The decision by the University of Manchester to associate itself with the training of teachers proved to be more significant than even its most sanguine supporters hoped. From the foundation of the two training colleges for men and women in 1890 and 1892 grew the Sarah Fielden Chair of Education in 1899, a fully-integrated Department in the re-organization which accompanied the dissolution of the Federal University in 1903, and the first Faculty of Education in the country in 1914. The faculties and departments of the University have received little study from historians, but it is only from such analyses that the history of the University, which has received a good deal of attention in respect of its constitutional development, can be broadened out. From this a clearer picture may emerge of how the first of the civic universities developed a role appropriate to the profound changes in late nineteenth-century England.

The relationship of the University to the training of teachers and the formal study of Education is complex. The university colleges, although new, were nevertheless heir to powerful traditions which affected their response to innovation. Because of their position at the apex of educational provision, they had great potential to influence all other aspects of the system, but themselves depended upon the lower institutions for income and students and had to promote themselves vigorously. Owens College experienced great difficulty in becoming established and had to maintain a nice balance between expedients to attract students and the high standards it set from the beginning. Because of the developed tradition of civic and cultural life in Manchester, the staff of the University were drawn into a range of educational activities extending far beyond their own social group. The decision by the government in 1889 to extend grants to university colleges, and the increasing importance of the universities in science and technology, together with the decision to permit the training of teachers in 1890, ensured a relationship with central government more important than the scale of the activity at that time implied. No other
aspects of community life occasioned so many responses in the University as the link with teachers, and it is the purpose of this paper to explore the varying ways in which Owens College became involved in education in its region, while at the same time extending its national responsibility by training teachers and engaging in the academic study of educational issues. Associated with these initiatives was the necessity for the emergent College to increase student numbers. In the period under review, pressure from school teachers and pupil-teachers for courses to improve their professional competence, the need for improved secondary education as a pre-requisite for success in long term recruitment, hunger for continuing educational opportunities among middle and working class adults, the claims of women for access to higher education and an increasing realization that teaching was an activity which demanded training and rigorous analysis, gave a huge potential for development.

The College was not slow to respond to requests from elementary school masters to support their work. At this time Manchester was the foremost city urging the government to establish an effective national education system; and, at the time Owens College came into being, the city was seeking permission to rate itself for educational purposes - twenty years before this became government policy. As interest was running high, it is perhaps not surprising that as early as 1853 the Trustees were urged by local teachers to provide weekend classes in the same way as did University College in London University. Principal Scott received a 'numerous' deputation of representatives of National and British Schools and persuaded the Trustees to agree to classes in Latin and Mathematics. Professors Greenwood and Sandeman began with fifteen-week courses, at a fee of one guinea. The fee was kept as low as possible 'in order to testify their desire to encourage the establishment of such classes... and it appeared that some thirty teachers showed interest. Again on the precedent of London University, it was decided to waive the fees of poor students who showed talent. During the year about half dropped out, and Scott reported that many 'were evidently unprepared for the occupation of time involved in following the lectures in private...'. It was recognized that new and unfamiliar work patterns would have to be introduced gradually. Most important of all, Scott realized that 'a demand must be slowly created here and the habit must be broken of considering it necessary to pass direct from the school to the counting house or the manufactory'. In fact, the experiment with part-time teachers was extended to create the very successful evening classes which characterized Owens College for a quarter of a century. During this period such students, and there were always teachers among

1 John Rylands University Library of Manchester: University Archives (hereafter cited as JRUA). Trustees' Minutes, i, 1 Feb. 1853.
2 Ibid., ii, 2 May 1856.
them, greatly outnumbered the full-time students. There is some evidence that in addition to the inevitable problems of accommodating themselves to advanced work, some students found the lectures intimidating. Extrovert personalities and great knowledge were not always linked to teaching skill, and Henry Roscoe noted of his colleague Sandeman that ‘he was unfitted both by nature and education to deal with raw Lancashire youths. . . .' On the other hand, there is no doubt that larger than life characters and even their eccentricities could provide bridges to learning for some of the students and acted as a stimulus. Years later, Samuel Alexander was to have just such a role in the work of training teachers.

It was drawn to Scott’s attention by Mr Hammersley of the School of Art, who was appointed to the evening class staff, that although there were 250 pupil-teachers in the school studying on courses approved by the Education Department in London, teachers who had an interest in the same subject matter would not join because of the presence of much younger people. This interesting insight effectively demonstrates the range of factors the College had to confront as it tried to enlarge its student numbers. The use of London University as a degree-awarding body greatly facilitated these developments in part-time studies as the College was quite uninhibited by traditional collegiate practices. The Department of Evening Classes, became, therefore, at one and the same time, indispensable to the College's economic base and the increased educational opportunity of Manchester teachers, pupil-teachers and adults in general. By 1858 the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations were beginning to influence grammar and proprietary schools. Previously, a school which wished to test its performance could only use academics as inspectors or submit pupils to the London Matriculation examination. By this time a few grammar school teachers were seeking to improve standards and memorialized the College to make it easier for north-west pupils by encouraging London to accept Manchester as a centre for the Matriculation examination as well as for the Oxford and Cambridge ‘Locals’. Stoneyhurst College and the Manchester Association of Middle Class Schoolmasters took the lead in this. In an act of faith, considering the precarious state of the College’s finances, the Trustees offered two College Exhibitions for the ablest pupils in the examinations. The Principal shrewdly noted that the examinations would indirectly affect elementary education by permitting transfer to grammar schools by the ablest pupils and on such a development ‘the permanent prosperity of Owens College can alone be based’. The late 1850s and 1860s witnessed an upsurge in national initiatives to promote education, and it was in the interests of Owens College to support them. The problem


was that national priorities were inevitably to establish the groundwork of the system; the College was struggling to establish standards appropriate to higher education. This meant that possible developments were carefully scrutinized, and one radical suggestion which foreshadowed the decision of 1890 was rejected. In 1858 the distinguished H.M. Inspector, J.D. Morell, suggested that a training college for teachers should be associated with the College. Michael Sadler, writing sixty years later, believed this to be the first initiative of its kind. Ideas about improving training through radical measures were in the wind, however, and Joshua Fitch H.M.I., the leading educational reformer, was arguing for training colleges to adopt a responsibility for secondary school teachers, an extremely radical proposal at that time. Morell countered College fears about the inappropriateness of the work and the likely lowering of standards, with reassurance that the entry qualifications demanded by the Education Department were stringent. He also hinted that a college with recruitment problems in the centre of a great area of population would gain regionally and probably nationally as well. This was a forecast which proved true after 1890. A further argument was that government was likely to give powers to municipalities to promote education and Manchester would be a pace-setter in this. The Trustees' Minutes indicate that the proposal received serious and lengthy consideration. The new Principal, Greenwood, was administratively more capable and forward-looking than Scott and was prepared to test any proposal. Nevertheless, as the College aspired to recognition as a University, excellence in academic teaching and research had to be a priority and there was a suggestion that 'students of somewhat miscellaneous description' might lead to the imputation that 'the aims of the testator were being subordinated to other ends'. There was a hint also, common enough among grammar school governors, that however able and hard working the elementary school products would be, a social mix might deter middle-class parents from sending their sons.

Caution was not out of place, as already part-time students outnumbered the full-timers and in those early years the post-1890 expedient of insisting that all trainee teachers should take a degree was not an option. Greenwood was not opposed to sounding out the idea and visited London to discuss implications in depth with R.R.W. Lingen. It emerged that the Education Department was likely to insist on discrete courses which would be difficult to staff, and concern was expressed about the insalubrious environment of the college in Quay Street. This was the first contact the College had with the Education Department, and its demands foreshadowed a tension which was to

---

5 M.E. Sadler, *The Department of Education in the University of Manchester 1890–1911* (Manchester: U.P., 1911), 23.
6 JRUA, Trustees' Minutes, ii, 14 Apr. 1858, 27 Jan. 1859.
last many years after the link was formally made in 1890. Each professor was asked to prepare a report on the implications of the idea for his Chair. Two, who are not named, objected that 'the character of the regulations imposed by the Privy Council were such that the necessary discretion and independence of the teachers of these subjects would be injuriously shackled'. Greenwood noted that these were the two most prominent subjects of the Regulations, so it is likely that Scott, Professor of English Literature, and Sandeman, Professor of Mathematics, were influential in persuading their colleagues to reject the scheme unanimously. The formal statement was: 'The professors doubt the expediency of shaping their instruction to the future destination of the training college students in any other sense than that in which all good teaching should have such a direction and that with regard to the best interests of the training college students and to those of the Owens College generally'. The staff present when this decision was taken were Principal Greenwood, Roscoe, Sandeman and Scott. Greenwood had it noted that he would have found no difficulty in co-operating and he persuaded his colleagues to record their wish for the College 'to aid in promoting to the utmost of its power the educational interests of this district'. As a practical step it was argued that if demand could be shown, the College would put on special classes in appropriate subjects for teachers, presumably as part of the evening work.

An interesting example of how the needs of school teachers were brought before the College is the establishment of the new Chair of Political Economy in 1866. R.C. Christie's shared responsibility for history and political economy was unsatisfactory and the death of Cobden provided an opportunity for reorganization. The committee to determine a fitting memorial was influenced by its Secretary, Dr John Watts, one of the most radical and influential members of Manchester's establishment. His involvement in the Co-operative movement and Chartism had given him a deep interest in education, and after 1870 he was to be a leading member of the Manchester School Board. As well as a decision to endow a Chair at the College, the committee, on Watt's instigation, attached the condition that the professor should put on evening classes to which teachers and pupil-teachers should be admitted without fee, to 'bait the hook'. It was Watts' hope that if 'they could fix a knowledge of the science (political economy) on the minds of primary teachers' they would have found a way of spreading the knowledge among the people and 120 school managers were canvassed for their responses. His hope was that an understanding of political economy would diminish irrational and selfish decisions which he believed did so much to disrupt industry. Prizes were

---

7 Manchester Guardian, 24 Feb. 1866.
8 Ibid.
established for the most successful pupil-teachers in their year. By 1871 the reformist Bishop of Manchester, James Fraser, speaking to the evening students, could point in particular to the success Professor Jevons had with the pupil-teachers. More generally, he noted the value of teacher attendance at the evening classes, as training colleges and school work tended 'to cramp and narrow the mind'. At this time also, Samuel Fielden, the Todmorden industrialist and philanthropist, 'feeling a warm interest in the welfare of an institution which I hope is destined to do so much for this district' endowed a lectureship in mathematics and attached a proviso similar to the Cobden example, with an additional course for working people to enable them to compete for Whitworth scholarships. It is likely that this interest in education was influenced by his wife, Sarah Fielden, at that time running a model school on the estate and much later to endow the Chair of Education.

A biographical register of graduates of Owens College from its origin to 1898 reveals that about 200 men and women entered teaching, so the College was indirectly preparing teachers from a very early period. Women were not admitted until after the new Charter of 1880, and, despite a disparity of thirty years, form a third of the total entering the profession. At first, only grammar schools were available and a number of notable schools are represented among the graduates. After 1870, slowly, but with great momentum from 1890, elementary schools were represented.

The importance of teaching to women is a reminder of how important Owens College was as an extension of opportunities for women in general. Although the College approached this important issue with caution, there were always members of Senate and Council who moved the process forward. In 1877 much support was given to the small Manchester and Salford College for Women established in Brunswick Street, very near to where the College had moved in 1873. Although the public meeting which took the initiative negatived a proposal that the intention was to seek access to classes in Owens College, this was certainly in the mind of many women present and represented nothing more than a realistic decision not to provoke more conservative opponents. The most progressive senior members of the Senate and Council were represented on a Committee to establish the College and were joined by the wives of prominent academics. Particularly noteworthy were H.J. Roby, formerly Secretary to the Schools Inquiry Commission, and a notable supporter of women's aspirations both at that time and in his subsequent role as an Endowed Schools Act Commissioner; Professor Ward, under whose influence as Principal the University was to welcome a training college in 1890; and

9 Ibid., 1 June 1871.
10 JRUA, Trustees' Minutes, Appendix 1, 16 June 1870.
Professor A. Wilkins, to be influential in both the extension of opportunities for women and the development of the Education Department itself. Alfred Nield was Owens College Treasurer and Chairman of Council. Alfred Bailey, who was to give so much support to educational experiments as a Trustee of the Fielden School Endowment after 1905, was a member, as was E.J. Broadfield who, as a member of Owens College Council and the Manchester School Board, was to provide important liaison in 1890. Influential in industry and the press were William Mather and C.P. Scott, who continued to be supportive as the training work developed after 1890. The Bishop and Dean of Manchester, both of whom had close contacts with Owens College, supported the new endeavour. As most of the lecturers were Owens staff who sympathized with the women's movement, the College was extremely important in preparing the way for access after 1880. 

The new Manchester High School for Girls had opened in Dover Street in 1873 and its first Head, Miss Day, was a member of the Women's College Committee. A member of her staff, Miss Amy Bulley, was the Organizing Secretary. The link with the High School was to reach its height when Sara Burstall became head in 1898 and T.F. Tout, Professor of History, was chairman of the Governors. Burstall wrote in an obituary of Tout, that in all the school achieved, he 'was the protagonist and established definitely the principle that the new University produced teachers as fit in every way for the exacting and arduous requirements of their profession as did the women's colleges at the older seats of learning. It rejoiced his heart – which was ardent for the cause of women's advance – to see Manchester graduates headmistresses of important girls schools. . . .' 

When the Women's College opened, the concession of reduced fees was granted to teachers and intending teachers. In the first intake 42 per cent took advantage of this, rising to nearly 50 per cent a year later. It is noteworthy that Caroline Herford was a member of the first group of women to enter the College: she was the daughter of W.H. Herford, the Froebelian teacher and pioneering founder of Lady Barn House School in Mauldeth Road, Manchester. She went from the College to Newnham College, Cambridge, before returning to Manchester as head of the School and a part-time member of the University Education Department. Herford himself offered to give a course on the science of education in the College for the teacher students, but the precarious finances prevented this initiative by a significant educationist. Among the other teacher entrants in 1877 was Maria Standing of Leigh, who became the first to gain a University Certificate of

11 JRUA, Minute Book and Miscellaneous Papers of the Manchester and Salford College for Women.
12 Archives of the University of Manchester School of Education (hereafter cited as MUSH). Obituary of T.F Tout by S. Burstall, n.d.
Proficiency in 1880, with an impressive record of first class marks. A notable addition to the College Committee in 1878 was Robert Adamson, Professor of Philosophy, who, until his departure to Glasgow in 1893, became the member of Senate most interested in education and a major contributor to the decision of 1890.

It is appropriate here to refer to the very similar support given by Owens College to the Manchester Working Men's College which was founded in 1858. This enterprise had a short independent existence before being absorbed into Owens College itself. As with the Women's College prominent names appear on the Committee and as teachers. Christie, Greenwood, Roscoe, Sandeman and Scott took part, working with others from many aspects of Manchester life, including F.W. Walker, the High Master of Manchester Grammar School, Rev. William Gaskell and the H.M.I., J.D. Morell. Oliver Heywood, the leading banker, a member of the University Council and promoter of much of Manchester's social reform, was chairman of the Committee, and, as President of the Mechanics' Institute, symbolized the link which it was hoped would develop between the two institutions as students from the Institute moved to more advanced courses in the Working Men's College. The intention of the College was clearly set out in the preliminary document which was widely circulated:

Among the middle classes what has been taught at school is considered a foundation merely on which to build a sound and complete education. But when the working man leaves school his education ordinarily ceases and he has little opportunity of afterwards carrying it on for himself. This is at once injurious to the working man and an obstacle to the advancement of the community, for one section cannot be stationary without retarding the progress of the rest.

This demonstrates the social awareness which characterized the staff of the University and is further seen in regard to adult education in the support given to Charles Rowley and T.C. Horsfall. Rowley was the founder of the Ancoats Brotherhood, a remarkable educational and leisure movement to which Roscoe delivered the inaugural talk on John Dalton at the New Islington Hall in 1881. The movement was later associated with University Extension courses which, as well as forming an element of adult education provision, were widely used by pupil-teachers. Horsfall, a prominent figure in the environmental reform movement of the late nineteenth century, founded the Ancoats Art Museum. A disciple of Ruskin, and like Rowley a friend of Barnett of Toynbee Hall, Horsfall extended his work to pioneer the loan of pictures to elementary schools and was a supporter of the Herbartian School, founded in 1902 by Catherine Dodd, the Mistress of Method of the new Women's Training College. In 1895, again in Ancoats, the University Settlement was launched on the model of

13 JRUA, Miscellaneous Papers of the Working Men's College, unlisted.
Toynbee Hall. Adolphus Ward, the Principal of Owens College and the initiator of the training of teachers in the College, launched the Settlement and on its Committee was Samuel Alexander, the newly-appointed Professor of Philosophy who was to have such an impact on the formal study of education in the University. It is of interest that Ernest Campagnac, the first Warden in 1906, became the Professor of Education at Liverpool in 1907.

Closely related to these important, if small-scale experiments in adult education, was the University’s initiative in developing a formal Extension programme. Surprisingly, this was to have a direct influence on the University’s contribution to teacher training as some of the courses became attractive to pupil-teachers and became for a time recognized by the Education Department as acceptable components of the training programme. From time to time grammar school pupils attended to supplement their studies, particularly when in the senior forms. Tout had a central role, but the work became very large scale and extended across the other colleges of the University at Liverpool and Leeds. The link with pupil-teachers was doubly welcome for financial reasons as it allowed the range of extension work for the general public to be increased. When the government removed the weighting for such courses from the pupil-teacher’s examination, many testimonials to the value of the work were sent to London. Tout, who had been mainly responsible for persuading school boards to adopt the courses wrote:

They are seldom brought into contact with minds trained differently from their own . . . if the university Extension lectures are efficiently conducted, they get from them a wider horizon and a broader interest. They are brought into relations with someone who is more or less a specialist. They have a chance of seeing that history and literature are not mere matters of isolated names, dates and facts, but possess human interest and build up connected wholes. ¹⁴

Some local authorities began as early as 1890, under the powers given by the Technical Instruction Act, to subsidize extension lectures on scientific and technical subjects. The University responded and its promotional literature claimed that classes could be provided in the basic sciences, but also in such specific areas as textile design and colouring, cotton and linen bleaching and the coal tar industries. Such classes were extremely valuable to teachers in the new Higher Grade Elementary Schools which had a strong vocational bias. The link with technical education goes back, in fact, to the early days of Owens College, although it remained small scale. At first, under the influence of Roscoe and with increasing interest from the Science and Art Department in London, evening and weekend courses were provided.

In 1871, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the elder statesman of the education system, addressing the governors of Owens College, urged the importance of science teaching and hoped the College would play its part. 'I was encouraged to hope', he said, having read the College's evidence to the Devonshire Commission on Technical Education 'that the difficulties in the way of applying scientific instruction and otherwise for providing for the training of teachers in Owens College, were not insurmountable'.

In practice, the part-time teachers who were interested in science were difficult to accommodate, particularly in laboratory work, and weekend and vacation meetings had to be arranged. In 1882 Roscoe reported that numbers had been small, mainly because of attendance problems. There were also protracted negotiations with the Science and Art Department at South Kensington about grants for part-time work. By 1890 the Manchester Technical Instruction Committee had come into being as part of the City Council, and the University suggested that students at the new technical college, after completing their courses, could 'by an attendance of one or more years in suitable classes and in the chemical and engineering laboratories of the College qualify themselves to become thoroughly capable teachers of these subjects. . . .'  

Although from one direction or another, the developing College had contact with teachers, it was still far from seriously engaging in the training process. By 1890 the Prospectus for Evening Classes listed many courses in scientific and technical subjects, and by this time the College had organized a system of Literary, Technical and Commercial Certificates in connection with technical colleges and schools. In 1888 the Vice-Chancellor noted in his Report to Court that a scheme of examining was in place which 'will encourage and elevate the educational work performed'. By 1890, the aim was bolder. Certificates 'will be the means of giving University direction and attachment to numerous organizations which have lacked clearness of aim or recognition of results'. The University was, the Vice-Chancellor noted proudly, 'step by step comprehending her mission and entering upon her heritage'.

Before education was added to the responsibilities of local government in 1902 this was a valuable and mutually advantageous role, and Owens College had developed a surprising number of direct contacts with schools and teachers. The closest contacts were with secondary schools which still lacked any local or central government oversight and for which no schemes of inspection or local examination

16 JRUA, Owens College Documents, vii, 1882–84, no. 177.
17 Ibid., x, 1890–92, 12 Mar. 1891.
18 JRUA, Vice-Chancellor, Report to Court, Proceedings of Court. Appendix 1, 1881–99, 28 June 1890.
existed. It was obviously in the interest of the University to nurture the grammar schools and improve standards. The initiative also came from teachers. Another generation was to pass before a unified Matriculation system developed nation-wide and it was in the interests of teachers and the University to facilitate entry. In 1884 the Manchester Board of School Masters had proposed that inspectors from the University should take a 'whole-school' approach. As confidence grew, it was argued, special arrangements for entry might develop; for example, exemption from the entrance examination.

An important conference was arranged in 1884 to explain 'the system and working of the University' and to encourage suggestions that 'might be made for bringing about that co-operation between school and University which is so much to be desired'. Over fifty heads attended with, in addition, Herbert Birley, Chairman of the Manchester School Board, two H.M.I.s and as a special guest, the Rev. Edward Thring of Uppingham School. A noteworthy member was James Scotson, the head of Manchester Higher Grade Elementary School, who, with representatives of Manchester Teacher's Association, demonstrated the interest of the elementary sector. Other conferences were held in 1890 to discuss the implications of establishing a training college; and in 1897 on Secondary Education in the light of the Bryce Report of 1895. About 150 men and women attended this latter meeting, symbolizing the change which had occurred since the all-male gathering of 1884. The importance of the conference was indicated by the attendance of Sir George Kekewich, Permanent Secretary at the Education Department.

It is perhaps surprising how often the College principals—in particular Ward and Hopkinson—attended speech days in grammar schools, and used the opportunity to promote the University's work and to encourage the staff and pupils to greater efforts in raising standards. Those professors most enthusiastic about education became inspectors and governors of secondary schools. Adamson, Wilkins, Lamb, Dixon, Tout and others undertook this work and were all enthusiastic supporters of increasing involvement by the College in national education. It was from this group that support developed for the 1890 decision to establish a training college.

Between such set-piece meetings many educational gatherings were hosted by the College, including meetings of the very successful Stockport Teacher's Association; the Manchester branch of the Teacher's Guild and its national conference in 1891; the Child Study Association; and the Historical Association. In all of these local and national bodies, staff of the College were fully involved and links with teachers were made. H.L. Withers, a master at Manchester Grammar School from 1889 to 1892, made contacts with University and city

19 Manchester Guardian, 21 Jan. 1884, 'Victoria University and The Secondary Schools'.

COLLEGE, COMMUNITY AND TEACHERS
teachers which were to be very valuable on his appointment to the Chair of Education in 1899. Through the Extension movement, M.E. Sadler became well known in Manchester, and his long-standing relationship with Philip Hartog secured his invitation to a Chair in 1903.

The moves towards the formal adoption of responsibility for the training of teachers were complex and extended over the decade 1880 to 1890. The evolution of this aspect of a university's work, which led to the creation of Chairs of Education, has been little studied and not at all for the University of Manchester. Although the suggestion of 1858 had been rejected, relationships with teachers in one form or another, and for a range of motives, had steadily increased. By the 1880s criticism was being raised of the narrowly instrumental training college programmes, and the inadequacies of the pupil-teacher system were well known. The need to train grammar school teachers was only dimly perceived and progressive bodies such as the Education Society and Teacher's Guild had limited influence. The decision in Scotland to establish Chairs of Education in 1876, and the Cambridge University Training Syndicate of 1880, did, however, point in a new direction. Most important of all, the extension of national education in the legislation of 1869, 1870 and 1880 compelled a new look at both the question of how to produce sufficient teachers and on what pedagogical base the process of training should rest. The existence in Manchester of an effective and ambitious School Board and a number of far-sighted headteachers ensured that Owens College would come under pressure to take the lead in reform. In July 1882 the Principal told the Senate that the College had been approached by elementary school teachers urging it to 'increase facilities to persons desirous to qualify as teachers in the primary schools'. In January 1883 the Mechanics' Institute, as part of its attempt to create links with Owens College, had asked for 'methodized instruction' for teachers in mechanics' institutes and board schools. It was at this time that the University was developing its ideas of awarding certificates to institutions in which it had confidence, a scheme which received a boost in 1884 when the City and Guilds of London College accepted certificates from Manchester for entry to courses in technology. A committee of Senate was set up to enquire into the question of training. The membership of this first serious consideration since 1858 is interesting. Greenwood, Adamson, Roscoe, Wilkins, Dawkins, Schuster, Core and Ward were all professors who formed the nucleus of the College's interest in the teaching profession and in such important courses as science, as well as access by women. Nothing concrete emerged at this time, partly because of the preoccupation of the newly formed Victoria

20 The stages are recorded in the Council Minute Books and volumes of Appendices; Senate Minutes and Committee Books; Owens College Documents 1870-1900; Volumes of Press Cuttings; and Extract Books.
University from 1880 with the formation of appropriate structures and policies, but mainly because the government had not yet taken the lead in initiating change.

It is appropriate at this point to refer to an increasingly powerful social factor to which Owens College was very sympathetic. It is symbolized in a comment made by a Greater Manchester head, Mr Park, of the respected Albion Board School in Ashton under Lyne. It was reported in the *Manchester Guardian* that a pupil had passed from his school to Owens College 'and forcibly illustrates what can be done by children of the labouring classes when the facilities for higher training and culture are opened to them'.\(^2^1\) This statement of what was to become the prevalent meritocratic or 'ladder' theory of social mobility through education had been developed at greater length in an article earlier in the same year. It was argued that the able elementary school pupil had increasing routes to success at work. As well as evening classes and access to the School of Art or the Technical College 'he may go to the Owens College for the higher branches of pure science and so become fitted for the most important professional engagements'.\(^2^2\) It is clear that the co-ordinating and supportive role being developed by the College, as well as the genuine concern for improvement through education held by many members of staff, led to sympathy with this ideal and gave confidence and philosophic conviction to the College's ambitious expansion plans. Crucial to the meritocratic ideal was the improvement of the education system and the creation of links between the parts. It was central also to the emergent claims of elementary school teachers to professional status. Because of this, pressure was exerted by energetic teachers' associations and individuals. Representative of these was H.A. Johnstone, Headmaster of the Brentnall Street Schools in Stockport. He was a founder of the Stockport branch of the National Union of Teachers, the Association of Teachers in the Stockport District, and the Cheshire District Union of Teachers for Science and Technical Teaching. His daughter, Mary, a pupil at the Manchester High School in the 1880s, was to have a notably successful academic career at Owens College, and, after her marriage to T.F. Tout, became a leader of the movement to extend women's opportunities in the College. Through Johnstone's promotional work for the profession, which often included invitations to prominent educationists to speak in Stockport, the interest of teachers in training was encouraged.\(^2^3\)

Nor did the Manchester School Board relax its attempts to involve the College. In 1886, it set up a committee to confer with the College, probably because the shortage of training college places in the

\(^{2^1}\) *Manchester Guardian*, 27 Oct. 1883.
\(^{2^2}\) Ibid., 18 Aug. 1883.
\(^{2^3}\) JRUA, Tout MSS; and H.A. Johnstone, *A Sketch of a Strenuous Life*, (privately printed, Stockport, 1918).
north-west was becoming serious. For so great an area of population there were only colleges at Chester, Warrington and Liverpool. Of the two at Liverpool, that at Edge Hill only came into being in 1885. Of these four colleges, one was only for men, and only that at Edge Hill was non-denominational. In the north-west as a whole the great expansion in the education system led to an increase in the number of pupil-teachers, but their chances of entry to a training college after apprenticeship decreased as the Queen’s Scholarship list lengthened and college provision grew slowly.

It was only by the mid-1880s that the College was slowly encouraging women, after the experiment with the Women’s College since 1877. When the Women’s Department was founded, Edith C. Wilson, who had worked for the Brunswick Street College, was appointed Tutor to women students. Her brother, J.M. Wilson, was Headmaster of Clifton School and was to become Archdeacon of Manchester in 1890. From this background Edith Wilson developed a passionate interest in education beyond that of the University, and was a founder member of the Teachers’ Guild in the city in 1888. Professors Adamson and Wilkins were also members of the Guild committee. Wilson realized that many women would wish to be teachers, and she became an influential voice in the College arguing for training opportunities. In Manchester was one of the country’s foremost feminists, Lydia Becker, who was a School Board member. She reinforced Wilson’s views there, and was very critical of what she saw as the University’s discrimination against women.

It was an act of central government, however, which was decisive. The Royal Commission into the Working of the Education Acts met in 1886 and early reports indicated that there was a move to enlarge training opportunities and that the university colleges would probably be central to the plan. Strong support was given by the Inspectorate, and Oakeley, the Senior Inspector of Training Colleges, indicated that he had been in touch with Manchester on the matter. There is evidence, however, of caution in the Manchester response. The Education Reform League was urging the government to agree to grants for university colleges if such new responsibilities were given, but the Senate refused to join the League in national negotiations at so early a stage. The League’s initiative did, however, lead to a statement by Owens Senate ‘that university colleges might with advantage co-operate’ in providing training. This was a decisive moment in May 1887.24

Decision making in the University after 1880 was inevitably cumbersome as a result of the federal organization, and committees representing Owens College were paralleled by committees representing the University and its two other constituent colleges, Univer-

24 JRUA, Senate Minutes, iii, 1883–88, 1 May 1887.
University College, Liverpool, and the Yorkshire College at Leeds. University College took a particularly constructive part in discussions, and a committee which was appointed in May 1887 proposed a plan very like that to be adopted by Owens College, although it included a hall of residence. A Report of the Victoria University Council of June 1887 accepted most of the Liverpool document, with which Leeds was in agreement. It did, however, suggest that after the appointment of a Master of Method 'under whom the students reading for the curriculum should have constant instruction in history and theory of education, in practising classes and in reading, writing, music and drawing . . .', the validation of the practical work should be undertaken by Whitehall 'as this part of the work could not satisfactorily be undertaken by the University'. From October 1887 a small, high-power committee of the Council at Owens College, consisting of Principal Greenwood, Thompson, Neild, Roby, Broadfield and Ward, discussed these moves. In January 1888, a Senate committee, again chaired by the Principal and consisting of Professors Wilkins (Latin), Core (Physics), Dixon (Chemistry), Lamb (Mathematics), Ward (English), and Adamson (Philosophy), began a serious attempt to put together a scheme for the College. With Robert Adamson as the leading member, the committee members may be considered the founding fathers of the decision of 1890.

Within a month the committee had completed its work and Adamson wrote the Report. The plan was to relate as far as possible the two years of training to the first years of a degree course. The Preliminary and Intermediate examinations would be taken, and at the end a diploma would be awarded. Adamson's Report did not discuss making a degree a requirement, but the document which was eventually approved by the Council of the Victoria University permitted diplomates at a future time to return for a third year and gain the degree. The Report stressed that this procedure was to ensure that the University's work would not be distorted. It is likely that it was also a device to minimize disruption and ensure that little financial investment was needed. The decision to admit only men is unexpected considering the membership of the committee, and the College's inveterate caution seems to have been the reason. The Report explained that due to the inadequacies of girls' education and the 'foreign' requirement of the course of training - needlework was meant - it was inappropriate. For the professional work it was thought that the headmaster of a Manchester school would be appropriate as Master of Method. The Report strongly rejected the idea of a practice school because the College 'would be stepping far beyond its normal functions'. In the years after 1905, when a famous Demonstration School was developed by Professor J.J. Findlay, the University

---

continued to find the idea incongruous. A hall of residence, while not essential, would be very desirable.

When the Council considered the recommendation by Senate to approve the Report, it set up a new committee in June 1888 representing Court, Council and Senate to negotiate with the government. The idea of a hall was postponed and the proposed salary of the Master of Method was raised from the £100 with a percentage of fees, as envisaged in the Report, to £200 with a share of the fees. At no point in any of the discussions was a professorship suggested. Although Owens College discussed matters with University College, Liverpool and with Yorkshire College, Leeds, through private contacts and the complex machinery of the federal organization, each College went its own way within broadly agreed guidelines. Only Owens College was ready to begin in 1890. Before this, discussion with the Education Department on the basis of Adamson’s Report began. In late 1889 outline proposals were sent to London in the form of a Memorial and discussion on detail ensued. The Memorial contained the assertion:

That it would materially widen the range and elevate the tone of Elementary School Teaching if the advantages of a University course of study were secured for such persons qualifying themselves as Elementary School Teachers . . . the courses of instruction in the Colleges of the University would afford a more stimulating and thorough training than any other course of study at present available for Elementary Teachers in this country.

On 4 March 1890 a deputation went to see Hart Dyke, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council, and Cumin, the Permanent Secretary. It consisted of senior members of the three Colleges and Professor Adamson. The two inspectors in charge of training colleges, Oakeley and Fitch, were also present, and possibly the M.P. William Rathbone, through whose good offices the meeting had been expedited. It was an informal and cordial meeting. The manuscript summary that was made observes that ‘the Vice-President gave expression to the strong desire the Education Department entertained to come to an agreement with the University in regard to the proposals’. Fears that the Department would not accept the University’s course of study and examinations appeared to be groundless. The anonymous writer of the account seemed surprised that the Department showed little interest in a hall of residence and did not wish to make it a point of principle. Adamson had created a financial model for discussion in the University, and he must have been surprised when the Education Department’s suggestion of a £25 grant per student was the same as his hypothetical figure. It was arranged that a further official and more formal meeting would follow within the month. These early contacts with the Education Department, although amicable, nevertheless signalled a quite new relationship between the University and London which was to be marked by very close oversight. Coming as it did
when general grants to universities were newly established, the link with teacher training considerably increased government intervention in higher education. It is noteworthy, however, that in the discussions concern about visits by inspectors was muted, probably because the University perceived academic work and the professional training as quite separate entities and assumed that only the latter would be examined.

Early in 1889 Adamson had visited the Stockport Teachers’ Association and, although carefully identifying himself as a private individual, he made a very strong appeal for the involvement of the new university colleges in improving the national system of education. He noted that there were about 7,000 students in higher education in England and about the same number in Scotland, and yet the population of England to Scotland was in a proportion of seven to one. Also, the Scottish universities had already become closely involved in the training process. He was critical of the rather instrumental view on training taken by the Royal Commission, noting that ‘nothing but harm could come from taking a narrow and contracted view of what should constitute the general subjects of education for the training of the teacher’. In a more general sense he reviewed the emergence of university colleges and urged that they should associate themselves more intimately with society than had the older universities. He also suggested the extension of training to secondary school teachers, a most radical proposal in 1889.

Among the colleges considering involvement with training there is evidence from 1889 of an emerging collective approach to government while not inhibiting their own freedom of action. Parallel to this was a formal attempt at Manchester to sound out the feelings of local School Boards. Two conferences resulted – a national one at Nottingham on 28 May and one in Manchester earlier in the same month. The latter was chaired by the University Treasurer and Chairman of Council, Joseph Thompson. In addition to University members and an H.M.I., W. Scott Coward, who was to be very supportive later, senior members of the Manchester and Salford Boards attended. The Manchester Guardian reported that ‘the emphatically expressed opinion in favour of the extension distinctly warrants the hope that before long there will be a day training college in Manchester’. 26

The editor of the Guardian, C.P. Scott, and his wife, were convinced advocates of improved education and played a large part in making links with teachers and, after 1890, in supporting the training work. A resolution proposed by Roby was accepted to the effect that the College would be able to rely on the co-operation of board schools. An attempt was made by Lydia Becker to make School Board

26 Manchester Guardian, 10 May 1889.
agreement dependent upon the College training women as well as men, but it was rejected. In a report to the Council shortly after this the Principal was generally confident about developments, but he drew attention to continuing uncertainty in the Education Department about the intention to assimilate trainee teachers into the regular classes of the College and not set up a special course for them. He noted that this would 'do away with the motive of the whole scheme, viz the desire to bring a certain number of elementary teachers into contact with the higher university training'. It was also clear, he warned, that this would involve the College in a financial loss of perhaps £600 a year.27 Robert Adamson was the Owens College representative at the Nottingham Conference on 28 May.28 Six institutions attended – the Durham College of Science, Yorkshire College, Firth College, Mason's College, University College, Nottingham, and Owens College. A letter was received from University College, Liverpool. The only evidence of this meeting is in a short letter from Adamson to the Principal, which indicates as the major point of discussion the need to resist Education Department pressure to provide special courses. The resolutions advocating a two-year course coincident with the ordinary B.A. or B.Sc. programmes were identical to the position which Owens College had long before decided to implement. Although low key, this meeting was significant as the first formal meeting of university colleges to discuss the training of teachers.

From this point the College began to address itself to a detailed examination of the course to be offered. In one of the planning documents to have survived, and dated as late as April 1890, it was still being argued that 'any considerable portion of the personal education of elementary teachers under it given otherwise than as a portion of the regular College work, would involve this College in responsibilities it is not desirable it should undertake'.29 Part of the problem was the slowness of the Education Department in producing new Regulations, probably due to resistance from the training colleges which feared competition. Ward, who had succeeded Greenwood as Principal, visited Permanent Secretary Kekewich in London. In March 1890, Ward reported that he had been informed that only 200 students would be admitted to the new mode of training nationwide. By May it had been decided that the Local Committee responsible for training should be the Council of the College, a shrewd move which gave high status to the development and also made sure that the University would keep close control over the way the training college was run. The fact that the Principal of Owens College was ex officio Principal of the training college was to prove beneficial until the creation of the

28 JRUA, Owens College Documents, ix, 1887–90, 29 May 1889, no. 149.
29 MUSEA, Draft Report to Senate, Training of Primary Teachers, 30 Apr. 1890.
Chair in 1899. After this it created a complexity of organization and jurisdiction which caused tensions.

In early June a further conference with School Boards was organized, and in a long address Ward reviewed the process by which the idea of university training colleges had come into being and stressed the hope that such institutions would ‘broaden, deepen and humanize’ the training of elementary school teachers. He went to some length to explain that the decision to exclude women was not discriminating against the ‘equally important’ half of those needing training. It derived from logistical decisions, in part financial and in part from the historical circumstance which had located the Women’s Department in an already over-crowded house in Brunswick Street. He assured his listeners that

the best training is, in the old academical sense of the word, a liberal education and the students would be intellectually challenged and would not be supplied with an assortment of torches ready made and lit but with a steady flame at which the torch when it is wanted can always be set ablaze.

A congratulatory message was read from Sir Henry Roscoe, then an M.P. and a member of the government committee set up to distribute grants to university colleges. He expressed particular pleasure that Manchester’s intention had been the first to come to his official notice. Most interesting among the other speakers was James Scotson, Headmaster of the Manchester Higher Grade Elementary School, the ‘Prince of Schoolmasters’ as A.J. Mundella had once described him. He looked forward to the end of a system which ‘glutted the market with teachers, many of whom were incapable’. When there was proper provision for the training of teachers ‘it would be possible for the government to say that no man should become a teacher unless he was trained’.

It was not until June 1890 that a decision was taken to appoint a Master of Method, and a committee worked out a job specification with the advice of the H.M.I. for training colleges, Henry Oakeley. Advertisements were placed in three leading educational journals as well as The Times and the Athenaeum. Applications were disappointing for so significant a new post, and the timing may have contributed to a total of only seven candidates. Two local men had applied, F.B. Gill, Second Master at Scotson’s school, and J.J. Jackson, an Assistant Inspector for the Manchester School Board. Both had external B.A. degrees of London University. Only one applicant had experience of training, G.H. Fathers, an Oxford B.A. and assistant Master of Method at Culham Training College. Three came from schools in Scotland, Norwich and Carlisle and of one no school is recorded. Two were invited for interview, Gill and W.T. Goode, M.A., from Carlisle

"Manchester Guardian, 9 June 1890."
Grammar School. In selecting Goode, the committee seem to have decided to go for academic respectability rather than knowledge of elementary schools. It is likely that from the beginning tension was apparent between the intention of the College to integrate the professional training closely with the academic courses and the need for a tutor skilled in a particular sector of education. A change, in fact, seems to have come about since the early discussions, when the professional work was clearly perceived as a more marginal activity which could be assigned to a local headmaster. Other administrative decisions followed in time for the 1890–91 session: a Management Sub-Committee was appointed, specific schools were agreed with the School Board and decisions taken about approved lodgings. Membership of the Committee is a significant indicator of those who were committed to the enterprise. Ward chaired a group which consisted of Lamb, Wilkins, Adamson, Roby, Broadfield and the H.M.I., Scott Coward. Goode attended by invitation. With so impressive a Committee determining the policy of the College, the long process to bring education formally into the University was over.

Much could be written about the development of the training work in respect of its students, courses and methods. This paper is concerned, however, with the way in which the University was responding to a new area of responsibility. Within a year it turned its attention to the possibility of a training college for women. Given the membership of the Management Committee, this is not surprising, but in view of the previous hesitancy it deserves inquiry. In March 1891, the Oldham School Board passed a resolution urging Owens College 'to take into consideration the question of making provision for the admission of female students to the Day Training Colleges'. The Board noted that in Oldham, of fifty-seven pupil-teachers, fifty were women, and it pointed out that the 1891 Code of Regulations had lifted the restriction limiting the course to 200 entrants. As early as the management meeting of 26 January 1891, only four months after the College opened, the Principal was requested to report on arrangements made for women in colleges which already made provision for them. This comprised four of the original six day-training colleges which opened in 1890. This may have been influenced by confirmation from the Education Department, as a result of a visit by Principal Ward, that there was no objection to students staying for a third year, provided that the grant was not disproportionately allocated to that group. This opened the way for the policy that all

31 JRUA, Senate Committee Book, xli, May–Dec. 1890, 27 Aug. 1890, 25 Sept. 1890. The Day Training College Management Committee (DTCMC) Minute Book, June 1890 to Mar. 1904, is in JRUA, unlisted. Two volumes of Minutes of the Men's and Women's College Committee are in MSEA.
32 JRUA, Owens College Documents, x, 1890–92, no. 194.
33 JRUA, DTCMC Minute Book, Feb. 1891.
students should taken degrees. It must have seemed attractive to the University to have a large and regular addition to the Faculties of Arts and Science, and the first fifty years had been so uncertain financially that economic factors must always have been persuasive. Nor should the influence of the first decade of women students be under-estimated in overcoming conservatism. With Greenwood's retirement the position was eased and slowly the quality of the degrees achieved by women spoke for itself. The work of Edith Wilson, informally developing relationships with her male colleagues, and the success of the High School in Dover Street, further prepared the way. The decision to develop a training college for women was to be the catalyst which finally induced the University to abandon its half-hearted response by opening up a new route by which able young women could enter degree courses.

When in early November 1891 a group of Manchester teachers visited Ward to urge him to provide facilities for training women, he was able to tell them that the matter was already under consideration. At the Management Committee of 13 November, it was decided that Council should be asked to agree to a group of twenty women students. Because girls' schooling was often inadequate, they would be allowed extra time over preparation for the Preliminary examination. A Mistress of Method would be appointed under the general supervision of the Tutor for Women Students. Although it was expected that some classes would be held in common, the women's college was technically separate. The appointment of the Mistress of Method had a particular significance as she would be the first woman to join the academic staff of the University. Advertisements met with a better response, twenty women applying, but the quality was thought poor, except for an outstanding candidate, Catherine Isabella Dodd, who was appointed. By 1892, two training Colleges or Departments existed, run by Management Committees for the Council with the Principal of Owens College ex officio principal of each College and Correspondent with London. For reasons not entirely clear, but perhaps derived from the relationship of the Mistress of Method to the Department of Women as well as Miss Dodd's creative and independent style of management and teaching, the women's College gained an autonomy quite different from the close oversight maintained by the Principal over the men's College. This was to cause much difficulty after 1899, when the Chair was established, and even more after 1903 when Departmental status was granted. It must be remembered that relationships in the University were complicated by the very active intervention of the London Education Department. As it is rare to get a glimpse of how University hierarchies and relationships

14 Manchester Guardian, 4 Nov. 1891.
15 E. Wilson, Catherine Isabella Dodd, 1860–1932 (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1936).
developed and became institutionalized, this theme may be taken out of its chronological sequence and explained a little further.\textsuperscript{36}

So unclear had relationships become by 1905 that a Senate inquiry was instituted. From the evidence collected, it is clear that ‘Miss Dodd had acted independently in the internal arrangements of the training college for women and has dealt directly with the Principal on various matters, which in the College for Men have gone through the Professor of Education’. These jurisdictional problems were mainly historical as the University felt its way forward in a new academic field; the decision by the University to have direct control over the Colleges through its Council was wise in 1890, but created two levels of authority from 1899. Also, the little understood title, Master or Mistress of Method, caused difficulty symbolized by ambiguities in the \textit{Calendars} when the editor was uncertain where to place them.

These matters were paralleled by uncertainty in 1899 over the appropriate role of a Professor of Education.\textsuperscript{37} Scotland and Wales had some experience of the office, but in England only Durham University College of Science had such a post since 1894. There is no extant evidence of a slowly evolving impetus for a Chair after 1890, but the appointments of Samuel Alexander to the Chair of Philosophy and T.F. Tout to the Chair of History probably had a significant effect as both energetically supported Education as a University subject and believed in the kind of analytical, research-based approach for which a Chair was a prerequisite. Considerable doubt existed among some academics about the propriety of teacher training in a University and protagonists believed that a Chair would do much to end this. The first formal reference occurred in April 1899, when the H.M.I. was assessing progress after his annual inspection and advocated a Chair to co-ordinate theoretical and practical work, particularly as student numbers were rising.\textsuperscript{38} The Management Committee, meeting the same day, took up the idea and it is possible that H.M.I. Scott Coward was adding his influence to that of the Committee. In discussion, it was suggested that a professorship would be particularly valuable for the slowly developing secondary training which the University had been promoting since 1894. The outcome was a recommendation to Council to establish a Chair. Within a month the Principal was able to report a decision to that effect, a speed of decision-making which implies that the ground had been prepared over a period. Two titles for the Chair emerged; the Theory, Art and Practice of Education

\textsuperscript{36} JRUA, Minutes of Senate, Report of Committee appointed to consider matters arising out of Professor Findlay’s proposal, 4 May and 5 July 1905.


\textsuperscript{38} JRUA, DTCMC Minute Book, 25 Apr. 1899.
became on the Professor’s appointment the Theory, History and Practice of Education. This cumbersome wording was designed to indicate the breadth of responsibility inherent in the Chair and is a careful indication that Education in a University setting would not be simply concerned with training or, as important, be an entirely academic study. The formula appears to have been borrowed from Scotland, and Professor S.S. Laurie of Edinburgh was well known in the Manchester area in the 1890s. Much remained unclear; most pressing was whether the professor’s duties should incorporate the specialized functions of the Master and Mistress of Method and what the relationship of the professor to the University should be, for he would be the only professor without a Department and with responsibilities to an outside body, the Education Department in London. Administrative complexity and potential for disagreement would have been diminished if the Principal of Owens College had ceased to have an executive role from 1899, but this did not happen until the foundation of the Faculty of Education in 1914.

Because Manchester was in the vanguard of establishing Chairs of Education, and because there was little consensus nationally about the role of the new office, the evidence from the University is a significant contribution to understanding the evolution of an important new discipline in English universities. Writing in the Manchester Guardian in January 1900, inviting contributions for an endowment for the Chair, Principal Hopkinson noted that it had been instituted ‘because of the absolute necessity which existed for a University College like Manchester to undertake the duty of giving adequate specialized training to teachers’. This coincided with the Inaugural Address of Harry Livingston Withers and in his introduction, Hopkinson explained:

In filling the Chair it was necessary that the Council should find a man who was well acquainted with the life and methods of the Universities and had received a training in logic and philosophy. It was also desirable that he should have been a teacher in one or other of the great secondary schools and understand the routine of work pursued in the training of those who were going to be teachers.

This is probably the first statement by an English University of how it saw the role. Unfortunately, as the Chair was at first supported by contributions from three benefactors, to supplement the University’s straitened finances the salary offered was £500, less than usual, but it was to be increased to £700 by fees earned from the inspection of schools. After three years the fee element would be removed, but the

---

salary would be reduced to £600. This evidently caused Withers concern in case Education should be judged inferior to other Chairs. Hopkinson hastened to reassure him; ‘it was’, he wrote, ‘always the intention that the Chair should be of equal rank to other Chairs in the College . . .'42 A potentially unsatisfactory situation was saved by the Fielden endowment in 1901.

The formal statement of duties which formed Professor Withers’s contract was:

a) To give instruction in the Theory, History, and Practice of Education to students of the Day Training College, and to be responsible for the work required of those students by the Education Department and the College.
b) To carry out the regulations of the College respecting the attendance and discipline of the students of the Day Training College, and to keep a register of attendance of such students on lectures and courses of instruction, and to give, so far as possible, direction and advice to such students in their private studies.
c) To give such additional instruction in the subjects of, and supervise the work required for the training of Secondary Teachers in preparation for the Teachers’ Diploma of the Victoria University.
d) To examine the students attending his classes and candidates for scholarships and other College honours when and as often as required by the Senate.
e) To discharge certain duties in the College and the Victoria University by virtue of his office as a member of the Senate.43

The foundation of the Chair of Education in 1899 was a landmark in the history of the University and a considerable event in national education. Although much remained to be formalized and developed concerning Education in the University, the groundwork was established on which the advances of the twentieth century were to be built.

43 JRUA, Professors’ and Lecturers’ Appointments, ii, Appointment of H.L. Withers.