

Confidential.

## BOARD OF EDUCATION.

CITY OF LEEDS TRAINING COLLEGE.

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION on the system under which the City of Leeds Training College is controlled and managed, with special reference to the recent resignations of members of the staff.

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1. In accordance with our instructions we went to Leeds and opened an inquiry on Tuesday, August 15th, into the system under which the City of Leeds Training College is controlled and managed, with special reference to the recent resignations of members of the staff. The inquiry was held in the Council Hall and extended over seven days, viz., August 15-18 and 22-24 (inclusive). By direction of the Board the proceedings were private, and were attended only by Governors of the College, members of the Local Education Authority, the Secretary for Education, the Principal, the late Vice-Principal and the Tutors, including the Tutors who had resigned, and the House-keepers of the Halls of Residence. In the course of the inquiry we heard evidence from the Chairman of the Education Committee, the Chairman and other members of the Governing Body, the Secretary for Education, the Principal of the College, Miss Mercier (the late Vice-Principal), the members of the staff who had resigned, other Tutors (men and women) still in the service of the College, some of the Housekeepers of the Halls of Residence, and an ex-student. We desire to take this opportunity of acknowledging the readiness shown by the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, members and officials of the Local Education Authority to assist us in every way.

The Chairman of the Education Committee, at the opening of the proceedings, stated that in view of the public interest which had arisen his Committee welcomed the inquiry, and that they would give us every possible facility to pursue it. This assurance was amply fulfilled. Nothing was lacking to the efficiency of the arrangements made by the City for the convenient transaction of business, or to the readiness of its representatives to comply fully with any desire which we expressed for information upon any point.

*Origin of the Inquiry.*

2. The City of Leeds Training College for Elementary Teachers was founded in 1907. It was begun in temporary premises and on a comparatively small scale; but from the first the Authority made it clear that in this exercise of their powers under the Education Act, 1902, they were determined to spare neither trouble nor expense in order to establish a College worthy of the best traditions of a great municipality, and fitted to play an important part in the system of national education. In point of size the College was designed to be, with one exception, the largest Training College for Elementary Teachers in England: its full complement of students was to be 180 men and 300 women. Its permanent buildings, which were planned and equipped



in the light of an exhaustive survey of similar Institutions both at home and abroad, were to include not merely an educational block but eight Halls of Residence sufficient to accommodate all the 480 students. They were completed by October 1912 at a cost of 241,231*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*, towards which the municipality provided 114,181*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*, and the Board contributed 127,050*l.* (being 75 per cent. of the cost of the site, and for the building the maximum grant of 210*l.* for each place); and they rank among the finest educational buildings in the country. The government of this great Institution was entrusted by the Authority to the Higher Education Sub-Committee, whose Chairman, Alderman Kinder, had taken a leading part in the establishment of the College.

3. Before the completion of the College in 1912, it became necessary under the Regulations of the Board of Education for a Lady Vice-Principal to be appointed. The action of the Authority in this matter gave fresh evidence of their keen interest in the College and their determination to secure its welfare. The announcement inviting applications for the appointment set out the qualifications for which they looked from the holder of this important post. "Candidates for the Lady Vice-Principalship must be graduates of high standing and should, if possible, have given evidence of capacity for original work. Candidates should hold a Teaching Diploma, if possible, and be able to show other evidence of practical ability as Teachers. . . . It is hoped to secure a Lady Vice-Principal of wide culture, broad sympathies, ripe experience and marked organising power who will take an active part in the social and disciplinary, as well as the educational organisation of the College." The salary offered was at the rate of 500*l.* per annum with house (including rates). The Authority left nothing undone which might help them to secure the services of the right person. After careful consideration of the qualifications of applicants and preliminary interviews, it was arranged that visits should be paid by a Sub-Committee to a small number of selected candidates at the Institutions where they were working. The choice of the Authority finally fell upon Miss Mercier, who, after a distinguished career as a student at Somerville College, Oxford, had been Sixth Form Mistress at the Manchester High School, and was at the time of her appointment Director of Studies in History and Economics, and Lecturer in History at Girton College, Cambridge.

The growth of the College made it necessary to appoint not merely a Vice-Principal but a number of additional Women Lecturers. In their choice for these appointments, which were for the most part made soon after Miss Mercier's appointment and with her full concurrence, the Authority showed the same scrupulous care as they had shown in the selection of a Vice-Principal. The ladies appointed admittedly possessed the high qualifications and the wide educational experience which would fit them to direct successfully the education and training of teachers.

4. The recent crisis in the history of the College must be viewed in the light of these facts if its gravity is to be fully appreciated. In May 1916—within three years from her appointment—the Vice-Principal resigned: and her resignation was followed within a month by the resignations of nine other Women Lecturers, of whom eight had been appointed in 1913 or later. The resignations were not foreseen by the Authority, and created general surprise and concern among the friends and supporters of the College.

It is from these resignations that our inquiry had its origin: and it has been largely directed to finding a full explanation of them.

*Brief summary of facts.*

5. It will be convenient in the first place to narrate briefly some principal events, as established by the evidence laid before us, in chronological order from the appointment of Miss Mercier to her resignation. To fix exact dates for all the incidents to which reference will be made is impossible: but the period at which they occurred can usually be determined with sufficient certainty for the present purpose.

Comment on the facts will be reserved for later paragraphs, and we shall deal separately with the events following Miss Mercier's resignation.

6. Miss Mercier's appointment dated from 1st August 1913, but she was unable to come into residence for the ensuing term. The Authority met her with consideration and generosity: it was arranged that though drawing salary from the date of her appointment she should not take up full duty till January 1914. During the intervening period she paid one or two short visits to the College and was also kept in touch with it by frequent letters from Mr. Graham:



In January 1914 she came into residence. Her duties as Vice-Principal and the working arrangement which was to obtain between the Principal and herself had been previously set out in a schedule supplied to candidates for the post, which is printed below (*see* Appendix), and is subsequently in this report referred to as the "written constitution." Copies of this schedule were supplied to the Principal and Vice-Principal. It was not handed to the teaching staff, nor was any communication made to them of its exact purport.

7. During the first two terms of her residence (January-July 1914) weekly conferences took place between the Principal, Miss Mercier and the Secretary for Education on a great variety of subjects, educational, social and administrative, arising out of the work of the College. Important alterations were made in such matters as the arrangements for religious instruction and for the professional training of women students and the organisation of the College Library; and other projects of a similar nature were discussed. In all these changes Miss Mercier took an active part. The outbreak of war, however, in August 1914 brought new difficulties and preoccupations, which will be described at length in a later paragraph.

8. During the latter part of the year 1914 incidents occurred which touched the question of Miss Mercier's exact powers as Vice-Principal and her relations to the Principal. The Principal on certain occasions granted leave of absence to women students or reprovved them without previous reference to Miss Mercier. The most important of these incidents took place in December 1914. A deputation of women students went to the Principal in order to protest against being summoned by one of the Women Tutors to a class on the following (Saturday) morning. The Principal, after failing to get into communication with Miss Mercier, sent a message to the Woman Tutor desiring the class to be postponed. This action led to discussion and conflict of opinion between the Principal and Miss Mercier with reference to their respective functions under the constitution of the College. Miss Mercier expressed herself as dissatisfied with her position as Vice-Principal on the ground that it was ambiguous and did not give her in practice the direct control over women students and Women Tutors to which she considered herself entitled. She suggested as means of strengthening it, a morning assembly of women students and staff meetings of Women Tutors to be held by herself. The Principal considered that her general claim was extravagant and that it fell within his functions to determine whether the women students should come to the College on Saturday mornings. He emphasised the desirability of uniformity in the treatment of men and women students with regard to such matters. He concurred, however, though with some doubts, in the specific suggestions which she had made.

9. In March 1915, questions arose with regard to the state of health of a woman student and Miss Janet Campbell, M.D., visited the College on behalf of the Board of Education. On the occasion of her visit the Principal and the Medical Officer of the College were kept waiting for a considerable time while Miss Mercier was interviewing Miss Campbell; and when they were admitted, the student had been already examined and dismissed. This incident which it will be necessary to review in some detail later in our report had two consequences. (i) The Secretary for Education conveyed to Miss Mercier that in the opinion of the Governors she had committed an error of judgment in allowing the student to be examined and dismissed before the Medical Officer of the College had the opportunity of consulting with Miss Campbell. (ii) Some phrases in an official letter to the Board of Education about Miss Campbell's visit were regarded by Miss Mercier as questioning her right to see alone an Inspector of the Board, when a woman student was concerned. A correspondence, to which we shall refer later, followed between her and Mr. Graham on her position as Vice-Principal.

The letters addressed by Mr. Graham to Miss Mercier were communicated by him to Aldermen Kinder and Clarke and to the Principal.

10. In the summer of 1914 a new Time-Table had to be prepared for students entering the College in September. Miss Mercier drew up a suggested Time-Table for the women students and submitted it to the Principal, who accepted it. Under this Time-Table lectures in certain subjects to women students, which had formerly been taken by Men Tutors, were assigned to Women Tutors. The Men Tutors concerned expressed to the Principal a strong objection to the arrangement; the Principal did not directly combat their objections but asked them to try it for a year. During the year September 1914-July 1915 the question of the Time-Table for women students was discussed on various occasions by the Principal and Mr. Graham,



both of whom had had doubts about its advisability from the first. They considered that it was being proved to have serious disadvantages, and they mentioned the matter to the Chairman of the Governors, though it was not brought before the Governing Body. In the summer of 1915, according to Mr. Graham's statement, the Principal was told that he must put his foot down and insist on the Men Tutors taking a larger share in the instruction of the women. The Principal did not recall the exact words of the conversation but agreed that Mr. Graham's recollection was substantially correct. Miss Mercier was not present at these conversations and their purport was not communicated to her.

11. In the autumn of 1915 an incident which occurred in one of the women's hostels led to discussion between Miss Mercier, the Principal and Mr. Graham with regard to the system under which the hostels were controlled. Miss Mercier took strong exception to the arrangement by which the various housekeepers were responsible to the Secretary for Education for the domestic arrangements of the Halls, and was dissatisfied with the existing relations between the Housekeepers and Tutors. She urged the appointment of a resident College Bursar as a means of remedying the evils of which she complained, and suggested reference of the matter to the Governing Body. The Principal concurred to a certain extent in her objections to the arrangements, but neither he nor Mr. Graham was prepared to accept her views as to the need for a radical change of system. No further action was taken in the matter and no reference was made to the Governing Body on the subject.

12. Early in 1916 Mr. Graham and the Principal had formed the opinion that the state of the College was becoming unsatisfactory in some important respects. The tone of the women students was in their view deteriorating: the control in some of the women's hostels was suspected of being lax; and there was disunion and cleavage among the staff. The Principal spoke with regret to Mr. Graham of the steady disappearance of unity of aim in the College. This supposed decline in tone and disunion among the staff formed the subject of conversation on various occasions during the early months of 1916 between Mr. Graham and the Principal, and was brought to the notice of the Chairman of the Governors, though no report on the state of the College was made to the Governing Body. The views of the Principal and Mr. Graham were not put before Miss Mercier specifically or by way of a definite complaint; occasional instances of indiscipline among students were mentioned to her.

13. On April 11th, 1916, the following Minute was addressed to the Principal and Miss Mercier jointly by Mr. Graham:—

“ Mr. Parsons and Miss Mercier.

“ (i) Is it a fact that Whinfield was without a responsible Tutor from Tuesday 21st March till Tuesday 28th March ?

“ (ii) Is it a fact that Miss Clapham was absent from duty on Friday 24th March until Tuesday the 28th March inclusive ?

“ (iii) Is it a practice for Mr. Parsons and Miss Mercier to be absent from duty and for them to give permission to members of the staff to be absent from duty without previously obtaining the authority of this Department ? ”

Owing to shortage of staff in the Education Office, only one copy of the minute was sent. The Principal showed it to Miss Mercier as she was about to leave Leeds for the vacation. He subsequently informed Mr. Graham orally that he thought the answer to the first question was “ yes ” and to the second “ yes. ” With regard to the third question, he said it was not the case, so far as he was concerned. No reply to the minute was made by or on behalf of Miss Mercier.

14. On the 17th May 1916 Miss Mercier told the Principal that she had decided to resign and communicated her decision to the Governors in the following letter:—

“ Beckett Park, Leeds,

May 17th, 1916.

“ DEAR MR. GRAHAM,

“ I write to ask you to be so good as to place my resignation of the post of Vice-Principal of the City of Leeds Training College in the hands of the Chairman of the Governors.

“ My reason for feeling obliged to give up my post is that I have come to feel strongly that the constitution of the College is on unsound lines. After my three years of experience here, I am doubtful whether even under the most favourable conditions a mixed residential training college could be an advantage



to the normal Two-Year Student, but I have no doubt now that, in the conditions under which we work here, we get to the full the disadvantages of the Mixed System with practically none of its advantages.

"I should have resigned some time ago, for, as you will see, my present opinions were necessarily formed, in the main, under more normal conditions than have prevailed during this Session, but I did not wish to leave while the College was working under the difficult circumstances that obtained up to last February.

"During the last few weeks, I have also come to see that I cannot do work of any value for the College in the immediate circumstances or in those which would seem to obtain next Session.

"It is, therefore, with the greatest regret that I must ask you to place my resignation before the Committee to take effect at the end of August.

"Yours faithfully,

"WINIFRED MERCIER."

The resignation was received with regret by the Education Committee on 23rd May 1916.

#### *Difficulties of the College.*

15. After this brief summary of facts, we proceed to consider the control and management of the College with special reference in the first instance to the resignation of the Vice-Principal.

The establishment of a Residential Training College on the magnificent scale which has been described was a novel form of municipal enterprise. A constitution had to be framed, and working arrangements devised, for its control and management; and the problem before the Local Authority was (*a*) to combine due control by the city over policy and finance with due freedom for the College, (*b*) to provide suitably for so much contact between city authorities and college staff as to maintain pleasant relations and a good understanding, (*c*) to draw up a list of the requisite establishment and define the duties of the chief posts in terms clear and precise without excessive detail, (*d*) to find the right persons to fill those posts and give them proper support in the discharge of their duties. To this problem the City of Leeds addressed itself with the same admirable thoroughness that marked the whole inception of the College. The Governors laid down plans which were to be subject to revision in the light of experience; and at our inquiry Alderman Clarke repeated this, stating that the Governors were still open to receive suggestions for the amendment of the written constitution.

16. The College also presented a new problem in educational organisation. It may seem natural enough, but it has been very unusual, to bring on to one site persons of both sexes between the ages of 18 and 20 or upwards for the purpose of instruction in different branches of the same profession. Some of the instruction is capable of being given to men and women in common, but much of it must necessarily be given apart, for a woman who is qualifying to be a teacher of Infants must receive a good deal of instruction that would be inappropriate for a man student training to take charge of a Boys' School. Proximity of residence of men and women within a ring fence, with considerable separation in their instruction, marks off this College as belonging almost to a class of its own among educational institutions. The students come to it from all parts of the country, drawn from prevalent types of secondary schools for boys or girls; and the women students before the war numbered 300 while the men numbered 180. It was decided that the Principal should be a man, and the Vice-Principal a woman. It is quite clear that in a College of this kind many new and difficult questions were bound to arise regarding the functions and authority to be exercised by the Principal and Vice-Principal respectively over the men tutors and the women tutors, and over the men students and the women students; that the assignment of work to the various members of the staff, and the arrangement of it in a time-table, would have special difficulties of its own; that the preservation of good feeling between the members of the staff would require from their chiefs the exercise of more strength and tact than it usually requires in Schools of an ordinary type; and a fundamental condition of good discipline was, that certain rules, whether written or unwritten, should regulate the social intercourse of men students and women students and the meetings between



men tutors and women students, and that these rules should be well known to all concerned, and should be supported, if occasion arose, by the full authority of both the Principal and Vice-Principal.

17. In enumerating the difficulties which the College had necessarily to encounter, we must not omit to mention that it started with an old staff, who knew one another well and had worked happily together in some of the stages (pupil-teacher classes, evening classes for training of teachers, and Training College temporary buildings) which preceded the opening of the present College; and that to this staff it was necessary to add largely by recruitment of new tutors, especially women tutors. Hence the possibility, to which one of the older staff alluded in temperate and discriminating terms, of a cleavage among the staff on the lines of Old versus New. Moreover, the head of this old staff, who had done good service for many years in the city, and was appointed to be Principal of the new institution, had been accustomed for years to work with a lady under him as his direct subordinate, who did not possess specially reserved powers such as under the regulations of the Board, and the constitution drawn up by the Governing Body, were conferred upon the Vice-Principal in the new institution. The lady who had filled the first place on the women's staff under the old conditions, joined the staff of the new institution with the rest of her old colleagues; and a lady was selected from outside to be placed over her head and to fill the new post of Vice-Principal. Let it be added to this, that the Principal, while recognising the duty of carrying out loyally the new arrangements, thought and still thinks that the assignment of any specially reserved powers to the Vice-Principal was undesirable; and preferred the old position, by which the senior member of the women's staff exercised only such powers as were delegated to her from time to time by him.

18. In the year in which the new Vice-Principal took charge, two changes were made by the Board of Education in the regulations for Training Colleges. By one of these the course of studies laid down for students who were to be teachers of infants was distinguished, further than it had previously been, from the course prescribed for other students; a change which involved corresponding changes in the organisation of the staff of Training Colleges concerned with the professional studies of the students: and by the other, specialisation and choice, to a greater extent than previously, were permitted to the students in the subjects they were to study; a change which involved a reconsideration of the studies followed by each student, so that their specialisation might accord with their aptitudes and preferences, and thereby involved also some redistribution of students among teachers. This separation into departments and this redistribution of students lessened the responsibilities of some tutors and depleted the classes of others. In this College the risk of ill-feeling being thus created was, by reason of the circumstances mentioned above, greater than ordinary.

19. Seven months after the new Vice-Principal took charge, the European war broke out; and this affected the College in many ways, all of them bringing increased difficulty. The educational block and several of the hostels were occupied by the military for the purpose of a military hospital; and consequently some of the students were dispersed into buildings in the town not specially designed for the purpose, with the result of making supervision more difficult; while the presence of wounded soldiers and of their unwounded attendants upon the site, and their close proximity to the residential quarters and recreation grounds of the women students, introduced new elements of difficulty or possible causes of offence. By the war also the men tutors and the men students were reduced in number. Furthermore, the war brought a rush of absorbing responsibilities to persons of public spirit and prominent station in Leeds, such as those of whom the Governing Body consisted; and notably to Alderman Kinder, the Chairman of the Governing Body, and Mr. Graham, their Secretary. These two, besides others, were working night and day at war work of one kind or another, which necessarily and rightly claimed by its urgency and national importance a pre-eminent share of their attention. It was not possible that the Training College should be visited by the Governing Body during war time as it might have been visited in peace; nor could its affairs be considered with the same deliberation.

20. We have now enumerated the difficulties which surrounded the College during the period to which our inquiry relates. They were formidable, various, and continuing; and upon the whole they were not successfully surmounted.



*Responsibility for failure.*

21. We must ascribe the failure in the first instance to Mr. Parsons, the Principal. We appreciate fully Mr. Parsons' many merits—his past services to the City and to education, to which testimony was borne, for example, by Alderman Tetley; his zeal and devotion to the College, his amiable disposition, his power of gaining the affection of his colleagues and students. But he did not prove equal to the efficient discharge of his high responsibilities in a time of difficulty. We do not ignore the magnitude and novelty of the problems with which he had to deal. But he failed to see what was important in them or to handle the practical issues with courage and decision; he failed also to appreciate the necessity of finding definite and well-considered solutions for questions of policy as they arose, after reference, where such reference was required, to the Governing Body. When difficulties passed beyond the point at which they could be settled by easy compromise, he temporised and drifted. On the most important of all matters with which he had to deal—the respective functions, under the constitution of the College, of himself and the Vice-Principal—his ideas, as we shall have to point out, were confused and even contradictory: and this vagueness of thought led him into actions which were inconsistent both with observance of the constitution and with correct behaviour to the Vice-Principal.

22. We must ascribe the failure in the second place to Mr. Graham, the Secretary for Education, who with his great ability, indefatigable industry and masterful personality, overshadowed the Principal and invaded his functions, thus overriding the constitution laid down by the Governing Body. When troubles grew, Mr. Graham misunderstood and mismanaged them. There were matters which it was important for the Governing Body to know and to adjudge, and which he did not bring before them. The City of Leeds, and indeed the Board of Education also, are under great obligations to Mr. Graham for the conspicuous capacity and zeal with which he, in conjunction with Alderman Kinder, conceived and realised the project of establishing this College; and we do not forget that during the period when he was, in our opinion, making mistakes in College affairs, he, like Alderman Kinder, was rendering great services to the country in connection with military matters; but since the duty has been laid on us to investigate the control and management of the College, we are obliged to record that his errors of excess of zeal and want of judgment contributed materially to bring about a catastrophe in its affairs.

23. Alderman Kinder, the Chairman of the Governors, took the deepest interest in the College and visited it often, especially before the outbreak of war. In his capacity as Chairman he was naturally the person to be informed and consulted in the first instance by Mr. Graham on all questions of importance. He appears to have had fairly frequent conversations with Mr. Graham on College business: copies of important letters written by Mr. Graham were sent to him, and draft letters were at times submitted for his authorisation. Mr. Graham was certainly under the impression that his general line of action and his views about College affairs had Alderman Kinder's concurrence. This impression proved to be incorrect as regards one important matter. Mr. Graham supposed, as he told us, that Alderman Kinder had preceded him in forming unfavourable views as to the conduct of Miss Mercier and some of her colleagues. In this Mr. Graham was mistaken; for Alderman Kinder assured us that although he had asked Mr. Graham's opinion as to the way in which these ladies were filling their posts, he had done so in terms that were not intended to imply any dissatisfaction, but merely to convey an inquiry. Alderman Kinder also stated to us expressly that throughout Miss Mercier's tenure of office he never had any definite cause of dissatisfaction with her, and that if he had had he would have mentioned it to her; that he expressed in public on several occasions his appreciation of her services, and would have expected her, if she had troubles, to come and tell him about them; and that he would gladly have proposed, if he had known that Miss Mercier desired it, that both she and the Principal should attend meetings of the Governing Body. This is a very different view of College affairs from that which Mr. Graham was entertaining during the last 12 months of Miss Mercier's tenure of her post. Mr. Graham and Mr. Parsons during that period had various conversations on matters falling directly within Miss Mercier's sphere, which they omitted, either before judging Miss Mercier or at any other time, to discuss fully and frankly with her. These conversations vitally affected Miss Mercier's future career and her fitness to hold the position to which the City of Leeds, largely on Alderman Kinder's



recommendation, had appointed her, but she was not invited to take part in them; they related to matters on which the first instinct and the first action of the Governing Body, if informed of them, would have been to ask for Miss Mercier's side of the story.

Alderman Kinder was present at some of these conversations, though he did not, unfortunately, find occasion for discussion with Miss Mercier herself and for comparison of her views with those of Mr. Graham and Mr. Parsons. He knew also of many of the important events which have been mentioned in paragraphs 8-12: he was aware of the views as to the state of the College which were forming themselves in the minds of Mr. Graham and the Principal. Every allowance must be made for the rush of urgent public business in which he was involved by the war. But we are bound to express our opinion that he must share responsibility for the omission to apprise the Governing Body of the real gravity of the situation. Like Mr. Graham, he misconceived the state of affairs, though his misconceptions took a different form. He did not probe matters deeply enough to appreciate their seriousness. He underrated the difficulties experienced by the Vice-Principal: he failed also to realise the full significance of the views expressed by Mr. Graham and the Principal in relation to Miss Mercier's position.

They believed that the Vice-Principal was trying to encroach on the functions of the Principal, that her actions were producing disunion among the staff, that the tone of the women students was deteriorating. Had Alderman Kinder realised the position, he would have seen that the fact of such beliefs being held, rightly or wrongly, by Miss Mercier's superior officer and by the Secretary for Education, was in itself a matter of the utmost gravity calling for his immediate intervention and for full inquiry. But he seems to have adopted the view that some bickerings of a not very serious kind were going on, that probably a good deal of the trouble was due to Miss Mercier's want of practical experience in Training College work, and that it was sufficient if he exhorted his informants in general terms not to make mountains out of molehills and to give everybody a fair chance. Unfortunately this was far from being a true reading of the situation or an adequate treatment of it.

24. The remaining members of the Governing Body are in our opinion not responsible for the wrong turn which the affairs of the College took. The chain of events, variously described by various parties, which centred round the disagreements of the staff and the position of the Vice-Principal, was not brought to their knowledge. Some members had some knowledge of some incidents, and were anxious not to minimise their responsibility in regard thereto; but speaking generally, the Governing Body were left in ignorance of matters which ought to have been brought before them officially. Alderman Kinder very reasonably said that busy people, such as the Governing Body consisted of, are justified in assuming that things are going rightly unless they are told to the contrary. This does not, of course, represent the whole duty of a body of Governors in normal circumstances and over a long period of time; but it was said with special reference to the course of events during war time. They attended to all the business that was brought before them; they were necessarily prevented by the exigencies of private and public work from gaining inside knowledge of the affairs of the College by personal visits; they did in fact make the assumption that things were going rightly unless they were told to the contrary, and in the circumstances of the time no other working principle was reasonably practicable. It would be a great mistake to suppose that this assumption on their part proceeded from any lack of interest in the institution. They were proud of it, and anxiously desired its welfare; they wished everything about it to be well appointed, and some had testified this desire by personal gifts; they wished the staff and the students to be handsomely treated; and on the occasion of our inquiry they left their holidays and their business to sit in close attendance day after day, assisting (like their Chairman of the Governors and the Chairman of the Education Committee) by every means in their power, visibly determined to hear all sides, sift out the facts and form their own conclusions upon them. It would be difficult to find a body of Governors with a better spirit. This brings us to the question why, in spite of the omission of the Principal, the Secretary and Chairman to bring before them officially the business that ought to have been brought before them and in spite of their inability to maintain close contact with the College by personal visits during war time, the Governing Body did not somehow come together round a table with Miss Mercier and the resigning tutors and discover what was wrong. Why, the Governors asked at our inquiry, did not Miss Mercier come to them before she resigned and tell them what was the matter?



The resigning tutors on their part also suggested a very similar question from the other side: why, when Miss Mercier had resigned, did the Governors not institute inquiries on their own initiative?

25. We agree with Alderman Kinder that a great city cannot be expected, when one of its staff resigns, to send for him and ask him to take back his resignation and discuss matters and see whether they can be arranged. Indeed we go rather further, and hold not only that a resignation, but also that an ultimatum, backed by a threat of resignation, would be an unsuitable procedure to be adopted towards a great city by one of its employees for the purpose of bringing about discussion and amendment. Before ever that point is reached, the officer should, without definite threat of resignation, but with sufficient clearness and emphasis, inform those under whom he works that in his opinion the position is gravely unsatisfactory. If he does that, and if the matters complained of are not put right, no one afterwards is entitled to question the propriety of the officer's resignation. Now this is precisely the course which Miss Mercier did take.

On April 6th, 1915, she wrote to Mr. Graham a letter containing the following important passage:—

“I think I ought, however, to take this opportunity of saying that I have for some little time now felt very strongly that the position of Vice-Principal as outlined in the schedule is hardly tenable”—and after receiving a reply she wrote on April 14th, 1915, as follows:—

“Coleby, Grange Road, Cambridge,

April 14th, 1915.

“DEAR MR. GRAHAM,

“I am in receipt of your letter dated April 9th, which deals with the ‘duties and working conditions as between the Principal and Vice-Principal.’

“That the duties of the Vice-Principal were entirely ‘supplementary of and complementary to those of the Principal’ I did not originally gather: the Vice-Principalship in a College wholly for men or for women would of course be of this nature, but that it was so intended at Leeds seemed to me to be precluded by those general descriptions of the post which I quoted in my last letter.

“I did not, however, come to Leeds with hard and fast notions of what were or were not my duties. I knew that in a new institution of a complex character it would be extremely difficult to draw up any exact definition of what the Vice-Principal's sphere of action was to be, and I came prepared to learn by experience how I could best serve the College. The general understanding that I had of the duties of the post, I think I made clear in my last letter. I had understood the phrase ‘in all respects as the Principal of a Women's College—a veto lying with the Principal,’ as defining the general nature of the post and the general sense in which the particular items were to be read.

“If after nearly two years' experience I find myself obliged to look on many of the problems connected with the constitution and organisation of the College in a different light from that in which they appeared to me when I first came, that is solely the result of my experience in the work.

“I do not in the least desire to raise any discussion which might merely waste time and divert effort, but I think that so far I have not had exactly that conception of the post which you say the Committee desires to see realised in the College. This seems to be a very important question, as it affects the needs and problems of the College in a vital manner; moreover, I should not, of course, feel loyal to the Committee if my reading of those needs and problems did not reflect their policy.

“Believe me,

“Yours faithfully,

“(Signed) WINIFRED MERCIER.”

26. The gravity of this letter was unmistakeable. Evidently if the Governors desired to retain their Vice-Principal, whom they had been at considerable pains to obtain, it was high time that she should come before them, so that those who had not made her acquaintance should do so, and that as a body they should come to an understanding with her. The letter ought to have been circulated to the Governors; and the proper course for the Governors, and that which we presume they would have taken, would then have been to arrange a meeting and to go into the matter with her. But the letter was not circulated to the Governors. Mr. Graham replied



to it on April 16th\* ; and in the course of the reply he referred to that important passage in the schedule which states that the Vice-Principal "will be expected to act to all intents and purposes in regard to all matters affecting the Women Lecturers, Tutors, and students, as if in charge of a Women's College, with a veto vesting in the Principal, from whom she has a right of appeal to the Committee through the Secretary for Education." This passage, Mr. Graham in his letter of April 16th, 1915, informed Miss Mercier, was not in the original draft nor in the final proof of the conditions of appointment, but "was added as an afterthought, with a view to conveying to candidates an idea of the dignity and responsibility which my Committee attached to the position of Lady Vice-Principal."

Such was the handling of affairs at this crucial point in the relations between the Vice-Principal and the Governors.

After this (as was made quite clear at our inquiry) any approach which Miss Mercier might have made to the Governors with regard to the unsatisfactory position held by her at the College would have had to be an approach to them, with the Principal and Mr. Graham against her: an appeal to them, past her Principal and past Mr. Graham.

27. The next experience which Miss Mercier had of an attempt to approach the Governors was in a correspondence of January 1916. Desiring to obtain permission for a friend holding a post in the University of Leeds, who had been staying with her for some weeks, to continue living with her in her official residence, she wrote the following letter to Mr. Graham on January 17th:—

"Beckett's Park, Leeds,  
17th January 1916.

"DEAR MR. GRAHAM,

"I have had a friend staying with me in my house for the last three months, Miss Grier, now Acting Head of the Department of Economics at the University. She came to Leeds, a stranger and at short notice, and as we were old friends I asked her to stay with me, the understanding being that after having settled into her work she would have leisure to consider any other arrangement she might wish to make.

"From a few chance remarks that passed between us soon after my appointment—I doubt if you would still remember them—I think perhaps that I may assume that there would be no objection on the part of the Governors to my having a friend to live with me, unconnected with the College?

"Miss Grier and I should like to continue for as long as she remains in Leeds the arrangement we thus tentatively made, and I should be grateful if you would kindly refer this to the Committee for me, or advise me of any other step that I should take in the matter.

"Yours very truly,  
"WINIFRED MERCIER."

On January 26th, Mr. Graham sent the following reply, which had not been submitted to the Governing Body as a whole, but had been approved by the Chairman of the Governors and the Chairman of the Education Committee.

"Education Offices, Leeds,  
26th January 1916.

"DEAR MISS MERCIER,

"With reference to your letter of the 17th January, the matter you raise therein respecting Miss Grier, who has been staying with you for the last three months, has been submitted to the Chairman of the Governors and to the Chairman of the Education Committee.

"To state the case clearly, 150*l.* was added to what was considered a satisfactory salary for the Principal and 100*l.* was added to what was considered a satisfactory salary for the Vice-Principal, because allowances, as such, would not be approved by the Local Government Auditor; two Houses also were provided in order that they, with an expenditure approximating to the amounts mentioned above, should be used by the Principal and the Vice-Principal in extending hospitality to the students and staff to develop the social and corporate life of the College to which the Governors attach great importance.

"If we understand the position aright, you now really raise the question whether you can use the Vice-Principal's House for the purpose of providing

\* It was not until the following week that the affair of the student, out of which this correspondence arose, came before the Governors.



residence and accommodation for Miss Grier, who is unconnected with the College. This, of course, is not possible, nor could the Principal provide residence and accommodation for a man under similar circumstances.

"I remember that, having been told that you had a widowed mother, I mentioned to you that it would be quite right if she entered into residence with you, as the College would gain from such residence if your mother took an interest in its work. I also suggested that you might like one or more members of the teaching staff of the College to reside with you, and Miss Grace Owen was named as an example in this connection. In any case it would be necessary that you should receive not more than the actual cost to you.

"As Miss Grier is an old friend and is only here temporarily, and as you have recently undergone another operation her companionship may have a beneficial effect on your health, we are prepared to sanction her temporary residence with you under these special circumstances.

"Believe me,

"Yours faithfully,

"JAMES GRAHAM."

"Miss Mercier,

"City of Leeds Training College,

"Beckett's Park, Leeds."

Anyone holding the high position of Vice-Principal and receiving in answer to a request a favourable reply couched in terms such as these, would be of less than ordinary sensibility if she regarded it as a mark of encouragement and of the continued confidence of her Governing Body. Miss Mercier did not and could not know that some of the Governors would have refused to approve that reply, had it been submitted to them.

28. When she considered whether in these circumstances she should take any further steps to make the position known to the Governors, what finally determined her against doing so was her belief that the root of the difficulty was the inefficiency of the Principal. Nothing that she could propose, short of his removal, could remedy this; and she would not have been able to discuss the whole position with them without showing that this was her opinion. She felt that it would be inconsistent with a proper loyalty to the Principal and the best interests of the College, if she were to go to either the individual Governors or to the Governors as a body and say, "I have lost confidence in the Principal; I cannot work with him. Which of us do you prefer?"

29. When Miss Mercier resigned she did so without making any request for an inquiry, or addressing any observations on the subject to the Board of Education. The request for an inquiry was not made until she considered that her credit as Vice-Principal, and the credit of her colleagues, had been publicly impugned by the publication (not by her and not by her staff) of the text of Mr. Graham's Talk of June 13th, 1916.

Apart from any question of the relations between the Governors and Miss Mercier, her letter of resignation, the terms of which have been given in paragraph 14, appears to us to contain matter which deserved the attention of the Governors and called for further inquiry by them. They had not, however, at that time any reason to think that Mr. Graham had been mistaken in his judgment of College affairs, or that Alderman Kinder's perceptions were at fault. They took no formal steps for an inquiry, but it was still some time before the end of August when Miss Mercier's resignation was to take effect, and in the meantime events moved rapidly.

It appears to us, therefore, that Miss Mercier was not responsible for matters thus coming to a sudden crisis. At the right time, when she had been sufficiently long at the College to speak with authority as to what in her opinion was wrong in the conditions prevailing, she wrote in clear terms a letter which ought to have been laid before the Governors and ought to have led to a discussion between the Governors and her and to inquiry by the Governors; that such discussion and inquiry did not take place was in no way due to Miss Mercier. From that date forward Mr. Graham foresaw the "catastrophe," but did not warn the Governors as a body.

*Proper functions of the Vice-Principal.*

30. The next question which we have to consider is whether Miss Mercier was right or wrong in the opinions which she expressed to the Principal in conversations and to Mr. Graham in the letters already quoted, as to the position of the Vice-Principal under the constitution laid down by the Governors. It was maintained by



the Principal and Mr. Graham that her opinions on this matter were incorrect and her behaviour unconstitutional. Mr. Parsons considered that she made extravagant claims as to the powers of the Vice-Principal and desired to establish herself as practically independent of the Principal: Mr. Graham, that she made a barefaced attempt to usurp the functions of the Principal. It is necessary to examine their views in some detail. When asked by us to name three instances of Miss Mercier's extravagant claims, Mr. Parsons named the following:—

- (1) That Miss Mercier objected to the Principal checking a woman student in misbehaviour and considered that this should be left to the Vice-Principal to do.
- (2) That Miss Mercier protested against the action taken by the Principal when, after receiving a deputation of women students who objected to being summoned by one of the Women Tutors to a class on the following (Saturday) morning, and after having endeavoured without success to get into communication with Miss Mercier, he sent a message to the Woman Tutor desiring the class to be postponed.
- (3) That women students had been informed in some way or other that they should consult the Vice-Principal and not the Principal if they desired to ask advice or make complaints.

These three complaints have this in common, that they all relate to the exercise by the Principal of control directly, and not through the Vice-Principal, over the women students in their studies or discipline.

31. The words of the constitution laid down by the Governors to regulate these matters are as follows:—

“The responsibility for the educational, social, and disciplinary organisation of the College as a whole is vested in the Principal. The Lady Vice-Principal will have general responsibility under him for the Women Lecturers, Tutors, and Students in their studies, social life, and discipline; she will be expected to act to all intents and purposes in regard to all matters affecting the Women Lecturers, Tutors, and Students as if in charge of a Women's College, with a veto resting in the Principal, from whom she has a right of appeal to the Committee through the Secretary for Education.”

Thus the constitution makes no distinction between the women tutors and the women students in this respect, that their immediate relations are to be with the Vice-Principal.

32. As regards the women tutors, Mr. Parsons was quite clear in disavowing any claim for the Principal to exercise authority in any way except through the Vice-Principal. It was for him, he said, to exercise authority over the men tutors, but for the Vice-Principal to exercise it over the women tutors.

As regards the exercise of authority by the Principal over the women students, Mr. Parsons advanced two inconsistent views on the true interpretation of the clause quoted above. His first reply when we questioned him was that the control of the women students rested with the Vice-Principal, as distinguished from the control of the men students.

With this view we concur. It follows from this that if the Vice-Principal held the same view she was also correct. All the three instances given by Mr. Parsons of “extravagant claims” put forward by Miss Mercier are cases where, according to Mr. Parsons' own account, he was departing from the regulation laid down by the Governors, as interpreted by himself.

When he was further examined, however, Mr. Parsons did not hold consistently to this view. He told us that he thought all women students should have direct access either to the Principal or to the Vice-Principal; that they might please themselves whether they came to the one or to the other; and that they might come to either the Principal or the Vice-Principal for confidential talk about anything that affected them or any personal matter.

33. At our inquiry Mr. Parsons produced the following letter from an old student to him, in support of his complaint that Miss Mercier had invaded his functions:—

“DEAR MR. PARSONS,

15th August 1916.

“Many thanks for your letter received this morning. Though very proud indeed to be made a confidante in respect to the trouble connected with the C.L.T.C. and yourself, I was greatly grieved to read the points on which you



appeal to me. Going to Father and asking his advice, recalling to mind for his scrutiny the remark which probably has caused you to write me, he too was deeply grieved, and like me, feels I cannot say or commit myself to anything which would support your statements—beyond the fact I now plainly see my thoughts are to be realised.

“Anyhow you have now opened the channel so that at any rate I feel I can freely let you know what I experienced and felt during my last 12 months at College, leading on as it did from the second 12 months.

“In October 1914, much against my will, I felt that some machinery was at work to come between you and the women students—seeing how the result of a petition which had been brought to your notice was a means of women students being very plainly made to understand, on the plea of relieving your work, &c., our complaints, &c. were to be made to Miss Mercier, and not to you, in fact not to consult you. I began to realise my feelings as to such were by no means a myth. On a bed of pain during a time of what seemed blank despair to me, I was driven to confide in Dr. Bolton, something which would never have been disclosed, to show how desperate I was to obtain my certificate—for when I asked for you, happening to remark to Miss M. that if I could only talk with you who understood the cause of my struggling so against such odds I was sure all would be well—I was in a way refused my request. Feeling it very keenly, I was in sheer desperation forced to relate my reasons, and through his petitions and efforts, I was granted to return and finish. Full well do I know how much I owe to you and him in that respect.

“Again, over my fee, I was made to feel I was going over Miss M.’s head when seeking your advice respecting same. At the time, in thankfulness and appreciation for all that was being done for me, I blinded my thoughts to such and even tried to do so throughout. In May when I visited you, having through a student heard of Miss M.’s resignation, and then others, though I knew nothing of the trouble pending, I tried to choke these thoughts, feeling truly sorry for you, but felt if you made no mention of it I could only remain silent.

“My summing up of matters was—‘A——, you are bound to admit Miss M. is trying to oust Mr. Parsons working for a Women’s College’—your feelings that ‘Jealousy and greed for power for women are the root of it all’ are now to be acknowledged.

“With all due respect to Miss Mercier and admiration I had for her, I cannot help but feel—very shabbily have you been treated. Words spoken are much easier—I cannot pen more. With once more the best of wishes you may come out victorious—Father joining me.

“With kindest regards,

“Yours sincerely,

“(Signed). A—— ———”

It is remarkable that this letter, which throws a good deal of light upon the situation we were investigating, should have been produced by the Principal as supporting a complaint that Miss Mercier had invaded his functions, and that he should not have seen the inferences that must necessarily be drawn from it as to his own behaviour. If his ideas had been clear, and his behaviour correct, no woman student would have been allowed by him to suppose that she had a grievance in being made to understand that her complaints ought to be made to Miss Mercier and not to the Principal.

34. It was essential to the success of the College that the Principal should observe the principles laid down in writing by the Governing Body for the definition of his functions and those of the Vice-Principal. Under these principles he should not (except in the exercise of his appellate jurisdiction) intervene between the Vice-Principal and a woman student in matters of discipline, nor should he deal with such matters himself direct. When Miss Mercier in her opening statement informed us that one of her difficulties had been the failure of the Principal to observe the proper limits of his and her functions in matters of discipline, Alderman Kinder very properly asked her whether this had happened more often than in a small percentage of cases. This was very material; for it was of importance to know whether a power of direct intervention in the sphere of discipline entrusted to the Vice-Principal was claimed by Mr. Parsons as a matter of right, or was merely an exercise of his authority on casual occasions when it might be convenient, or at any rate unobjectionable, that he should deal with small matters coming under his eye, and set them right without the



formality of invoking the agency of the Vice-Principal. Mr. Parsons, however, by his evidence removed all doubt on this point; he made it plain that he had claimed this power of direct intervention as of right, and had exercised it of set purpose. He proved that he had been conscious of the objections which Miss Mercier had expressed on various occasions to his doing so; and he characterised these objections as "extravagant claims" on her part. We consider that in this important matter Mr. Parsons misunderstood the constitution laid down by the Governing Body and contravened it both in letter and in spirit.

What was  
the spirit  
& intent  
of the Board  
Book 2

35. The chief instance given by Mr. Graham of Miss Mercier's attempt to usurp the functions of the Principal was the incident in March 1915 summarily described in paragraph 9. This occurred at Whinfield, a house situated off the college estate, and occupied as a hostel by some of the women students who had been displaced by the military. A woman student residing at Whinfield was charged with theft and other misdemeanours, and the question arose whether she was to be expelled; and for the consideration of this question it was desirable to ascertain whether these wrong doings arose from the state of the student's health. Miss Mercier thought that there might be physical or mental causes to account for the student's behaviour, and discussed the matter with Mr. Parsons, and then with his knowledge and consent informed Dr. Lee Bolton, the full-time medical officer of the College, of what was in her mind, and suggested to him that it might be advisable to ask for a medical opinion from the Board of Education. Dr. Lee Bolton, as he stated to us, felt a "degree of resentment" at this suggestion, but he agreed to it. The Board was asked to send a medical adviser, and sent Dr. Janet Campbell. Miss Mercier suggested to Mr. Parsons and Dr. Lee Bolton that before they discussed the matter with Dr. Janet Campbell, it might be better that she should see Dr. Campbell, in order to put her in possession of facts of the case which had already been explained both orally and in writing to them, and in order to mention to Dr. Campbell some details which it would be easier for her to give to Dr. Campbell alone. They raised no objection, and from about 4.30 p.m. onwards they waited in an adjoining room expecting to be called in as soon as Miss Mercier had got through these preliminary explanations with Dr. Campbell. They entered the room once, found the explanations incomplete, and left it and waited again; when the preliminary explanations with Dr. Campbell (which were also assisted by the presence of a woman tutor) were completed, Miss Mercier went (at Dr. Campbell's request) to fetch the student, but did not ask the Principal or medical officer to come in; and when at last they were found by Mr. Graham still waiting, and inquiry was made, it was discovered, at nearly 8 o'clock, that the business had been concluded, and the girl and her parents examined and dismissed. Mr. Graham then asked Dr. Lee Bolton to grant a certificate on the decision arrived at by Dr. Janet Campbell; and Dr. Lee Bolton accordingly, on the day following Dr. Campbell's visit, signed a statement that he was quite in accord with Dr. Campbell in looking upon the case for the moment as a morbid form of hysteria, and recommending that the girl should have a complete rest until the middle of the next term, and that a careful watch should be kept upon her afterwards.

36. Explanations were required from Miss Mercier and were given partly in writing and partly at an interview with Mr. Graham; she explained that she had not intended to keep the Principal and the medical officer waiting for this length of time, and expressed her regret; as to the examination of the girl having been carried on in the absence of the medical officer, Miss Mercier had supposed that Dr. Janet Campbell had taken charge of the procedure. There had been a regrettable and regretted contretemps, and the incident, or that part of the incident, was regarded as closed; but out of it there arose a correspondence between Mr. Graham and Miss Mercier upon the extent of the proper functions of the Vice-Principal in a matter of this sort; and the whole incident, including the contretemps and the correspondence which ensued, had a great effect upon Mr. Graham's mind, and influenced his judgment on subsequent occasions on which the position of Vice-Principal came under discussion. He told us that the incident had been to him a "searchlight," and that from that moment he had foreseen the catastrophe which subsequently occurred; and he brought it forward as his capital instance of a "barefaced attempt to usurp the functions of the Principal."

This language appears to us to be inappropriate and misjudged.

Miss Mercier had fully acquainted the Principal with the facts which she desired to impart to Miss Campbell, and he agreed with the view which she took of the case. It would not be reasonable to suppose, after Miss Mercier's explanations and expressions of regret, that she had intentionally kept the Principal and the medical



officer for four hours in an ante-room; nor, if this view of her conduct had been entertained, would the incident have been regarded as closed. As a matter of fact the explanation was accepted; and the contretemps was not a bare-faced attempt at all, but was something that had not been intended, an unfortunate mishap.

Miss Mercier's intention and expectation clearly were, that after her preliminary explanations with Dr. Janet Campbell, the Principal and Dr. Lee Bolton would join the consultation. Had this happened and had no one been kept waiting, the whole procedure would have been free from objection. We must however remark here that Dr. Lee Bolton was wrong in feeling "a degree of resentment" at Miss Mercier's suggestion that the medical officer of the Board should be consulted. Such consultation is in the ordinary course; and so far from being officious in the matter, Miss Mercier would have failed in her duty if, when the girl's expulsion was under discussion, she had not brought forward the information in her possession and made the suggestion which she did make.

37. In the correspondence which ensued on this incident the issues were somewhat complicated. The mistake or lapse that had admittedly occurred was intertwined with a discussion as to the proper extent of the responsibilities of the Vice-Principal both generally and in regard to medical consultations upon students. Miss Mercier was holding to two definite points, viz., that in such a case as had recently occurred it was within her competence —

(1) to suggest a reference to the medical officer of the Board concerning a woman student;

(2) on the occasion of a visit by a medical officer of the Board, to consult alone with such an officer. In defining this second claim Miss Mercier made it clear that she was not proposing that the Vice-Principal exclusively should be consulted, but merely that a private conversation between the Board's medical officer and the Vice-Principal should form part of the proceedings.

Mr. Graham, Dr. Lee Bolton, and Mr. Parsons appear from the correspondence to have found some difficulty in addressing their minds to these points; they could not discuss them as principles of procedure without harking back to the contretemps, and writing as if the point under discussion was the propriety of keeping the medical officer and the Principal waiting four hours in an ante-room.

So far as Mr. Graham can be said to have dealt with these two points, the language of his letters was inconclusive. Miss Mercier, however, derived from an interview with Mr. Graham the belief that he conceded both of them.

38. On both points Miss Mercier's view of the functions of the Vice-Principal was correct. It was the duty of the Vice-Principal, in the matter of this student, and in any similar matter, to suggest a reference to the Board's medical officer. If any claim was intended to be advanced either by Dr. Lee Bolton or by Mr. Graham, that the medical officer alone should be entitled to suggest reference to the Board's medical officer, then such a claim was inadmissible. It was also proper that in such a case the Vice-Principal should ask to see the Board's medical officer, and should see her alone, and should speak fully and freely. If it was intended either by Dr. Lee Bolton or by Mr. Graham to claim, on behalf of the medical officer, any right to impede or prevent full and free intercourse between the Vice-Principal and the Board's medical officer on the occasion of a visit of this kind, then again such a claim was inadmissible.

As between the Vice-Principal and the Principal, no question of an invasion of the Principal's functions can arise upon a suggestion made by the Vice-Principal with reference to a woman student. It is her duty to make any suggestion she considers appropriate. There was no infringement of his functions when, after consulting him, the Vice-Principal spoke freely and alone to the Board's medical officer about the case; it was part of her duty to do so.

39. To sum up: we are clearly of opinion that there is no foundation for the statements of the Principal and Mr. Graham which we have been examining. We did not find throughout our inquiry any instance in which Miss Mercier had exceeded the functions assigned to the Vice-Principal in the constitution of the College, nor any instance in which she had omitted to discuss with the Principal matters of interest to the College, and to obtain his approval, when discussion or approval was required.

*Miss Mercier's efficiency as Vice-Principal.*

40. During her tenure of the post of Vice-Principal, Miss Mercier appears to have met its difficulties with courage and equanimity. Her work and influence commanded the enthusiasm of some, and the respect and admiration of many. The majority of

*This is for  
the Gov  
to say.*



the women on the staff drew up a statement upon this subject after Miss Mercier's resignation; and in this statement they laid stress upon Miss Mercier's insight into the possibility of meeting new demands in the training of teachers, her wisdom, her judgment, and the increased interest which she has inspired in the work of elementary schools as a career for girls.

"The steadily rising ideals of work and conduct, among the students," they wrote, "and the healthy development of corporate life in the College are evidences of the growing influence of her personality.

"Miss Mercier's supreme belief in harmony and goodwill as the essential condition of all fruitful co-operation has exerted a deep influence upon her colleagues. Her sympathetic understanding of the many problems involved in the various branches of work in a large Training College has won our enthusiastic appreciation."

A leading member of the men's staff who considered this statement extravagant, expressed the highest regard for Miss Mercier. At our inquiry Alderman Kinder thus expressed himself: "We all admire you, Miss Mercier, but we do not like your actions."

41. Mr. Graham's considered opinion on the subject may, perhaps, best be taken from the concluding words of his talk on June 15th after her resignation: "I should like to take this opportunity to say how sorry I am that Miss Mercier is leaving us. No one regrets this more than I." At our inquiry, when pressed as to the points at which he would criticise Miss Mercier's performance of her duties, Mr. Graham used the following language:—

"Q. For the first six months, Miss Mercier's ideas in these changes which she was making—did they appeal to you?—A. Well, there was nothing very startling about them, they were quite elementary, there was nothing great, they were brought up at our Meetings; they had been discussed, these questions of desirable development, some time before she came. The only question was that we should have put the two sections definitely under the control of Mr. Holgate, but the suggestion made by Miss Mercier was that they should be co-equal as regards position, but the equality of position did not affect the principle.

"Q. You took an active part in these discussions?—A. Yes, I did. I handed in my notes. They were gathered together in a sort of happy-go-lucky way. It was a question of the three of us pulling together and doing the best we could for the College. I must say that I do not remember Miss Mercier bringing forward very much for anyone to discuss. The material had to be found elsewhere if that is your point. I did not take any notice of that. She was there, she was learning. We were all willing to do whatever we could for her. It was a new problem to her and in a big scheme like that you have got to get into it gradually."

42. Later, on being asked whether he had been impressed by Miss Mercier's ability at the meetings which he had with her during her first six months' work, he said, "Well she was not the one to speak much at these meetings. I wish she had spoken at these meetings as she has spoken at this inquiry. I was under the impression that she was learning—picking up her work as it were." This testimony by Mr. Graham seems to dispose of the suggestion that Miss Mercier produced the trouble at the College by coming to it in a missionary spirit with the idea that everything was wrong and had to be put right by her.

43. Mr. Parsons' testimony was more emphatic than that of Mr. Graham. He stated at the inquiry that he was still of opinion that Miss Mercier was the right person for the Leeds Training College, if there had been some modification in the working relationship between himself and her; given this modification, Miss Mercier, he thought, would have been a great success; and in the course of his statement he said "To-day, but for the war and the unhappy state of affairs produced by the resignations of Miss Mercier and the tutors, we would have been stronger than at any time in the history of the College," and he explained this by saying, "but for the war and for the events of the last six months to a year, the College would have been stronger both in life and in work and everything as a whole that goes towards making a College than ever before." He added, "Even to-day I must say that I think that we have not lost anything as much by the war as we had anticipated we might do from the conditions under which we were placed when the war broke out."



He attributed this to a desire on the part of the students and staff to do their level best to make the work go. He told us, moreover, that Miss Mercier consulted him about those educational improvements in which she took a prominent part after joining the College; that he thoroughly approved them and appreciated everything she was doing; and that during the year 1914, while the College was still in its buildings before the war broke out, it was advancing rapidly in educational work; that schemes were being discussed of such a kind that, had it been possible to put them into operation, the College would have gone on by leaps and bounds; and that in short he was entirely satisfied. This was handsome language on the part of Mr. Parsons, and would have been quite inapplicable if Miss Mercier had precipitated troubles by a missionary spirit of putting everything right, or if, as was suggested on the last day of our inquiry, she had caused them for herself by introspective brooding over difficulties.

*Criticisms of Miss Mercier summarised.*

44. While (for the most part) entertaining feelings of respect for her personal character and ability, those who criticised the efficiency of Miss Mercier's work as Vice-Principal did so on the following grounds:—

- (1) Mr. Graham, Mr. Parsons and members of the staff. She caused ill-feeling by taking away work from members of the staff who were men and handing it over to women.
- (2) Mr. Graham, Mr. Parsons, Dr. Lee Bolton and others. She caused ill-feeling among the male staff by making (or enforcing) a rule preventing a woman student from going unaccompanied to visit a man-tutor.
- (3) Mr. Graham. In her disciplinary control she lacked grip. Hence a deterioration in the tone of the College.  
Mr. Parsons. Her methods of discipline were too free, and resulted in too bold a demeanour on the part of the women students.  
Members of the male staff. There was among the women students a growth of loudness and boldness of bearing in the presence of men.

*Distribution of Tutorial Work.*

45. The first of these criticisms has reference to—

- (a) The organisation of the College into departments for the instruction of the students in their professional studies and the supervision of those departments.
- (b) The distribution of the classes of students between men tutors and women tutors.

Substantial changes were made by the Board of Education in the Regulations for the Training of Teachers which took effect in part from 1st August 1913, the day from which Miss Mercier's appointment at Leeds dated, and came wholly into force from 1st August 1914, when she had been at work for two terms there. These changes are fully described in a memorandum of twelve printed pages which the Board have reprinted in succeeding years as a preface to the regulations, and they affect the studies of intending teachers at many points. They are based upon the fact that the standard of education reached by the students has so risen, that the Colleges may legitimately now devote themselves more to the professional training of the students and less than formerly to making up the deficiencies in their general knowledge; they give greater freedom to the Colleges in the distribution of the work between the first and the second year of the students' college life; and they encourage specialisation by requiring students to take three or two only instead of five of those subjects which are classed as general subjects, viz., English, History, Geography, Mathematics, and Elementary Science. "It will be seen" the Board remark in their memorandum "that a large amount of liberty is allowed under these Regulations as to the subjects which are to be taken by individual students. The choice as to this will be left to the College Authorities acting on their knowledge of the tastes and powers of the particular student."

46. Changes of this magnitude necessarily involved a great overhauling and re-fashioning of the organisation, the time-tables, and the class-distribution of students in training colleges throughout the country. The better the College, the greater the extent to which it could avail itself of the chances offered by the new regulations; and naturally therefore Leeds would be in the forefront of the movement. But at Leeds the comprehensive re-arrangements which ensued were converted to resentment against the Vice-Principal. Tutors who lost a department, a class, or a student under this re-arrangement, regarded the loss as the sinister working of Miss Mercier, or of



a clique, or of a feminist movement; and their superior officers, so far from disabusing the tutors' minds of these suspicions, participated in them.

47. Mr. Todd and Mr. Holgate, senior members of the staff, who gave us a fairly full account of the situation from their point of view, impressed us favourably by their evidence. Their prepared statements were appropriate in tone and substance and written with discernment. In their replies to our questions also they addressed themselves at once to the point, and spoke to it with directness and simplicity.

Both of them thought that the division of the College into three separate departments (men, senior women, and infant teachers) for the purpose of professional studies had been a mistake, and one for which Miss Mercier was responsible. Being asked to state the position a little more closely, Mr. Holgate explained that before Miss Mercier's arrival these three departments existed, but were under the single supervision of himself; under present conditions he remains in charge only of the men's department, the other two are each under a woman-tutor, and such co-ordination as exists between the three is in the hands of the Principal and the Vice-Principal. But the arrangement which Mr. Holgate criticises is that which now prevails generally in Training Colleges. The co-ordination of the several departments for professional studies is now commonly left in the hands of the Principal and Vice-Principal, and this corresponds to the enhanced emphasis which is now laid upon the professional studies.

48. Mr. Graham in his description of the cliques into which he said that the women's staff had been formed, named the inner circle as consisting of Miss Mercier, Miss Grace Owen, and Miss Walker. Miss Grace Owen was at the head of the Department for junior schools and infants, while Miss Walker was at the head of that for senior girls; and the heads of these two departments are always, and necessarily, associated closely in their work with one another and with the Principal or Vice-Principal, as the case may be, under whom they serve. The closer the association, the better for the work.

49. The complaint that Miss Mercier excluded men tutors, as men, from the time-table of the First Year women students in 1914, was found when investigated to have little to substantiate it. The changes whereby in 1914 fewer men tutors than formerly took women's classes, arose partly from the definite separation of the students for professional work into three departments under three co-equal heads, and partly from circumstances which in that year contributed naturally to the lessening of the work of the men tutors with the women students. The Regulations of 1913 giving students the option of taking three, or (in special cases) two academic subjects instead of five, came fully into effect in 1914, and students began to exercise this option, with the result that there were fewer classes of women students to be provided for. More women tutors had also been appointed to the Staff, and Miss Mercier thought of them as naturally taking work with women.

50. The main case of exclusion in 1914 put before us was that of a man tutor who had been given no English lecturing with the First Year women students. This was explained by the fact that a new English lecturer, a woman, had been appointed to the Staff and began work in 1914, and that another woman English lecturer had been set free by an outgoing set of students. The First Year women students had been arranged for professional work into six groups, three of Girls' Teachers and three of Junior and Infants' Teachers. Miss Mercier considered that the work would be better co-ordinated, and easier to organise, if the students kept the same group for academic work as for professional work. This arrangement is quite usual in Training Colleges, and has been found to be convenient for organisation with large numbers of students. In order to ensure that the lecturer who had charge of the academic work should have some of the same students for professional work, she arranged to give the three groups of Junior and Infant Teachers to the new woman lecturer for English, and the woman tutor who had been set free from the English work of the out-going students of 1914 took English with the three groups of Girls' Teachers. Consequently there was no English work on the women's side for the man tutor with the First Year women students of 1914.

51. As one set of circumstances necessitated the exclusion of some of the men tutors from the First Year women's time-table of 1914, so another set of circumstances required their inclusion in the 1915 time-table; we were told by the Principal that with the exception of the head of the department of education for men, there was not now a member of the staff left who was restricted to men students. Further, as Miss Mercier was responsible for the 1914 women's time-table so also does she appear



to have made the distribution of work whereby men should take women's classes in 1915.

At one point of the inquiry the Principal said that the changes in 1915 were made by himself and Miss Mercier mutually, and at another point he referred to the case of a man tutor chosen by Miss Mercier to teach women in 1915 "in spite of" the fact that there were women capable of undertaking the work and anxious "to do it."

52. The only case in which a man was definitely excluded from lecturing to women students occurred not in 1914 but in the following year, when it was suggested by the Vice-Principal for special reasons and approved by the Principal that one of the men tutors who had hitherto taken women students for Mathematics should no longer do so.

*Grievances about Chaperonage.*

53. We come now to the trouble, said to have been caused by the Vice-Principal, in respect of certain rules of practice by which women students were prevented from going unaccompanied to men tutors when sent for.

Mr. Graham thus expressed it:—

"Trouble appeared again at a later date when men tutors found that women students had been told they were not to consult the men tutors.

"Later that women students were not allowed to go to men tutors when sent for.

"Finally when a woman student did go to see a man tutor in connection with her work she was chaperoned by a second woman student."

When we asked Mr. Parsons what he had to say about this, he said it was a tutors' grievance, and would have referred us to the tutors; but in response to further questions he explained his views. He thought it better that the matter should not be regulated on fixed principles; that as a general rule men tutors should be authorised to send for women students, but that visits of this kind should be rare; that women students so sent for should as a general rule go unattended; but that exceptions should be made where strong reason existed for them.

54. One of the tutors then narrated an incident which he described as an insult offered to himself. He resides in a man's hostel; he told a woman student to come to that hostel to visit him in his residential quarters and confer on some business relating to one of the college societies. She did not come at the time appointed. He thereupon consulted the Principal, who told him to send for her again. He sent for her again; and upon this second summons she did come, and expressed some indignation at having been prevented (apparently by the woman tutor of her hostel) from coming on the first occasion.

This tutor is a married man, and this particular student was thirty-five years of age; and we may therefore suppose that the permission finally given to her to visit him alone in his residential quarters was granted as an exception. But the tutor did not put forward the incident as one where an unnecessary difficulty had been made in granting a reasonable exception to a salutary fixed rule; his complaint was against the rule. Mr. Graham's language was general, and had no reference to exceptional cases.

55. Miss Goodfellow, a woman tutor whose service dates from before the present college was opened, and who is not one of those who have resigned, made a statement of the principles by which the women tutors have been guided in this matter, and we were glad to learn that of late these principles have been more strictly enforced. She explained that the practice of chaperonage as described in this inquiry had been customary throughout the years during which she had been in residence, viz., since 1908; that in the first instance it was always the custom for a resident housekeeper to accompany a student on a visit to the Doctor; that that custom had prevailed for over three years and then began to fall out of practice, and that now it rests not with the tutors but with the housekeeper to decide how the student shall proceed to visit the Doctor.

With respect to visits paid by women students to men's halls, Miss Goodfellow stated that when the College first went into Beckett's Park (its present site) it was a matter of common agreement that the women students should not make visits or be encouraged to make visits to the other side, and that if they had to go they would invariably have another student to accompany them. It was common for women students to have to go to Kirkstall Grange to inquire about parcels and letters, and on such occasions the practice was that they should be accompanied. There was a third occasion on which the students were invariably expected to be accompanied, and that was when going down the Drive in the dark.



56. The Governors as a body had no knowledge of the objections which had been raised to the enforcement of suitable rules upon this matter, but after hearing of the subject for the first time at our inquiry, Mrs. Cannon (one of the lady Governors) made the following observations :—

“When the question of chaperonage came forward as a vexed question,—to be sure you may consider it is a small question, still it is illustrative—if it had been brought before the Committee, I should have said at once that by the men as well as the women, the principle of a general chaperonage should be accepted at the College, because that being the case, all would have felt it was generally recognised and no one would have objected. In the case of doctors and men who have to meet young women who are not very strong in the control of their own will and behaviour, as we well know, all more or less, are chaperoned. As a young girl I never went alone—it never entered into my head that anything would take place. I thought it was the proper thing to be chaperoned. With regard to the children who live with me, we never consider on either side that it is unnecessary to be chaperoned when going, say, for music lessons to a man. I think in that particular case, it is only a small case, but I think I could have possibly put the case so strong that the men might for once have been brought to see my point of view with regard to that question.”

57. We do not regard the matter as a small one, but as one of elementary importance in the management of a Training College for men and women students; and Mrs. Cannon's observations upon it have our hearty concurrence.

We consider that when a woman student has occasion to visit either a man tutor, or the medical officer, the question of her going accompanied or unaccompanied should be determined by clear and (if possible) invariable rules of practice; that these should be in accord with the standard assumed by Mrs. Cannon, viz., the standard which those persons who are best respected in Leeds adopt for their own daughters. Such rules will best be safeguarded if, having been drawn up by a Principal and Vice-Principal who are in accord upon such matters, they are submitted to and approved by a House Committee which is representative of the Governors, and is strong enough to deal firmly with anyone who obstructs, objects, or interferes with their working.

#### *Tone of the College.*

58. The criticisms with which we have still to deal relate to the efficiency of Miss Mercier as a disciplinarian. A belief that the tone of the women students had deteriorated was one of the subjects which were during Miss Mercier's tenure of office discussed, in conversations to which she was not invited, between Mr. Graham, Mr. Parsons, and certain members of the male staff; and Mr. Graham also said that Alderman Kinder took part in some discussions on the point.

A sense that matters vitally concerning her were being discussed in this way, was one of the feelings which caused uneasiness to Miss Mercier. Mr. Graham's belief that there had been a deterioration of tone was likewise one of the reasons which led him to deliver an address on June 13th (subsequently referred to in this report as “Mr. Graham's Talk”), and it was one of the points towards which that Talk was directed.

59. Some instances of cigarette-smoking having occurred among the students, and having been mentioned to Miss Mercier, and action taken to stop the practice, Mr. Graham entertained a belief that the practice was still being continued.

Questioned by us whether he thought that Miss Mercier would not stop it or could not stop it, Mr. Graham said :—

“I am not certain whether her hold on the College is such that she could stop it,” and he presently developed this idea thus :—

“Now, I did not pass by Miss Mercier in these particular instances, because I really thought she could not deal with it herself; it was an accident, as you put it; I said that an idea, a feeling had come into my mind that Miss Mercier, when she had to face problems, could not tackle them and deal with them. It was in my mind—for instance, I mentioned the other day, two tutors, who were going on and on for 12 months without speaking—disunion and so on in Hall. She knew that—why did not she tackle it and deal with it? She knew of this noise and so on going on in Macaulay; why did not she tackle it and deal with it? She knew that Miss —— for months and months had a very slight hold over the students in the Hall. Why did not she tackle that question and deal with it?”



The sequel to these remarks was that Miss Mercier pressed Mr. Graham hard as to the source of the information on which his belief as to the continuance of smoking had been based; and that some information which had not previously been communicated to her was then elicited.

60. Mr. Parsons spoke in terms of moderation as to the deterioration of tone. He had not noticed it until a later date than that from which Mr. Graham dated the growth of his own unfavourable judgment; he described it as rather a loudness in tone and conduct, and he attributed it to a laxity in training more than laxity in discipline; and he thought the evil traceable to the Vice-Principal and some of the more recently appointed women tutors. Two senior men tutors, in carefully considered and temperate language, referred to the same matter.

One said:—"I have no wish to depreciate the conduct of the present students. It is difficult to standardise conduct. My own women students are usually perfectly well behaved and courteous in class. Out of doors and out of class there has been without doubt a tendency to lack of discreetness."

The other said:—"I have had the highest regard for Miss Mercier, with whom my personal relations have been quite friendly, but I deprecate the extravagant tone of the letter of appreciation which was read by Miss Owen, for I have to state that in my opinion there has been in some respects a deterioration in tone amongst the women students during the last two years. I have noticed what I can best describe as the growth of a 'loudness' amongst the women students."

61. It does not fall within our duties to express an opinion upon the tone of the College or to compare it with the tone of two or three years ago. This is a question upon which no one can pronounce an opinion of much value who has not at intervals during that period seen and talked with the staff and the students in the classroom and in the hostel, and had full opportunity of watching their behaviour at work and at play.

62. We are able, however, after careful examination, to give a clear answer to the question whether the material, upon which Mr. Graham based his beliefs, is sufficient to justify them. We have taken the incidents and the reproofs contained or implied in the Talk one by one, and have sifted them down to their elements; asking with respect to each, upon what it was based, how the information of it reached Mr. Graham, what was his intention in mentioning it, how his meaning went home to his audience, and what it all comes to when it is thoroughly examined.

We are clearly of opinion that the whole material on which these parts of the Talk were based did not afford any sufficient ground for supposing that there had been a laxity of discipline or deterioration in the tone of the College.

63. We do not propose to analyse in this report the mass of detail which we examined before coming to this conclusion, but we may add a few observations of a general character.

64. Different opinions were expressed to us upon Mr. Graham's Talk whether considered as a whole or in parts. The point on which there would be the nearest approach to unanimity would be a feeling of regret that the Talk was published. Those who objected to the Talk itself objected still more to its publication; and a senior man tutor said, "Along with, I believe, most, perhaps I should say all, of my colleagues, I deplore the appearance in the public Press of the accounts of the actions of certain students and I deprecate any suggestion that they are indicative of the general tone of the College." Even those of the Governors who saw nothing to object to in the Talk itself, and who thought that its publication was rendered necessary by the events that went before, would nevertheless probably feel regret that publication had to be made. Indeed they could hardly do otherwise.

At our inquiry Alderman Kinder pointed out that the women tutors had been completely exonerated, by Mr. Graham's explanation, from a reflection which appeared to have been cast upon them in a passage in his Talk, and Mr. Graham, assenting to this, admitted also that publication would give an impression of discredit.

Clearly, no well wisher of the College could desire (if publication could have been avoided) that a document should be published which would hold up the College in a worse light than necessary, or bring the women tutors under a suspicion from which they would have afterwards to be exonerated.

Mr. Graham on another occasion very rightly reminded us that "this was a private talk made public afterwards"; and the nine resigning tutors distinctly told us that in their view, though the Talk itself made a bad impression on them when they heard it, it made a worse impression on the public.



65. We concur in the view, indicated by Mr. Graham himself, that in some respects the conclusions likely to be drawn by the public from the publication of the Talk would be more unfavourable to the College than the impression which the speaker intended to convey. But it is worth while to pursue the question by asking why should this be so. One great reason, as it seems to us, why the publication of the Talk would produce a wrong impression, is that the Talk, so far as it related to the conduct of tutors and students, was a collection of unsifted material. To publish first, and sift afterwards, is a procedure of extreme inconvenience; and the public would naturally suppose that sifting would have preceded not only the publication, but also the delivery, of the Talk.

A great deal of excuse can easily be found for Mr. Graham. As he himself said, he was working thirteen and fourteen hours a day at school work and war work; and when we put to him on one of the disciplinary incidents the question why he had spoken to Mr. Parsons but not to Miss Mercier, he said—

“It was a question of an accumulation of circumstances which gave me very little time to deal with it.

“*Mr. Dale.* It was accident, so to speak, that you did not mention it to Miss Mercier?

“*Mr. Graham.* Exactly. When you are carrying as much war work as educational work, you have very little time.”

66. Owing to this want of time for dealing with the incidents as they came up, none of those on which Mr. Graham founded the Talk were sifted till after the Talk. Now the unfavourable opinion which Mr. Graham had formed of the tone of the College was formed before the Talk and was founded on the incidents mentioned in the Talk or others like them. In other words, it was prematurely formed, without sufficient inquiry and without hearing both sides.

67. When these matters came to be sifted it was proved that there was some foundation for Mr. Graham's remarks as to the lack of harmony among the tutors. His expression about secret societies and his quotation of a French proverb about mystery and innocence were found to have little or no point, but it was true that, whereas in former years the smaller staff over which Mr. Parsons had presided had been happy and united, the state of affairs was now somewhat different. The newly appointed women tutors were the nucleus of one band of friends and some of the older members of the staff (including men) formed another band of friends, and occasional disagreements on small matters disturbed at times the professional and social relations of some of the staff. Although this tendency was not sufficient to hamper at all seriously the efficiency of the College, yet it required the attention of the Principal, and it was his place not only to discuss the matter with the Vice-Principal but also to apply remedial action. On the other hand, examination of those incidents on which Mr. Graham had founded his belief in the deterioration of the tone of the students left nothing standing to justify unfavourable inferences being drawn as to the state of the College. Some of the strictures conveyed or implied in the Talk, which looked at first sight serious, disappeared altogether under scrutiny; some were found not to have been intended as strictures in the sense which they seemed to bear; some of the incidents were found to have been thought too trivial to mention at the time when they occurred; upon some a different complexion was put when explanations were offered by Miss Mercier and the tutors. The residuum of fact consisted only of such incidents as might occur in any training college, and afford no sufficient basis for generalizing as to its tone. They come to nothing more than saying that in this College as in any other College where there is youth and health and strength, the conduct of the students has sometimes been such as to require to be checked.

68. We may make the following further remarks upon the allegations placed before us with respect to the deterioration of tone of the women students.

The question of the tone of the women students has been at the Leeds Training College, to some extent and under some aspects, a party question. A cause of offence was that certain members of the old staff believed the new-comers to entertain the idea that there was room for improvement in the conduct of the students under the old regime, and they resented this suggestion. A trace of the suggestion was, they considered, discoverable in a letter of appreciation which was prepared after Miss Mercier's retirement by some of the women tutors, in which they referred to the steadily rising ideals of the students since Miss Mercier's appointment. Two of the men tutors spoke of this letter, and one of them went so far as to say that it made suggestions as to the Vice-Principal's influence which were, in his opinion, an insult to the Principal.



When feeling is in this state it needs but little for the partisans of the Principal to begin to be observant of any conduct in the women students that appears to them open to criticism. It is clear also that one of the manifestations of this party feeling has been the adoption of the term "feminism" to describe the attitude of the women tutors. Those who suspected "feminism" would naturally expect to find some unpleasant reflection of it in the tone of the students brought under its influence; indeed Mr. Parsons himself at our inquiry said that of late there had been a tendency among the women students to put feminism first.

69. Apart from charges of feminism, the views expressed upon the tone of the women students by members of the staff who were labouring under grievances should be received with caution. They might be able to preserve a judicial impartiality in judging the effect of the new influence upon the students, or their grievances might colour their views upon such a subject.

70. Everyone is aware that in the public elementary schools of this country during recent years there have been two schools of thought regarding methods of discipline, and that ideals of freedom and independence which some think admirable in girls' departments, boys' departments, and infants' departments, might by others be considered open to condemnation as disorderly. There is a similar contrast to-day between one school of thought and another as to the proper methods of discipline for young women who are under instruction between the ages of 18 and 20. When the exponents of the two different methods are brought together in one institution, it must necessarily follow that the one method will appear to the friends of the other to result in deterioration: if those who adhere to the stricter method did not think the results better, they would not adhere to it. Miss Mercier told us of this difference of methods between herself and Mr. Parsons. Being asked whether her views with regard to discipline, taking it in a wide sense, coincided with those of the Principal, she said:—

"Yes, in words. I was very hopeful at first, because we both agreed how much we liked freedom in every way, and so on, but I found we really had very different conceptions of freedom."

71. Mr. Parsons also informed us that towards the end of 1915 he became conscious of a difference between his own views and those of Miss Mercier upon methods of discipline. His words were:—

"I was rather inclined to think that on the question of disciplinary training Miss Mercier would have left the students to work out their own salvation without any guidance whatever. I should have been inclined to allow them to work it out, but under some direction and guidance."

72. An incident which occurred during our inquiry enabled Mr. Parsons to illustrate to us the standard by which he would judge the bearing and demeanour of a young woman. An ex-student who had been concerned in one of the incidents of Mr. Graham's Talk gave evidence before us for the purpose of explaining what had happened, and she was before us long enough to make a clear impression of her personality and behaviour. On a later day we asked Mr. Parsons to sum up his views on her bearing and demeanour, and he said that he considered it rather too bold and confident. He also considered that on one point she was inaccurate in her use of language; and that was all that he had to say on the subject. It seemed to us that those who were in sympathy with the freer methods of discipline would probably have had a good deal more to say, and that their appraisal would have been very different; but without presuming to dogmatize on so very difficult a subject as standards of conduct and behaviour, we may venture to say that if this young woman was a fair representative of the students that are being turned out from the Leeds Training College, the City need not despair of the rising generation, either in respect of intelligence or in respect of good breeding.

#### *Constitution of the College.*

73. We have so far described the system of control and management of the College as exhibited in its actual working: we shall now examine somewhat more closely the written constitution laid down by the Governors, and consider how far our inquiry has shown any need for its revision.

Certain defects in the written constitution contributed towards the recent failures in its control and management. Some were original defects; others are rather to be classed as points where experience has shown further definition to be necessary.

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74. *The Governing Body.*—The Governing Body is the Committee of the City Council for Higher Education. It consists of fifteen members, thirteen men and two ladies. The thirteen men are all members of the City Council, the two ladies were added from outside. The Committee meets regularly once a month for the transaction of business, and regular minutes of its proceedings are kept, those relating to the Training College being properly distinguished from the rest. It has been an advantage to the College that its Governing Body should contain members of this Committee, conversant with and influential in the business of the Council generally. We found, for instance, that the work of making new appointments to the staff (which rests not with the Governors but with the Staffing Sub-Committee) had run very smoothly, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee being also one of the Governors. Nothing which the Governors have thought desirable for the College has ever been refused on financial grounds; the salaries are on a liberal scale, and everything is handsomely provided:—a satisfactory state of affairs, to which the presence on the Governing Body of the Chairman of the Finance Committee must have conduced. On the other hand, it has been a disadvantage to the College that all its Governors (except the Chairman) should have been prevented by the pressure of other business from visiting it regularly. Experience has now shown the need for the formal appointment of a House Committee, to be nominated by the Governors, to exercise powers delegated by them, and to obtain, by personal knowledge of the institution and its staff, a good understanding of the conditions under which they are working, and of those matters which are helping or hindering progress. The Governing Body contains members whose presence on such a Committee would be most valuable, but we can hardly suppose it possible that the duties of such a House Committee could be adequately performed without the addition to it of persons less fully occupied with important public work than most of the Governors must usually be. It would also have been an advantage if the Governing Body had been able occasionally (say twice a year) to arrange to meet at the College, and if the Principal and Vice-Principal had been present at some of their meetings; but we regard these as matters to be regulated by convenience and usage rather than by fixed rule.

75. *Principal and Vice-Principal.*—The Schedule of Particulars requires certain matters (*viz.*, an appeal by the Vice-Principal against the Principal's veto, and the courses of study for women students) to be submitted to the Governors, but otherwise there are no rules of business to determine what subjects ought to come before them. The absence of such rules is in no way uncommon, but nevertheless had they existed they would have afforded some protection against the Governors remaining in ignorance of important matters. Any amendment of the constitution on this point should, we think, confer upon the Principal and Vice-Principal, in terms more distinct than those of rule (iii) and by way of amendment of those of rule (vi), a power of bringing before the Governors, through the Secretary, any matters on which they desire that the Governors should be informed or give a decision; and it would in our opinion have been of advantage in the past, and may yet be of advantage in the future, that a duty should be imposed upon the Principal and Vice-Principal of preparing periodical reports on the state of the College, to be laid before the Governors.

76. The written constitution (*i.e.*, the Schedule of Particulars) appears to us to be skilfully drawn in those passages which deal with the respective functions of the Principal and Vice-Principal, and their relations to one another. We do not attribute the recent troubles to any ambiguity or incompleteness in those parts of the Schedule. Some wrong practice has grown up and some wrong decisions have been given, inconsistent with the Schedule when properly read, and these need to be reversed in order that the Vice-Principal should really occupy such a position as the Governing Body intended to assign to her.

77. *Secretary.*—The relations between the Secretary and the College are not well expressed in the Schedule. A correct position is assigned to him in rule (iii) in regard to the educational, social and disciplinary work of the College, *viz.*, that the Principal in the first instance, and secondly the Lady Vice-Principal, are responsible to the Committee through\* the Secretary; and similar words occur in rules (iv), and (viii). An incorrect position is assigned to him by rule (vi), where the Vice-Principal's recommendations on so important a subject as the work and organisation of the women's side are to be made, not to the Committee through the Secretary, but to the Secretary;

\* This expression should be taken to mean that communications between the Principal or Vice-Principal and the Committee should pass through the Secretary.

Whence originates the right of any body other than the City Council to determine the function of the Chief Executive Officer



and this confusion is increased by the absence of any corresponding requirement as to the recommendations of the Principal on the work and organisation of the men's side.

78. The constitution should be amended so as to define more precisely the functions of the Secretary. It was natural that Mr. Graham should take an interest in every detail of the College which he had been largely instrumental in founding, and that the staff of the College should carry their difficulties, great and small, to him to settle. Nevertheless the time has now come when the domestic and disciplinary direction of the institution should be centred less in Calverley Street and more in Beckett's Park. The following incidents will show that measures of decentralisation are desirable:—

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In the hot weather some students moved their beds near to the windows. The Head Ronker at the College telephoned to the Education Office to report this, and instructions were given that the beds should be replaced.

Three tutors requested a Housekeeper to serve their tea to them in the Library instead of in the ground-floor tutor's room. The Housekeeper telephoned to Mr. Graham upon the subject and brought about his intervention.

A tutor read a paper on "G. B. Shaw's Women" to a Literary Society of a Women's Hall. Mr. Graham, when the matter came to his knowledge, considered this an unsuitable subject for women students, and requested the Vice-Principal to take notice of it.

One of the Housekeepers thought that the women students showed a tendency to disregard her authority, but did not think the matter of sufficient importance to mention to the Vice-Principal. The Vice-Principal therefore did not hear of it; but Mr. Graham heard of it from his clerk and from the Principal, and took notice of it.

One of the men tutors, dissatisfied at the separation of the sections of the Department of Education in the College informed Miss Mercier that he must "see Mr. Graham to find out where he stood in the matter." He did so, and Mr. Graham gave him a very proper answer.

We do not suggest that the Secretary's duties should be defined in merely negative terms. Encroachments should be forbidden, but we think that, if the limits of their respective responsibilities were properly observed, the Secretary for Education could often be of great assistance to the Principal and Vice-Principal. It would be well that they should be expressly authorised to consult him in an advisory capacity, and that thus his natural interest in the educational side of the work of the College, and his wide experience of education, should find due recognition.

79. It should not be part of the duty of the Secretary to address to the Principal or Vice-Principal interrogatories about their conduct such as the Minute quoted in paragraph 13. The City, having placed responsible officers in charge of a great institution of quasi-University rank, will find it better to extend to them a fuller confidence than this procedure implies; and in view of what has happened here it appears now necessary to lay down a plain rule that their conduct is not to be called in question by the Secretary except upon the authority of a formal minute passed by the Governors. The establishment of a House Committee would assist in ensuring that the Secretary avails himself of the complete relief, which the Governors should now extend to him, from the duty of watching and calling in question the conduct of the Principal, the Vice-Principal and the staff for whose discipline they are responsible.

*X That is  
for the City  
to determine*

80. *Housekeepers.*—That part of the constitution (Clauses 1 and 2 of the Schedule and all the arrangements for Housekeepers dependent thereon) which professes to separate the administrative and financial work of the College from the rest, and places it under the direct control of the Secretary, appears to us to require revision in the light of experience. No reasonable person would propose that the College should be completely autonomous. The care of the fabric, for instance, the insurance of the buildings, the estate management, the control over the resident engineers, the supervision of the laundry, and many other matters of the kind require to be directed from the central office. The question how far the control by the central office is to be extended is entirely one of degree. At this College it is extended so far that the housekeepers are responsible only to the central office. Thus there are in each hostel two housekeepers who stand outside the discipline of the College and deal direct with the central office, and two resident tutors who, like the students, are under the authority of the Principal and Vice-Principal.



81. The position thus created may be illustrated by examining the following passage from Mr. Graham's Talk of June 13th, 1916:—

“ I have seen a housekeeper cut a tutor at one of the social functions of the college, and a tutor ignore and pass a housekeeper and enter into conversation with a tutor of the same hall. Such action cannot have a good influence on the students.”

Here we have an example of the conduct of a housekeeper, and the conduct of a tutor, viewed as affecting college discipline; and sufficiently important to be selected for notice on a great and exceptional occasion. What would have been the proper course for anyone to take, in order to prevent the feeling between this housekeeper and this tutor reaching such a height as to injure college discipline? The Principal (if the tutor referred to was a man) or the Vice-Principal (if the tutor was a woman) could send for and admonish the tutor, but could not send for the housekeeper; Mr. Graham could send for the housekeeper, but not for the tutor; and thus, under the constitution of the College, no authority short of the Governing Body could send for the two of them and compose their differences. It appears to us advisable that the power to deal with them both, with the entire and unquestionable authority of a superior to a subordinate, should be vested in the Principal and Vice-Principal. This is but one example. We received from some of the tutors statements both in general terms and in detail of the inconvenience which had in their opinion been caused by the existing system for controlling the housekeeping arrangements; and on the other hand we received statements showing that in some of the hostels the arrangements had worked smoothly and to the satisfaction both of the tutors and the housekeepers. It was suggested to us on behalf of the Governors that the system itself was free from objection provided that it was worked in a reasonable spirit, and that if difficulties arose, they were due to personal causes. We do not adopt this view, but in rejecting it we have to state clearly that our reasons for criticising the system of control are not based upon any doubts as to the sufficiency and excellence of the dietary provided for the students. Whatever the shortcomings of the system of control, the policy which was desired by the Governors and which was followed in the College in respect of the dietary was liberal. We observe, however, that the resigning tutors were not alone in thinking that the system of control was capable of some improvement, for Mr. Graham himself, in his Talk of June 13th, referred to certain measures which had been taken and were to be developed further for giving increased responsibility to two of the senior housekeepers over certain parts of the housekeeping in the hostels in which they were not resident.

82. Speaking generally, we consider that the arrangements for the direct control of the housekeepers and the housekeeping by the Secretary are open to grave objection on the following grounds:—

- (1) The duties of a non-resident bursar, assigned to Mr. Graham, are incommensurate with his abilities and the dignity of his office.
- (2) When the Secretary is responsible for the supervision of the housekeepers and their work, but has no similar responsibility for the educational, social, and disciplinary work of the College, information is sure to reach him through wrong channels. He cannot test it properly without exceeding his functions, and the possession of it places him in a false position.
- (3) No sufficient means are provided for exercising discipline over the housekeepers; and no other means would be satisfactory except their subordination in all matters affecting their conduct and the discipline of the College, to the Principal and Vice-Principal.
- (4) There is no final authority easily obtainable for settling differences of opinion that may arise in the College on housekeeping questions or on matters that affect both housekeeping and conduct.

These defects in the system for the control and management of the College in respect of its housekeeping, have contributed materially to impair the successful working of the institution.

It would be easy to make such changes in the constitution as would meet the objections to the present system without the surrender by the city of due financial control; and the establishment of a House Committee would be of considerable service in the introduction and working of an amended system.

#### *Resignation of Tutors.*

83. The resignation of Miss Mercier caused grave anxiety to some of the women tutors, who believed that it was a serious matter both for the College and for

*ADirector would  
be responsible  
for all phases  
of work*



themselves. Though they did not know fully her reasons for resignation, they regarded it as due in some way to the practical difficulties of her position as Vice-Principal, an office which had seemed to them for some time not to be of as influential a nature in the life of the College as might have been expected. They thought Miss Mercier's difficulties were inherent in the position as it worked out in practice and that no successor could cope with these as ably as she had done.

In order to show that the Vice-Principal's resignation was a very significant matter to members of the staff, two of the tutors, who as heads of departments on the Education side of the work were in close touch with all the women students, sought interviews with the Principal and with Mr. Graham. On May 22nd they saw the Principal, who informed them that Miss Mercier had resigned on questions of policy, and that the staff could do nothing in the matter. On the 23rd they saw Mr. Graham, who told them that Miss Mercier's resignation had already been accepted by the Committee with deep regret and that therefore no inquiry could now be made into her reasons for it.

During the last days of May and the early days of June, several meetings of the women staff, and two of the men and women together, were held to discuss in what way they could best express their appreciation of Miss Mercier's work, and a letter of appreciation was drawn up. Some of the staff considered at this time the advisability of resigning as a body. In the interests of the College they decided not to do so for the present, but to take individual action as occasion arose.

84. About this period Miss Owen, head of the Junior and Infants' Teachers Department, came to the conclusion that at the end of the Summer term she would give up her work at the Training College. She had for some time been desirous of taking up another kind of educational work, and had been coming to the conclusion that the ideals cherished by Miss Mercier, with which she was actively in sympathy, were not possible of attainment under present conditions. She was greatly influenced by the resignation of Miss Mercier, and this, together with what appeared to her to be the failure of the Governors and the Principal to realise its seriousness and significance, caused her to decide to seek work at this time outside the Training College. On June 13th she wrote a letter of resignation to Mr. Graham; but she did not post it that day, as she desired to discuss the situation with the Principal once more.

85. *Mr. Graham's Talk.*—It was while the staff was in this disturbed state of feeling that Mr. Graham came to the College to address the resident staff. He had for some time considered that some of the Hostels were not being conducted as economically as was desirable in war time, and he was moreover seriously concerned about the conduct of the women students and about what seemed to him to be a serious deterioration in the tone of their side of the College. From January to Easter 1916 he had several interviews with the Chairman of the Governors and the Principal about these matters, and they agreed that some action was desirable. It was settled that an address should be given by Mr. Graham, but the various topics with which the address was to deal were not specified. The Principal was under the impression that it would be confined to war economies, and Miss Mercier was not consulted in any way.

The address was to have been given immediately after the Easter vacation, but was postponed owing to the absence through illness of one of the tutors. It was delivered on June 13th in the presence of the Principal and Vice-Principal, to the resident House Tutors and Housekeepers. Its subject matter falls under three headings: (i) War economies, (ii) admonitions, illustrated by certain specific incidents which were thought to have occurred at the College, (iii) general maxims.

Mr. Graham spoke for about an hour and a half, and he alone spoke. Questions were invited at the end of the speech, but none were forthcoming.

86. We are convinced that Mr. Graham had no intention of offending the feelings of those whom he addressed. He did not intend his Talk to be regarded as a general complaint concerning the students. His object was to state general principles in general terms, omitting all names, so as to cause no resentment. If any of these principles was not being carried out, he hoped that the tutors concerned would note the fact; and, as he expressed it, if the cap fitted, those concerned could put it on and go away and think about it. . . . If in a particular Hall there were no caps to put on, the matter ended. As for the incidents mentioned in the Talk, Mr. Graham informed us that they were isolated, that they were chosen to illustrate the kind of



thing which the Governors were anxious should not develop in the College life. He intended his speech to be the prelude to a friendly discussion.

87. The address increased the already great uneasiness among some of the tutors. They were ignorant of the source of Mr. Graham's information, but considered that they themselves should have been consulted about some of the matters mentioned in the speech before they were made the subject of an address. They considered too that some of the topics were outside the province and should have been outside the knowledge of the Secretary for Education, and that in parts of his speech Mr. Graham had usurped the functions of the Principal. One of the men tutors stated at the inquiry that had they been consulted by those tutors who afterwards resigned the whole staff would have joined in protest against any tendency on Mr. Graham's part to intervene in the control of the educational work of the College. Those of the tutors who afterwards resigned considered that the speech was one of direct censure and that the admonitions given by Mr. Graham indicated serious dissatisfaction on the part of the Governors with the condition of the College; they feared especially that it was the prelude to serious curtailment of their liberty of thought and action in the conduct of the educational and social sides of the College life.

88. We are bound to say that in our opinion Mr. Graham's action was indiscreet, and that his want of judgment was responsible for very serious consequences to the College. The Principal expressed to us the view that the time at which the Talk was delivered was unfortunate, "because there was in the College an electrical state of atmosphere which was dangerous." In this view we concur. We have already pointed out in paragraph 66 Mr. Graham's failure to sift properly the incidents of which the Talk treated, or to take the necessary precautions of making sure that the facts on which he based his views were beyond question. But these, though they cannot be overlooked, are not the most important aspects of the affair. In the passages of the Talk which dealt with the discipline of the College and the conduct of the students, Mr. Graham did invade the province of the Principal. He professed to speak in the name of the Governors to the Principal as well as to the staff; and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, his hearers were entitled to assume that the Governors would not have sanctioned such an unprecedented action without grave cause. It is in this light that the admonitions contained in the Talk must be judged. They could not be taken merely as good advice implying no censure or reflection on the work of the staff. Nor in fact did Mr. Graham intend them so to be taken: from his own explanation it appears that he thought that there had been a deterioration in the state of the College and that it was necessary to call the attention of the tutors to important principles which had been contravened. Clearly those tutors who took the view that the Governors were seriously dissatisfied with the results of their work and that the Talk was designed to introduce a change to a different régime had reasonable grounds for their belief. They could not know that some of the Governors would not have approved the parts of it to which exception was taken.

89. Apart from the subject matter, we consider that the indirect character of the address was unsuitable and likely to prove misleading. The speech was made for serious purposes and to people to whom it must be of grave concern, and it was right therefore that its meaning and application should be unmistakably clear. But the style which Mr. Graham adopted did not attain this end. Its defect lay in this, that the speaker's intention evidently was not merely to state unimpeachable maxims of conduct, but also to suggest that some of them had been contravened, the gravity and the extent of the contravention being left undefined; and that the speaker's intention in mentioning incidents was evidently not limited to the historian's interest in pure narrative, but was presumed to be guided by some principle of selection. Consequently the style is one which leaves a good deal to be supplied by the imagination of the audience, and reserves wide options for the speaker when asked to state more exactly what he means. This ambiguity received striking exemplification in the course of our inquiry. The Chairman of the Education Committee had read the passage about cigarette-smoking as being limited to a statement, (1) that the practice had been stopped, (2) that it was undesirable; and consequently he suggested that nothing material to our inquiry arose upon it. But when we asked Mr. Graham why, if the practice had been stopped, he went to the College to speak of it, the answer was that he did so because he thought it was still going on. Again, Mr. Graham said of another passage, relating to cliques and factions, that he did not see that the tutors could take exception to it; that the



passage was complete in itself; that he had nothing to add; that if there were no secret societies, no cliques, and no factions, there was no reason why they should feel offended. If they were, the passage told them frankly that the Governors did not desire such things to be. When, however, Mr. Graham was asked whether there was anything that made him think this piece of good advice applicable, he replied that what he meant was that the staff was not a united whole and had not been a united whole for some time; and he proceeded to sketch the growth of this disunion, and to relate that it had been for a long time the subject of serious consideration with him, and that he had discussed it with others.

When general principles are laid down in such a way that they are capable of explanation either as vague generalities or as conveying a reproof, such a mode of address naturally causes disturbance and irritation. It did so on this occasion.

90. The necessity for resignation was discussed by some of the tutors the same evening after Mr. Graham had gone, and the next morning three of them had interviews with the Principal and told him they intended to resign. Later in the day a fourth tutor saw the Principal and sent in her resignation. Still later two other tutors posted their letters of resignation and saw the Principal the following day. Three other resignations subsequently followed. These resignations were sent in more hurriedly than they otherwise might have been because the tutors were aware that if their resignations were to take effect in time for them to seek other posts for the Autumn they must be tendered by the 15th June.

Miss Owen, who, as a non-resident member of the staff, was not present at the Talk, learned on the morning of the 14th of the disturbance of mind that it had caused among some of the women tutors. She thought that as the Talk dealt with educational matters it concerned her as one of the staff, and she asked for an interview with the Principal and with Mr. Graham. Her discussion of the subject with the Principal left her dissatisfied, but on the afternoon of the same day she saw Mr. Graham and was reassured as to his intention and meaning in the Talk. That evening she sent in her resignation for the reasons that had been weighing with her for some time. Subsequently her misgivings with regard to the Talk returned.

91. The Principal told us that he thought some of the passages of the Talk had better not have been delivered at all, that others if delivered should have been delivered by himself, as Principal. But he did not express any dissatisfaction with the address to Mr. Graham on the evening on which it was delivered, nor until two days afterwards; and when he was visited by the tutors, and informed by them that they intended to resign because of the Talk, he did not in spite of this very serious development take any effective action. He asked the tutors to reconsider their decisions, but he gave them no indication that if they suspended their resignations he would move in the matter. He spoke to Mr. Graham on the telephone on June 14th about the resignations, but was "too busy," he told us, to do more on that day. On the next day he expressed to Mr. Graham his view that the second part of the Talk would have been better delivered by himself; Mr. Graham said that it was a special occasion, and that the war and the resignation of Miss Mercier necessitated a re-statement of the policy of the Governors. The Principal was not convinced by his arguments, but beyond mentioning the matter to the Chairman of the Governors he did nothing; the matter was allowed to drop.

92. The conduct of the Principal in this crisis seems to us to be unworthy of the position which he held, and of his responsibilities to the Governors and to his staff. We cannot accept his view that the fact of the tutors in question having sent in their resignation released him from all further responsibility in the matter. It was still open to him to write a report to the Governors or even to ask for a meeting with them, a request which, however unusual, was obviously appropriate in the unprecedented state of affairs, and it was his duty to put his views fully before them in one or other of these ways. It was his right and his duty to explain to them his view that, while he did not regard the lecturers' reasons for resignation as adequate, he considered the time of the Talk inappropriate, that in his opinion exception could legitimately be taken to the inclusion of various passages in the Talk, and that he regarded Mr. Graham's action as an infringement of his own province, and was not convinced by Mr. Graham's arguments to the contrary. It was also his duty to himself, to the tutors, and to the Governors, to express formally his opinion, which he stated to us, that the resignations were a serious matter for the College and that he was anxious to retain the services of all the resigning tutors. These views of the



Principal were eminently matters to be clearly put by him before the Governing Body and to be considered and discussed by them before they decided what action should be taken.

93. *Publication of Letters and Talk.*—By June 17th the women tutors had become aware that the number of resignations had increased to eight, and they had discovered that, though varying reasons had been given by individuals, fundamentally they were all in agreement. They decided therefore to place some general statement before the Committee, and on this date they sent a letter, giving briefly their reasons for resignation, and signed by seven of the tutors, to the Chairman of the Education Committee.

On the same day Miss Owen posted a letter to Alderman Clarke, stating that she had chosen this moment for resigning because of the changes in the condition of the College which the resignation of the Vice-Principal seemed to her to involve. Alderman Clarke replied to the seven tutors and Miss Owen on June 20th, asking them to supply further details and explanations.

On the 21st the tutors' letters of the 17th were discussed at a meeting of the Higher Education Sub-Committee, and it was decided to recommend that the resignations be accepted.

On the 22nd Miss Owen replied to Alderman Clarke's letter of the 20th, stating the conclusions to which her experience on the staff of the College had brought her, and how these affected her resignation.

The other tutors after consultation decided that the reasons for their resignations were too long and involved to be written, and that they would prefer to express them at a personal interview. They were confirmed in this decision by the fact that in the "Yorkshire Post" of June 22nd there appeared copies of their and Miss Owen's letters of resignation and of Alderman Clarke's replies. The tutors erroneously concluded that the publication of the letters had been authorised by the Governing Body, and they consequently determined to proceed with extreme caution. They feared further publication without their knowledge, and they wished to avoid injuring the reputation of the College by dragging its affairs into publicity. They therefore on the 24th wrote to Alderman Clarke asking for a personal interview and giving their reasons. They also informed him that they were approaching their professional organisation, the Training College Association, with a view to obtaining a formal inquiry by the Board of Education.

94. On the other hand, the Chairmen of the Governing Body and of the Education Committee were under the equally erroneous impression that the letters in the "Yorkshire Post" had been published by the tutors and that they were forcing the question into publicity, and the request for a personal interview lapsed. At a meeting of the Higher Education Committee on June 28th a discussion took place as to whether an inquiry into the causes of resignation should be held. By a majority of nine to four it was decided not to hold an inquiry but to confirm their recommendation of the 17th, that the resignations should be accepted.

95. On the 29th the Talk was published in the "Yorkshire Post" by the Governors, and for some time after this the situation was the subject of comment and discussion in the public press, notably in the "Manchester Guardian" and the "Yorkshire Post." On July 6th at a meeting of the City Council after some discussion it was decided to endorse the action of the Education Committee and to accept the resignations. An amendment to hold acceptance in abeyance while investigation was made was defeated.

96. In our opinion the action of the tutors in resigning was natural in the circumstances. Miss Mercier, in whose ability as Vice-Principal they had implicit faith and for whom they had a high personal regard, had felt compelled to resign, and they knew that the conditions which had made her consider that continued work in the College was impossible still existed. Furthermore, after Mr. Graham's talk they had definite reason to believe that their work had been censured by the Secretary for Education on behalf of the Governors. They were not in touch with the Governors and their representations to the Principal had had no effect. In addition they were pressed for time.

As we would attach no blame to the tutors for resigning, so we consider that no exception can be taken to the action of the Governors in accepting the resignations. The Governors for reasons which have been previously stated had no intimate knowledge of the state of affairs at the Training College and the letter sent by the tutors on June 17, in which they stated that the ideas set forth in the Talk came as



a shock to their ideals, did not explain where the conflict lay. Nevertheless Alderman Clarke at once wrote to the tutors asking for further details and explanations, and but for the unfortunate publication of this correspondence it is possible that his considerate and judicious action would have been followed by full inquiry and discussion and that events would have taken a different turn.

97. The publication of "the Talk" makes it necessary for us to add the following comments.

The tutors rendered good service to the College during their connexion with it. We are satisfied that any suggestions of their having encouraged or allowed unbecoming behaviour on the part of the students or of having misused their official positions for the purpose of "propaganda" are entirely baseless.

We are equally satisfied that whatever the tutors feared, nothing was more alien to the policy and desires of the Governors than any restriction on the exercise of proper liberty of thought and action by the staff of the College.

#### *Summary of Conclusions.*

98. We may now briefly summarise the results of our investigation which are set forth above. We recognise and have described the exceptional difficulties which the College has had to encounter: These difficulties have not in our opinion been successfully surmounted. We ascribe the failure in the first instance to the Principal, Mr. Parsons, who appears to us to have dealt inadequately with the difficult situations which arose. We refer particularly to his contravention of the written rules laid down by the Governors by endeavouring to retain over the women students a direct disciplinary control which he should have exercised only through the Vice-Principal; to the weakness which he showed when feeling rose amongst the men with respect to the time-table which he had approved; to his failure to lay down and maintain right principles when members of the male staff made unreasonable and wrongful objections to the proper restrictions which were imposed upon the women students on the occasion of their visits to male tutors in men's halls of residence and elsewhere; the timidity which he showed in permitting his functions to be invaded by Mr. Graham; the repeated conversations which he held on College matters affecting the studies and discipline of the women students without inviting Miss Mercier to be present and without keeping her properly informed of what passed; and the feebleness of his actions when matters were brought to a crisis by Mr. Graham's Talk of June 13th.

99. We ascribe the failure in the second place to the misjudgment and mismanagement of Mr. Graham, the Secretary for Education, and to his having in his zeal for the good of the College over-ridden the rules laid down by the Governors and taken much into his own hands which properly belonged to others to control. The chief instances of his misjudgment are to be found in the opinions which he formed upon the supposed grievances of the male staff upon the time-tables and upon the chaperonage of women students, and the supposed attempt by Miss Mercier to usurp the functions of the Principal in the matter of a consultation with the Board's Medical Officer respecting one of the women students; and also upon the supposed deterioration in the tone of the College. His mismanagement was exhibited in the letters written by him to Miss Mercier after the consultation with the Board's Medical Officer. He ignored the necessity for bringing Miss Mercier's letters before the Governing Body, and replied to her questions about the powers of the Vice-Principal in terms which were injudicious and could not but cause uneasiness. Mismanagement was exhibited also in the repeated consultations which he held with other persons upon matters relating to the studies and discipline of the women students, without inviting Miss Mercier to be present. Mr. Graham's letter (authorised by Alderman Kinder) to Miss Mercier with reference to her request that a friend should live with her, and his minute addressed to Mr. Parsons and Miss Mercier with regard to the absences of tutors, were unsuitable; and his Talk on June 13th, though well intended, was a bad blunder.

100. Alderman Kinder did not share all Mr. Graham's wrong impressions as to the course of events in the College and the cause of the trouble there. At the same time, many of those events were known to him: he was acquainted with Mr. Graham's letters to Miss Mercier about the position of the Vice-Principal and authorised Mr. Graham's reply to her request that a friend should live with her. He was aware also of the impressions which were forming themselves in the minds of Mr. Graham, the Principal and the male staff, about the state of the College and about Miss



Mercier's actions. He had in his possession many of the data necessary for a correct estimate of the situation; but he misconceived it, underrated its dangers, and, in consequence, took no steps to bring matters to the knowledge of the Governing Body.

101. In fairness both to Alderman Kinder and to Mr. Graham, the exceptional strain under which they were working must always be remembered. They were bearing a heavy burden of war work and were trying their best to maintain the education of the city at the highest possible level. The preoccupations of urgent public affairs may well be accountable for a large proportion of their mistakes.

102. The remaining Governors were not responsible for the troubles which arose. Important events which happened were not brought before them, and they were unavoidably prevented from paying visits to the College, in the welfare of which they were deeply interested.

103. The failure of the College to surmount the difficulties with which it was surrounded was in our opinion in no way due to Miss Mercier, the Vice-Principal, who performed with distinguished ability the duties which it was open to her to perform. She did not in any respect transgress the limits of her position as laid down for her by the Governors, but maintained a correct and conciliatory attitude in her official and personal relations with her colleagues. She did not retire from the position until it had been made untenable by the causes to which we have referred above.

The women tutors who resigned were entitled after Mr. Graham's Talk to take that course if they chose to do so. The submission of a full statement of their reasons to the Governing Body was prevented by an unfortunate accident for which neither they nor the Governors were responsible, viz., the publication of their letters. Our inquiry has shown that they performed their duties with efficiency and ability, and that any suggestions of "feminism" or propaganda on their part are baseless.

104. We think that the written constitution of the College is defective in certain respects, and that these defects have contributed towards producing the recent difficulties. Our suggestions under that heading relate to the following matters:—

- (1) The constitution of a House Committee to which we think that certain powers and duties might be entrusted;
- (2) The restatement of the functions to be performed by the Secretary for Education in relation to the College;
- (3) A revision of the system for controlling the housekeepers.

105. Finally we have to remark that it is a most severe test for any institution, that its inner working should be exposed to such an investigation as that in which we have taken part; and we cannot refrain from expressing our admiration for the candour with which the Governors, the Secretary, and the staff of the College laid the whole story before us, and for the patience and good temper which they showed whilst under examination.

Nearly all of them assisted either by making statements or by replying to questions; there was but little conflict of evidence; and our task has chiefly consisted, not in hearing disputes on questions of fact, but rather in analysing admitted facts and assigning to them their value and proportion. For the most part those present seemed desirous only of bringing out the whole truth, in order that they might form their own conclusions upon it, besides enabling us to form ours.

We have found ourselves compelled, on reviewing the evidence placed before us, to pass some unfavourable judgments on the actions of men whose names stand deservedly high, in the City of Leeds and outside it, for their services to education. But after holding an inquiry at which so excellent a spirit was displayed, we should ill discharge our duty if we did not now use the plainest language in reporting our conclusions, or if we affected doubts about them which we do not entertain.

H. W. ORANGE.

F. H. DALE.

A. E. WARK.

October 12th, 1916.



position of responsibility of the Vice-Principal intended by the Education Committee may be maintained, and the Lecturers or Tutors at the Women's Halls of Residence will in the same way be responsible to the Vice-Principal.

(viii) The Lady Vice-Principal will be responsible for the preparation of the Courses of Study for the Women Students. These, however, will be finally settled in consultation with the Principal previous to their submission to the Education Committee through the Secretary for Education.

(ix) The time-table with the allocation of time, and the allocation of Lecturers and Tutors to subjects and to classes, will be decided by the Principal, in consultation as regards the Women's Side with the Lady Vice-Principal.

(x) Staff Meetings and Sectional Staff Meetings and College Meetings will be regularly called by the Principal in consultation with the Lady Vice-Principal.

(xi) The social and disciplinary organisation of the College work, as regards Women Lecturers, Tutors, and Students, will be controlled by the Lady Vice Principal, who will submit all proposals for approval to the Principal, and through him to the Education Committee. The general arrangement of social activities also should be submitted at the beginning of each Term.

(xii) All Sports Clubs and Games Clubs on the Women's Side of the College will in the same way be under the supervision and control of the Lady Vice-Principal.

NOTE.—This schedule is open to revision in the light of experience.

Education Department, Leeds.  
October, 1912.

JAMES GRAHAM,  
Secretary for Education.



*Original*

*City of Leeds.*  
*Education Department.*



*Calverley St. Leeds.*

18th December, 1916.

Leeds City Training College.

R. 67/1716.

Sir,

I acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the Board of Education dated November 21st, 1916, together with 20 copies of the Report made to the Board by Messrs. 2 Dale and 1 Orange and Miss Wark.

As this latter document is a Report to the Board of Education by its Officers, is marked "Confidential", and presumably is sent to the Local Authority as the basis on which the Board has founded its conclusions, it is not proposed at this juncture to discuss the Report beyond saying that <sup>in the</sup> ~~the~~ *opinion of the Governors the Report is not in accordance with* Report shows abundant indication of the inexperience of its ~~the statements made before the Board's Officers.~~ authors in the general assay of evidence.

With reference to the Board's letter which ~~sets out~~ <sup>states</sup> ~~officially~~ the conclusions arrived at by the Board "after full consideration of the Report", I am to set out seriatim the conclusions at which the Local Authority have arrived after a full consideration of the Report of the Board's Officers and after equally careful consideration of the <sup>Statements made</sup> ~~evidence laid~~ before the Board's Officers.

(1) The Local Authority do not concur in the opinion of the Board

(a) "That the Vice-Principal was not responsible for the difficulties ..... which led to her resignation.

The Secretary,  
Board of Education,  
WHITEHALL, S.W.



(b) "That the Women Tutors who resigned at the end of June after the Address delivered by the Secretary for Education did not act unreasonably".

(c) "That a full statement of their (the Women Tutors') reasons was not submitted to the Governing Body ~~was~~ largely due to an unfortunate accident and a consequent misunderstanding for which neither they nor the Governors were responsible, namely, the publication of their letters in the Press."

*(It transpired during the Inquiry that the person who arranged for the duplication & distribution of the letters was one of the women tutors who resigned).*

(2) The Local Authority note that in the opinion of the

Board "The system of organisation and management which had

been established by the Local Education Authority ..... *Special difficulties*

..... gave rise ..... Institution".

The Local Authority are <sup>convinced</sup> ~~of opinion~~ that no difficulties existed which could not have been obviated by the evidence of a greater spirit of loyal service to the College.

*The Local Authority feel that*  
(3) ~~Calls for~~ *no comment as necessary on the matter in this paragraph.*

(4) The Local Authority fully recognise and indeed claim ultimate responsibility for the management and control of the College. The exercise of this responsibility ~~and of the control of Members of the College Staff~~ will not, in future, lie in abeyance.

(5) The Local Authority note the comments of the Board as to the spirit animating the Chairman of the Governing Body <sup>of</sup> ~~of the City Council~~ in the discharge of his public duties, and the Board's explanation of the extent <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ which the Board conceive he failed to reach that standard to which in the opinion of their officers a responsible member of a public body should attain in the discharge of his public work.

The Local Authority <sup>hold</sup> ~~conceive~~ that the Chairman of the Governing Body is responsible to his own conscience for the former and to the citizens of Leeds for the latter, and that the comments of salaried officials of the Board of Education in this connection, ~~even when they take the form of an~~



~~official letter~~, are as gratuitous as they are offensive.

- (6) The Board set out in Section 6 of their letter some indications of the limitations which in their opinion should be placed upon the functions of the Secretary for Education.

The Local Authority desire to remind the Board that the work of the Council of a large City falls into large Departments (Law, Engineering, Waterworks, Tramways, Health, Police, Highways, Education, etc.) each in charge of a Chief ~~Responsible~~ Official in whom must necessarily be vested large powers of control; *and that*

*any* such Chief Official is responsible to the City Council for the due and discreet exercise of his powers and duties.

The definition of the duties of the Chief Executive Officer of the Education Committee is a matter to be determined entirely by the Local Authority and is not subject to revision or limitation by any external body.

I am, however, to admit that the description of the office of the official under consideration does not, in the opinion of the Local Authority, connote with sufficient accuracy the functions of his office, and that in order that <sup>there</sup> ~~no~~ member of the staff of the Education Committee may be <sup>no</sup> ~~under~~ any misapprehension in future as to the extent of the authority of the Chief <sup>Education</sup> ~~Executive~~ Officer, that Officer will, in future, be designated as the Director of Education.

- (7) The Local Authority note the expression of the Board's appreciation of the merits and past services of the Principal.

It is regarded as unfortunate that the Board's appreciation has always fallen short of a full recognition of <sup>him</sup> ~~H. Parsons~~ as the Principal of the College. It was inevitable that the qualified recognition which the Board had so far accorded to



<sup>him</sup>  
to ~~Mr. Parsons~~ as the "Acting Principal" should, to some extent, deter him from such strength of action as he might otherwise take, ~~conceive - mistakenly perhaps~~ <sup>would</sup> bring him into collision with the Board's Officials, and that he should rely to an <sup>undue</sup> unnecessary extent on such authority of the Committee as is vested in the Committee's Chief Executive Officer.

The Local Authority feel that if the Board will remove the anomaly in the position of the Principal <sup>which limits these</sup> ~~and the control~~ <sup>powers</sup> which emerges <sup>ing</sup> from his hands, no ground of complaint will exist as to the exercise of his proper functions in the future.

~~The Local Authority feel that~~  
(8) ~~The Board's reflections on~~ <sup>The</sup> action of the Secretary <sup>very exceptional circumstances of the situation</sup> have origin in the Board's conception of the duties of that <sup>which existed at the College at that time and the Local Authority</sup> official, a conception which is not that of the Local <sup>feel that the Board in their reflections have not given consideration</sup> Authority. <sup>to these exceptional circumstances.</sup>

(9) The observations of the Board set out in Section 9 <sup>are</sup> appear ~~to be~~ fully dealt with in preceding sections of this letter.

(10) <sup>matter</sup> ~~The observations of the Board set out in Section 10~~ <sup>is</sup> are mainly <sup>an</sup> historical <sup>review</sup> and do not appear to call for comment.

(11 et seq) <sup>are</sup> The Local Authority will ~~proceed to take into~~ <sup>ing</sup> consideration what alterations, if any, in the present system of administration may be necessary.

(a) To secure due control by the City over the ~~conduct~~, policy, and finance of the College with ~~such~~ <sup>such</sup> ~~due~~ freedom for the College Staff as is compatible with the foregoing. <sup>Such control.</sup>

(b) To provide suitably -- ~~always subject to the aims~~ ~~set out in (a)~~ -- for so much contact, <sup>etc.</sup> <sup>the City Authorities and the College Staff also maintain pleasant</sup>

(c) To define the duties attaching to the ~~Chief~~ posts in the College, and



(d) To fill vacancies as they arise with persons competent to fill them and to give them proper support in the discharge of their duties.

*Any further* <sup>alter</sup> Such alterations <sup>that</sup> as the Local Authority determine to make will be communicated <sup>to</sup> ~~for the information of~~ the Board in due course.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Secretary for  
Education.

It has already been decided

- (a) That the Governors <sup>have their monthly</sup> meetings <sup>once</sup> each ~~year~~ term at the College, and
- (b) That a House Committee be appointed



*City of Leeds.*

*Education Department.*



*Calverley St. Leeds.*

January, 1917.

Leeds City Training College.

R. 67/1716.

Sir,

I acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the Board of Education dated November 21st, 1916, together with 20 copies of the Report made to the Board by Messrs. Orange and Dale and Miss Wark.

As this latter document is a Report to the Board of Education by its Officers, is marked "Confidential", and presumably is sent to the <sup>Governors</sup> Local Authority as the basis on which the Board has founded its conclusions, it is not proposed at this juncture to discuss the Report beyond saying that in the opinion of the Governors the Report is not in accordance with the statements made before the Board's Officials.

With reference to the Board's letter which states the conclusions arrived at by the Board "after full consideration of the Report", I am to set out seriatim the conclusions at which the <sup>Governors</sup> Local Authority have arrived after a full consideration of the Report of the Board's Officers and after equally careful consideration of the statements made before the Board's Officers.

(1) The <sup>Governors</sup> Local Authority do not concur in the opinion of the Board

(a) "That the Vice-Principal was not responsible for the difficulties ..... which led to her resignation.

The Secretary,  
Board of Education,  
Whitehall,  
LONDON, S.W.



(b) "That the Women Tutors who resigned at the end of June after the Address delivered by the Secretary for Education did not act unreasonably".

(c) "That a full statement of their (the Women Tutors') reasons was not submitted to the Governing Body was largely due to an unfortunate accident and a consequent misunderstanding for which neither they nor the Governors were responsible, namely, the publication of their letters in the Press".

(It transpired during the Inquiry that the person who arranged for the duplication and distribution of the letters was one of the women tutors who resigned).

(2) <sup>Governors</sup> The ~~Local Authority~~ note that in the opinion of the Board

"The system of organisation and management which had been established by the Local Education Authority ..... special difficulties ..... gave rise ..... Institution".

<sup>Governors</sup> The ~~Local Authority~~ are convinced that no difficulties existed which could not have been obviated by the evidence of a greater spirit of loyal service to the College.

(3) <sup>Governors</sup> The ~~Local Authority~~ feel that no comment is necessary on the matter in this paragraph.

(4) <sup>Governors</sup> The ~~Local Authority~~ fully recognise and indeed claim <sup>for the L.E.A.</sup> ultimate responsibility for the management and control of the College. The exercise of this responsibility has not, and will not lie in abeyance.

(5) <sup>Governors</sup> The ~~Local Authority~~ note the comments of the Board as to the spirit animating the Chairman of the Governing Body of the College in the discharge of his public duties, and the Board's explanation of the extent to which the Board conceive he failed to reach that standard to which in the opinion of their officers a responsible member of a public body should attain in the discharge of his public work.

<sup>Governors</sup> The ~~Local Authority~~ hold that the Chairman of the Governing Body is responsible to his own conscience for the former and to



the citizens of Leeds for the latter, and that the comments of salaried officials of the Board of Education in this connection are as gratuitous as they are offensive.

(6) The Board set out in Section 6 of their letter some indications of the limitations which in their opinion should be placed upon the functions of the Secretary for Education.

The <sup>Governors</sup> ~~Local Authority~~ desire to remind the Board that the work of the Council of a large City falls into large Departments (Law, Engineering, Waterworks, Tramways, Health, Police, Highways, Education, etc.) each in charge of a Chief Official in whom must necessarily be vested large powers of control; and that <sup>each</sup> ~~any~~ such Chief Official is responsible to the City Council for the due and discreet exercise of his powers and duties.

The definition of the duties of the Chief Executive Officer <sup>of each department of the City Council</sup> ~~of the Education Committee~~ is a matter to be determined entirely by the <sup>City Council</sup> ~~Local Authority~~ and is not subject to revision or limitation by any external body.

I am, however, to admit that the description of the office of the official under consideration does not, ~~in the opinion of the Local Authority,~~ connote with sufficient accuracy the functions of his office, and that in order that there may be no misapprehension in future as to the extent of the authority of the Chief Education Officer, that Officer will, in future, be designated as the Director of Education.

(7) The <sup>Governors</sup> ~~Local Authority~~ note the expression of the Board's appreciation of the merits and past services of the Principal.

It is regarded as unfortunate that the Board's appreciation has always fallen short of a full recognition of him as the Principal of the College. It was inevitable that the qualified recognition which the Board had so far accorded to



him as the "Acting Principal" should, to some extent, deter him from such strength of action as he might otherwise take, and that he should rely to an undue extent on such authority of the Committee as is vested in the Committee's Chief Officer.

The <sup>Governors</sup> Local Authority feel that if the Board will remove the anomaly in the position of the Principal which limits the powers emerging from his hands, no ground of complaint will exist as to the exercise of his proper functions in the future.

- (8) The exceptional action of the Secretary had origin in the very exceptional circumstances which existed at the College at that time and the <sup>Governors</sup> Local Authority feel that the Board in their reflections have not given consideration to those exceptional circumstances. The <sup>Governors</sup> Local Authority feel, in fact, that the Board's reflections on the action of the Secretary have origin in the Board's conception of the duties of that official, a conception which is not that of the Local Authority. Each Chief Executive Official is held responsible by the City Council for his Department and for all that takes place in his Department. The Local Education Authority cannot accept any suggestion that their officials shall not be at liberty to meet the Staff of any Institution under their control and discuss with them any problems affecting that Institution. The Officials of the Board of Education enter any School or other Educational Institution for that purpose and the Leeds Education Authority must demand for their officials the same right and equal opportunity for the exercise of that right.

- (9) The observations of the Board set out in Section 9 are dealt with in preceding sections of this letter.



(10) Section 10 is mainly an historical review and does not appear to call for comment.

(11 et seq) The <sup>Governors</sup> Local Authority are considering what alterations, if any, in the present system of administration may be necessary.

- (a) To secure due control by the City over the policy and finance of the College with freedom for the College compatible with such control.
- (b) To provide suitably for so much contact between the City Authorities and the College Staff as to maintain pleasant relations.
- (c) To define the duties attaching to the chief posts in the College, and
- (d) To fill vacancies as they arise with persons competent to fill them and to give them proper support in the discharge of their duties.

It has already been decided

- (a) That the Governors have their monthly meeting once each term at the College, and
- (b) That a House Committee be appointed.

Any further alterations that the Local Authority determine to make will be communicated to the Board in due course.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Secretary for  
Education.



COPY.

COPY.

The Training College,  
Sunnymead, IOK.  
Shireoak Road, 1916.  
Headingley, LEEDS.

My dear Principal,

June 18th, 1916.

I wonder whether by some happy chance you may know of a likely person for a vacancy on our staff. I am suddenly losing a clever and versatile mistress. She has

Dear Mr. Parsons,

The attendance at Church of the present batch of students is very unsatisfactory. The former students used to come regularly, at least once a day. This cannot be said of the present lot, and we think you would desire that we should let you know this. Of course, if they are attending elsewhere, it is quite all right to us. Perhaps it would be a revelation if you were to put the question how many were absent from Church to-day.

We do not place much value in worshippers who only come under a sense of compulsion, but we should be very sorry if in this formative period any of them should gradually drift out of their former religious habits. And, to suppose a case, if the lady in charge of the house where they live, says to them "It is a fine morning. You can go for a walk to-day" - you can easily see that on wet days they will tend to find their own apologies for absentsing themselves.

The mistress leaving me had begun as an elementary teacher, took her Manchester B.A., worked on the staff of a P.T. Centre, and was clever all round.

With kindest regards, and all good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

Forgive me (Signed) JOHN M. HIGMAN. chance of your perhaps knowing a possible candidate.

With kind regards,

I am,

Faithfully yours,

J.A. HANNAH



COPY.

The Training College,  
Anchor Hall,  
NORWICH.

7th July, 1916.

My dear Principal,

I wonder whether by some happy chance you may know of a likely person for a vacancy on our staff. I am suddenly losing a clever and versatile Mistress. She has taken the History, Theory of Music, and Elocution, while actively leading on the Hockey Field, being brilliant in things dramatic and so on.

It is a dreadful nuisance and difficulty to have to begin seeking a successor in the vacation, and there is a shortage of people now. I must find somebody to do the History well but of course we need a person who knows something of the ways and technicalities of elementary schools and colleges.

The Mistress leaving me had begun as an elementary teacher, took her Manchester M.A., worked on the staff of a P.T. Centre, and was clever all round.

Forgive me for troubling you on the chance of your perhaps knowing a possible candidate.

With kind regards,

I am,

Faithfully yours,

J.A.HANNAH.



C O P Y.

C O P Y.  
Ascham Hall,  
FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN,  
Training College,

11, Hart Street, BINGLEY.

LONDON, W.C.  
Mon. July 10, 1916.

July 13th, 1916.

Dear Miss Zachary,

I am so sorry I have been so long in answering your letter. Thank you very much for the information; and I am honoured by the request; but if anybody else could possibly do it I should be rather glad. I have been to London on the same business twice in the last ten days, and I feel as if I oughtn't to neglect the work here much more this term. I am so very sorry and if everyone else finds it impossible I would try to manage somehow if necessary; but will you be so kind as to send somebody else if you can?

and formal enquiry.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

HILDA JOHNSTON.

H.M. WOLHOUSE.



COPY.

C O P Y.

Northcote.

FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN. et al.

July 13th, 1916.  
11, Hart Street,

LONDON, W.C.

Dear Miss Morgan,

I am sending you a copy of this notice. I have got copies.

I am told by P.O. that you and I are the two most **Dear Miss Zachary,** the Committee, hence they would be

The notices will be sent out to-morrow for a special Executive, to be held on July 29th at 11 Hart Street, to consider the Leeds resolution and the possibility of action by the Federation. We shall be very grateful if someone in possession of all the facts will represent your Association. Personally, and so far as I can judge from the documents you sent me, there seems to me to be every reason to press for a full and formal enquiry.

Yours sincerely,

HILDA JOHNSTONE.

The papers keep talking about our letters of resignation, but so far as I know these have never been **Why not?** I enclose a copy of mine, it is perfectly clear to the man to whom it is addressed. The great point is that the ordinary reader is believing that speech as true in its general impression. See Mr. Shackleton Bayley's letter "Every rule of the College, etc" How where are those rules? Have you a copy? Has any copy been sent to the Board e.g. last year or any previous year? I remember seeing those sent up the first year or two. Weren't those rules merely those relating to hostel management? Have you got a copy? If you have why have



COPY.

The heads of hostels not been furnished with copies? Have we seen copies of the minutes? How does a yone know if these are true? (Miss Goodfellow has a story on that point).

Northcote,

Roundhay, Leeds.

July 19th, 1916.

Note that the whole of the resignation (with the exception possibly Miss Mitchell) threatened to resign in 1915.

Note also that I obtained another post in 1918 and telegraphed

Dear Miss Mercier,

I am sending you a few things - keep them all I have been content to stay since that date until the date of have got copies.

I am told by E.P.G. that you and I are the two most difficult cases for the Committee, hence they would be relieved if I would withdraw my resignation. But this again is gossip and cannot be used. Still there is Mr. Parsons' assurance that my hostel was not meant and my reply that every comment and story fitted in with my 9 years' work.

It is very distressing that the men have taken up the stand they have done. I have only seen the Y.P. but am sending for a copy of the M.G. with Mr. Wilkinson's letter in full. health of the students as a big question.

Do not forget that neither Miss Goodfellow nor Miss Morgan was asked by the men to sign that counter petition to the T.C. Association. owing to lapse of subscriptions. I don't know.

The papers keep talking about our letters of resignation, but as far as I know these have never been Why not? I enclose a copy of mine, it is perfectly clear to the man to whom it is addressed. The great point is that the ordinary reader is believing that speech as true in its general impression. See Mr. Shackleton Bayley's letter "Every rule of the College, etc." Now where are those rules? Have you a copy? Has any copy been sent to the Board e.g. last year or any previous year? I remember seeing those sent up the first year or two. Weren't those rules merely those relating to Hostel management? Have you got a copy? If you have why have



the Heads of Hostels not been furnished with copies? Have we seen copies of the dietaries? How does anyone know if these are true? (Miss Goodfellow has a story on that point).

Note that the whole of the Residential Staff (except possibly Miss Mitchell) threatened to resign in 1912.

Note also that I obtained another post in 1912 and telegraphed my refusal on being asked to stay by the Principal, and that I have been content to stay since that date until the date of the speech.

You will not know that in 1912 I also urged that there should be a Nurse attached to the College and the Principal assured me that there would be one when we moved to B. Park. Where is the Sanatorium? As for the Housekeeper question, what are the qualifications demanded of them? Who appoints them? Who proves that they are fit or unfit to have charge of the dietary, health etc. of 60 girls? Take each case and examine. Who are they? Contrast our qualifications which have to be submitted to the Board (I often wonder why I am passed:) Do take the health of the students as a big question.

I have not yet discovered the purpose of the Old Students' Meeting on Saturday last. Some were not even called to it - but that may be owing to lapse of subscriptions. I don't know.

I am getting up to-morrow if not to-day. It is so stupid of me to give in like this but I hurt myself moving a desk and have been thoroughly frightened - that was probably due to my being run down. At any rate I am assured that all I need is a few days' rest in bed and the pain has now gone. It looks as if I have even taken in my own self at last.

Let me come over after to-day if I can be of any use.

The Y.P. is very nasty. I got another shock. etc - he is waiting for an enquiry.

Yours very sincerely,

Mrs. Bannister had heard of the "E. BIRSELL. I was glad to be able to keep the conversation to refuting that. Miss Ryan H.M.I. but very Junior was there and she would hardly believe some



COPY.

of the school I told her. Mrs. Bannister had seen Miss  
Whitinger before she went to Leeds because she is one of the  
measures of the Hampstead School. Harncroft,  
Old Blandford Road,  
Salisbury.  
July 21st.

Dear Winifred,

Alas: Your letter of the 18th only reached me on  
20th and I found to my dismay last night the posts had been  
altered and I could not post what I wished.

I had no mandate for written material so I did not  
know what you wished. But I have written a personal statement  
at some length to show my willingness. I began it twice and  
send both bits as you may find something you want in one and  
not in the other.

I am sorry that you are thus left all alone in the  
fight - at least alone as regards getting clerical assistance  
evidently. Do use "It's money to give you a typist. I'll  
rewrite that thing if it is of any use to you, but I hardly  
think it can be.

I shall be at home now until I go to Oxford on  
August 3rd or 4th. My cycle is being put right, but directly  
it is right I am going to ask your mother when I can go to  
see her.

Professor Geddes had to write that letter in the  
Manchester Guardian apparently on my letter only as the Manchester  
Guardian cuttings are evidently not being passed by the Censor -  
only such things as are sent directly from newspaper offices get  
through to him. He apparently secured the first article but none  
of the others so necessarily he was vague. He has written that  
he'll write again directly he gets the real facts - he naturally  
is waiting for an enquiry. I shall see him in Oxford on August 4th.

Mrs. Bannister had heard of the "Talk" so that I was glad  
to be able to keep the conversation to refuting that. Miss Ryan  
H.M.I. but very Junior was there and she would hardly believe some



of the tales I told her. Mrs. Bannister had seen Miss  
Matszinger before she went to Leeds because she is one of the  
managers of the Hampstead School. She had explained some of the  
difficulties to her but Miss M. had said "Well I shall go  
and see for myself". After her return from Leeds she called on  
Mrs. B. when Mrs. B. was out so she heard nothing of the report  
from Leeds. I shall be in or passing through London about  
August 10th I expect. Let me hear if I can be of any use.

2. "The Editor of the **Much love,**  
the G. O. I. S. would like a statement from your  
side."  
NINA.

(This is partly journalism. I don't want  
anyone else to have it first).

3. Please thank Miss Mordue for her letter. Nobody as  
yet seems to have written to the Church papers and I  
do not see any point in inviting discussion until all  
your guns have been brought out. I liked the article  
in the Manchester Guardian.

Then a P.S. of later date after receiving my letter  
saying I was going to Lincoln.

"I am so glad about Lincoln. The Archdeacon had not  
replied to my letter so I know nothing. It is  
amusing to see the Manchester Guardian and the  
Yorkshire Post so diametrically opposed.

I'm glad a question had been asked in the  
House.

I often go to Lincoln. The Vicar of Grantham  
is a friend of mine. I knew others there too".

Are you feeling that things are progressing?

In haste,

Much love,

NINA.



Harncroft,  
Old Blandford Road,  
SALISBURY.

22nd July, 1916.

Dear Winifred,

Dr. Figgis has sent me the enclosed with a note of which I copy the essential parts, i.e. as accurately as I can read it.

1. is private.

2. "The Editor of the Guardian writes a similar letter to the C.T. i.e. he would like a statement from your side.

(This is partly journalism. I don't want anyone else to have it first).

3. Please thank Miss Mercier for her letter. Nobody as yet seems to have written to the Church papers and I do not see any point in inviting discussion until all your guns have been brought out. I liked the article in the Manchester Guardian".

Then a P.S. of later date after receiving my letter saying I was going to Lincoln.

"I am so glad about Lincoln. The Archdeacon had not replied to my letter so I knew nothing. It is amusing to see the Manchester Guardian and the Yorkshire Post so diametrically opposed.

I'm glad a question has been asked in the House.

I often go to Lincoln. The Vicar of Branbridge is a friend of mine. I know others there too".

Are you feeling that things are progressing?

In haste,

Much love,

H.M.A.

I hear you are staying in Leeds for a time till the

Board of Education inquiry. Have they definitely arranged to



Overhill,  
LEICHTWORTH,  
N. Herts.

hold an enquiry and what is it to be? 23rd July, 1916. Have  
any real rest after all this strain?

Dear Miss Mercier, I be so very good to see you again.

I do hope I see by your letter in yesterday's Manchester  
Guardian that you are in London. Is there any possible chance  
that you would come out here next Saturday for a quiet week-end?  
I wanted so much to write to you weeks ago but hesitated to add  
one more letter even, to such overstrained days and weeks as you  
must have been passing through. You should have a quiet rest  
here and I should so love to see you and have the chance of  
taking some care of you for a day or two. If I have not written  
it has not been because you have been out of my mind, hardly a  
day has gone but all the Leeds Training College troubles have  
haunted me. I do feel that you have all taken such a dignified  
stand, I am full of admiration. Leeds does not deserve to keep  
you all, but unfortunately the people who so greatly need you, not  
the mischief-makers, are the ones to whom the loss seems  
irreparable.

What a difficult uphill time it has been for you all  
the time in Leeds and now this is indeed a terrible climax. I am  
sure you must be feeling very worn out after it all, and a quiet  
week-end here would be a good thing if you can get away, and how  
I should love to have you here!

Mother and a dear old friend of hers (Miss Rea) who lives  
with her, both hope you can come. Unfortunately I have to leave  
here myself on Monday week (July 31st). I am here for two weeks  
rest and then off to Canning Town Women's Settlement for a time,  
If not for the week-end could you come on Friday. I am  
unfortunately engaged all Thursday.

I hear you are staying in Leeds for a time till the  
Board of Education enquiry. Have they definitely arranged to



Northampton,  
Sunday, 18th.

hold an enquiry and when is it to be? Are you going to have any real rest after all this strain?

It would be so very good to see you again.

I do hope you can come out for next week-end.

With love,

Yours affectionately,

BEATRICE B. ROGERS.

Probably I shall be in London before the end of this

week. I am paying a round of "farewell" visits at present.

By the way I can remember the time when students laughed openly when the library was mentioned. For Mr. L. treated the question of books as a minor point - as far as my history goes. "The staff only want them for their own use" - we simply could not get them. The old idea that a teacher could be warned out "Complete" isn't it?

I was speaking to a business man the other day - an old friend and he is very anxious for us, since he has no faith in such a biased paper as the L.A. to put the whole thing in "perphlet form and publish it". I could not help smiling, though I said nothing.

I am glad to see Beatrice Ekin's letter in the paper, she has at any rate stated the point of view anyone reading the reports of the G. Meetings could gain even knowing the newspaper case only.

Now I must run down and buy up spare copies of the Y.P. Miss Hardy is wanting one.

Are you tired of getting letters? Don't trouble about answering mine. I can wait.

Yours very sincerely,

B. B. ROGERS.

P.S. I hear Gertrude Agar has got pusules again! I am writing to ask if the story is true.



Northcote,  
Roundhay, LEEDS.

24th July, 1916.

7, Clarendon Drive,

Headingley, LEEDS.

Dear Miss Mercier,

I enclose another letter showing the feeling between the Church Colleges and the L.E.A. type. Perhaps you would let me have it back later.

Probably I shall be in London before the end of this week. I am paying a round of "farewell" visits at present.

By the way I can remember the time when students laughed openly when the library was mentioned! For Mr. K. treated the question of books as a minor point - as far as my memory serves me. "The staff only want them for their own use" - we simply could not get them. The old idea that a teacher could be turned out "Complete" isn't it?

I was speaking to a business man the other day - an old friend and he is very anxious for us, since he has no faith in such a biased paper as the Y.P. to put the whole thing in "pamphlet form and publish it". I could not help smiling, though I said nothing.

I am glad to see Beatrice Kitson's letter in the paper, she has at any rate stated the point of view anyone reading the reports of the C. Meetings could gain even knowing the newspaper case only.

Now I must run down and buy up spare copies of the Y.P. Miss Hardy is wanting one.

Are you tired of getting letters? Don't trouble about answering mine. I can wait.

Yours very sincerely,

E. BIRDSELL.

P.S. I hear Gertrude Agar has got measles again! I am writing to ask if the story is true.



7, Claremont Drive,  
Headingley, LEEDS.

July 25th, 1916.

My dear Miss Mercier,

I ought to have written days ago, but was hoping to be able to see you and to put off writing. We did come round on Sunday, but found an empty house. You will have seen the copy of Professor Findlay's letter in the Yorkshire Post, so I expect you won't want it sent round now to the L.C.C. Things seem to be swimming and I hope they will hum a good deal more before this is done with. I hear you were up in town for the question in the House and for the Teachers' Registration Council. I have been able to correct false impressions of the situation in Ripon and Liverpool.

Let us know your plans and movements.  
Are you looking out for a house?

Love from,

C. WINIFRED CONNELL.

E. P. KASHARY.



CITY OF LEEDS TRAINING COLLEGE.

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Notes of a Talk with the Residential Staff as to  
Economy and Conduct in the working of the  
various Halls.

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INTRODUCTION.

The reason I have asked to see you is that owing to the War we are losing gardeners, firemen, and ronukers, and experiencing considerable difficulty in maintaining the Domestic Staff of the Halls. The prices of food stuffs have risen seriously, and the cost of everything we require in connection with the maintenance of the Halls and of the work of the College generally, has risen rapidly.

The same facts hold good with regard to the Scheme of Education of the City as a whole. This has necessitated a very careful consideration of ways and means. Several discussions have taken place with representative Headmistresses and Headmasters, and the result has been a modification of the working arrangements throughout the City, but I am pleased and proud to say that, so far, nothing vital in the educational system of Leeds has been weakened or sacrificed, and that in the Schools of the City, College trained women have replaced the men who have temporarily left the Schools to serve with His Majesty's Forces.

With regard to the Training College, its work is so essential to the future success of our Elementary Schools, both Boys' and Girls', that the Local Education Authority desire strongly that its work may, as far as possible, "carry on as usual" from all points of view.

With the help and cordial co-operation of the Residential Staff of the Training College, we feel convinced it is possible to go a very long way by preventing waste, (without being stingy in the direction of all that is necessary), by preventing unnecessary work, (without curtailing the reasonable liberty of the students) and by preventing avoidable damage to property, furniture and equipment.

Before adopting the policy of cutting down or reducing expenditure on the College on hard and fast lines, we want to see how much can be done by preventing waste, preventing unnecessary work, and preventing unnecessary damage. This will lead me to deal with many points and to cover much ground. As this is the first time that I have met the whole of the staff who are particularly interested in the Residential side of the work of the College, I think it advisable to touch upon a variety of questions which need your consideration if the object in view is to be accomplished.



The object we have in view is to secure that staff and students shall work and co-operate from conviction, that the action taken shall be in the best interests of the College and of themselves.

#### PRICES OF FOOD.

Although the prices of food stuffs have risen rapidly and the best English fed butchers meat is now very dear, and difficult to obtain, the Governors have decided that there shall be no tampering with the quality of the food, particularly butchers meat, supplied to the Hostels, and that as the Governors do not eat margarine themselves, they will continue to supply the best fresh butter to the students. This has been the attitude of mind of the Governors throughout. With care and economy, the standard of quality can be maintained.

#### ECONOMY OF FOOD.

The greatest economy should be exercised as regards food, and comparative food values should be carefully studied.

It is the duty of resident tutors, as well as the Housekeepers, especially at the present time, to see that there is no waste or extravagance at table. At breakfast for instance, no student should be allowed to eat both butter and bacon. At all meals moderate helpings of food should be served in the first instance, as it is always possible to have a second helping, whereas if the first helping is more than can be eaten, what remains is waste.

Considering the high price and scarcity of milk, it should be made clear that anyone who does not intend to drink the whole of the allowance served in the morning should not take a sip and leave the rest. The provision of this morning milk costs something like £400 a year. If untasted the milk can be used for household purposes, otherwise it is wasted. In the main the milk is apparently appreciated, and as the portion for each person is small (about a quarter of a pint) there is no excuse for any being left.

#### VISITORS.

The Governors are always pleased to see students or staff entertaining visitors. It would, however, be a distinct gain if notice were always given to the Housekeeper in order that she may have reasonable time in which to provide the meals. If it is desired that visitors should stay overnight or for the week-end, the permission of the Principal and Vice-Principal should be obtained previously, and records should be made in the book provided for the purpose. This is not for the purpose of my personal scrutiny, but for the purpose of systematising Official Records.

#### LAUNDRY.

Much time is wasted, and inconvenience caused, by garments being sent to the Laundry insufficiently marked, or altogether unmarked, or in a bad state of repair. Many enquiries are received regarding unmarked garments, but it is impossible for the staff at the Laundry to deal with these during term time. The garments are put on one side until the end of the term and then sent to each of the Halls in turn for identification. At the end of the Easter Term there was an accumulation of nearly 200 such garments.



Sometimes garments are sent to the Laundry in which pins, needles, and brooches have been carelessly left. If these are not detected, they constitute a danger to persons washing the garments, and are liable to catch and tear other clothing in the machines. The Governors are responsible for injury to their work-people due to such carelessness.

Before sending garments to the Laundry, students should see that they are plainly marked, that the pockets are emptied, and all pins, needles, brooches and fasteners are removed.

Before a vacation excessive numbers of garments are usually sent to the Laundry. This puts a great tax upon the capacity of the laundry staff, as the hours of work are limited by the Board of Trade Regulations. The congestion could be relieved by students spreading the extra laundry over a longer period.

#### QUESTION OF HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT.

Crockery, cutlery, table furniture, sheets, blankets, etc. should be checked once a month, if possible, and at least at the end of each term. Any deficiencies should be reported at once.

Inventories must be kept quite up to date. On one occasion when a Housekeeper left the College, the extent of the deficiency, due to breakages not having been notified, was somewhat alarming.

#### BREAKAGES.

Breakages of crockery, windows, furniture, globes, etc., for which students are responsible, should be paid for by the students concerned, but in case of doubt, the student should have the benefit of the doubt.

#### SUPERINTENDENCE OF HOSTELS.

For some time, Mrs. Jackson and Miss Roberts, as the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of the Hostels, have acted in a consultative and advisory capacity with a view to bringing about greater uniformity of dietary, and of getting the best food values. This work on their part will develop. This does not mean that they will interfere with the detailed internal working of the Halls, which will remain as heretofore.

#### VISITORS TO THE GRANGE.

Parents of students visiting the College on Saturdays naturally wish to see the Grange. As the building is used for Lectures in the morning, it is only possible to do the cleaning after 12.30. It would be a great advantage if instructions were given that visitors should not be shewn over the Grange before 4.30 p.m. if this can be avoided. This would give the domestic staff time to do the cleaning, and also the place would be seen to advantage. At present visitors often disturb the maids at their work. This fine old house should not be visited whilst in the throes of "Spring Cleaning".

#### EXTRA NOTES ON HALLS.

No nail or drawing pin should be driven into any wall or wood-work in the Hall. This is for the protection of the building.



The Tutors and Housekeepers are responsible for the careful and considerate use of all furniture or equipment within the Hall.

#### APPARATUS FOR SCHOOLS AND LESSONS.

An Inventory was recently taken of the apparatus that was removed from the educational block at the time of its occupation as a Hospital. We found that while some of it had been legitimately used up, there were instances of pieces of apparatus being broken (in one case a valuable piece) and no one knew who was responsible for the breakage. Apparatus of various kinds should be obtainable only through responsible members of the staff, who should record its issue and return, and after examination, pass it into store. This is an ordinary business arrangement.

Senior Matron and Junior Matron.  
Senior Tutor and Junior Tutor.

The Senior Tutor and the Housekeeper are respectively the first among equals.

The Senior Housekeeper should give the Assistant Housekeeper every facility for learning all that there is to be learnt about the Domestic arrangements of the Hall. The Assistant Housekeeper should be given every opportunity for gaining experience in ordering the quantities required and the methods of utilising such quantities, in other words, she should be taught everything, so that, should the Senior Housekeeper fall ill, the Assistant Housekeeper can, without undue strain, anxiety and worry, undertake the management of the Hall. This is not always done.

The Senior Tutor should similarly give the Junior Tutor scope for taking a full share in controlling the educational and intellectual sides of the life of the Hall. . . . This is not always done.

It is extremely important that cordial working relationships should exist between Tutors and Housekeepers, otherwise the prevention of waste, as well as unnecessary work, avoidable damage, and the successful working of the Hall, are made unnecessarily difficult.

I have seen a Housekeeper cut a Tutor at one of the Social Functions of the College, and a Tutor ignore and pass a Housekeeper and enter into conversation with a Tutor of the same Hall. Such action cannot have a good influence on the students. It is not what the Governors expect. We cannot be a mutual admiration society - that would be ridiculous; but we can be gracious and correct to each other, and set a good example to the students in our charge.

It has always been a cardinal principle that personal misunderstandings and quarrels should not interfere with, and injure work. Clear up any differences that may arise as quickly as possible and forget them for the sake of the work and the students.



### Housekeepers, Tutors, and fires.

Throughout the winter, and especially during the late Spring and early Autumn, economy in the use of coal fires should be exercised, and care should be taken not to leave large fires burning when retiring to rest.

### Gardeners.

The Housekeeper should not interfere with the work of the Garden, thus coming between the Head Gardener and the work for which he is responsible. The Housekeeper would object if the Gardener interfered with the Domestic work of the Hall. It is best, therefore, to leave the gardens to be controlled by the persons responsible in order that they may be worked to the best advantage of the College as a whole. Again the Housekeeper has ordinarily very little knowledge of the educational and academic work of the students. The Tutor is responsible for this work; and on the other hand, the Tutor should not interfere with the domestic work of the Hall for which the Housekeeper is responsible. But both Tutor and Housekeeper can do valuable work by cordially co-operating to make every activity of the Hall a success.

### Religious Instruction.

The Governors are particularly anxious that the residential life of the College should be utilised to the full in producing young men and women of fine, strong character.

For this reason, the Scheme of Religious Instruction taught in the Schools of the City was introduced into the College in order that the young people who were being trained as teachers should be as well equipped in this as in any other subject of school instruction.

Parents of students declare whether they desire their son or daughter to attend church or chapel, the students being left free to select their own place of worship. It then becomes the duty of the Tutors to see that students follow the wishes of their parents. The parents' wishes should be respected.

Prayers are read morning and night in each Hall, and it is very necessary that the prayers, the portion of the Bible read, and the hymn, should be carried through reverently and from the heart. This duty at times has been hurried through, as though it were something to be got over quickly. If carried through in this way, it had better not be done at all, but if carried through reverently night and morning, the influence on the students over a period of two years, cannot be otherwise than very considerable.

Although we cannot control the religious convictions of adults, yet it is desirable that Tutors in residence should show the students an example in church going, and should not allow men and women to miss Church or Chapel without good and sufficient reason. In any case, as the Tutors are responsible for seeing that the students do go to Church or Chapel, they should not sit outside the Hall smoking, ("No, I'll take that back") or at ease, showing quite evidently no intention of going to Church themselves, when students are leaving the Hall for Church. I think you will agree that this is not quite the correct thing. Tutors should take a real interest in this side of College life.



At one time, cigarette smoking began to be taken up by the women students. The matter was mentioned to Miss Mercier and to Mr. Parsons and the practice was stopped. The girls do not come to us cigarette smokers and I am sure it is not the parents' wish that they should develop into cigarette smokers here.

## CONDUCT IN THE HALLS.

### Unnecessary Work and Avoidable Damage.

The Governors being in loco parentis, desire to see the students spend a happy and profitable two years in the Halls of Residence. They do not want martinet discipline, but they do want order, which prefects can readily be trained to obtain and maintain. Having obtained order, which is the first essential, freedom and liberty can be given with safety without the danger of degenerating into license. The desire is to see the students treated as a good, sensible, intelligent, and well-educated mother would treat her sons and daughters when on the threshold of responsible life.

I have seen Schools and Institutions controlled in various ways, firstly by fear, secondly by respect, and thirdly by love. We should like to see the corporate life, work, and activities of each Hall controlled in a manner which would swing between respect and love.

If you attempt to give freedom and liberty without first securing order, you get license. I remember approaching a Hall one evening, and from a distance I heard an awful racket which became worse and worse as I approached; discordant noises were being thumped from the piano and groups of students were shouting different notes. As I entered the Hall, to see the Housekeeper on several administrative matters, a student was fired through the door of the Common Room across the corridor and fell on her knees, saving herself from the wall by her hands; a second and a third followed in the same way, and the noise was incredible. This was not order, freedom or liberty, but license.

With regard to the prevention of unnecessary work and avoidable damage:-

Each holiday, on the principle of "a stitch in time saves nine", the furniture of each Hall is examined by an expert and the necessary repairs effected. The number of such repairs is in excess of what is reasonable. At Easter nearly 30 cane chairs had to be repaired from one Hall.

It is also a rule of the College, communicated to the students before they enter into residence, that they should be provided with house-shoes, and with silent slippers for the bedrooms. This reasonable rule is increasingly disregarded. In one Hall, three or four shovel-fuls of dirt are taken up by the Ronukers as against one in any other Hall, and twice as long is taken to ronuk this Hall than any other Hall, and three times the amount of ronuk is needed. This is due to the use of boots with nails or Blakey protectors, and of shoes with projecting sprigs which damage the floors, rugs, and mats unnecessarily. The furniture of the bedrooms is moved about by the students, and in one room the floor is scored in all directions by the continual moving of furniture. All furniture has to be put into proper position before the ronukers can begin their work.



Pianos are removed from room to room by the students, indenting and cutting the floors. A bogie on indiarubber wheels has been provided for the purpose, and instructions have been given that men on the estate will effect all such removals, if due notice is given. In addition to the damage to the floors and to the pianos, there is the risk of students or maids injuring themselves seriously, with consequent claims for compensation.

When students accidentally spill ink, grease, or sweetened tea, they should be encouraged to report the matter at once to the domestic staff. The polish on the floors prevents it soaking into the boards at once. If allowed to lie for some time, the stain becomes permanent. Each generation of students should endeavour to leave the Halls in as good a condition as they found them.

During the hours that maids or rounkers are cleaning the upstairs corridors and rooms, the students should not be allowed to go to their bedrooms. This has always been a rule of the College.

In order to keep the central quad in good order, it was arranged that students should invariably use the walks, but they are wearing a path across the quad and walking on the borders. If they must walk across the grass, do let them scatter and not wear paths which may have to be re-laid or re-sown. The students have the use of the quad near their Hall during week-ends, as a privilege.

Recently, the women students, in addition to crossing the quad to the Grange, have straddled into the tuition rooms through the windows instead of entering by the students' entrance, where cloakrooms, etc. have been provided recently at considerable cost. When Mrs. Jackson remonstrated with them, they resented her action.

The Grange was painted white with a "rippolin" finish, in order that it should last for a long time. It has been occupied by women and men five or six years and although they have had a happy and jolly time, its condition is excellent. The wear and tear due to the use of the Grange for teaching purposes will be greater, but it is quite unnecessary that the paint should be spoilt by women students climbing through the windows instead of using the proper entrance. They would not be allowed to do these things at home, or in a hotel, nor will they do them in their own homes later. The damage and expenditure are quite unnecessary.

It is most important that students should be trained in self control and self respect. How can they as teachers, exercise the proper influence on the children of the future, if they have not been adequately trained in these qualities themselves?

Established policy, rules and regulations, which experience has shown to be necessary, should not be ignored by a Tutor. The results become obvious later and involve unnecessary damage and expense.



## In Loco Parentis.

A Training College is a special institution, with a special aim and a special problem.

The parents send their boys and girls to us to be educated and trained as teachers. We are asked to produce a fine type of Teacher.

The Governors are desirous that we should produce young men and women of fine character. Great importance is attached to the development of character, and the longer I live, the more convinced I become that character is the sheet anchor of life and probably is of more importance than anything else.

By the provision of gymnasias, playing fields, and the best food, the Governors desire us to produce young men and women of good physique.

With regard to education, the Governors feel that, with the staff they have appointed, the educational side of the College work should come along easily. The educational preparation and training for the work of a teacher is well defined, yet it provides full scope for the highest intellectual ability, aims and ideals.

That circle contains all our essential considerations as an educational institution, and the success of the Boys' and Girls' Schools of the future depends upon our products.

All problems and movements extraneous to this circle are outside the scope of the Training College as such, and only provide subjects of interesting debate and illustration. Nothing is objected to so long as the Tutor leaves the students' minds free, and so long as the true and unbiased academic statement only is given.

I hold strong opinions, but it would be a misuse of my position if I used that position to propagate my private opinions.

In connection with the residential work of the College, we have nothing to do with the pro or anti of anything. Propagandist work of any kind is offensive both to parents and to Governors. It is taking an unfair advantage of immature minds at their most impressionable age. Students should leave the Halls of Residence and the College committed to no particular political movement or devotees of any particular persons or parties, as a result of our instigation, but they should be left free to form judgments for themselves later, after they have reached full manhood and womanhood.

Persons and movements should be debated as problems only, care being taken that the against is equally strongly represented with the for, in order that the students may get a true unbiased view of each problem. The problem should then be left, the students being told that it is a problem they will meet with and have to consider after they have left College. The students should leave the College with free minds, trained to reason and act for themselves. Judgments which they form then will be arrived at after carefully weighing the facts for and those against, and their convictions will, as a result, endure through life, because they are the result of the reasoning of a mature mind.



At one time an attempt was made to establish a Socialist Society in one of the Men's Halls. This was stopped for the reasons already pointed out, and the men were told that they could debate any subject connected with Socialism on the lines of those connected with other movements, but that the College could not be used for political or religious propaganda.

Similarly, we have nothing to do with the pro or anti of anything, whether it be vaccination, anti-vaccination, conservatism, liberalism, suffrage, or anything else of like description except as interesting problems for debate and unbiased illustration.

There should be no secret societies about the College; no cliques, no factions. Everything should be frank, open and above-board. There is an old and very true French saying: "Innocence and mystery never dwelt long together". The College is one and the Staff is one. These act as a united whole. Be loyal to the parents, to each other, to the Principal and Vice-Principal, and all, including myself, be loyal to the Governors and to the Local Education Authority in regard to their policy, remembering that we cannot be both servant and master.

We are asked to produce a fine type of teacher. Our work essentially begins and ends here. We have enough on hand to accomplish the real object of this institution. Undue prominence should not be given to any problem of life. Certainly the students should not, at our instigation, be attached to any movement. This only unsettles their immature minds, leading them to wander away after vague, far-reaching questions of the future, while overlooking matters that lie around which need immediate attention, and wherein good useful work can be accomplished at once.

The students come into residence from all kinds of homes. During their period of residence with us, a certain number have to learn how to conduct themselves at table, in company, and how to get the best out of life having regard to possibilities and limitations.

I remember the rapid transformation which took place in a certain girl student who became a successful prefect and teacher. The influence of the College training was carried into her home, and the father has frequently spoken in terms of gratitude of what the College did for his daughter and his home. This is the kind of influence which residence ought to give. It is all important.

There must be one way or the other - there is only one alternative. There should be no compromise between the two. Either we do, or we do not, produce teachers who have self-control and self-respect, who are good-mannered, considerate and unselfish, loyal, frank, open, and above-board, neat and tidy in their dress and person, and seemly in their talk and actions. No extraneous unsettling problem should interfere with this work in our College.



Our duty is the claims of each day. The urgency of the specific claims of to-day should not be overlooked by students through the mind being generally occupied with the vague, far-reaching problems of the future. During the past four or five years, through Medical Inspection and Treatment, rickets has practically disappeared in Leeds. The Infant life of the City is now being tackled with a view to preserving and improving it. Each such life is doubly valuable owing to the losses we are sustaining in this war. Women students of the College have kindly offered to assist during afternoons at the Day Nursery. I overheard a student who was returning to the College say "They ought to be drowned; it is wicked that the miserable little things are allowed to live; what we want is a large scheme of Housing Reform, etc." I looked at the student. Her hair was very untidy; her blouse could only be described as dirty, and her skirt where it fastened, had a large, torn opening, and the two ends of the skirt band were pulled together and fastened with a safety pin. It seemed to me that the student's appearance was a reflection of her own mind, which was missing the urgency of the work that lay around her, work which she could easily understand, and was occupied with something vague, which she did not understand. The children, who will be the parents of the future, must be taken in hand and educated to a better and fuller understanding of life. Thrifty, self-respecting families in clean homes and unthrifty and disorderly families in dirty homes, are living side by side in the same street. The difference is generally a matter of upbringing. Education will work changes quicker than Schemes of Housing Reform. Meantime let us be saving the young lives now. It is for us to see that our students while in training see such questions in their true perspective.

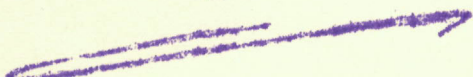
The Education Authority will be pleased if the Tutors and Housekeepers become attached to Societies and Associations connected with their particular subjects and work, and will readily grant leave of absence, on request, to attend meetings or pay useful visits of observation and inspection. That is the atmosphere in which we are all working and it is for us to play up to and to take advantage of.

I have been careful to deal with principles only. I have carefully avoided mentioning the names of either Halls or persons. I trust that the residential staff, Tutors and Housekeepers, will cordially co-operate to prevent waste, unnecessary work, and avoidable damage in the Halls and on the estate. You will then assist us to meet the difficult situation that is likely to arise through the loss of men and women on War Service.

I should like to take this opportunity to say how sorry I am that Miss Mercier is leaving us. No one regrets this more than I.

Note: Questions were invited but none were asked.

James Raham





BOARD OF EDUCATION,

Whitehall,

LONDON, S.W.

21st November, 1916.

Leeds City Training College.

R. 6617/16.

Sir,

I am directed by Lord Crewe to forward, for the information of the Governing Body of the City of Leeds Training College, 20 copies of the report made in the result of the investigation which was held by three of their Officers on certain days between August 15th and 24th last into the system under which the City of Leeds Training College is controlled and managed, with special reference to the recent resignations of members of the staff. The conclusions at which the Board have arrived after full consideration of the Report are as follows:

1. As regards the resignations of the Vice-Principal and other members of the staff which were the immediate occasion of the investigation, the Board are of opinion that the Vice-Principal was not responsible for the difficulties in connection with the organisation and management of the College which led to her resignation and that, in fact, she performed, with distinguished ability, the duties which were open to her as Vice-Principal to perform. There is no evidence that she in any way transgressed the limits of her position as laid down for her by the Governors and she did not retire from it until it had become untenable.

The Board also consider that the women tutors who resigned at the end of June after the address delivered by the Secretary for Education did not act unreasonably. That a full statement of their reasons was not submitted to the Governing Body was largely due to an unfortunate accident and a consequent misunderstanding for which

To the  
Local Education Authority,  
LEEDS.



3. The Board will, first of all, deal with the personal neither they nor the Governors were responsible, namely, the publication of their letters in the Press. The Board are satisfied that they performed their duties with efficiency and ability, that they rendered good service to the College during their connection with it, and that no grounds exist for suggesting that they encouraged or allowed unbecoming behaviour on the part of the students or that they misused their official positions for the purpose of propaganda.

On the other hand the Board are satisfied that nothing was more alien to the policy and desires of the Governors than any restrictions on the exercise of proper liberty of thought and action by the Staff of the College.

The Board have thought it only fair that their conclusions on these points should be known to the Vice-Principal and other teachers concerned and they have communicated them accordingly.

2. It is clear that an unsatisfactory state of affairs existed last year and had for some time existed in respect of some features of the organisation, management and life of the College. Apart from the inherent difficulties of maintaining a proper balance between the conditions of necessary control by the Governing Body and the conditions of free and vigorous life in such an institution as a Training College, difficulties which are certainly not at their lowest where the Governing Body has much other business and where the Training College is a residential institution for men and women on the same site, the Board are clear that the system of organisation and management which has been established by the Local Education Authority and still more the practice which had subsequently been allowed to grow up, gave rise to special difficulties which were prejudicial to the work and life of the Institution.

at a time when he was rendering good service in other departments of public work, the troubles which arose in the College.



3. The Board will, first of all, deal with the personal aspects of the case, and in doing so, they desire to do full justice to the zeal, public spirit and ability of the persons chiefly concerned. They also recognise that they have been working under real difficulties and that some of them have, since the outbreak of the war, been exposed to an exceptional strain and affected by exceptional preoccupations of urgent public affairs.

4. As regards the Governing Body they are ultimately responsible for having permitted or acquiesced in methods of management which led to a situation which had got beyond their control before they were asked to deal with it. If they were not sufficiently informed of what was going on and did not sufficiently appreciate the course of events, they must bear the ultimate blame. It was however war-time, and allowance must be made for this.

5. As regards the Chairman of the Governing Body, the Board are well aware that he took the deepest interest in the College, and his frequent visits to it, especially before the War, show that he was seriously concerned for its welfare. The Board however cannot resist the conclusion that when difficulties arose he misconceived the state of affairs and did not himself probe matters deeply enough to appreciate their seriousness. His pre-occupation with other public business is, no doubt, accountable for much of this.

6. The Secretary for Education was allowed to perform functions and exercise an authority which not only made undue demands upon his powers of judgment, demands which it would be difficult for a busy official, however able and industrious, to meet with the necessary care and discretion, but were also inconsistent with proper relations between him and the Governing Body on the one side and the Principal and Vice-Principal on the other. In the Board's opinion he misunderstood and mishandled, at a time when he was rendering good service in other departments of public work, the troubles which arose in the College.



7. The Board consider that the Principal, of whose merits and past services they are fully aware, did not, in fact, prove equal to his position, but failed to maintain a proper relation with the Governing Body and with the Vice-Principal, and when difficulties arose, he did not handle them effectively or recognise his special responsibilities.

8. The incident of the address given by the Secretary for Education which precipitated the final crisis illustrates most forcibly the false position into which the principal persons concerned had drifted and their misunderstanding of the real position. The Board are clear that the Secretary for Education should not have been allowed to deliver such an address at all to such an audience. Both in scope and matter it went far beyond any functions which it would be right for him to perform. A great part of it should have been delivered by the Principal if there was occasion for it. Its intentions were no doubt excellent and many of its propositions were in the abstract indisputable, but in the circumstances it was most unfortunate both in matter and style. It was, moreover, based largely on unsifted material, and the admonitions which it contained suggested the prevalence amongst the students and staff of an attitude and a conduct which should have been dealt with directly if at all. The Board are happy to find that no ground was shown to have existed for calling attention in any special manner to the tone and discipline of the College.

9. The Board deeply regret that when the crisis arose, it did not lead to an immediate discussion between the members of the staff and the Governing Body, and though, as is recognised above, this obvious course was impaired by an unfortunate accident, the Board cannot but feel that immediate and decided action by the Principal might have led to a different result and that he did not at all events, do all that a responsible Principal in such a situation would naturally do. It is clear



11. It is accordingly directed to request that the Governing Body will take into consideration the fact that the Secretary for Education without protesting to the Governing Body he placed himself in a position which seriously impaired his authority.

10. The main question, however, which the Board and the Local Education Authority have now to consider is what changes in the organisation and method of managing the College are required to enable it to do its work, which is of national as well as of local importance, most efficiently. The Board have every desire to deal with Training Colleges provided by Local Education Authorities in a manner which will give full scope to the initiative and energy of the Authorities, and will enlist their intimate interest in the welfare of the Colleges. It is desirable in the general interest that the Authorities should not only feel responsibility for, but should enjoy a large amount of freedom in the conduct of these Institutions. It is hardly necessary, however, to remind the Authority that in respect of Training Colleges the Board occupy a position of special interest and special responsibility. A very large proportion of the cost of maintaining these institutions is defrayed by the State, and the Board reserve to themselves by regulation the approval of the members of the staff. The Board have taken a special interest in the establishment of the City of Leeds Training College. A substantial building grant was made in aid of its erection, and an unusually high scale of fees was approved on the ground that an exceptionally well qualified staff would be appointed. They recognise the admirable thoroughness with which the City of Leeds addressed itself to the problems of organisation at the inception of the scheme, and they are aware that the plans which the Governing Body laid down when the College was started were regarded by them as subject to revision in the light of experience; they observe that at the Inquiry the Chairman of the Education Committee repeated this statement and said that the Governing Body were still open to receive suggestions for the amendment of the constitution.



11. I am accordingly directed to request that the Governing Body will take into consideration those parts of the Report which contain recommendations for the future, and will favour the Board with their observations. The Board will be happy to confer with representatives of the Governing Body on this matter, with a view to arriving at arrangements that will be satisfactory both to the Local Education Authority and to the Board.

12. The statement made by the Board's officers of the standing problems of the College is as follows:-

- (a) to combine due control by the City over policy and finance with due freedom for the College;
- (b) to provide suitably for so much contact between the City Authorities and the College Staff as to maintain pleasant relations and a good understanding;
- (c) to draw up a list of the requisite establishment and define the duties of the chief posts in terms clear and precise without excessive detail;
- (d) to find the right persons to fill those posts and give them proper support in the discharge of their duties.

13. Under the first, and indeed also under the second of these heads, the Board are satisfied that experience has shown the need for definite measures of decentralisation. It is clear that the domestic and disciplinary direction of the Institution should be centred less in Calverley Street and more in Beckett Park. The Board concur in the suggestion of their officers that the duties of the Secretary for Education in respect of the Training College should be re-stated, and that he should be relieved from some of the functions which he has been expected to perform. It is not fair to him or to the Institution that he should be called upon to do the work of a non-resident bursar. It is, of course, impossible that the College should be completely



autonomous. The care of the fabric, the insurance of the buildings, estate management, the control over the resident engineers, the supervision of the laundry, and many other matters of this kind, can most conveniently be directed by the central office. The question how far the control of the central office should extend is one of degree.

14. On the other hand, the Board trust that suitable steps will be taken to ensure that all important business shall be brought before the Governing Body in future, and that the Governors shall receive sufficient information to enable them to form their own opinion. The Board do not, of course, suggest that matters of routine should wait for a meeting of the Governing Body; but it appears to them that some measures are required to secure that the distinction between matters of routine and matters which ought to be decided at a meeting of the Governing Body shall in future be drawn at a suitable point.

15. Under the second head the Board concur in the suggestion of their officers that the constitution of a House Committee nominated by the Governing Body, and possibly containing members added from outside, would be a useful measure, and would assist not only the necessary decentralisation above referred to but also conduce to a good understanding by the Governing Body of the conditions under which the staff are working, and of those matters which are helping or hindering progress. Such a Committee would exercise powers delegated to them by the Governing Body, and it would be their duty to maintain a personal knowledge of the institution and its staff. The Principal, Vice-Principal, and housekeepers would naturally be in close touch with the House Committee. It has been undoubtedly an advantage to the College that its Governing Body should contain prominent members of the Leeds City Council conversant with and influential in its business; but it has also been a disadvantage that the Governors should have been prevented by the pressure of other business from visiting the College regularly.



It would also be an advantage if the Governing Body were able occasionally to meet at the College, and if the Principal and Vice-Principal were present at some of their meetings.

16. As regards the third head, the Board concur in the view that the terms of the "written constitution" of the College, so far as concerns the schedule of particulars which defines the relations of the Principal and Vice-Principal, do not appear to call for amendment. In this respect it is not the amendment but the observance of the regulations which the Governing Body have laid down that is required. The arrangements relating to the housekeepers appear, however, to stand in need of considerable modification. The existing arrangements are not conducive to the satisfactory settlement of difference of opinion that may arise in the College on housekeeping questions, or on matters which affect both housekeeping and conduct. The Board see no reason why such changes should not be made as would meet the objections to the present system without the surrender by the Governing Body of due financial control; and the establishment of a House Committee would be of considerable service in this respect.

17. In conclusion and with particular reference to the fourth head, I am to say that the Board have dealt with the matter in the belief that the Governing Body and the Leeds City Council share their desire that the Training College should achieve not merely average efficiency, but distinction, and should contribute conspicuously towards the improvement of the standard of the education and training of teachers which is generally recognised as a condition of improvement in the public system of education. Distinguished work in an educational institution of high grade mainly depends upon the possession of high personal academic qualifications by



the teaching staff, and no amount of careful management on the part of a Governing Body can make up for any deficiency in this respect. If the Local Education Authority are to achieve their object they must see to it that the conditions under which the staff work are such as to attract and retain first-rate men and women. If the conditions are unsatisfactory it is best that the causes should be declared and probed, and the remedy applied. Dissatisfaction may, of course, be due to misunderstanding and may be ill-founded or unreasonable; but it would, on the other hand be most unsafe to rely on the absence of expressed dissatisfaction or criticism as evidence that an Educational Institution is doing the best work of which it is capable. In the present case the Board have felt it their duty to state their view of the circumstances and of the causes of the dissatisfaction which led to the resignation of the Vice-Principal and other members of the Staff. Lord Crewe desires me to express his hope that the Local Education Authority and the Governing Body, whose sincere interest in the welfare of the College he fully recognises, will cooperate with the Board in placing the College on a footing which will enable it to attain that distinction and prestige for which the material conditions in the form of buildings and equipment have been liberally provided.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(SIGNED) L.A. SELBY-BIGGS.