Volume 9(4): 615–639

organization

articles

Researching Foucault's Research: Organization and Control in Joseph Lancaster's Monitorial Schools

John Hassard and Michael Rowlinson
UMIST, UK and University of North London, UK

Abstract. *In* Discipline and Punish *Michel Foucault describes how: 'From the seventeenth century to the introduction, at the beginning of the nineteenth, of* the Lancaster method*, the complex clockwork of the mutual improvement school was built up cog by cog' (emphasis added). Foucault's genealogical explanation of how the mutual improvement school became a 'machine for learning' is one of the main examples upon which his thesis of 'disciplinary power' is built. However, Foucault's methodology, presenting a 'genealogy' of the 'essential techniques' on which disciplinary institutions are built, rather than to 'write the history' of those institutions, results in relatively little case evidence being presented on key organizations cited in empirical support of his thesis. For example, by suggesting that the Lancaster Method represents the logical conclusion to the genealogy of mutual improvement techniques, he fails to offer any formal case evidence of Lancasterian policies and practices. This article therefore seeks to 'research Foucault's research' by uncovering the distinctive organizational features of this paradigm 'disciplinary institution', the Lancaster Method. We develop a case analysis of the educational philosophies of Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838) and explain how these were realized in the pedagogy and administration of his 'monitorial' (or 'British') schools. In so doing, we seek to deepen our understanding of 'the architecture, anatomy, mechanics [and] economy of the disciplinary body'.* ***Key words.*** *British Schools; Foucault; Lancaster Method; monitorial systems; surveillance*

1350-5084[200211]9:4;615–639;028550

> 'By the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed; posture is gradually corrected; a calculated constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable.' (Foucault, 1977: 135)

> 'Ranked in classes . . . and captained by their monitors, the ragged army . . . marched down the highways and into the byways, exhibiting an order and discipline so different from their normal wild riotousness of both school and streets that it seemed a miracle to those that watched them.' (Dickson, 1986: 34)

> 'A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved.' (Foucault, 1977: 136)

The main body of this article concerns a case study of the development of the 'mutual improvement' school in Great Britain during the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Specifically we analyse one of the landmarks in the development of mutual improvement education—the opening of Joseph Lancaster's 'monitorial' school at Borough Road, Southwark, London in 1798. The founding of Lancaster's non-sectarian 'Free School' realized a form of education that resonated strongly with the philosophies of Benthamite utilitarianism, notably in effecting discipline and control through means of heightened surveillance and bodily order. Through an archival analysis, we will argue that the Lancaster 'Method' was a paradigm of 'disciplinary power', or control provided through the subjection of the body, specifically the production of bodily docility, in disciplined society.

However. our interest in the Lancaster Method does not arise primarily from concerns with the history of educational provision. Instead it is Michel Foucault's work on institutional control that draws us to the case research described below. Specifically it is a remark in Foucault's major work on institutional control, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977) that provides the stimulus. In the subsection of the 'Docile Bodies' chapter that deals with 'The Composition of Forces', and within his discussion of the adjustment of chronologies in primary education, Foucault argues: 'From the seventeenth century to the introduction, at the beginning of the nineteenth, *of the Lancaster method*, the complex clockwork of the mutual improvement school was built up cog by cog' (1977: 165; emphasis added). This part of Foucault's analysis, where he considers the organizational processes by which the mutual improvement school becomes 'a machine for learning', forms one of the main planks upon which his analysis of 'disciplinary institutions' is built.

However, on constructing his methodology Foucault (1977: 139) advises that there can be 'no question . . . of writing the history of different disciplinary institutions', as instead he wishes to offer a 'series of examples . . . of some of the essential techniques that most easily spread from one to another'. In the case of the mutual improvement school, he provides examples (1977: 159ff) of the 'technical antecedents' of this

disciplinary institution (for example, in his analysis of de Batencourt, 1669 and Demia, 1716). But, with the exception of occasional references to the writings of 'advocates' such as Bernard (1816) and Tronchot (undated), he abstains, perhaps somewhat ironically given his methodological philosophy, from the more prosaic task of presenting a case history of day-to-day activities. Indeed, having asserted that the Lancaster Method represents the culmination of this 'building up' of a disciplinary institution, never again does he make reference to this apparently signal moment in the production of the docile body.

Therefore this present paper seeks to extend Foucault's analysis of mutual improvement education and describes the distinctive organizational features of the Lancaster Method. Noting criticisms that Foucault's genealogy often results in a lack of detailed case history (see Donnelly, 1986) and that Foucauldian organizational analysis is often characterized by the lack of a 'historical dimension' (McKinlay and Starkey, 1998), we offer an archival case analysis of the philosophies of Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838) and explain how these were realized in the organization of his monitorial (later 'British') schools. In sum, our paper attempts to complete the picture Foucault began—of the key forms of organization realized in this paradigm of 'the architecture, anatomy, mechanics, [and] economy of the disciplinary body' (1977: 167), the Lancaster Method.

However, before we outline our case study of the Lancaster Method, we will return briefly to Foucault to provide the context for locating our main research questions. In so doing we do not wish to rehearse general arguments about the relevance of Foucault's work to organizational analysis, for this has been accomplished elsewhere. Instead we wish to draw the reader's attention to specific issues arising from the 'power/knowledge' analysis in *Discipline and Punish*—subjection, historical transition, discipline, economy, time, panopticism and bodily control—that underpin our case study.

Foucault, Discipline and Organization

One of the main thrusts of Foucault's analysis in *Discipline and Punish* is to highlight our pervasive compulsion to 'normalize the subject'. The opening sections of the book concern a historical metastasis in our practices and rationality of punishment around the turn of the 19th century. In describing this metastasis, Foucault contrasts practices of mid-18th century torture and an early-19th century prisoner's timetable. In the years separating the two, the almost-universal way of punishing criminals had become imprisonment, with its foundational disciplinary techniques forming the new humanist ground on which normative values, punishment and politics would meet.

The historical transition described by Foucault, however, did not occur simply due to the social value placed upon the subject, but because discipline—in the form of techniques for observation, training, direction

and measurement—made that value practicable and politically efficacious. Foucault described how such techniques were legion in the military, monasteries and schools. These were organizations in which subjective action became located under the direction of another's will. A connection between the human sciences and domination was displayed in the assemblage of tangible knowledge of those elements that emerged in such institutions. It is the concept that discipline works upon subjective action and engages an individual's resolution to act that Foucault wishes to stress. This reflects the genealogical processes whereby, in *Discipline and Punish*, the trained and mobilized body of the 'disciplines' replaces, for example, the tortured body of the condemned. It is a situation in which crime and punishment become subject to systems of classification—systems based on the notion of social utility. Foucault's genealogical approach reveals a disciplinary power that is disseminated throughout society—one that is effective in specific institutions due to social acquiescence and its own broad-based legitimacy. Discipline becomes the ideal medium, not only for realizing the reform of criminals, but also the management of workers and in our case, the education of pupils. In sum, this is a medium whereby one is able to 'insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body' (Foucault, 1977: 82)

Foucault employs the themes of discipline and punishment to argue that the Enlightenment brought with it a society based not on nature but on the 'meticulously subordinated cogs of a machine'; a society whose legitimacy lay in the superintendence of the minutiae of social and economic life; a society whose *modus operandi* was encapsulated in the surveillance technology of Bentham's panopticon. The panopticon symbolized the disciplined modern society, whether in the 'asylum, the penitentiary, the reformatory or the approved school'. In the disciplined society, control is exercised through a 'double mode'

> . . . of binary division and branding (mad/sane; dangerous/harmless; normal/abnormal); and that of coercive assignment, of differential distribution (who he is; where he must be; how he is to be characterised; how he is to be recognized; how a constant surveillance is to be exercised over him in an individual way). (Foucault, 1977: 199)

In this way individuals become 'docile bodies'—they are segregated, their activities controlled and their bodily movements strategically organized. It is a process through which the discipline of the military context becomes dispersed into the work organization and the school, as employees and pupils become subject to a succession of penalties for lateness, absence, negligence, impoliteness, insolence, indecency, etc.

Therefore, at the hub of this disciplinary network are notions of normality descending from generalized conceptions of reason, signified by subjects that are compliant, industrious and expedient. In this process, possession of a rational conscience makes subjects vulnerable to modern technologies of surveillance, discipline and control. Foucault stresses

how subjects become conditioned to examination according to such accepted norms, whether in the armed forces, work or school. He virtually inverts Durkheim's notion of 'organic solidarity' as he suggests that the prime effect of such a discourse of normality is not to jettison but to articulate concepts of delinquency and abnormality, and thus to incorporate and absorb them within a network of subjection camouflaged by the elegance and prestige of 'reason'. As Foucault (1977: 227–8) concludes in his chapter on panopticism:

> The public execution was the logical culmination of a procedure governed by the Inquisition. The practice of placing individuals under 'observation' is a natural extension of a justice imbued with disciplinary methods and examination procedures. Is it surprising that the cellular prison, with its regular chronologies, forced labour, its authorities of surveillance and registration, its experts in normality, who continue and multiply the functions of the judge, should have become the modern instrument of penality? Is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons?

Researching Discipline and Organization

As noted, the origins of this case study lie in Foucault's remark in the 'Docile Bodies' chapter of *Discipline and Punish*, concerning the Lancaster Method as the logical conclusion to the development of the mutual improvement school. Given the extent to which the Lancaster Method was subsequently practised, not only in Great Britain but also throughout the world, this paper offers an analysis of this paradigm of mutual improvement education in terms of its historical context, spatial and temporal structuring, development and dissemination, social and political network and institutional decline. In so doing, we develop our case study analysis from the following material sources: (1) the archives of the British and Foreign School Society (BFSS) and the Hitchin British Schools Trust; (2) contemporary and later biographies of Joseph Lancaster, plus associated social and educational histories; and (3) field visits to the remaining buildings of the Lancasterian 'British School' at Hitchin, Hertfordshire, UK. In line with Foucault's graphical presentation of evidence in *Discipline and Punish*, notably Bentham's 'plan of the Panopticon' and Harou-Romain's 'plan for a penitentiary', we reproduce, with permission, diagrams and illustrations relating to forms of spatial organization and strategies for bodily control at the heart of the Lancaster Method (Figures 1–3).

Mutual Improvement and Disciplinary Power

As noted, Foucault's references to mutual improvement systems are found in one of the most generative chapters of *Discipline and Punish*, 'Docile Bodies', where he assesses how: 'The classical age discovered the body as object and target of power' (Foucault, 1977: 136). It is in 'Docile

Bodies' that Foucault expands his thesis of the 'disciplines', or those methods that 'made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which ensured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility' (1977: 137).

The main discussion of mutual improvement as a disciplinary institution is found within those sections of 'Docile Bodies' concerning 'that old inheritance', the timetable (1977: 149ff.). Noting the dissemination of the timetable from 'monastic communities' to 'schools, workshops and hospitals', Foucault explains how 'the new disciplines had no difficulty in taking up their place in the old forms . . . the schools and poorhouses extended the life and the regularity of the monastic communities to which they were often attached' (1977: 149). In the case of schooling, however, it is the example of the *Ecoles mutuelles*, or mutual improvement schools, of the early 19th century that Foucault invokes as the paradigm of disciplinary control, and especially of how the division of time 'became increasingly minute'. To support his thesis of the progressive temporal and operational discipline of public institutions, he quotes an example of a mutual improvement school timetable cited in Tronchot (undated: 221): '8.45 entrance of the monitor, 8.52 the monitor's summons, 8.56 entrance of the children and prayer, 9.00 the children go to their benches, 9.04 first slate, 9.08 end of dictation, 9.12 second slate, etc.'

Foucault argues subsequently that the mutual improvement school was arranged 'as a machine to intensify the use of time' (1977: 154). Through the mutual improvement process, 'the oldest pupils were entrusted with tasks involving simple supervision, then of checking work, then of teaching; in the end, all the time of all the pupils was occupied either with teaching or with being taught' (p. 165). Such organization 'made it possible to obviate the linear, successive character of the master's teaching', for it 'regulated the counterpoint of operations performed, at the same moment, by different groups of pupils under the direction of monitors and assistants, so that each passing moment was filled with many different, but ordered activities' (p. 154). This was a system whereby 'the rhythm imposed by signals, whistles, and orders imposed on everyone temporal norms that were intended both to accelerate the process of learning and to teach speed as a virtue' (p. 154).

According to the work most frequently referenced by Foucault in connection with mutual improvement schooling (Bernard, 1816, no page references cited in Foucault, 1977), the 'sole aim' of the system is 'to accustom the children to executing well and quickly the same operations, to diminish as far as possible by speed the loss of time caused by moving from one operation to another' (p. 154). Foucault remarks that it is in this form of primary education that the 'adjustment of chronologies' was carried out 'with most subtlety'; a process in which: 'The school became a machine for learning, in which each pupil, each level and each moment, if correctly combined, were permanently utilized in the general

process of teaching' (p. 165). He offers the following quotation from Bernard, one of the 'great advocates' of the Lancaster Method in France, to signal the temporal advances made through this form of education:

> 'In a school of 360 children, the master who would like to instruct each pupil in turn for a session of three hours would not be able to give half a minute to each. By the new [monitorial] method, each of the 360 pupils writes, reads or counts for two and a half hours'. (1977: 165–6)[1]

Organization and Control in Joseph Lancaster's Monitorial Schools

> Their paid monitors were under stricter discipline, more docile, better instructed, more skillfull; and the whole organization of the school was consequently better ordered, and the instruction more exact and efficient. (Kay-Shuttleworth, 1862: 106, describing a visit to a British School in Manchester in 1834)
>
> The chief function of the disciplinary power is to 'train'. (Foucault, 1977: 170)

In *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Dorothy George notes that

> In the field of education, Lancaster's methods have often received far less than justice; they curiously anticipate certain modern views on education; at worst they were a great improvement on the dreary droning of the catechism which was the central part of the Charity-based teaching, and they reached a far greater number of children. (1925/1992: 26)

In this section we argue that, in the context of the times and despite its relative obscurity in social and educational research, the Lancaster Method was a signal development in the organization and control of the school. We will also argue, after Foucault (1977), that such organization and control represents a paradigm case in the production of 'disciplinary power'.

Context

In the first half of the 19th century millions worldwide received their basic education as a direct result of philosophies and practices established by Joseph Lancaster (Lawson and Silver, 1973). In their time, Lancaster's innovations in terms of space, time and the use of physical resources in school-based education, attained considerable notoriety, especially in terms of the practicality of teaching working-class or 'ragged' children. As Taylor (1996: xi) notes, in an age when the status of the schoolteacher was considered a relatively lowly one in occupational terms, Lancaster raised it considerably.

Lancaster's innovations and practices can be understood in terms of the transition to a 'disciplinary' society that Foucault (1977) claims for the late 18th and early 19th century. In so doing, it is important to reflect briefly on the social context of the period, and in particular the role of key actors in the networks of relations that represented the 'condition of the working class in England', the nature of educational philosophies and

philanthropy and the material and physical basis of disciplinary technologies.

In examining this network of actors, we recall that the social context in which Lancaster developed his theories and practices for 'educating the poor' was one where children of the 'labouring classes' would spend much of their time either in 'industry' ('spinning silk from the blood of little children' [Marx, 1867/1976]), or else roaming the streets in Dickensian street gangs. As Lawson and Silver (1973) note, what school-based education there was for 'ragged children' during the late 18th and early 19th century was characterized by 'truancy' and 'lack of discipline'. This was the time of the Charity Schools catering mainly for the children of tradesmen and craftsmen, and the Dame Schools which offered little more than childminding facilities by 'teachers' who were often barely literate themselves. In a political climate in which there was frequent opposition to educating the poor, Sunday schools had been popular from around 1780, albeit tolerated because they did not encroach on a child's ability to work, and in any case they only provided a modest level of instruction. As Thompson (1974) notes, even Sunday schools had been opposed by some. This was above all a period when society was unwilling to support, by taxation or other means, a system of popular education.

Lancaster and his 'Method'

The BFSS Archive Centre at Brunel University, London, holds a wealth of materials—letters, books, plans, minutes, annual reports, etc.—describing the work of Lancaster and the development and dissemination of the Lancaster Method or 'Plan'. In the books held by the Centre, his contemporary biographers (Corston, 1840, and later Salmon, 1904; Dickson, 1986; Taylor, 1996) describe in generally hagiographic prose how this 'son of a maker of cane sieves', received only a basic level of education. Following employment in two schools as 'an assistant', Lancaster opened his first 'school' in 1798, when he was just 20 years old, making the 'simple desks' in a 'room on his father's premises' (Taylor, 1996: 3). Lancaster's biographers suggest that the popularity of this school was due in large part to his reputation for 'personal enthusiasm' and 'making learning less tedious', resulting in 'too many boys for one master to teach' (p. 3). Most historiographic accounts ascribe this reason to the development of a scheme where 'one master could teach a thousand boys'—the Lancaster 'monitorial system'.

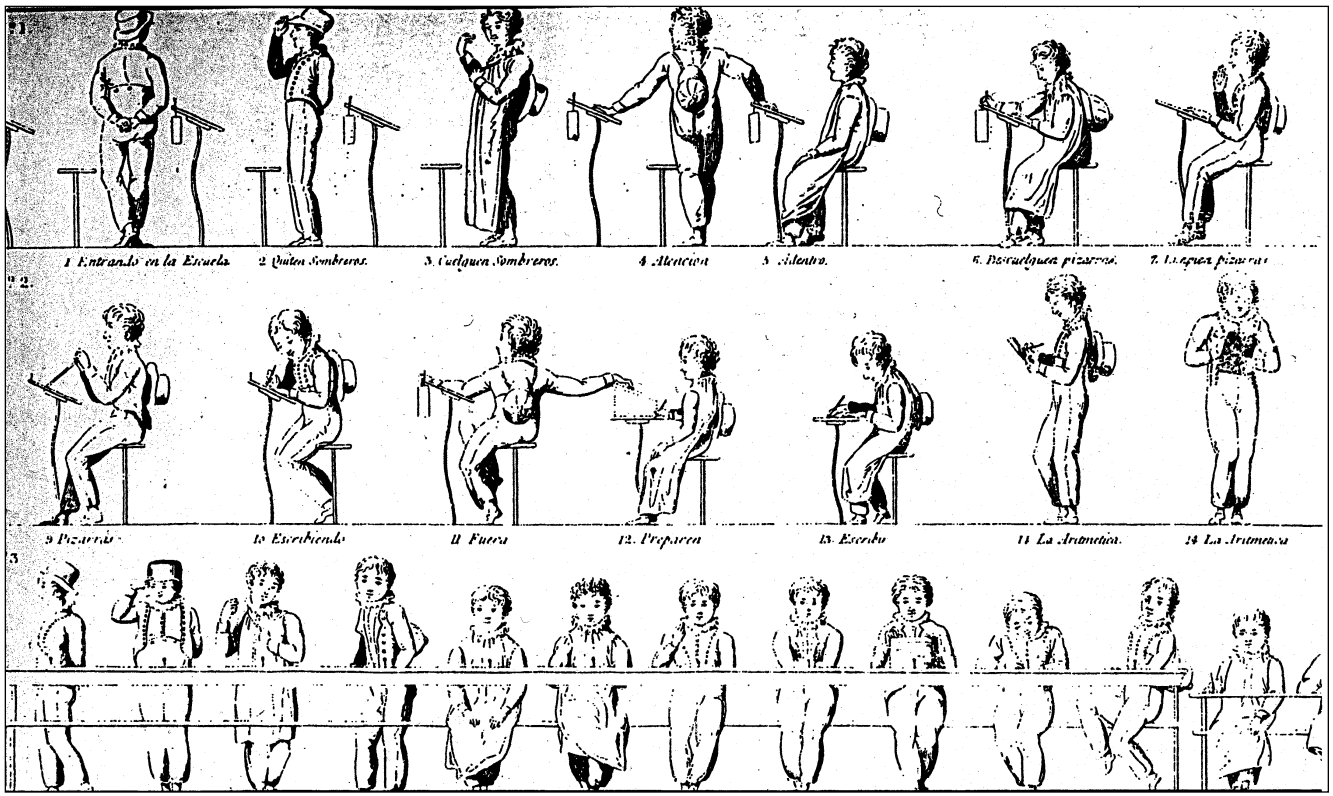
Materials in the BFSS Archive Centre also describe how, by 1804, Lancaster had redesigned and extended his school in Borough Road, Southwark; it was based both architecturally and pedagogically on his monitorial philosophies (see especially Lancaster, 1803). The Borough Road school design very much represents the spatial and temporal culmination of the technical antecedents of mutual improvement education. The essentially militaristic climate of the educational process at

Borough Road is reflected in Taylor's remark that 'each morning, his monitors would be the first to arrive, bustling into the schoolhouse like miniature sergeant-majors, each proudly wearing his badges of honour' (1996: 4). Accounts of the monitorial system at Borough Road provided by Lancaster himself (see final sections of Lancaster, 1803 for a primary source account) and by his former students (especially Bonwick, 1902) provide for a basic outline of the structure of the school day. This started at 9 o'clock, at which time the pupils took their appointed places and stood, waiting for the first 'order' of the day.[2] The first order was for pupils to 'Sling hats'. This seemingly simple operation would involve each boy—who had previously punched a hole in the brim on either side of his hat and threaded a length of string through it—simultaneously removing his hat from his head and placing it on the desk in front of him. Each boy would place the loop over his head and then toss the hat behind him, so that it came ultimately to rest between the shoulder blades. Only after this operation had been completed with 'military precision' would the boys then sit 'upright', with 'eyes on the monitor' to receive the next command (Dickson, 1986).[3] Figure 1 offers an illustration, possibly from a Portuguese source, of the appropriate actions for 'slinging hats' together with appropriate bodily postures for sitting at desk, reading, writing, etc.

In terms of the spatial organization of the Lancasterian school, typically desks would be arranged in parallel lines across the width of the classroom (see Figure 2). In many ways this was an innovation, for standard practice at the time was for desks to run the length of the schoolroom, with children facing each other across a wide gangway (Lancaster, 1803). However, in the monitorial schoolroom, each boy would sit in his allotted place on a long bench shared with nine other class members. These boys would be at approximately the same stage of learning and under the guidance of one monitor. From each boy's desk-space hung his slate (see Figure 1) and an order would be given for each boy to unhook it and place it on the desk in front of him.

Lancaster's primary account of the system, *Improvements in Education as it Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community* (1803) outlines how the efficiency of the 'Plan' depended on each monitor knowing exactly which tasks he had to perform. Typically, each monitor would be responsible for instructing his class in 'one or two carefully designated tasks'. This was a system that required a considerable amount of organization, discipline and control, given that many of the monitors were themselves extremely young and in the process of being educated. In addition to the obvious economic benefits from employing such a system, Lancaster's pedagogical argument was that by teaching others, these young monitors (or 'students' as they were sometimes called) were reinforcing their own learning. The philosophy was for each pupil to know the immediate goal at which he was aiming, this being augmented

Figure 1. Body Posture for 'Slinging Hats' and Desk Work (artist unknown)



Source British and Foreign School Society archive at Brunel University. Reproduced with permission.

by Lancaster's practice of offering small rewards for successful completion of a task, at which stage the pupil would then move on to a new class and a new goal. The concept was that each child would be able to progress at his own pace and would not be in the same class for every subject. Pupils who made rapid progress through the system would soon find themselves acting as monitors.

The school's intake procedure saw each newcomer examined by a monitor to determine into which class he should be placed (Salmon, 1904). The majority were placed in the first class and sat on a bench at the front of the schoolroom, just below the teacher's desk. The panoptic qualities of the system are clear in the fact that the teacher's desk 'stood on a small dais, and the floor of the classroom was slightly raked, so that it was possible for the teacher to see every child in the school' (Taylor, 1996: 6–7). Children in this first class had a flat table, instead of a sloping ledge in front of them, it was lower than the desks and had a shallow sand-tray incorporated into it. Lancaster had read about the economies to be achieved from using sand to form letters in the booklet *An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum at Egmore, near Madras*, which the educationalist Dr Andrew Bell published on his return to England from India in 1797 (and which Lancaster acknowledged, partially—and seemingly reluctantly—as an influence on his own philosophies and practices in *Improvements in Education*). A similar material economy was Lancaster's use of slate. While not an innovation, it was Lancaster who popularized the idea, even to the extent of opening a slate factory near the Borough Road school in 1805, from which slates were sent all over the country and even overseas (Dickson, 1986).

Another distinctive feature of the Lancaster Method was that pupils would move at regular intervals to new assignments, unlike the static form of tuition practised at other schools during the period (Lancaster, 1803). The disciplinary nature of the process is again reflected in Taylor's remark that

> . . . when a new order rang out . . . the entire school began moving to their new places, or stations, as they were called. Hundreds of boys moved as one, rhythmically and with the order and discipline of a crack regiment! They marched to their new places proudly, intently. (1996: 8)

A key element of the Lancasterian schoolroom's spatial structure was these 'stations', or more accurately 'reading stations', at which much of the teaching was conducted. In Figure 2 these are identified by the series of semi-circles at the edges of the schoolroom. In material terms, they represented lines painted on the floor at which each child took his place in order of merit.[4] In front of the boys, hanging on the wall, was a board on which the next lesson was printed. These learning boards were another Lancasterian material economy. Rather than purchasing books for each child—and based on the notion that only one page of a book could

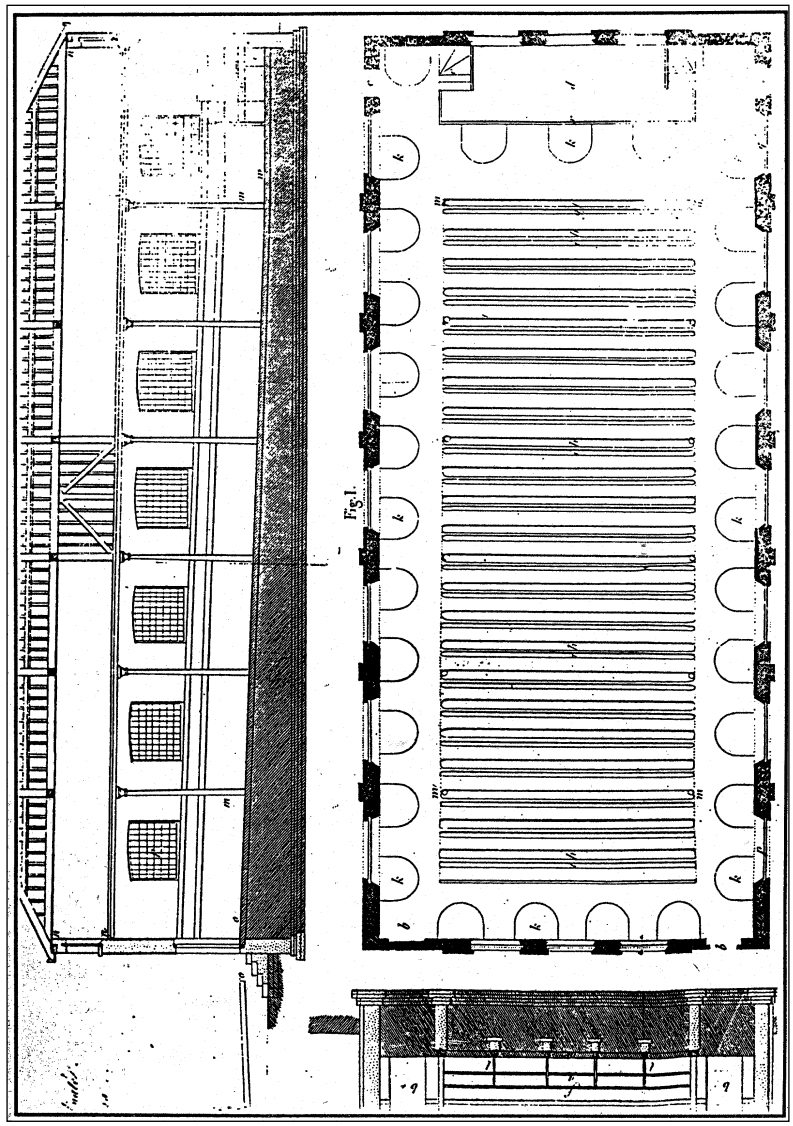


Figure 2. Ground Plan and Layout of Borough Road School, 1804 (artist unknown)

Source British and Foreign School Society archive at Brunel University. Reproduced with permission.

be used at one time—Lancaster developed the concept of having books printed in very large type and mounted, each page on a board.[5] As such, one book (which would presumably remain in good condition) could serve several classes during the day. In this process, for example, the letters of the alphabet, were posted on the board used by the first class. If the boy at the top of the class failed to recognize a letter, he sacrificed his place to one who did.[6] These reading boards progressively contained words of two, three and four letters, then sentences were added, and finally the pupils were allowed to read from books (Lancaster, 1803).[7]

Once seemingly proficient at a task, a pupil would be examined by a senior monitor. If deemed successful, both he and the monitor would receive a ticket towards one of the 'prizes', which were hung in nets above the boys' heads. As noted, the pupil then moved on to the next class. Detailed records were kept not only of attendance, but also of the progress of each boy in each subject. An interesting extension of the technologies of surveillance and economy in the Lancasterian schoolroom was that no roll-call was taken, for this was considered to be too time-consuming given the large number of pupils. Instead, numbers were displayed around the schoolroom, and during the day classes took their turn to line up with each boy standing under the number corresponding to the one he wore. An absence note was taken and recorded of any number with no pupil standing beneath it (Lancaster, 1803).

In an analysis taking recourse to the work of Foucault it would be remiss not to mention the forms of punishment in the Lancasterian schoolroom. While relatively little attention (perhaps naturally) is given to this issue in the more hagiographic writings on Lancaster, what archival evidence there is seems to support a general Foucauldian thesis of a transition from punishment by pain to punishment by shame. There is reference to him in the early days of Borough Road 'suspend[ing] a cage from the ceiling for recalcitrant boys', of boys being 'tied to desk legs' during periods of detention, and of pupils walking around with 'heavy logs tied to their ankles' (Kendall, 1939: 74), although these were all well-documented forms of punishment before Lancaster used them. As reflected in an article by Sidney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*, Lancaster appeared increasingly given to the use of disciplinary technologies, where he varied 'the means of exciting shame because, as he observes, any mode of punishment long continued loses its effect' (1807: 177).

In addition to formal schoolroom tuition, Lancaster's pupils also undertook extra-curricular activities. Dickson (1986: 31) documents how 'in summer, on high days and the Thursday and Saturday half-holidays, they would all make excursion to the villages around London, or run races, play trap-ball, scramble for apples'. However even during these 'rejoicing times' as Lancaster referred to them, there remained an emphasis on military-style discipline and bodily control. This emphasis is clearly reflected in the following extract (partly reproduced earlier):

> Ranked in classes . . . and captained by their monitors, the ragged army holding banners, kites, balls and anything else Joseph Lancaster considered would add to the enjoyment of the day, marched down the highways and into the byways, exhibiting an order and discipline so different from their normal wild riotousness of both school and streets that it seemed a miracle to those that watched them.[8] (Dickson, 1986: 34)

Means of Correct Training

Some of the most eulogized of Lancaster's 'disciplinary' technologies were his proposals for the formal selection and training of teachers. After his proposals for monitorial tuition, Lancaster is perhaps best known for recommending that schools should be better regulated and should operate under the control of properly trained teachers. Lancaster argued that the low status and pay of teachers resulted in men and women of 'poor calibre' being employed (1803: 31). He advocated setting up a society 'to provide suitable masters and mistresses', and

> . . . to establish and encourage such persons who have schools of their own to do their duty by the Society's respectable patronage which properly bestowed and avowed publicly would conduce much to the credit of teachers possessing it. On the other hand, it would tend to expel immoral and wicked teachers from the profession, as such must ever remain destitute of its protection. (1803: 31)

In an *Open Letter to John Foster Esq., the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland*, Lancaster wrote that it was surprising 'amid the many books written on the subject of education, not one had appeared on the training of teachers' (1805: 11). Lancaster believed that effecting teacher professionalism was the next logical step for his system, given that the Lancaster Method had 'released the teacher from the repetitive drudgery to which he had so often been subjected, to allow him to concern himself with wider and profounder educational implications' (1805: 11). He suggested establishing a professional body that would lay down and enforce standards—primarily a pension and sickness scheme to be run along the lines of a Friendly Society. This he argued would provide for at least a modest level of security, and serve to attract teachers by holding out 'more cheerful prospects than to pass laboriously away the prime of [their] days with the cheerless expectation of ending them in a workhouse or prison' (1805: 33).

In the early years of Borough Road, Lancaster had established what he called his 'Family', basically a number of young people who lived with him while they were being trained as teachers. The emphasis on disciplinary surveillance is clear in Taylor's description of how Lancaster 'believed that, by having students live with him, their behaviour and habits could be monitored'(1986: 17). In addition to instruction on school administration, these 'students' were taught how to 'keep a record of the temper and conduct of their pupils' and—following Lancaster's 'lecture on the passions'—impart 'appropriate moral and behavioural standards' (Taylor, 1986: 17). Lancaster devised a system whereby his students were

instructed in the 'theory of education' and then—through a system of subsidiary 'practice' schools—given the opportunity to take charge of a schoolroom themselves, with a 'conference' being held every evening to discus the day's events (Taylor, 1986: 17). Thus Borough Road became effectively the first teacher training college in England.[9]

Dissemination of the Lancaster System

The BFSS Archive Centre contains a wealth of textual materials documenting the spread of the Lancasterian system, not only in Great Britain, but also worldwide. In Great Britain, hundreds of monitorial schools were established during the early 19th century. (Lancasterian schools were also established in Ireland, where they were administered under the auspices of the Kildare Place Society.) During this period, Lancaster travelled the British Isles giving lectures on his 'Plan'. The process would typically see one of his senior monitors visit a town or city to arrange a talk by Lancaster in a hall or other public place. Following the subsequent talk, Lancaster would seek local financial support and suggest that a committee be formed and premises found in order to establish a monitorial school. If an agreement was reached, he would train a teacher and provide slates and teaching boards.

Typical of this process was the establishment of the monitorial (later 'British') school at Hitchin, Hertfordshire. A monitorial school was founded in 1810 by lawyer William Wilshere, two years after Lancaster lectured in the town (see Dodwell, 1999). Initially the school occupied a large ground-floor room of a two-storey disused malthouse. Next to the old malthouse was a house to be occupied by the schoolmaster. This original 'Day School' took 150 boys and was the first school in Hertfordshire to be operated 'as a "monitorial" school for the sons of the labouring classes' (Dodwell, 1999: 1). In 1812 a boys' evening school was founded and in 1819, a girls' elementary day school was started on the first floor above the original boys' school. These latter schools were managed separately from the original school, with the premises being provided rent-free by Wilshere. No trace remains of these original buildings, apart from a memorial stone to the founder, which was incorporated into the 1837 boys' school (Dodwell, 1999: 2).

The death of Wilshere in 1824 saw him leave land and property to another Hitchin dignitary, his friend Lord Dacre (Dodwell, 1999: 3). Two years later, Dacre set up a trust to manage the boys' school and the property. There were 20 trustees, 10 of whom were Church of England and 10 dissenters. By 1835 the school was subject to considerable overcrowding, with 195 boys and 106 girls occupying the original converted malthouse. The trustees intended to build 'a new Schoolroom capable of holding 300 boys which number they expect from the rapidly increasing population' (*Trustees Minute Book, Vol. 1*: quoted in Dodwell, 1999: 4). In 1837, in addition to the endowment provided by Wilshere,

Figure 3. Interior of Borough Road School (artist unknown)

Source British and Foreign School Society archive at Brunel University. Reproduced with permission.

the trustees obtained a treasury grant of £175 towards the cost of a fully-fledged Lancasterian schoolroom. Plans which were based on specifications laid down in the BFSS manual of 1816, were drawn up for a schoolroom of $62\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, to accommodate 300 pupils. The architecture of new schoolroom was almost identical to that of Borough Road (see Figure 3), being based on a 'large rectangular room with wooden pillars beneath high celestory windows and on a sloping brick floor following the original ground level' (Dodwell, 1999: 5).

Although the Napoleonic Wars delayed its impact in Europe, Lancaster's *Improvements in Education* found a ready audience in North America, given similar demands of population growth, low levels of educational attainment and the needs of a burgeoning industrial economy. 'Book Schools', based on little more information than contained in *Improvements in Education* were founded as early as 1806 (see Reigart, 1916). In New York, monitorial schools were established by the Free School Society under the patronage of the Governor, De Witt Clinton, who enthused that Lancaster was 'the benefactor of the human race', and that the monitorial system represented 'a new era in education, as a blessing sent down from heaven to redeem the poor and distressed of the world from the power and dominance of ignorance' (quoted in Gordy, 1891: 23). [10]

In Europe, the Treaty of Paris in 1814 led to a renewed exchange of ideas between philanthropists. *Improvements in Education* had already been translated into French and l'Abbé Gaultier, an educational reformer who had been living in England, was a keen advocate of the Lancasterian system (Taylor, 1996). When peace was declared a 'Society for Elementary Education' was established. This Society was not interrupted by Napoleon's brief return in 1815. Carnot, Bonaparte's Minister of the Interior, was a supporter of the Lancasterian system and persuaded Napoleon to sign a decree to establish an experimental school. However after the Restoration, the Roman Catholic Church expressed alarm and a further decree was issued, ordering the exclusive use of Roman Catholic religion in schools. The BFSS archive suggests that efforts were made to maintain and support Lancasterian schools for Protestants, and that a few continued after the system was discarded in England. However, the Lancasterian system was employed more widely in some French colonies.

The BFSS archive also describes how almost every European country experimented with the Lancasterian system. For example, it was widely employed in Denmark and Sweden, yet found only modest levels of success in many other countries. When the Royal Lancasterian Society—founded in 1808 by Joseph Fox and other Quakers, signally to pay off Lancaster's debts—became the BFSS in 1814, manuals, lesson sheets, slates and pencils were sent all over the world. Lessons were translated into French, German, Russian, Spanish, Greek, Italian, several Indian

languages and Chinese. Missionaries in particular often trained at 'British' schools before subsequently practising the monitorial system overseas, and following a visit by Tsar Alexander I to Borough Road in 1814, four Russian students trained there, the result being that many Russian soldiers and their children were taught to read, write and cipher using the Lancaster system.

Quakers and Other Patrons

The final 'actors' in the Lancasterian network whose organizational role we will discuss are those patrons, frequently fellow Quakers, whose financial and political backing was crucial to the development and dissemination of the monitorial system in Britain and overseas.[11]

As Lancaster outlines in *Improvements in Education*, among the first to offer support for his Plan were fellow Quaker members of the Horsleydown Meeting House, especially Anthony Sterry and Thomas Sturge (Lancaster, 1803: 2). Lancaster suggested that Sterry and Sturge should each give him a 'guinea a year' and that this should be

> . . . in the nature of a contract. For each guinea subscribed, fifteen shillings was to be considered as the price of one child's education and the remaining six shillings were to be expended on books, rewards and other expenses. (1803: 2)

The newly married Elizabeth Fry, yet to commence her philanthropic work in prisons, also canvassed friends for funds to support Lancaster's early work. Although Fry apparently had reservations about Lancaster, in that he was 'boastful and lacked the humility expected of a Quaker' (Taylor, 1996: 20), she opened a Lancasterian school near her home in 1814. By 1801, William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton, the MP for Southwark, were among the list of supporters (1996: 20). Other early supporters included Samuel Whitbread and leading Quaker families such as the Gurneys, Barclays and Buxtons. The BFSS archive suggests that by mid-1802, sufficient funds had been raised to allow Lancaster to admit 246 'Free Scholars', expand the stock of books in his library, create a small playground outside the school, and begin plans for extending his school building.[12]

The BFSS archive also documents how, during 1804, Lancaster wrote to the Duchess of York to solicit a contribution. On receiving a donation of 10 guineas he then wrote to the royal dukes for financial assistance towards enlarging his school to accommodate 1000 boys. The Duke of Kent subsequently donated £100 and also became a patron.[13] However, Lancaster's most celebrated contact with the royal family came via his friend and future biographer, William Corston (see Corston, 1840). Corston had acquired a 'small fortune' by producing the first Leghorn hat manufactured in England (he apparently presented it to King George III and Queen Charlotte wore it, starting a fashion). Corston, who had himself established a School for Industry in his native Fincham, Norfolk,

gave Lancaster a letter of introduction to General Sir William Harcourt, who in turn presented him to George III at Windsor towards the end of 1804. The following year, Lancaster took an opportunity to present the king with three specially bound copies of *Improvements in Education*, which the monarch accepted together with a formal petition on the education of the poor. As a result, George III made the first of an annual donation of £100, at which time Lancaster renamed his school 'The Royal Free School'.

Another prominent Quaker supporter was the Guy's Hospital surgeon, Joseph Fox, who had become interested in Lancaster's methods while staying at Dover in 1807. At that time, Lancaster had been invited by the local member of parliament to establish a school in the area. Within three weeks of premises being found, Lancaster had supplied a teacher trained at Borough Road, selected and trained the monitors, and made a school for 300 boys operational. There was soon a request from Canterbury for Lancaster to establish a school, which he did with similar *élan*. Fox was impressed by these examples of economy and speed, and agreed to meet Lancaster in the company of William Corston. At this meeting the three resolved 'to constitute themselves a society for the purposes of affording education to the children of the poorer subjects of King George III', a society they named the 'Royal Lancasterian Society' (Royal Lancasterian Society, 1808).[14]

Fox was also a partner of Robert Owen at the New Lanark Mills, who in turn became a supporter of the monitorial system and gave Lancaster (and also Dr Andrew Bell) a £1000 donation. As G.D.H. Cole (1813/1927: viii) noted, Owen, who had left school at the age of nine, 'was only seven years old when he became a sort of pupil teacher in the local school'. Although Owen later wrote of the limitations of the monitorial system, he also remarked that the

> discoveries of the Rev. Dr. Bell and Mr Joseph Lancaster [had directed] the public attention to the beneficial effects, on the young and unresisting mind, of even the limited education which their systems embrace . . . They have already effected enough to prove that all which is now in contemplation respecting the training of youth may be accomplished without fear of disappointment. And by doing so, as the consequences of these improvements cannot be confined within the British Isles, they will forever be ranked among the most important benefactors of the human race. (Cole, 1813/1927: 18)

Decline and Fall

Joseph Lancaster's 'fall from grace' is well documented by both his contemporary and later biographers. A detailed description of Lancaster's personal decline is beyond the remit of this article, but suffice it to say that it was dramatic. Briefly, his biographers describe in detail how the imprudent and extravagant side of his behaviour became increasingly out of kilter with the demands of his professional life. This led, among other things, to his parting company with the Royal Lancasterian Society in

1814 and leaving England for the United States in 1817 (or 1818, the date is contested) where he subsequently died in relative poverty and obscurity 20 years later.[15]

In terms of the Method itself: 'Forty years after Joseph had first developed his Plan, the monitorial system was swept aside' (Taylor, 1996: 26). The Lancaster system, once regarded as a 'momentous discovery' by many of the 'greatest names of the day' became 'rigid and stultifying without the inspiration of Joseph and the enthusiastic monitors he had trained' (1996: 26). Kay-Shuttleworth, to whom credit is given for establishing the pupil–teacher system superseding the Lancaster system, rehearsed what many took to be the latter's principle flaw; that it was

> . . . necessarily limited to what boys from twelve to fourteen, or at the most fifteen, years of age could teach. They too received their instruction in a monitorial class in the school hours, and the efficiency of the school, therefore, depended on the time which the master could devote to his class. His attention skill and energy were, therefore, concentrated on it. (1862: 106)

In essence, the Lancaster Method was only ever a utilitarian one. It was designed to give a rudimentary education to children whose time at school was often limited, and whose parents could contribute little to the cost of education, during a period in which society was unwilling to support popular education through taxation. It was a method that introduced and instilled discipline, docility, economy, spatial and temporal order and bodily control into the practice of elementary education. Indeed, many of Lancaster's organizational innovations still inform classroom practice today. As Francesco Cordosa wrote in the Introduction to a reprint of *Improvements in Education*:

> Beyond the very real contribution of the monitorial system to the education of the poor (its cheapness above all else . . .), the system provided both stimulus and model for: (1) the study of classroom management and the mechanics of instruction; (2) the development of classroom routines . . . (3) classroom construction and design; (4) careful, flexible classification of children; (5) the development of schoolwork as an active social process; and (6) the training of teachers. (1973: iii)

On the day this paper was completed, the daughter of one of the authors was presented with a certificate in recognition of her transporting the daily register from the classroom to the office—specifically for her role as a 'monitor'.

Conclusion

In the 'Docile Bodies' chapter of *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault remarks that, methodologically, 'there can be no question here of writing the history of the different disciplinary institutions'. He declares instead 'I simply intend to map on series of examples [of] some of the essential techniques that most easily spread from one to another' (1977: 139).

Noting Foucault's reluctance to describe in any detail the circumstances of the particular disciplinary institutions that he identifies, and also the criticism made of a lack of 'deep history' in what appears to be a rather isomorphic methodology, we have attempted, in contrast, to 'write the [case] history' of one of the key organizations to emerge in the genealogical process of establishing 'disciplinary power'—the mutual improvement school. Taking our lead from Foucault's sporadic references to the 'techniques' characteristic of the genealogy of mutual improvement, we have explored further, notably in an attempt to resolve one of the loose ends of his analysis—the unique reference to the 'Lancaster Method' (1977: 165) as the paradigm for this particular genealogical strand of institutional behaviour. In so doing, we have sought to paint a more cohesive and detailed picture of the philosophies and practices associated with this example of disciplinary power than provided by Foucault himself.

Notes

The authors would like to thank the British and Foreign School Society and the Hitchin British Schools Trust for the provision of material on which this article is based and for permission to reproduce illustrations.

1 For Foucault (1977: 156) the mutual improvement system represents a metaphor of how: 'The body, required to be docile in its minutest operations, opposes and shows the conditions of functioning proper to a organism. Disciplinary power has as its correlative an individuality that is not only analytical and "cellular", but also natural and organic'.
2 Taylor (1996: 105–6) notes how: 'Punctuality was . . . an essential in the monitorial schools whose structure had echoes of the developing production lines in the new factories. Not surprisingly Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians were keen advocates of the monitorial system'.
3 The sign 'A Place For Everything And Everything In Its Place' was hung over the master's desk in every Lancasterian classroom.
4 The floor of the original (1837) Lancasterian schoolroom at the (former) British School, Hitchin, still bears traces of these semi-circular reading stations. Curators at the school suggested to us that the phrase 'toeing the line' originated from boys being made to place their toes exactly on the semi-circular lines of the reading stations in monitorial schools.
5 In addition to his slate factory, Lancaster also founded a local printing company for the purpose of producing educational materials for his schools (Salmon, 1904).
6 Taylor (1996: 8) notes how Lancaster was frequently criticized for the 'excessive use he made of emulation'.
7 Once a boy was proficient in reading, he proceeded to learn 'cyphering'. In so doing he would progress from being proficient in addition to subtraction, to multiplication and division (Dickson, 1986).
8 Such was the extensiveness of the Lancaster system that it was common practice for pupils even on Sundays to take the tea with Lancaster, who read them Bible stories (Dickson, 1986).

9 In 1804 Lancaster established a school for girls that was initially run by two of his sisters. This was later taken over by members of his 'Family', among them Ann Springman who, as Mrs Macrae, was awarded a pension by the government on her retirement in 1861 in recognition for the work in education (Taylor, 1986).

10 The Lancasterian method of teacher training continued in North America far longer than it did in England. As Gordy (1891: 23) noted: 'There was one form in which this interest (in teacher training) manifested itself which deserves fuller consideration because it shows very clearly the concept of education which prevailed at the time, and because it gave a powerful impulse to the movement for the professional training of teachers. I allude to the organization of schools on the Lancasterian or monitorial plan. For many years it was almost universally adopted in the large cities—for example, New York, Albany, Hartford, New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington' . . . 'Evidently the discussion of the merits of the monitorial system helped to pave the way for the perception that teachers need professional training. It was one of the causes that induced men to carefully consider the question, what are qualifications of a professional teacher? The answer to which was inevitably followed by another, how can they acquire these qualifications?'

11 The historical context of patronage and philanthropy for the Lancaster Method was one in which the blockade caused by the war with France, plus a series of poor harvests, had resulted in marked price increases for food during the last quarter of the 18th century (see Deane, 1965, Thompson, 1974). This in turn had led to increased poverty among the young urban working class, the clients of the Lancasterian system.

12 Sherman (1846: 95) in his *Life of William Allen* describes how Edward Wakefield, son of a Quaker Priscilla Wakefield, brought Lord Somerville to visit the school. Not only did Somerville become a subscriber, but subsequently introduced John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford to the school, during 'Xmas time of 1802 or 1803'. Sherman quotes Russell: 'I was invited . . . to visit the school of a humble and industrious Quaker in the Borough and went with him to the school of Joseph Lancaster. We passed the great part of the morning there and I was so well pleased with the simplicity and economy of the system that I instantly became a subscriber.'

13 The Duke of York had apparently been disturbed by the lack of literacy among the men of his regiment and was later to send a non-commissioned officer to be trained at Borough Road. Thereafter a Lancasterian school moved with the regiment to educate troops and their children.

14 On the formation of the Society, Fox set about the twin tasks of satisfying Lancaster's growing list of creditors and soliciting wider financial support. One of Fox's first contacts was the renowned Quaker chemist and philanthropist, William Allen. Fox explained Lancaster's financial difficulties and invited Allen to visit Borough Road. Allen was a highly esteemed member of the Quaker community in England and someone who moved in high social and political circles. Allen, whose firm Allen and Hanbury still survives to this day, was a member of the Royal Society and the Linnaean Society. He had worked to establish both the Geological Society and British Mineralogical Society, campaigned extensively on the abolition of the slave trade and to reduce the number of offences punishable by death. Allen was also a

lecturer at Guy's Hospital, founded *The Philanthropist* and an agricultural college and School of Industry at Lindfield, Sussex. Allen believed that educating the poor 'would do more towards diminishing crime than all the penal statutes that could be erected' (Sherman, 1846: 95); he became initially a member of the Society's committee and later its treasurer, being involved with its work and that of its successor the BFSS, until his death in 1846. Other supporters of the Society included Jeremy Bentham, Francis Place, Sidney Smith, Zachary Macauley and the Wedgwood family.

15 Taylor (1996: 111) summarizes the archival evidence on Lancaster's decline: 'The man who had evolved an economical scheme for education, became a spendthrift. The teacher who had trained street urchins to be clean and neat, became dirty and unkempt; the pioneer who had insisted that the cane be banished from schools, was found to have flogged boys for his own amusement.' His biographers describe how Lancaster had become a liability to his own cause, and 'ended his days in the New World, wandering from place to place, often relying on kind friends to support him—a measure of the esteem in which he had once been held, and the fame of his monitorial system'.

References

Bell, A. (1979) *An Experiment in Education Made at the Male Asylum at Egmore, Nr. Madras, 1797*. Lancaster archive.

Bernard, S. (1816) 'Rapport du 30 octobre 1816 à la société de l'enseignement mutuel', cited in M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bonwick, J. (1902) *An Octogenarian's Reminiscences*. London: James Nichols.

Cole, G.D.H. (1813/1927) 'Introduction' to reprint of R. Owen, *A New View of Society and Other Writings*. London: J.M. Dent.

Cordosa, F. (1973) 'Introduction' to reprint of J. Lancaster *Improvements in Education, as it Respects the Industrious Classes*. Clifton, NJ: Augustus M. Kelley.

Corston, W. (1840) *The Life of Joseph Lancaster*. London: Harvey Darton.

de Batencourt, J. (1669) 'Instruction methodique pour l'école paroissiale', cited in M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Deane, P. (1965) *The First Industrial Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Demia, C. (1716) 'Règlement pour les écoles de la ville de Lyon', Cited in M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Dickson, M. (1986) *Teacher Extraordinary: Joseph Lancaster*. London: Book Guild.

Dodwell, F. (1999) *Hitchin British Schools: A Guide to the Buildings*. Letchworth: Prontaprint.

Donnelly, M. (1986) 'Foucault's Genealogy of the Human Sciences', in M. Gane (ed.) *Towards a Critique of Foucault*, pp. 15–32. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. (First published as *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* by Editions Gallimard, 1975).
George, M.D. (1925/1992) *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Gordy, J.P. (1891) *The Rise of the Normal School in the United States*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir J. (1862) *Four Periods in Education*. London: Harvey Darton.
Kendall, G. (1939) *Robert Raikes*. London: Nicholson & West.
Lancaster, J. (1803) *Improvements in Education as it Respects the Industrious Classes*. London: Darton & Harvey.
Lancaster, J. (1805) *Open Letter to John Foster Esq., Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland*. London.
Lawson, J. and Silver, H. (1973) *A Social History of Education in England*. London: Methuen.
McKinlay, A. and Starkey, K., eds (1998) *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory*. London: Sage.
Marx, K. (1867/1976) *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 1*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Reigart, J.F. (1916) *Lancasterian Instruction in the Schools of New York*. New York: Teachers' College Press, Columbia University.
Royal Lancasterian Society (1808) *Minutes*. London: British and Foreign Schools Society Archive Centre.
Salmon, D. (1904) *Joseph Lancaster*. London: Longman, Green & Co.
Sherman, J. (1846) *Life of William Allen*. London: Charles Gilpin.
Taylor, J. (1996) *Joseph Lancaster: The Poor Child's Friend*. West Wickham: Campanile Press.
Smith, S. (1807) 'A Review of Sarah Trimmer's Analysis of the Lancaster Method', *Edinburgh Review* 9(October): 177.
Thompson, E.P. (1974) *The Making of the English Working Class*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Tronchot, H. (undated) 'L'Enseignement mutuel en France, I', unpublished thesis, cited in M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

John Hassard is Professor of Organizational Analysis at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST) and Senior Research Associate at the Judge Institute of Management Studies, Cambridge University. He previously taught at the London Business School and universities of Cardiff and Keele. He has published 11 books including *Time, Work and Organization* (1989), *Sociology and Organization Theory* (1993), *Postmodernism and Organizations* (1994), *Organization/Representation* (1999) and *Body and Organization* (2000). His research interests lie in organization theory and empirical studies of enterprise reform (with special reference to transitional economies). **Address:** Manchester School of Management, UMIST, PO Box 88, Manchester M60 1QD, UK. [email: john.hassard@umist.ac.uk]

Michael Rowlinson is Professor of Organization Studies in the School of Management and Professional Development at the London Metropolitan University.

His latest book, *Organisations and Institutions* (Macmillan, 1997), is a sociological critique of organizational economics. In addition to his current concern with the relationship between organization theory and business history, which features in his publications in journals such as *Organization Studies* and *Journal of Industrial History*, he has a long-standing interest in the history of Quaker corporate cultures in Britain. **Address:** School of Management and Professional Development, Stapleton House, London Metropolitan University, 277–281 Holloway Road, London N7 8HN, UK. [email: m.rowlinson@unl.ac.uk]