a sound education of a Secondary School type." The curriculum was like that of a County Secondary School, and the children were taking the same public exams. The social background of the boys and girls would be similar; in 1908 the parents of 39 children were classed as "Professional and Independent," of 30 as "Merchants, Manufacturers," of 27 as "Retail Traders," of 16 as "Farmers," of 41 as "Clerks," of 7 as "Service, Postmen and Artisans"—and it is unlikely that any were in the higher income ranges of any group. Walden differed from a County School in being a co-educational, boarding community, religious in inspiration, though it had few points in common with the traditional boarding school. Less conservative, and less experimental, Walden was without the worship of the classics, and without the adventurousness of Oundle under Sanderson. As a community Walden was more flexible in human relationships, and was inspired by a different life-ideal from that of most Public Schools. A more fruitful comparison might be the "Progressive" schools. Walden was less concerned with aesthetics than an Abbotsholme, more limited in its opportunities than a St. Christopher or Bedales, and more traditional in order and behaviour. Walden's gain was in being less self-conscious, less aggressive against the old standards and beliefs, and far less dependent on outstanding personalities to dominate its affairs; for the community life had a

hidden strength of its own. Walden had all the soundness, kindness, security of a school guided by men who brought insight learnt in business, personal friendliness and their Quaker faith to the task.

There was no pause; many things needed immediate attention. Friendly critics had pointed out deeper weaknesses—one is only amused that they are former faults in reverse. Instead of too much strictness and organisation, the school work as a whole seemed badly planned, and even careless. The heavy days, when a child had little time to himself, had been replaced by half-holidays when some children wasted the hours in boredom. A pattern of rigorous order had broken into an easy system, which regularly filled the punishment room with far too many children. These critics were His Majesty's Inspectors. They had found much to praise in the "corporate life." Even official jargon helped to build the legend of delight.

PART III  
A SCHOOL IN SOCIETY  
1914—1952  
*“Another Struggle Necessary”*

Having given up the ideal of an enclosed community, the School was shaken by the impact of new values and fierce events. In the Great War the school buildings were taken over for a while, and some Old Scholars lost their lives. By sharing in such a society the School might give to the world more fully than ever before.

The obvious problem was money. At Clerkenwell the children had been paid for not by their parents, but by the religious group of which all were members. Walden was no longer a School for poor children of the Society of Friends. Expenses were rising; great amounts would have to be spent on equipment and staffing, if Walden was to equal the provision of other schools. Such an extra burden could no longer depend on the subscriptions of wealthy Friends. Two answers were possible: either to raise the fees or to seek aid from a public authority. Both ways held dangers. To raise the fees would lay the School open to becoming a privileged community—undesirable not so much because “privilege” cut across contemporary social opinion, as because it opened up a subtle danger of losing touch with the full stream of society. To accept money from a public authority seemed to threaten the freedom of a Quaker School to make its distinctive contribution to society. Whether

“ANOTHER STRUGGLE NECESSARY”

this fear has proved real or not, behind it lay the deeper problem of Christian action. The real problem for the Society of Friends was not the preservation of Quaker distinctiveness, but the common problem of the Christian Church and its action in the twentieth century.

At least three features of the modern world were to influence the life of the School. First, England was slowly developing into a planned welfare state, concerned to educate its children. How was the School to co-operate with the public system, to the gain of all? Secondly, England was an industrial country, with the greater part of its large population living in urban areas. Were boys and girls to undertake the tasks of a machine age? How were they to learn responsibility for a complex society? How could the School, as a resident community in a rural area, sustain close links with the larger world? Thirdly, the world was to experience vast international conflicts, economic depression and the totalitarian state. How could children learn to live through the horror, and respond to the demands, of a world which perplexed the minds of even the most penetrating and mature?

At bottom, the issue was man's faith. What were the truths on which to build life in an age when beliefs were breaking down? Men, then and now, are fundamentally divided as to the nature and purpose of Man. Those who most closely guided the affairs of the School shared a religious faith. This faith was seriously challenged by new knowledge, and seemed increasingly insufficient for a world which saw the naked evil and power of man. The teacher could no longer speak with a traditional confidence, but only as a perplexed human being.

These were and are great issues, and no one could avoid their entering the classroom. The world presses

in, asking what the children will do when they are in the thick of events. Fundamental beliefs, by their very nature, touch the discipline of a school equally with the order of a state. Even in a quiet market-town in a corner of Essex, one cannot escape the pain and confusion of the world. As children how were they to bear, as men and women how were they to serve, the condition of the human family?

## *Modern Family Portraits*

### FATHER GIVES A HAND

Just after the First World War, a young man burst into the story as a history teacher. Having spent several years of the war in prison for his Christian pacifism, Stanley King-Beer brought a passionate caring for human beings into every detail of school life. He was himself one of those loving spirits which set the world on fire, and history lessons quickly became alive with the struggles of great men.

The bridge between the world of the children and the world outside was so often to be the lives and enthusiasms of their teachers, though not always in a way one would expect. The next moment King-Beer might be found with some of his colleagues, getting up a mock opera, later to be the most hilarious item of an evening concert. These years have seen one Headmaster going off in the Easter holiday to cover the route of the tramp he would lead in the summer; or another taking a part in Gilbert and Sullivan. They have found a Headmistress with a party of girls in Paris, another feeding her chickens or busy in the kitchen during difficult years of war, a third with her room sprawling with small girls listening to the wireless. And all day long, every day, teachers whether on duty or off, are being stopped by children, who want to tell some small trouble or piece of news. The recent photos in the family album, as it were, have gained an informality. "Father"—if one may so personify authority—has lost his sternness: no longer the Victorian father of

family prayers, he has become the father who helps to wash up.

Does this mean that the School has become an experiment in "free discipline"? No. The School has insisted on good order which makes possible co-operation between teachers and children. Authority has not disappeared, but is now shared by a wide group of people.

The "fear of the Lord" has gone. Has the School become casual about Quaker beliefs, no longer feeling a mission to teach them? No, but the present position is difficult to define. At first sight, Quaker teaching may seem to have been left to one or two concerned individuals, not least, because many of the staff have not been Friends. What is clear is that the strength of the School community lies in the fact that Friend and non-Friend have shared a common ideal, part of which is that viewpoints should be freely expressed. So children have learnt of Quaker ways, beliefs and worship at the same time as they learnt those of others.

Something of this can be seen in the School's response to two world wars. The international emphasis of school life and the Quaker witness against war did not mean that all boys and girls became pacifists. Probably few school communities can have been more aware that here was a decision of life importance, and yet one on which equally sincere and alive men and women might have opposed convictions. The record of the service of Old Scholars shows this sharp division: those who gave their lives in battle keep company with those who tried to help to heal the ravages of war by ambulance or relief work.

Much of the School's idealism has been implicit in the lives of individuals rather than actively taught. This has often been recognised, as in a joint letter from two old

scholars, who were spending their leave together in Germany in the autumn of 1945; one was in the army, the other in the Friends' Relief Service. "In spite of the apparently irreconcilable contrasts," they wrote, "between the harmonious microcosm of School and the nightmarish chaos of devastated Europe, one clings to the belief that the same spirit which brought F. D. P. (Headmistress) down to a mump-ridden Sanatorium, bearing sticky-buds and catkins, may, even unconsciously and incognisant of its source, do something to ameliorate the sickness of a stricken continent."

The influence of friendly people has everywhere been more potent than statements and discussions. That is why we can regard the changes in family life as of central importance. In a family "Snap-shot," there is a group of 13-year-old boys, busy with long stretches of knitting—later to be sewn together to make blankets for the refugees of the Spanish Civil War. Almost every boy and girl could think of some incident which typified for them some of the features of these years: children in the centre, doing a job prompted but not led by a teacher; the chance for much humour between boys and girls; and an idealism of which the children are part but of which they are largely unaware.

A careful statement of the aims of Friends' Schools can be found in *The Society of Friends and its Schools*, obtainable from Friends' Education Council, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

## ELDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN CHARGE

Most families complain of their house: this family complains of the length of theirs. Excellent for dividing boys from girls, the buildings proved very awkward when boys and girls wanted to work and play together. The good humour of the last 20 years has largely found ways round this difficulty. No visitor would doubt it if he watched the boys and girls stream along the corridor to their next classes; saw them at meal times, at a choir practice or society meeting, or joined in the gay stream of life on the Avenue before "prep" or a dance. Dances are one of the many things which the older boys and girls arrange for themselves.

There has been a marked tendency for girls and boys to stay at school to a later age. What is more significant is that increasingly over the last 20 years, their main reason for staying on has been to do advanced academic work. There has thus grown up a nucleus of boys and girls who through both age and ability, can exert a great influence on school life.

Already the value of these older children to the School is great. To have boys and girls leaving school to go straight on to universities, taking with them at times the public honours of scholarship, or to enter on a training for a wide variety of careers, has been a stimulus to the whole life of the School, both for staff and scholars. Added interest has been given to school work, new scope to leisure-time activities, especially to those such as plays or choral work, which depend on team-work and a range

of skills. In many ways, too, it is the seniors who have been able to make the best use of the buildings and equipment which have been added since the First World War—an art-room, enlarged workshop and craft facilities, a biology laboratory, geography room, domestic science block, school hall and stage, and a library.

In a community whose idealism is implicit rather than paraded, it has been of great value to have boys and girls, who were critical and aware of some of the underlying aims. In study circles, as well as in chance conversations, they have discussed what the School is trying to do, Christian belief, or Quaker worship, to say nothing of a confused array of other problems, small and great. Where juniors may only have been aware of the peculiarities, seniors have often come to value the diversity of denominations and backgrounds from which their fellows and their teachers have come.

Such critics can be lordly in their censure, so it is well that some have been drawn to help to run the School—one of the most promising ways in which authority has become shared. Few boys or girls are busier than the prefects. To describe their many tasks would not convey the fact that they feel they have a part of the responsibility for running the School, and that their fellows—not without genial criticism—look up to them for it. To compare these boys and girls with the unenviable 16-year-old apprentices of Croydon days is to be astounded at the opportunity which lies in their hands.

In many a big family, exasperated parents have used older brothers and sisters to mother and control the youngsters; but this does not mean that the youngsters had no ideas of their own, or were badly treated. Much thought has been given to helping the younger boys and

girls to feel at home. From 1930 until 1948, the experiment was tried of a separate "Junior School" for children from seven to ten years old. Valuable work was done, but it has been found better to raise the entrance age to 11, and to concentrate on building up the general facilities of the School for the benefit of pupils of the normal Grammar School age. Juniors make their mark with their orchestra, their plays and their own societies. One can often find a Sixth-form room filled up with small boys listening to the wireless. The fears which troubled new boys during their first term have gone: before a new girl comes to the School, she will have had a letter from the girl who will welcome her and show her round her new home.

To talk separately of seniors and juniors is to forget how the life of boys and girls, young and old, links together, and how wide a range of children have responsibilities in the school life. Many of the plays have expressed this family mix-up, making use of all manner of talent, both young and old, in front of or behind the scenes. Hobby-rooms and the Library are not under immediate staff direction. Several children do a quiet piece of service as curators of labs. or workshop. Juniors are well able to arrange activities for themselves—to get up a game or to draw in some kindly senior as referee. "The last and most pleasant impression," wrote two girl essayists, "is made by the extremely friendly feeling among the boys and girls. Everyone tries to welcome new people and is continually asking them their names. There are never any quarrels, except among the brats on the boys' side."

## SOMETHING YOU CAN KICK AT

*"One of the great things I think the School provides, especially when you are younger, is something you can kick at, without anyone worrying over much . . . eventually you get fed-up and try to be helpful."*

(Letter from prefect—soon after leaving.)

Of course there were quarrels. Teachers and children have again and again misunderstood one another. Boys and girls have criticised everything. Throughout, there have been cases of boredom, rudeness and slackness. Several promising schemes have failed through lack of support. No one need be deceived by family portraits; one always touches them up to make them appear attractive.

One might plead that ours was a very mixed and difficult family! At least, a great deal of effort has been given to fit in the exceptional child. For many years the School held children with an unusually wide range of academic ability, presenting problems both with the less able and the more highly gifted child. An attempt to answer this was to introduce a modified Dalton Plan, enabling each child to complete a monthly assignment at his own pace. At the same time, children were divided into seven stages for class-work, and into three larger groups for all other activities; so that a child out-of-step with his lessons, could share with children of his own age in everything else.\*

Often the exceptional child was fitted in more informally through the tact of a teacher. "At the Friends' School I went full out to get my meed of recognition," wrote

\* The general raising of the academic standard throughout the school has since made this unnecessary. The issues are carefully discussed in "The Future of Friends' Schools" (Report of Commission, 1951), obtainable from Friends' Education Council. The policy of any one school cannot be understood by itself.

## UNBROKEN COMMUNITY

Edward Bawden, the artist. "I did unkind caricatures of the staff; wore a silk handkerchief for tie and would have sported a beard if I could have grown it—for I was a budding juvenile exhibitionist. The Headmaster—who had a taste for pictorial recording—scotched the trouble that was brewing by persuading my parents when I was fifteen to allow me to be sent for one day a week to Cambridge Art School. This weekly jaunt diverted my attention from working for mischievous ends, and I fully expressed my horrid little nature in designing large elaborately enamelled plates."

The School was mixed in other ways. A welcome has been given to children who came as refugees from Europe, and to a few boys and girls who failed to fit in at other schools. The main challenge, however, has always come from the individuality of particular boys and girls in the group. In response, the community has slowly gone on learning how to make its members feel at home, and how to give them a chance to work out their own answers. "I remember," wrote an old scholar, a rebel in his day, "lying by a dying bonfire, on the edge of a ploughed field . . . and how in the distance I heard the cheer that told of a football match just finished. That was a strange experience, because I was glad to be alone, and yet suddenly so glad too that I *belonged* to something and that the distant cheer could still reach me." The attitude of other children has also been part of the remedy; for it has often enabled a boy or girl to be laughed at and yet feel accepted. And because authority was real but informal, a child could let the rebel in him have its kick, without being heavily checked or yet feeling people were indifferent to his behaviour.

Grumbles were not casually passed by, for children's

## SOMETHING YOU CAN KICK AT

criticisms have played a part in school affairs. One experiment was the House Council, which lived for nearly 20 years until 1944, a body composed of representatives of both children and teachers. Boys and girls took an active part in its affairs—helping on sub-committees, serving as secretaries and (for its last year) one boy acting as chairman. The Council did valuable work in arranging the House Competition and in devising new forms of contests, such as concerts and craft exhibitions. From the middle 'thirties its scope was widened to include many school topics:—the use of the library, common rooms, and the wireless set; complaints about meals, and conduct; improvements of the School grounds. Nevertheless, the Council had not established itself as an essential part of School life, and finally lapsed.

Its absence was little missed, because something had quietly grown up which both carried out its work, and avoided some of the inherent weaknesses of any attempt at the self-government of a school—this was the meeting of the prefects with the Headmaster and Headmistress. These meetings have all the advantages of frequency—indeed the happy relations between prefects and Heads make contact easy for any sudden need, whereas the School Council had to give due warning with the agenda posted. The smaller numbers make discussion more direct and fruitful; while the informality of these meetings makes it easier to tread into the precarious territory of the "Headmaster's authority." The prefects are in the closest touch with the opinions of their school-fellows, and a young boy or girl finds it easier to chatter in complaint to a prefect than to burst out a few words at a formal meeting. Again the prefects have the maturity to bring forward constructive ideas and to press them hard.

This community ideal has not been easy. There have been inevitable failures, for human relations are a delicate balance. Yet have they always been failures? Sometimes when a boy and girl are spending much time together, authority begins to question whether this is helpful to themselves or to their fellows. Advice may be regarded as interference, and yet from out of this clash, a truer understanding can grow. Again, the rebellious moods of individuals or of a crowd of children shouting for some improvement have partly been the unconscious impact of a turbulent and distressed society. These outbursts have also revealed the quality of community life. Unlike the unhealthy anger which embittered Croydon days, they are signs of young people trying out their strength in a community which quietly gives them freedom to do so. At no moment has the School's answer to the modern world been more real.

## THE RETURN OF THE PARENTS

All this seems to put the teachers into the background of the family picture. If so, it is a photographic illusion. Teachers have gained in importance. The give and take of community life makes great demands on their tact, imagination, and capacity to be themselves.

It is not easy to lead without appearing to do so, or to lead and give everybody else a sense that they have a share in it. Many activities have succeeded because teachers achieved such a balance: productions of plays, such as "Abraham Lincoln," "Murder in the Cathedral," or "Midsummer Night's Dream"; school tramps and matches where teachers and pupils have shared in the game; a great deal of natural history work ranging from local studies to bird-watching. All these events—and many others—have been a happy meeting ground for teachers and children.

The opportunity of informal contacts is one of the gains for a teacher in such a school. Many have also valued working on a staff which includes so great a range of individuals and of ideas how a school should be run; a staff, too, where teachers call in the advice of matrons and nurses, and help to share some of their domestic duties. Perhaps it is also easier for a teacher to make a false step in a community where he is not a god; where children know his faults, and criticise him as freely as they do their own parents.

Probably the most important way in which the community has grown over these years has been by drawing in other people to help. Parents come first. At least, it was realised they should come first, which they had never

## UNBROKEN COMMUNITY

done during the first 200 years. Back in Croydon days, parents had slowly begun to matter; both longer holidays and greater freedom to visit helped. It was gradually realised that parents and teachers needed to co-operate more closely in the care of the children. A move in this direction was made in 1936 when a form was sent to each parent, along with his child's termly report, inviting comments on progress and development as observed at home during the holidays. The large number of these forms returned made it clear that the move towards co-operation was warmly welcomed, and the practice is now firmly established as an essential part of this co-operation. Steps towards the foundation of a Parent-Teacher Association, taken in 1938, were interrupted by the outbreak of the war, but in 1946 such an association was formed. It meets for a week-end each term—a chance for parents to get to know one another and to discuss issues of common interest. The work is still new, and it is one of the features of school life, the importance of which lies in the future. The greatest value may prove to be in a critical discussion of the aims of the School and its place in an organised and perplexed society.

Parents' week-ends have the flavour of being Old Scholars' week-ends, for many people are both. Old Scholars almost give the impression that they have taken over the School when they visit it. Two main gatherings are held at the School in term-time: one at Whitsun, especially for sports and social contacts, the other in March in the form of a Lecture School. Beginning in 1913, the Lecture Week-end has proved a most valuable feature of school life; subjects have ranged from Greek drama to world food, journalism, peace and war, and the appreciation of music.

## COUNTRY COUSINS

In such ways Old Scholars and parents have joined with teachers in forming a bridge between the School and the wider world. This is another way, too, in which authority has become shared and informal. If one looks at the large amount of work undertaken by the Workhouse Committee of Clerkenwell, one sees that this work (and very much else) is now undertaken by a circle of people, which includes, not only members of the Committee, but teachers, parents, visitors, children. Many Old Scholars and parents, indeed, now serve on the School Committee.

The School is not an enclosed family. Perhaps this is simply because there are so many cross-links uniting the community, that it can welcome new streams of life.

## COUNTRY COUSINS

To cherish family life was not enough. There must be a welcome to the outside world and an attempt to be part of it. First of all the family needed to get to know its neighbours and to find its place in the life of the district.

Sporting contests and attendance at outside lectures had long been small links with local life. A former link, which became of greater significance, was the study of the locality. Under the able guidance of George Morris and others, very thorough studies of local history and ecology were undertaken—a leisure-time work which was related closely to the history, geography and science of the classroom. More recently, on several occasions the assistance of senior boys and girls has been sought, and gladly given, in connection with local surveys for the Regional Planning

Officer, for the Footpath Preservation scheme and for a study of village facilities.

For the most part, links with the town have been in small and unnoticed ways—the loan perhaps of the gymnasium or swimming bath for the local Youth Club, of the School Hall for a County Drama Festival, the cricket field for a match with the Essex County Cricket Club. An unexpected link has been through music. From 1935 music has come to play a steadily increasing part in School life, as a class subject, in School worship and in public performances. The School has enjoyed entering for local musical festivals, and in recent years local congregations have greatly appreciated the recitals which the School choir have given in their churches.

Teachers, especially those who live in the town, have helped to draw the School closer to it. Some have taken part in town activities as varied as tennis-championships, the Inter-Church Council and the Youth clubs. An outstanding example of such co-operation has been in the life and work of C. Brightwen Rowntree. During his 33 years of service, both as Senior and Head Master of the school, he encouraged an interest in local history and geography and helped boys and girls to gain a closer knowledge of civic affairs through talks and visits. In his 18 years of "retirement" he has strenuously served the town on its Council, and the respect in which people held him was expressed in his two years as Mayor. With the help of the Town Clerk, he published in 1951 a detailed history of Saffron Walden—the fruit of many years patient work. Both town and School are grateful for his life of service.

One of the most important events in the whole history of the School has been the inrush of day-scholars. Their numbers increased very rapidly from the late 'thirties,

and they now form nearly a third of the community. Chattering of their fathers' work or Walden news, they have brought into school all the vigour and interest of local life. How can they share in as real a way in the School community as the children who live there?

In meeting this difficulty, the community will be changed and enriched. Already day-scholars are taking a full part in out-of-school life, joining in teams, plays and societies, even though home may be at a considerable distance. Many come back to lectures and concerts (often bringing their parents with them), and also to Sunday evening meeting. Some invite boarders to their homes. There is usually at least one day-scholar among the prefects. Not least, the boarders have ceased to think of day-scholars as "country cousins" with strange ways. The good work has begun. One looks forward with great interest and hope to the years ahead.

This problem is more than personal and local; it leads to the place of the School in the welfare state. Rather than discussing grand theories, those who guide "Walden" have turned quietly to building up links with the people whom they meet in the task of running a school. It is in this smaller field that the problems of finance and of relations with the public system of education, are being faced. One of the most important results has been the close relations with Essex Education Committee, of which the first real sign was the acceptance in 1936 of children awarded "special places" by the Essex Authority. This link has been appreciated by both sides and the number of children involved each year has greatly increased. The Friends' School is one of the few schools in north-west Essex able to provide grammar school education—especially for girls, and in the new situation created by

the 1944 Education Act, the Essex Education Committee was glad to give to it a formal place in their "development scheme" for this part of the County. An increasing number of local people, as well as those from other parts of Essex, are expressing a preference for their children to go there, having been attracted by the congenial community life of the school.

It is the School, however, which has probably received most benefit; its membership has been enriched and its bonds with society made more real. Altogether a third of the children in the School, coming from many different parts of Essex, receive help from the County, even if necessary to the extent of full boarding fees. Two people are appointed by the Essex Education Committee to serve on the School Committee. In practice they have been local people, so once more the links have been strengthened.

One of the severest criticisms levelled against Independent Schools is that they are for the privileged only. The experience of Walden to-day is that it draws its children from a more comprehensive sweep of social backgrounds, rich and poor, than ever before in its history. On the other hand many have expressed grave fears that if Friends' Schools became too closely involved in the public educational system, they would lose their Quaker distinctiveness. For Walden the friendly relations with the Local Authority have been helpful in many ways without affecting in the least the freedom to carry on the School in the way that seems right to its Quaker leaders.

And so the story can end in the thick of such affairs, for they are one of the most fundamental ways in which the School is fulfilling its membership of a greater society.

## *The World is Within the Classroom*

We proudly mistake the present for the best. Whenever sincere men and women have met children's needs, or a boy or girl has won a sudden understanding of another, then perhaps for a moment the true community has been alive. This has been true whether at Clerkenwell, Islington, Croydon or Walden—though such human meetings leave no record behind. We may feel none the less that the present is the most important.

To enter the class-room is to run into the world. Children from Europe sit beside those who have just cycled in from nearby villages. If some of their fathers work with tractors and binders, others are busy amid telephones and office files, keep a small shop, or manage a large business concern. A few boys and girls come from homes graced with every modern comfort; a few from homes where luxuries are absent in order that the children may come to this School. Some of the homes are centres of wide interests, open-eyed to the world: the homes of others are more typical than distinguished, caught up in the life of Suburbia or East Anglia. Many a boy and girl can look back on a family tradition of Quaker ways and worship; some are more familiar with an indifference to religion; others bring with them close loyalties to other Christian groups. If home for some children means a rich experience of brothers and sisters and kindness, for others it is a bewildering problem of misunderstandings. No longer are all children the sons and daughters of the poor in a Society sharing common beliefs and morally vigilant: the classroom now holds

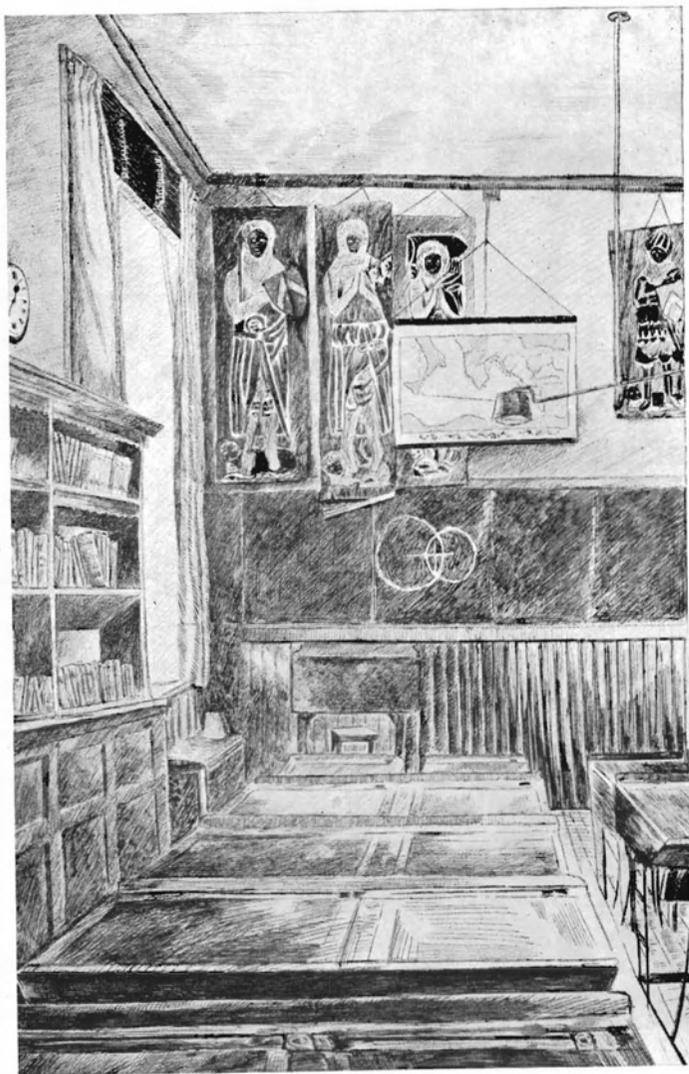
children from many walks of modern society. The children carry with them the stamp of their diverse backgrounds, in their mannerisms, their attitudes, and even in their personal problems. Present in their lives are all the conflicting beliefs of our times—a reflection perhaps of a father's words, a cinema hero, or their own wild human nature. The world is within the classroom.

The School has returned by strange ways to Bellers' community that was to be "an Epitomy of the World," but in a sense very different from that of Bellers. The demands of the classroom are more real, because their stubbornness and significance come from beyond the class-room. A child struggles to be a member of the small world of the School, but finds himself drawn to the larger world in which one day his life must find meaning. A teacher meets the raw life of the world in his children, and tries to interpret the world to his children. Conflict is unavoidable, even if concealed amid the gay and varied flow of everyday life and work. Over the last 250 years, the community has known many conflicts—conflicts which have slowed down its growth and confused its vision, but the community has experienced them without disruption.

In a world nigh to breaking, the School lies exposed to the world more than ever before; to open the door to all was to let the problems of all come inside. All day long, in the busy life of teachers and children, the community is being shaped for new and urgent needs. Perhaps the whole answer, however, does not lie in the School alone, for its community stretches beyond the School gate, bringing in parents and Old Scholars, local men and women, public administrators, Quakers and all whose concern for children has given them an interest in this

School. Engaged in the life of our times, these men and women share in the struggles of belief, which rend modern man apart, and help the School to meet the future with more than the relics of a faith which cannot face the light of day. The details of school life may seem too small to be related to such great issues. The issues may seem too great for a small group of people to grapple with. One can return to details and plans, however, with a confidence that the visionary and the practical can be joined as they were in the busy idealism of Bellers: "a work of great humanity we owe to those of our nature as we are men, and that as well becomes a Christian as any."

THE END



THE SENIOR BOYS' CLASSROOM, 1920  
 [Drawn by Edward Bawden for "The Avenue" while  
 at school, 1918-1920]

## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX

#### 1. LIST OF STEWARDS, MASTERS, SUPERINTENDENTS AND HEAD TEACHERS

##### CLERKENWELL, 1702-1786

The earliest Heads of the Institution were known as STEWARDS. From 1737 the Committee made joint appointments of Steward and Stewardess.

1702-1704	GEORGE BARR.
1704-1709	JOHN POWELL.
1709	JOHN DAVIS.
1709-1711	SAMUEL TRAFFORD.
1711-1737	RICHARD HUTTON.
1737-1742	GEORGE REYNOLDS "and his wife."
1742-1753	NICHOLAS DAVIS "and his sister ELIZABETH."
1753-1760	LEONARD SNOWDEN "and wife."
1760-1778	ROBERT LETCHWORTH "and wife."
1778-1783	SCRIVENOR and MARY ALSOP.
1783-1786	JOSIAH (died 1784) and ELIZABETH COLLIER.

##### ISLINGTON, 1786-1825

In 1786 the "ancient Friends" were removed to Plaistow in the care of John and Ann Withers; Elizabeth Collier was Stewardess until they were brought to Islington. In 1808 the offices of Steward and Schoolmaster were combined in one person to be called MASTER. The Master's wife usually acted as Housekeeper and Mistress of the Family.

1786-1792	ELIZABETH COLLIER.
1792-1808	JOHN and ANN WITHERS.
1808-1809	THOMAS SALTER.
1809-1816	EDMUND GOWER (at times assisted by MARY, his wife).
1816-1818	WILLIAM and MARY BAKER.
1818-1825	ABIGAIL BINNS.

## CROYDON, 1825-1879

From 1825 the Head of the School was known as the SUPERINTENDENT. In joint appointments the wife continued to act as "Mistress of the Family."

1825-1833	HENRY and EDITH DYMOND.
1833-1838	EDWARD and ELIZABETH BRADY.
1838-1842	ELIZABETH BRADY.
1842-1853	JOHN and HANNAH SHARP.
1853-1854	CHARLES and SARAH FRYER.
1854-1860	SARAH FRYER (assisted after 1856 by WILLIAM ROBINSON as Principal Officer and General Superintendent on the boys' side).
1860-1869	WILLIAM and MARY ANN ROBINSON.
1869-1879	GEORGE F. and LUCY LINNEY.

## SAFFRON WALDEN, 1879-1952

The title HEAD MASTER replaced that of Superintendent in 1891.

1879-1890	GEORGE F. and LUCY LINNEY.
1890-1922	JOHN EDWARD and ANNA PHILLIS WALKER.
1922-1934	C. BRIGHTWEN ROWNTREE, B.A.
1934-	GERALD LITTLEBOY, M.A.

Shortly after the introduction of co-education in 1910 the Senior Mistress became known as HEAD MISTRESS. Her status was recognised by the Association of Head Mistresses in 1931.

1894-1920	LUCY FAIRBROTHER.
1920-1937	FLORENCE D. PRIESTMAN, B.A.
1937-1944	M. SYLVIA CLARK, B.A.
1944-	JENNIE ELLINOR, M.A.

## 2. THE TRADES OF THE CHILDREN (1702-1811)

## Boys

*Shoes and Leather Work* (74).

Shoemaker (62); Pattenmaker (8); Fellmonger, leather-dresser, etc. (4).

*Provisions and Household Goods* (68).

Baker and pastry cook, miller, etc. (28); Grocer, cheesemonger, poulterer, etc. (14); Cooper (11); Tallow-chandler, coal-dealer, etc. (7); Shopkeeper (6); Brewer, vintner (2).

*Weaving and Cloth-making* (58).

Weavers (including silk, stocking, linen and ribbon) (45); Dyer (10); Woolcomber, worsted-maker, calenderer (3).

*Clothing* (51).

Tailor (29); Glover, hatter, haberdasher, perruque maker (14); Staymaker (8).

*Metal Work* (49).

Founder, cutler, brazier, tinplate worker, pewterer, etc. (26); Tinman, ironmonger, smith (23).

*Manufacture* (36).

Makers of baskets, brushes, "pumps and blocks," ivory goods, scales, ink-horns, shovels, pins and needles, etc. (19); Watches and clocks (11); Hour-glass makers (3); Wheelwright (3).

*Building* (32).

Carpenter, joiner, etc. (22); Glazier, bricklayer, painter, etc. (10).

*Sea* (11).*Printing* (10).

(Including print-cutter, book-binder, writing.)

*River* (10).

(Including fishermen, lightermen, oar-makers, boat-builders.)

*Abroad* (9).

All to America.

APPENDIX

*Miscellaneous.*

Went on to another school (14); Remained as servant in house (5); Coachman, slop-seller, gardener, etc. (4).

*To Relatives.*

(Trade not given, probably helped small family business), father, or mother (31), (106); Other relatives (20).

*Name only given.*

To "Friend in the country" (42); To individual Friend (London Friends; sometimes member of Committee; boy may have become household servant) (73).

*Left early.*

Expelled (3); Taken away or ill (e.g. discharged at father's request, being poorly) (6); Ran away (5).

GIRLS

Between 1702 and 1811, 426 girls passed through the School, less than two-thirds of the number of boys. Unfortunately their records are less complete, and less detailed. For the first 25 years some girls undertook needlework (glovers, cloak and hat-makers, seamstresses, button-makers, velvet-hood and mantua-makers). Afterwards only the name of master or mistress is given: "To the service of. . . . .". It is likely, however, that even as household servants, they may also have given a hand with a small family business or shop.

APPENDIX

3. CAREERS OF BOYS AND GIRLS (1867-1884)

Boys

A detailed record exists, drawn up by the School Committee for years 1867-1884 only.

Mechanical and Handicraft trades	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	96
Retail trades (shops)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	81
Clerks and Accountants	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39
Teachers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Emigrated	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Auctioneers, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Professions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Farmers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Sailors	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5

GIRLS

Remained at home ("of whom a considerable number may be fairly included under the heads of domestic service and teaching")

..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
Teachers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Retail trade (shops)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
Domestic Service	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Post Office	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Nurses	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3

[This list does not include 12 boys and 25 girls who went on to other schools.]

APPENDIX

4. CAREERS OF LEAVERS (1941-1951)

(This summary excludes those recent leavers whose careers are not yet decided.)

	Boys		GIRLS		Total
	Boarder.	Day.	Boarder.	Day.	
Agriculture and care animals .. ..	23	10	8	1	42
Teaching :					
Graduate .. ..	12		7	1	} 41
Non-graduate .. ..	4		12	5	
Medical and allied :					
Medicine .. ..	4	1	2		} 40
Dentistry .. ..	2				
Occupational, speech and physio-therapy .. ..			10	3	} 40
Nursing .. ..			12	6	
Secretarial :					
Trained secretarial .. ..			14	5	} 40
Clerical .. ..			5	16	
Business .. ..	7	7	3	7	24
Art, dancing, drama, music (excluding teaching) .. ..	3		13		16
Skilled trades .. ..	7	5			12
Engineering .. ..	8	2			10
Architecture, town planning, ordnance survey .. ..	5		1		6
Institutional management, etc. .. ..			4	1	5
Post-graduate academic .. ..	2		2		4
Librarianship .. ..	1		1		2
Law .. ..	2				2
Journalism .. ..	1				1

APPENDIX

5. GIRLS' FIRST CLASS (1871) DAILY TIMETABLE

	2nd day (Mon.)	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
6½ to 6¾	Scripture	Scripture	Scripture	Scripture	Scripture	Scripture
6¾ to 7¼	Shoes and Geography	History	Geography	Stockings	Spelling	Frocks
9 to 9½	Geography	Arithmetic	—	History	—	—
9½ to 10½	Arithmetic	Definitions	Knitting	Arithmetic	Printing, Spelling	Writing and
10½ to 11	Spelling	Mental Calculations	Meeting	Mental Calculations	Geography	Tables
11½ to 12	Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading	Grammar Parsing	Mental Calculation and Grammar Geography
2½ to 3¼	Work	French	3 to 4 Scripture	Work	Work	—
4 to 5	Writing	Drawing	Dictation	Writing	Reading	—
5 to 5½	History	Geography	History	Spelling	Tables	—

6. EXAMINATION QUESTIONS—TAKEN FROM HEADMASTER'S NOTE-BOOK, 1872

GIRLS' FIRST CLASS (AGES 13-14)

SCRIPTURE HISTORY

1. Name the Prophetical Books, and Paul's Epistles.
2. Say what took place on each day of the Creation.
3. Name the 12 sons of Jacob, with their wives.
4. State the chief circumstances connected with the division of the Kingdom.
5. Give an account of the Battle on Mount Gilboa.
6. Give a list of the Kings of Israel to Joram.
7. Name 6 important events in the life of Elijah.
8. Give an account of the reign of Hosea, with an account of the Captivity of the Ten Tribes.
9. Describe the Feasts and say how each originated.
10. Give 10 chief events in the life of Christ in the order of time.
11. Give 10 Miracles with the places.

7. TABLE OF EVENTS, 1695-1902

FRIENDS' SCHOOL.

QUAKER EDUCATION.

OTHER EVENTS.

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CLERKENWELL :

- 1702, Workhouse opened at Clerkenwell.
- 1706, First Schoolmaster appointed.
- 1716, First Schoolmistress appointed.
- 1718, Proposal to develop "boarding-school" and change name to "College" made in Bellers' "Epistle to London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting."
- 1746, "Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the School and Workhouse," by T. Bevan.
- 1758, Dr. John Fothergill's new scheme of work.

1695, Yearly Meeting Epistle stressed need for schools.

1697, Bellers' "Epistle to Friends concerning the Education of Children." Support of Meeting for Sufferings for his "Proposals."

1695, Bellers' "Proposals for Raising a College of Industry."

1698, Beginning of Charity Schools under the S.P.C.K.

1760, Fothergill's report on Quaker Education to Yearly Meeting.

1767, Act regulating apprenticeship of parish poor.

APPENDIX

FRIENDS' SCHOOL.

QUAKER EDUCATION.

OTHER EVENTS.

1774, Period of reform began.

1780, First Printed Rules : first Committee examination of children's school work.

ISLINGTON :

1786, School moved to Islington Road—separation of School and Workhouse.

1795, 1d. a week pocket-money given.

1779, Ackworth School founded.

1795, Lindley Murray's Grammar published.

1780, Raikes began Sunday Schools.

1798, Lancaster began teaching at Southwark.

1799, First systematic School time-table for boys.

1805-1810, Elizabeth Fry one of the women visitors.

1808, "Steward" became "Master."

1808, Sidcot School founded.

1810, British and Foreign School Society founded.  
1811, National Society founded.

1811, Admission of children from Southern Quarterly Meetings.

1815, Boys' Juvenile Literary Society began.

1815, Wigton School founded.

1816, Robert Owen's school opened at Lanark.  
1818, Bellers' "Proposals" republished by R. Owen.

1823, Lawrence Street (later Bootham) School, York, founded.

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APPENDIX

TABLE OF EVENTS, 1695-1902—continued.

	FRIENDS' SCHOOL.	QUAKER EDUCATION.	OTHER EVENTS.
	CROYDON :		
	1825, School removed to Croydon.		1828, First London College known as "University of London," founded.
	1830, <i>Monthly Packet</i> published (first known School magazine).	1831, The Mount School (for girls), York, founded.	1833, First State grant for education.
178	1837, Girls' Society for the Improvement of the Mind.	1837, Friends' Education Society began. 1841, Ayton School founded. 1842, Sibford School founded.	1846, Pupil-teacher system introduced.
	1848, Regular annual holiday of one month decided upon.	1848, The Flounders teacher-training scheme began.	1850, North London Collegiate Girls' School founded.
	1855, <i>Monthly Gleaner</i> magazine published.		1858, London Matriculation examination founded.
	1863, First external inspection of school—by British and Foreign School Society.		1870, Forster's Education Act.
	1869, Old Scholars' Association founded.		
	1873, First non-Friend Children admitted.		
	1875, Drawing first taught.		

APPENDIX

	FRIENDS' SCHOOL.	QUAKER EDUCATION.	OTHER EVENTS.
	SAFFRON WALDEN :		
	1879, School removed to Saffron Walden.		
	1880, Teaching of music introduced (voluntary subject for girls).		
	1881, College of Preceptors' examinations first taken.	1881, Friends' Central Education Board established. 1890, Leighton Park School founded.	
	1892, Chemistry Laboratory opened.	1894, Friends' Guild of Teachers founded.	
	1894, First Whitsuntide gathering of Old Scholars.	1896, Women take a joint share in sessions of London Yearly Meeting.	
179	1896, Cookery classes introduced.		1899, Board of Education established.
	1898, Music rooms opened.		
	1900, New classrooms and workshop on girls' side.		
	1901, Teachers' studies provided on girls' side.		
	1902, Half-years gave place to three terms. Men's and Women's Committees united.		1902, Education Act opened way for Secondary education.
	1902, Bicentenary. Swimming Bath and Gymnasium opened.		

APPENDIX

TABLE OF EVENTS, 1903-1952

- 1903, Block of masters' studies completed.  
 1906, First "School Tramp" for boys.  
 1910, Boys and girls taught together throughout. Beginning of co-education.  
 1911, School Sanatorium opened.  
 1913, First Old Scholars' Lecture Week-end.  
 1913, First scholar passed London Matriculation examination.  
 1914, School requisitioned (returned 1915).  
 1917, House competitions began.  
 1920, Burnham scale of salaries adopted.  
 1921, School recognised by Board of Education. More boys' class rooms added.  
 1923, Modified Dalton plan adopted.  
 1930, Junior School opened.  
 1931, Post-matriculation course began.  
 1936, First children admitted on recommendation of Essex Education Committee. Biology and Geography rooms built.  
 1937, Assembly Hall and New Library opened.  
 1940, Girls evacuated from Tottenham High School.  
 1945, Parent-teacher Association founded.  
 1948, Junior School closed. "Croydon House" opened for domestic science teaching.  
 1949, Yearly Meeting reaffirmed support for Friends' Schools.  
 1949, First State scholarship won by pupil at Walden. Age of entry became 11.  
 1950, New class rooms added.  
 1951, "The Future of Friends' Schools" (Commission Report).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

8. ANALYSIS OF SCHOLARS (1900-1951)

(The commencement of the Autumn Term in each year has been taken as the date for calculations.)

Average for the years	Number of Scholars.	Number of Friends.	Number of Day Scholars.	Number of Scholars of Sixth Form standing.
1900-1904	140	71	0	0
1905-1909	146	66	8	0
1910-1914	164	74	18	0
1915-1919	160	73	11	0
1920-1929	163	62	19	0
1925-1929	169	72	28	0
1930-1934	170	63	28	4
1935-1939	201	102	46	6
1940-1944	198	67	69	10
1945-1949	271	85	87	25
Year 1950	292	89	94	36
1951	302	81	97	36

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