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V O L U N T A R Y   E F F O R T

IN ENGLISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1846 to 1870:

a study of the contribution of school managers  
to educational developments.

by

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Voluntary Effort in English Elementary Schools, 1846 to 1870:

a study of the contribution of school managers to educational developments.

Abstract.

Before 1870, the decision as to whether to establish a public elementary school and whether to accept or reject government aid rested with private individuals, the 'promoters of schools' who are the concern of this study. Some schools, both denominational and undenominational, owed their security to influential patrons. The majority depended on middle-class managers, most frequently upon the clergy. These promoters were motivated by the desire to civilise and socialise the lower classes, a process in most cases identified with their Christianisation. Some desired to promote social mobility; the clergy to develop the school as an important parochial institution. The Education Department accepted the necessity of working with and through school managers. The difficulties of this partnership arose largely from the dilemma posed by an official policy based upon the often conflicting principles of encouraging effort and enforcing standards; many of the voluntary schools never entered the government system. The schools also received aid from voluntary societies and committees established by the denominations to promote a religious education; supplemented for Anglicans by diocesan organisations.

Supervision of schools, pupils and teachers by managers

was an essential feature of the period. In many cases attempts were made to provide education for the lower middle class and to develop secondary education. Managers involved themselves in teaching and conducted experiments in curriculum and methods.

Expenditure increased as more was expected of the schools, and was inadequately met by subscriptions and grants from public funds. There was increasing reliance on fees, but an excessive financial burden fell upon promoters, especially upon the clergy. Religious zeal, which manifested itself through the denominations, contributed largely to educational progress, but produced the 'religious difficulty' which, though felt more strongly by managers and politicians than by the parents of elementary school pupils, became an obstacle to development in the 1860s.

Although the voluntary system was inadequate to secure sufficient school provision for the child population, the greatest educational problem was that of attendance, the number of places provided being greatly in excess of average attendance. Since compulsion was unacceptable, solutions were attempted through pressures exercised by interested members of the propertied classes, the extension of half-time, official and unofficial, and experiments designed to associate education with economic advantage. Their failure illustrated the need for compulsion, not, however, adequately recognised by 1870.

### Abstract 3.

The success of the voluntary system was greatest with the lower middle and upper working classes. This factor in itself tended to discourage the attendance of the lowest social class. The ethos of the elementary school as created in this period was uncongenial to the very poor; and, with individual exceptions, attempts to meet this problem in the 1860s failed. Here also, the ultimate solution was compulsion.

Given the conditions of mid-Victorian England and the absence of legal sanctions available later in the century, school managers may be held to have made a significant contribution to educational developments.

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  - South.

PREFACE.

In 1961, I submitted a thesis to the University of Birmingham (for the degree of M.A.) on the work of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, 1839 to 1849, which was later published in a slightly modified form as one of the Birmingham educational monographs.\* As a result of this work, I became interested in Richard Dawes; and investigation of his career led to an interest in school managers generally, of which the present thesis is a product. Where reference is made to material already used in the earlier work, the monograph, not the source of the material, is cited.

An attempt has been made to investigate the subject nationally. Wales has been excluded, as an area with special problems, which can scarcely be studied without a knowledge of Welsh. Use of documents deposited in County Record Offices appeared to be an economical way of sampling surviving school records; and consequently visits have been made to these Record Offices over the past four years. But pressure of time has limited the number of visits possible. The Offices used, therefore, include all those within easy travelling distance of a base in south Cheshire; otherwise, an attempt has been made to take a fair geographical sample, excluding areas (e.g., Devonshire) whose records have been the subject of recently

\* N. Ball, Her Majesty's Inspectorate, 1839-1849, University of Birmingham Institute of Education, Educational Monograph VI, 1963.



published works. In other cases, choice between areas has depended upon the amount of material available - e.g., at the time of approach, the West Riding had no central collection of school records, and was therefore not visited; East Suffolk was chosen rather than Norfolk because more material had been deposited in the Record Office at Ipswich than at Norwich. A few municipal collections, which were easily reached and of whose existence I was aware, were also used.

In order to limit the extent of the footnotes, the Record Office is only mentioned on the first occasion of citing; where only one document from a school has been used, it is normally particularised only in the bibliography; and only so much of the name of a school is given as is necessary to identify it in the bibliography. To limit the unwieldiness of the bibliography itself, only those published works and theses are listed which are actually cited in the text; other material has also been consulted.

I am grateful to the librarians and archivists who have given me so much help; and to the officials of the Catholic Education Council, the Methodist Education Committee and the National Society, who have given me access to their collections. Pressure of time unfortunately allowed me to make use of the National Society's extensive files only to confirm and amplify information about schools which I already knew to have possessed features of interest.

Amongst the many individuals to whom I am indebted are Dr. J.R.B. Johnson, for a valuable discussion on 19th. century elementary education; Miss. C.Saunders, who gave me her notes on the National Society's file on Polebrook school, Northants.; and two former students of the Crewe College of Education, Mrs. G. Vickers, for information about the Dunbury Parochial school, and Miss D.Beevers, for permission to reproduce the Scholar's Certificate in Appendix F.

Finally, I owe a debt of gratitude to my three successive supervisors, Professor Charlton, Mr. D.Bolam, and Dr. Marjorie Cruickshank. The debt to the latter is particularly heavy, for the generous help and encouragement which she has given me over the last two and a half years.

Nancy Ball.

#### ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES.

B.M. British Museum; P.R.O. Public Record Office;  
R.O. Record Office.

#### Documents.

Minutes (followed by date)	Minutes and Reports of the Committee of Council on Education.
N.C.	Report of the Newcastle Commission, 1861.
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers.
S.C.(followed by date)	Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Education.(for full title, see bibliography).
S.I.C.	Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868.
A.R. Annual Report;	L.B. Log Book; M.B. Minute Book.

Institutions

B.F.S.	British and Foreign School Society
C.P.S.C.	Catholic Poor School Committee
D.B.	Diocesan Board
N.S.	National Society
W.E.C.	Wesleyan Education Committee

Abbreviations used after names of schools

B.	G.	I.	Boys, Girls, Infants.
Br.	British school	R.C.	Roman Catholic school
N.	National "	W.	Wesleyan "
Par.	Parochial "		

CHAPTER. 1.INTRODUCTION.

Dr. Kitson Clark, emphasising the need for further research into Victorian history, has remarked, 'The case for one side to a controversy has seemed so coherent and cogent that historians have accepted it as evident truth; it has not seemed to be necessary to waste time checking it, or troubling about what the other side had to say.'<sup>1</sup> It appears to the present writer that the history of mid-Victorian elementary schools is a case in point, since they have too often been viewed through the critical eyes of the Education League, or, at best, through those of the architects of the Act of 1870. Recent research has widened our understanding of the educational activity of the central government, leading, for example, to a re-appraisal of the Revised Code; and some attention has been given to the minority pressure-groups responsible for the abortive attempts at educational legislation in the 1850s.<sup>2</sup>

Such studies, however, focus attention on Westminster or

1. G.Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, 1962, p.9.

2. J.R.B.Johnson, *The Education Department, 1839-64. A study in social policy and the growth of government*, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1968; A.S.Bishop, *The development of the central authority for education in England 1833-1899*, Ph.D. thesis, Liverpool, 1968; C. Duke, *The Department of Science and Art, politics and administration to 1864*, Ph.D. thesis, London, 1966; D.K.Jones, *The Lancashire Public School Association...*, M.A. thesis, Sheffield, 1965; see also *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Nov., 1965, pp.19-35 (C.Duke, Robert Love, a reappraisal) and June 1968, pp.138-163 (A.S.Bishop, Ralph Lingen, Secretary to the Education Department 1849-70). I am greatly indebted to Dr.J.R.B.Johnson both for ideas arising from his thesis and for points emerging from discussion with him about Victorian education.

South Kensington, and make it easy to forget how limited was the power of government. H.J.Burgess has described the work of the most important unofficial body concerned with education, the National Society, but apart from H.F.Mathews' work on the Methodists and J.S.Hurt's study of the Hertfordshire gentry,<sup>3</sup> not much consideration has been given to that class of 'promoters of schools' with whom, as Kay-Shuttleworth was careful to point out to H.M.Inspectors, the initiative in education rested.<sup>4</sup>

The maps accompanying this study are sufficient illustration of the fact that this initiative was real, not formal. Unless government aid was invited, it could not be given; and the decision as to whether to invite that aid rested with the managers. Maps 2A and B<sup>5</sup> show how small

3. H.J.Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 1958; H.F.Mathews, *The Contribution of Methodism to Popular Education, 1800-1850*, M. A.Thesis, Liverpool, 1946; *Methodism and the Education of the People since 1851*, Ph.D.thesis, London 1954; J.S.Hurt, *The development of elementary education in the 19th century; the roles of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education and the Hertfordshire gentry*, Ph.D.thesis, London 1968; and - *Land-owners, farmers and clergy and the financing of rural education before 1870*, (*Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Dec.1968, pp.6-12).

4. '...it is not to be regarded as operating for the restraint of local efforts, but for their encouragement; and that its chief objects will not be attained without the co-operation of the school committees; - the Inspector having no power to interfere, and not being instructed to offer any advice or information excepting where it is invited'. (*Minutes, 1839-40*, p.23).

5. The maps 2 and 3 and the statistics which follow are based upon the official tables for 1850-51 (*Minutes, 1850-51*, v.I, pp. cxli-ccli) and 1865 (*Minutes, 1865-66*, pp.495-619) which have been studied in some detail.

a number had done so by the end of the Kay-Shuttleworth era. In 1850-51, of the 587 census districts in England and Wales outside London, only 76 (little over 13%) contained 5 or more schools under annual inspection, and the average for the London districts was less than 4. A comparison with Maps 3A and B, which show the distribution of grant-aided schools in 1865, reveals progress, certainly marked in some areas, but very uneven. To assess the educational needs of any district accurately, it would be necessary to consider not only the acreage, but the size and distribution of the population. In a compact district, a country town, 8 or 9 grant-aided schools, as in Reading (district 127) or Cambridge (district 187), may well have been adequate provision; but if there was any truth at all in the official claim that only grant-aided schools were good ones, to have fewer than 5 such schools in any district was clearly unsatisfactory; and in 1865 there were still 116 districts in that position. Some, in fact, had fewer aided schools in 1865 than in 1850;<sup>6</sup> nor can a rise of from 0 to 1 or from 1 to 2, which occurred in 22 districts, be regarded as a satisfactory increase.<sup>7</sup> Losses, moreover, had been greater than appears from the maps. Of the 1,433

6. Districts, 94,210,288,507.

7. From 0-1 - districts, 53,192,233,248,298,354,355,385,511,537,572; from 1-2 - districts 64,91,185,226,342,364,390,495,563,566,604.

schools in receipt of annual grant in 1850-51, 231 were no longer under inspection in 1865. Some changes, no doubt, were inevitable in fifteen years, but a loss of over 15% suggests that Lingon was not being pessimistic when he stated to the Select Committee on Education of 1865 that under the existing system it would be fifty years before 'the want will be overtaken by the action of society alone';<sup>8</sup> - provided that the want be defined in terms of grant-aided, inspected schools.

To appreciate the situation fully, a further comparison must be made, between Maps 2 and 3 on the one hand, and Maps 1A and B, showing the total number of public elementary schools reported by the Educational Census of 1851, on the other.<sup>9</sup> From this it will be clear that even by 1865, in no district all, and in many only a minority of schools supported by subscription or endowment were connected with the government system. In other words, the choice of whether to become so connected was made by the schools, not the state; and many trustees and managers chose to remain aloof.

It is difficult to find any satisfactory hypothesis to explain the distribution of grants which does not include the element of personal choice. Poverty impelled some managers

8. S.C., 1865, q. 559.

9. Census of Great Britain, 1851 - Education, Report and Tables, 1854, pp. 53-512. Map 1 shows all subscription schools except

Ragged and Orphanages; and endowed schools except Grammar and Collegiate. 4 expanding districts had more grant aided schools in 1865 than the 1851 total; but some were still unaided (see 1865 tables); nos. 393, 452, 472, 520 - also, in Wales, 582, 586.

to accept state aid and prevented others from doing so. Geographical remoteness was certainly a deterrent, as may be seen in the northern Pennines, or the marshlands of Essex and the Thames estuary. A definite relationship is apparent between industrial development - especially the half-time system - and the number of grant-aided schools; but two of the most backward districts in Yorkshire (495, Todmorden and 496, Saddleworth) were in the textile area. When education and economic advantage were clearly associated, as in the Royal Dockyard towns, where admission to dockyard apprenticeships was by competitive examination, there seem to have been many enterprising schools claiming a disproportionate share of the grant. In 1850-51, for example, the grant to the Portsmouth, Portsea and Gosport schools was £673, and that of schools in the Plymouth area was £775. Perhaps most remarkable of all, Pembroke Dock, with a population of well under 10,000, collected £360, only £64 less than the whole of Leicestershire, with a population of 230,308, and £311 more than Herefordshire, with 115,489 inhabitants. Yet, Chatham, one of the three great naval centres, had only one grant-earning school, which received a mere £74.10s. Economic and geographical factors, therefore, cannot by themselves provide a complete explanation of the development

10. Separate figure not given in the census report. The combined figure for Pembroke Town and Dock was 10,107. This and other population figures are taken from the Census report of 1851.



of state-aided education.

The influence of individuals is notoriously difficult to identify satisfactorily, but a few examples in which there is some degree of certainty may be given here. Developments in Cheshire, probably the most advanced rural county, were undoubtedly largely due to the interest in education displayed by many of the local gentry.<sup>11</sup> The influence of a grandee, Lord Lansdowne (the first President of the Committee of Council) may be seen in West Wiltshire (districts 253, 254, 257, 259).<sup>12</sup> Cheltenham (district 344) owed its exceptional development to the influence of Francis Close and also, perhaps, to the presence of large numbers of retired army officers and civil servants with time on their hands, organising experience and evangelical tendencies. We know enough of the activities of Richard Dawes after he became Dean of Hereford to be certain that the transformation in Herefordshire between 1850 and 1865 was largely due to his influence. The similar change in the diocese of Bath and Wells, in which there was always an interest in education, is attributable to the decline of Archdeacon Denison's influence after the controversy of 1853-56 over the doctrine of the Eucharist and the appointment as bishop in 1854 of Lord Auckland, who,

11. J.S.Hurt has found a similar pattern in Hertfordshire.

12. The pressure which Lansdowne could, and did, exercise is illustrated in the account given to S.I.C. of the reorganisation of Calne endowed schools—S.I.C.v.14, pp.21-3.

as the Rev. Robert Eden, had been Kay-Shuttleworth's collaborator in the early days of the Battersea Training School. Active and energetic bishops like Sumner of Winchester or Wilberforce of Oxford, who approved the government system and brought pressure on their clergy to accept it, produced a considerable effect in their dioceses, which may be contrasted with Norwich, until 1857 under Hinds, a notoriously dry and uninspiring bishop.<sup>13</sup> Other examples of unofficial, individual, local influences will, it is hoped, emerge in the course of this thesis; but perhaps enough has been said to make a prima facie case for further study of the actual promoters of schools, their motives, resources and achievements, as distinct from government officials or educational politicians.

The period between 1846 and 1870 forms a natural unit for such study. The Education Act of 1870 provides an obvious terminus and the Minutes of 1846, which for the first time offered regular state aid for school maintenance, a natural point from which to begin. There are, however, other reasons for regarding the years around 1845 as marking an important stage in the history of elementary schools. Educational progress, though much encouraged by Kay-Shuttleworth's

13. See below, chapter 4; for Denison and Hinds see Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, Part 1*, 1966, pp470,491-4.

policy of providing financial inducements to change, did not originate with him. Since 1836 the Home and Colonial School Society had been training teachers on principles opposed to those of the monitorial system, as had Stow at the Glasgow Normal Seminary. By the middle '40s Home and Colonial-trained women were entering both National and British schools, and Stow's influence was felt directly in England through the Wesleyans, whose teachers were trained in Glasgow until the opening of Westminster College.<sup>14</sup> Many of the experiments to be described in later chapters originated in the early 1840s - the schemes of Dawes, Henslow and William Ellis provide three obvious examples. Even without the Minutes there would probably have been major changes as these ideas spread. Schools and school committees had changed in other ways since the days of Bell and Lancaster. National and British schools were no longer free schools for the very poor. Financial difficulties had induced many and were inducing more to introduce fees, and it was becoming accepted doctrine that the purpose of such schools was to provide education for the working class, in the sense in which that term was often used by Victorians,<sup>15</sup> meaning the class which maintained itself by its labour as distinct from the classes

14. Burgess, op.cit., p.65-66; F.C. Pritchard, The Story of Westminster College, 1951, p.27.

15. e.g. by Mary Carpenter, The Claims of Ragged Schools to Pecuniary Educational Aid, 1859, p.5.

wholly or partially dependent on society for their support: hence the development in the later '40s of alternative provision - the Ragged Schools- for the lowest social class.

Most of the early National and British schools were established to serve large populations and wide areas and were run by committees of subscribers very similar to those responsible for 18th century charity schools. British committees were, as might be expected, normally made up of laymen with a few dissenting ministers. It is more surprising to find that many early National committees were predominantly lay. The controversy over the Management Clauses would have been inconceivable in the early years of the century. The committee of the Derby National school, for instance, consisted of a tightly knit group of South Derbyshire Tories - country gentry and professional men. The secretary was certainly a clergyman, but from 1817 to 1829 a cleric of a type which had become archaic by the '40s - Rev. Charles Hope, five times Mayor of Derby, the magistrate who dispersed the Pentrich rioters, and the president of the local Loyal True Blue Club.<sup>16</sup> When we compare such a group with the

16. This committee lost the school its wealthiest subscriber by a furious quarrel, in their political capacity, with the Duke of Devonshire over the Trial of Queen Caroline. The Duke transferred his patronage to the British School. The records of the Derby National School are not extant. The above statements are based on material collected about 15 years ago from notices and reports in the Derby Mercury.

persons responsible for almost all Victorian National schools, we realise the change which had taken place.

One factor which produced this change was expansion. As more schools were needed the parish or the ecclesiastical district appeared the natural unit in which to provide them and the parson of the parish the natural person to undertake their supervision. In these smaller units there were less likely to be enough interested and leisured laymen to form a committee, so that, although many instances of active lay patrons may be met with, the pattern of clerical control of the National school became more frequent.

This development coincided with a great revival in the institutional life of the church. The '30s and '40s saw, for reasons outside the scope of this study, a revolution in parochial life and the emergence of a new concept of the role and function of the clergyman in his parish. The consequences of this for education will be considered later. Here it may be noted that one effect was very much to weaken National committees which functioned on a non-parochial basis. In some cases, where far-sighted men like Close of Cheltenham or Hook of Leeds were in control, this was recognised from the beginning and, when district schools were founded, the authorities of the local church were left to run them. In other towns, where the original National committee tried to exercise supervision and to control the

allocation of funds from subscriptions or collections, the attempt usually failed, often after unedifying squabbles, since, in the new enthusiasm for parochial life, it was unusual to find any parish willing to sacrifice its autonomy by cooperating with others.<sup>17</sup> The close association between parish church, parish clergy, and parish school which had emerged by the 1840s amongst Anglicans was paralleled in the Catholic church and to some extent in the connection between chapel and school among the Wesleyans. There were even instances in ostensibly British schools of a very close association with the chapel of a particular denomination.<sup>18</sup> By the 1840s schools were undoubtedly more and not less ecclesiastical and denominational than they had been early in the century.

For all these reasons, then, the mid-40s provide a suitable starting point for a study of voluntary effort in

17. Examples among the material used for this study - Blackburn (Lancs.R.O.& N.S.Files); St.James,Clitheroe (LancsR.O.); St. John,Chatham(Kent Archives); Weardale Schools(DurhamR.O.). In some cases the original National school became attached to a single church - e.g.St. John's Chatham. Derby National School ultimately became the parochial school of St.Werburgh's church. The schools in Bayswater and Bermondsey (G.L.C.R.O.) are examples of successful supervision by a district committee.

18. e.g.New Jerusalem,Heywood, Zion New Connexion, Lees (Lancs.R.O.); New Jerusalem,Manchester(Manchester Local History Library); Henley-in-Arden, Leamington (Warwicks.R.O.); Kidderminster New Meeting (Worcs.R.O.).

the elementary school at the period of its greatest independence. The next chapter will consider who were the 'promoters of schools' and will attempt to investigate the motives which induced them to devote time, money and sometimes very considerable ability to 'popular education'.

PATRONS AND MANAGERS.

The public elementary schools with which this thesis is concerned were, by definition, supported by endowment or subscription - indeed, subscription and the existence of a committee of subscribers were normally essential to qualify a school for the receipt of government aid. This fact, however, should not lead us to exaggerate the importance of subscriptions from the general public.<sup>1</sup> Some schools - especially Wesleyan schools, some British schools and certain National schools in manufacturing towns - were almost entirely self-supporting from fees and the government grant. Far more owed their continuing existence to the support of one or two individuals. 'Every school to be good must have a friend - somebody to love it', said Henry Moseley, H.M.I., in a lyrical note to his report for 1848-9.<sup>2</sup> In many cases this friend was the parson or a nonconformist minister; but the more fortunate schools were those which could, in addition, lean upon a wealthy patron, who was always clearly distinguishable from ordinary subscribers. When, for example, the committee of the Derby British school arranged in 1845 for a newly appointed master to collect the subscriptions, three were excepted - those of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Burlington (his cousin and heir) and Edward Strutt, Esq. - the three patrons of the school.<sup>3</sup> This entry in the manager's minutes is of

- 1 The extent to which schools were actually supported by general subscription will be further considered in chapter 8.
- 2 N.C. v.6, q.8; Minutes 1848-50, v.1, p.3.
- 3 Derby Br. M.B. (Derby Library), 5.3.45.



interest from three points of view; it illustrates the facts that patronage was as significant in British as in National schools, and that patrons were to be found both in the landowning and the industrialist classes; and, as it happens, provides instances of two different types of patronage.

The Cavendish family, like many other grandees, appear to have subscribed conscientiously to the schools on their wide estates and to have given proper support to national bodies concerned with education,<sup>4</sup> without showing any overmastering interest in the subject. Edward Strutt, on the other hand, the future Lord Belper, was an example of the patron at his most active. The Strutt family compelled their young employees to continue their education and maintained British schools in connection with both their mills. That at Milford, which was under inspection, was repeatedly commended by H.M. Inspectors. The records of the Belper school, which was not, show it to have been conscientiously run, and, for the period, lavishly equipped.<sup>5</sup> The family was active in the Derby British school from its foundation and by the 1840s Mr. and Mrs. Edward Strutt were established as its chief support. They did not take much part in the day-to-day running of the school, nor were they asked to deal with such tiresome problems as the discovery of bugs in the infant

4 For an instance, Ball, op. cit., p.114. Lord Burlington, as Duke, was for many years a Vice-President of the B.F.S. (H.Binns, A Century of Education, 1908, p.159).

5 Minutes, 1856-7, p.542; 1858-9, p.181; H.R.P.Sandford, Education in Mining Districts, 1868, p.10; records of Belper school in Strutt Papers (Manchester Archives).

teacher's house, or the eviction of the Mormons, to whom the girl's schoolroom had inadvertently been let for their evening meetings; but they made gifts of equipment, advised on the purchase of books, took measures to get the school out of debt, and investigated complaints as to its efficiency; and when the committee began negotiations with the Committee of Council, or whenever they wished to find a new teacher, the matter was referred to Mr. Strutt for settlement. He continued his activities after he was given his peerage, and was equally zealous in establishing schools on his estates.<sup>6</sup>

The Cavendishes and the Strutts, then, represent different forms of patronage. Many magnates did less than the Cavendishes; some did more, the various branches of the Leveson-Gower family, for instance. The Sutherlands were patrons of Kay-Shuttleworth's venture at Battersea, built and maintained schools on their English, as well as their Scottish estates and exercised an anxious supervision over their teachers. The Duke's younger brother, Lord Ellesmere, who inherited the Bridgewater millions, will be met with later in this study in connection with schools in colliery districts; and his cousin, Lord Granville, was active in the Potteries and on his estates in Shropshire.<sup>7</sup>

Another coal magnate, Lady Londonderry, maintained fourteen

6 Derby Br. M.B., 5.3.43, 6.1.44, 22.1.44, 2.11.44, 3.12.45, 17.1.49, 7.11.49, 6.11.50, 10.7.51, 2.10.51; P.R.O. 30/29, Box 24, Part 2, Belper-Granville, 19.4.62.

7 See below, p.321; for the Sutherlands and Kay-Shuttleworth, F.Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 1923, pp.112, 208-9; for Ellesmere, J.S. Leatherbarrow, *Victorian Period Piece*, 1954, pp.14-19. Granville's activities are reflected in his papers, P.R.O. 30/29.

schools on her estates in Co.Durham.<sup>8</sup> Lord Yarborough, a strong supporter of the British and Foreign School Society, built nine schools in Lindsey between 1844 and 1858, which must have provided experience useful to his domestic chaplain, Rev. H.B. Barry, when he became an H.M.I.<sup>9</sup> The Whig grandee, Lord Lansdowne, who had been an associate of Whitbread in his attempts at educational reform in the early years of the century, was not only Lord President and therefore the ultimate authority in the Committee of Council until 1841, and from 1846 to 1852; through his chaplain, Rev.J.Booth, he exercised great influence on the Society of Arts' schemes for examinations; his dependent clergy founded schools in the Calne area; his wife established a servants' school for the training of girls in domestic economy; and he forced the trustees of the Calne endowed school to reorganise it on modern lines. The result was that after his death William Warburton, H.M.I., could write, 'Calne is, in fact, the only considerable town I know of in which a complete system of primary and secondary instruction adequate to the wants of the population is to be found at work'. This is confirmed by the unfriendly voice of John Walter, who in 1862 coupled Calne with the royal borough of Windsor as one of the two places

8 Reports on the Londonderry Schools (Durham R.O.), List of salaries, 1861.

9 R.C.Russell, A History of Schools and Education in Lindsey, Part I, 1965, p.68; B.F.S., A.R., 1856, p.63; 1860, p.62. For Barry, see Crockford's Clerical Directory.

in the country least in need of grants for education from public money.<sup>10</sup>

Such grantees were in a favoured position. They could demand visits from H.M. Inspectors to check the progress of their schools. They could appeal over the heads of the permanent officials to the Lord President for special treatment. Lord Hatherton, a Staffordshire peer zealous for education, refused to provide land freehold for a projected school at Rushall Butts, in order to retain some control over the use to which it was put, and, after a long argument with Lingen, approached Lord Granville, who made the Department agree to a lease. Less excusably, Lord Wensleydale wrote to Granville asking for a special grant of three quarters of the cost of new flooring at Ampthill, on the unlikely grounds that the school, patronised by himself, the Duke of Bedford and the Hon. Charles Howard, was not in 'flourishing pecuniary circumstances'.<sup>11</sup> If they were interested in general educational questions, they could exercise considerable influence on policy, as did Lord Ashburton in the matter of the teaching of Common Things, and that curious Egeria, Angela Burdett-Coutts, who, in addition to supporting schools on a considerable scale, was

What to learn and How to learn, 1856;

10 J. Booth, *The Schoolmaster as affected by Competitive Examination*, 1859; N.C., v.5, pp.213-5; S.I.C., v.14, pp.21-3; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd. Report, p.281; Minutes, 1863-4, p.157; J. Walter, *Education - Correspondence*, 1863, p.12.

11 Walter, loc.cit., p.71; Rushall Butts correspondence, in Hatherton Papers, (Staffs, R.O.); P.R.O.30/29, Box 23, Part 2, 25.8.57. He had been offered a half by Lingen.

in the habit of suggesting government action through letters to *The Times* and who was consulted by Granville about the wording of the circulars issued in consequence.<sup>12</sup>

Much material relating to the educational activities of these magnates is probably lost, or lying in the archives of country houses, but in the correspondence of Lord Radnor the Berkshire Record Office possesses a sample which may be used as illustration. Radnor, who died at the age of 90 in 1869, was of Lansdowne's generation. He had, as Lord Folkestone, been a friend of Cobbett and a Radical M.P. in the days of Peterloo, and had been the parliamentary spokesman of the unsuccessful attempt at university reform in 1835. In his retirement he busied himself with education. He was a generous subscriber to the schools of all denominations on his estates and was always good for additional donations in emergencies. His support, however, was discriminating. When he received appeals he employed his agents to investigate the circumstances; he brought pressure on committees to accept government aid and upon National schools to operate a conscience clause. He circulated for the children's use copies of the 'British Workman', the 'Child's Magazine' and other publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Pure Literature. For his own school at Coleshill he refused government aid, although he had

<sup>12</sup> See below, pp.57-8 . Miss Burdett-Coutts, in addition to patronage of Whitelands Training College, founded or aided schools at St.Stephen, Westminster, St.Peter, Stepney, St.Anne, Highgate, St.Stephen Carlisle, Baydon, Ramsbury and evening schools in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green (B.M.Add.MSS., 46406A, pp.8-9).

it visited by H.M. Inspectors of British schools. He supervised it closely, dismissing an inefficient teacher in 1856 in a carefully drafted note which affords an excellent example of the velvet glove concealing the iron hand:

'As the school, I am sorry to say, does not go on quite to my satisfaction, I should be glad to hear from you that you wish to leave it.

'Pray mention when you would wish to go.'

There followed an interminable correspondence with Richard Dawes over the successor. Radnor was difficult to please, turning down one suggestion after another, including an Irishman recommended by Archbishop Whateley, because he was afraid of the Irish brogue, and feared that the 'Domestic arrangements of the Irish are not altogether what would suit me here', although he admitted that his daughter inclined to an Irishman as having a manner agreeable to children. It took him over nine months to decide upon the appointment of the schoolmaster of the Farrington Union.<sup>13</sup>

Victorian moralists believed that it was the duty of property owners to provide for the mental and spiritual welfare of their employees and dependents. The Hatherton and Granville papers both contain calculations on this point, relating in the one case to Penkrige and in the other to the

13 Correspondence of the Earl of Radnor (Berks.R.O.), passim; for his career, see Dictionary of National Biography. His correspondence shows him contributing to National schools at Buscot, Cricklade, Inglesham, Longcot, Market Lavington, and Swingfield Minnis (Kent); to British schools at Cricklade, Downton, Highworth and Wootton Bassett; and the Salisbury Wesleyan school.

number of children of Lord Granville's men at the Shelton Ironworks, while the curate of Tanfield, Co. Durham, justified appeals for subscriptions to Messrs. John Bowes and the trustee of the Bute estates on the grounds that his schools provided for the education of their employees' children. The Tanfield letters illustrate the fact that this duty was not considered to be confined to the landowning class. As Archdeacon Sandford, the Bampton Lecturer for 1861, said, '... the man who creates a population for purposes of trade, is as much, as the landowner, under an obligation to provide for the spiritual interests of those whom he employs';<sup>14</sup> and at least a few industrialists agreed. We have already seen that the Strutt family accepted this obligation. Others who worked on a large scale were Messrs. Marshall of Leeds, Edward Akroyd of Halifax, J.T.Chance, in the Black Country and, most obvious example, Titus Salt in Bradford and Saltaire. In the remote northern Pennines, the two major lead-mining concerns, the London Lead Company and Messrs. Beaumont, gave systematic support to the schools of Teesdale, Weardale and the upper Tyne valley.<sup>15</sup> Corporate, and therefore impersonal employers

<sup>14</sup> Penkridge, October 1867 (Hatherton Papers); P.R.O. 30/29, Box 23, Part I, L.11.51; Tanfield, see Appendix D; J.Sandford, *The Mission and Extension of the Church at Home, 1862*, p.101.

<sup>15</sup> W.C.Rimmer, *Marshall's of Leeds, 1960*, pp.105-9, 194,217; E.Akroyd, *On Factory Education and its Extension, 1858*, and his evidence in N.C. v.5; G.A.Yorke, *The School and the Workshop, 1856*, p.3; *Minutes, 1850-51*, v.2, pp.492-5; R.Balgarnie, *Sir Titus Salt, 1877*, pp.53, 136-7, 229,244; Raistrick and Jemmings, *A History of Lead Mining in the Pennines, 1965*, pp. 318-321; J.L.Dobson, *Charitable Education in the Weardale District, Research Review, v.6*, pp.40-53; N.C. v.2, pp.387-402; S.C.1866, evidence of Thomas Sopwith.

varied in their attitudes. Government departments, with the honourable exception of the Commissioners for Woods and Forests, had a bad reputation in this respect;<sup>16</sup> but some public utility concerns showed interest. Amongst railway companies, for example, the London and North Western spent freely on its schools at Crewe, Wolverton, Tebay and near Euston station, being particularly lavish in its provision of outings, and the Directors of the Great Western demanded elaborate monthly reports on their schools in Swindon. The trustees of the Weaver Navigation, one of the few inland waterways to escape disaster in the railway age, were assiduous in founding and supporting schools.<sup>17</sup>

Many of the gentry and lesser industrialists involved themselves in popular education. Some - the Smiths in Hertfordshire and the Sykes family in Yorkshire,<sup>18</sup> for example - worked on as large a scale as grandees. In very many other cases they were patrons of at least one school near their country house or their factory. It will probably never be possible to build up a complete list of the schools supported in this way, since in many cases they refused government aid and left no records. Indications of the type of list which might be drawn up may be

- 16 The Admiralty - below p. 354; Archdeacon Sandford complained of the War Office's neglect of Woolwich - *op.cit.*, pp.249-51; Woods and Forests - see C.Hart, *Nicholls's Forest of Dean*, 1966, p.175.
- 17 *N.C.*, v.3, pp.352, 361, 372-3; *S.I.C.*, v.19, pp.384-6; *Minutes*, 1853-4, v.1, pp.415-8; 1854-5, pp.747-51; 1866-7, p.50; Christ Church, Crewe, B. G. (Crewe Library); for a specimen of the G.W.R. returns (for January 1853) see P.R.O., 30/29, Box 23, Part I; M.B. of the Trustees of the Weaver Navigation (Ches. R.O.). The Weaver remained the artery of the Cheshire salt and chemical trade.
- 18 *Hurt*, *op.cit.*, pp.34-7; T.W.Bamford, *The Evolution of Rural Education, 1850-1964*, 1965, pp.10-11; *Minutes*, 1868-9, p.214.



found in three sources, all, unfortunately, Anglican. The Hereford Diocesan Board gave honorary membership to persons who established schools at their own expense, of whom there were seventeen in the diocese by 1856. When J.P. Norris, H.M.I., left the North West Midlands after nearly fifteen years, he drew up a statement of the educational advantages of that district, amongst which he included the schools established by thirteen major industrial concerns and seventeen 'estate' schools - i.e. schools under the active patronage of a landowner and his family. The replies to Bishop Wilberforce's visitation questions of 1854 show thirty one villages in the archdeaconry of Oxford in which the schools were explicitly stated to be wholly or largely supported by the squire or his wife.<sup>19</sup> Patronage, as has been stated, affected British as well as National schools and both landowners and industrialists were to be found giving support to either type.<sup>20</sup> Of industrialists already mentioned, Beaumont, Salt and Strutt supported British schools; Akroyd, Chance and Marshall, National. In Redditch, the Milwards patronised the church schools; in Ipswich the Ransomes (agricultural implement makers) were leading figures in the British school, whilst the Cobbolds (brewers) held by the church;<sup>21</sup> and similar variations obtained in other areas.

19 Hereford D.B., A.R. 1856; Minutes, 1863-4, pp.114-5;  
E.P.Baker, ed., Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns, 1954.

20 Other examples - below, pp. 321-2.

21 St.Stephen, Redditch (Worcs.R.O.); Ipswich Br., Greycoat, Holy Trinity, St.Clement (E.Suffolk R.O.).

In many cases the active patron was the squire's or the manufacturer's wife or daughter rather than the man himself. Work in the schools and the homes of the respectable poor was, indeed, the most acceptable form of social service for mid-Victorian ladies, and conscientious and religious husbands and fathers encouraged it.

'I think it will be an admirable plan', wrote C.B. Adderley to his fiancée in 1842, 'that you should have the entire care and management of the villages - the schools and clubs and cottages. What say you? I think it would be a good thing for you to feel that the entire responsibility of the interests of the poor around Hams rested in your hands. You should have the cottage rents separately paid to an account of your own, and laid out by you on the cottages and poor. It would be a noble occupation....'

In the series of 'Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects' given by F.D. Maurice and his friends in 1855 (the published version of which went into several editions), detailed advice was given by both Charles Kingsley and Archdeacon Allen on how ladies should conduct themselves in school. 'There', said Kingsley, 'you may work as hard as you will, and how you will - provided you do it in a loving, hearty, cheerful, human way, playful and yet earnest...'. Charlotte M. Yonge, when she portrayed her ideal of a village school in her early novel 'Langley School', showed the squire as the munificent patron, but the day-to-day running of the schools undertaken by Mr. Howard, the vicar, most of whose time was spent with the boys, and the squire's daughters, Miss Edith and Miss Dora, who spent every afternoon in the girls' school and took responsibility for discipline - a relationship which Miss Yonge herself

had for a lifetime with the school in her own village of Otterbourne.<sup>22</sup>

Miss Edith and Miss Dora were well-instructed high-churchwomen, who knew that they must defer to the authority of the clergymen. Miss Edith, for instance, disapproved of competition for places and prizes, 'but it had been so settled long before her time, and she knew it was not her place to make changes'.<sup>23</sup> Few lady patronesses were so submissive; with time, energy, money and prestige at their disposal they often established a benevolent despotism which left little room for independent action by anyone else. They distributed prizes, gave treats, bought equipment, provided sewing, and were often stern critics of the teacher's efforts. At Packington, Lady Aylesford 'examined the children, but did not disclose the subject or result; and she found fault with the singing'; Mrs. Gundry, the wife of a Bridport rope manufacturer, acted as secretary to, and virtually ran, the National school at Walditch, just outside the town; Mrs. Cleaver of Sissinghurst arranged the school timetable, and even after she left the district inspected the copy books, the needlework and the

22 W.S.Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, 1909, pp.44-5; *Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects*, 3rd edition, 1857, pp.53-66, 212-236; C.M.Yonge, *Langley School*, 1850; C.Cole-ridge, C.M. Yonge, 1903, pp.126-7. Miss Yonge's novels, written for the class of girls who might expect to work in schools, throw much light upon the subject and will be cited in this thesis.

23 *op. cit.*, p.17.

attendance register, and had the children photographed so that she would still know them; Mrs. Talbot of Kidderminster summoned the girls of the New Meeting school to her house for regular lessons; Mrs. Romilly of Mahollam in Herefordshire sent her maid to teach sewing and her cook to teach cookery; and Mrs. Tomkinson and her daughter Mrs. Tollemache ran the village school at Acton, near Nantwich, for two generations, making it a 'model school in all respects'.<sup>24</sup>

The dependent relationship existing (in spite of occasional grumbles and resentment) between members of a patron's family and the school is well illustrated by an anecdote from a log book:

'Miss Anne Philips called at the School. She was riding on her pony which the Groom brought in the Schoolroom with the little Lady on its back. Much merriment was caused amongst the Scholars thereby. From its docility and obedience I drew a few practical remarks, Shewing that even a beast, may, if properly trained, and kindly treated, shame refractory and stubborn children'.

This story comes, not from the feudal countryside, but from Park Lane British school, Whitefield, in the heart of industrial Lancashire. Robert Needham Philips, 'our worthy patron', was a Unitarian of advanced Radical views, a friend of Cobden, and a pillar of the National Public School Association, who refused a title when offered one by Gladstone. His daughter, Anna Maria

24 Packington (Warwicks. R.O.) 23.2.64; Walditch (Dorset R.O.); Sissinghurst (Kent Archives), esp. 14.5.66, 21.12.66; Kidderminster New Meeting, G.; Mahollam (Hereford R.O.) esp. 27.4.65, 10.5.67; Minutes, 1863-4, p.115. Acton school will be more fully discussed below, chapters 7, 10.

Phillips (aged five at the time of this incident), lived to uphold her father's principles by voting Labour in the 1945 election.<sup>25</sup> Yet the gulf between her and the Park Lane children was as great as that between farm labourers' children and 'the squire and his relations'. The records of the Park Lane school, like those of the Derby British school with which this chapter began, show that the similarities between British and National schools were far greater than their differences and that patronage might be a vital factor in the prosperity of either.

Many schools, however, lacked a wealthy patron; and in others the patron was too busy or too grand to concern himself with its everyday affairs. In theory, as has been stated, all grant-aided and many non-aided schools were run by committees representing subscribers. This, however, assumed an interest on the part of subscribers which rarely existed. The general meeting which decided, after months of fierce argument, that the Voluntaryist Ipswich British school should abandon its principles and seek government aid was attended by only ten persons. When no vital question was at issue, attendance might be even worse. A note in the log book of Clifton-upon-Teme National school, for example, states that at the annual meeting on 1st July, 1864, only one person was present.<sup>26</sup>

25 Park Lane, Whitefield (Lancs.R.O.) 28.8.62; Leatherbarrow, op.cit., pp.24-29; D.K. Jones, op.cit., pp.245-6.

26 Ipswich Br., 16.2.55; Clifton-upon-Teme (Worcs R.O.) note by vicar.

Consequently committees tended, when they functioned at all, to consist of small groups of self-appointed enthusiasts, with no reserves to draw on. Sometimes the enthusiasm was concentrated in one man, who dominated the committee for years. A black-edged entry in the log book of Cheltenham British school for 15th. January, 1868, lamented the death of the chairman, Mr. Downing:

'...it was principally thro' his exertions, and by his personal influence that the present School premises were erected. He was a true lover of children ever foremost to advance their interest. By his death, I have lost a sincere Friend, and the School, one of its warmest supporters.

"He was a man, take him for all in all  
We ne'er shall look upon his like again."

British schools, in particular, relied on this type of layman; their success often depended upon whether the locality had a population of middle-class dissenters with leisure and interest enough to serve on committees. Unitarians and Quakers were especially prominent: '...one's only difficulty', wrote Matthew Arnold to his wife in his early days as an Inspector, 'will be not to know the whole of schismatical Birmingham. The schools are mostly in the hands of very intelligent wealthy Unitarians, who abound here, and belong to the class of what we call ladies and gentlemen...'. The conscientious activity, over years, of various Quaker school committees whose records have survived, is beyond all praise, although even these had occasional lapses. An entry in the

minute book of the Quaker-dominated Ipswich British school for 16th. November, 1855, reads:

'Committee

Present, H.S.Corder!!!

waited till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past Eight, and then left.'<sup>27</sup>

In places without a wealthy dissenting community, it was difficult to form a committee which could supervise properly, as the Tewkesbury British school found, to its cost. Sometimes control passed to the teacher; in others a nonconformist minister took over. One instance of this was at Leamington, where the local Baptist minister, Rev.W.A.Salter, Mrs. Salter and their daughters, Miss Maria, Miss Emma and Miss Louisa, filled roles identical with those of a parson and his family in a National school.<sup>28</sup>

Wesleyan committees, if they may be judged from the limited amount of evidence used for this study, faced problems similar to those of British schools.<sup>29</sup> In spite of their denominational character, Wesleyan ministers were not usually prominent, presumably because of the frequent changes in the circuits. Catholic committees had scarcely any independent existence at all. Those schools which served the old Catholic population of the countryside were in organisation almost indistinguishable

27 Cheltenham Br.(Cheltenham Library); G.W.E.Russell,ed., Letters of Mathew Arnold, 1895, v.1, p.18; Castle St., Kendal, M.B. (Archives,Kendal); Hoddesdon Br. B.G.(Herts.R.O.); Ipswich Br.

28 For Tewkesbury, see below, p.222 ; Leamington G.; other instances, Henley-in-Arden, Pleasley Hill Br.(Derbys.R.O.); Stafford Br.(Staffs. R.O.).

29 Records of Wesleyan schools - L.B.s of Hayle Foundry, Penryn (Cornwall R.O.); Dartford (Kent Archives); Oakenshaw (Lancs R.O.); Griffwydam (Leics. R.O.); Rugby (Warwicks. R.O.); Deal M.B. (Kent Archives); A.R.s of Salisbury (Radnor correspondence).

from many Anglican rural schools, with the squire as patron and his chaplain filling the parson's role.<sup>30</sup> The immigrant Catholics of the towns were provided for in schools under the control either of the parish priest or of one of the religious orders. As the Poor School Committee's magazine put it: 'Subordination is the life of a school... our schools, with their teachers and whole management, are subordinate to the clergy.'<sup>31</sup>

According to the census of 1851, over 80% of all subscription schools were Anglican,<sup>32</sup> whose managers have yet to be considered. Like British schools, they certainly drew much of their support from the leisured middle class - the Birley family, whose members were deeply involved in the affairs of the church schools of Manchester was a good example; so was the actor, Macready, in retirement in Sherborne.<sup>33</sup> But one main impression left by a study of National school records is astonishment that Kay-Shuttleworth and the Committee of Council on the one hand and Archdeacon Denison and the National Society on the other should have wasted so much energy in the battle over the Management Clauses to so little effect; since there is almost

30 Three Lancashire examples in Lancs.R.O. - St.Peter, Lytham, St. Mary, Newsham, The Willows, Kirkham; see also N.S. Files, Bredicot; Baker, op.cit., under Heythrop(p.72).

31 The Catholic School, 1849, p.100.

32 Census (Education)1851, p. liii - of a total of 10,595 schools maintained predominantly by subscription, 8,571 were Anglican, 514 British.(This total excludes schools connected with the Society, but said by the managers' to be attached to a chapel).

33 N.C., v.5, pp.105-9, 317-9; Minutes, 1857-8, p.402; 1859-60, pp.98-100; 1861-2, pp. 72, 76-8; 1865-6, pp.130-2; L.B.s of Granby Row, St.Michael, St.Stephen, St.Thomas, Red Bank,(Manchester Archives).



no evidence that the writing into the trustdeeds of a clause providing for lay representation on the committee of management did anything to prevent clerical control where it would otherwise have existed. Lay patrons, if they chose, could certainly dominate the school; but very often they were not even members of the committee. Frequently there was a partnership of landowner and parson, as at Hagley, where the school was run by the rector and his elder brother, Lord Lyttelton, or Moreton-in-Marsh, where as late as 1880 Lord Redesdale declared, 'The national school at Moreton belongs to the Rector and myself'.<sup>34</sup> Of the committees whose records have been used for this study, those in London met regularly and kept proper minutes; but in the provinces it is most unusual to find a minute book without gaps of years during which the committee never met.<sup>35</sup> The only sign of trouble between clergy and lay members in those sets of minutes which are complete is to be found in those of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, where there was a certain amount of sparring between the vicar and an awkward individual named Dr. Watts (who on one occasion made the committee write first to the Archdeacon and then to the Education Department to ask whether the vicar had the right to give permission for a musical society to hold an evening meeting in the schoolroom). Even at Tattenhall,

34 N.S. Files, Moreton-in-Marsh.

35 Of provincial M.B.s there are complete minutes from St. John, Chatham; St. James, Clitheroe; Maidenhead N. (Berks. R.O.); Truro Central (Cornwall R.O.); St. Stephen, Salford (Manchester Archives); St. Chad, Shrewsbury (Salop R.O.); Kenilworth N.G. (Warwicks. R.O.).

Cheshire, where an evangelical rector deliberately set up an interdenominational school committee, representing all shades of religious opinion in the village, it did not meet regularly and was quite unable to prevent his successor from enforcing National Society regulations in the '60s.<sup>36</sup>

The only committees which were really successful in obstructing the clergy had nothing to do with the Management Clauses. They were those committees of farmers who were sometimes found as trustees of endowed parochial schools; and their motive was normally a desire to halt educational progress in the person of a reforming clergyman. The trustees of Aughton school in Lancashire quarrelled with the rector in the early 1840s and excluded him from any share in its management. For nearly twenty years they continued to run it on antiquated lines, paying £14 each to a master and mistress for teaching reading to 22 boys and 22 girls and allowing the master to take additional pupils, at a charge of 3/6d a quarter for reading, 2/6d for writing and 2/6d for arithmetic. They presumably felt as did the trustee of the charity school at Whittlesford in Cambridgeshire:

'Now these Parsons... have several times said they ought to have the Ballance put in their hands They want to get the Money into their hands as they have in Most cases all over England But in this School it belongs to the Trustees to hold and to lay out'.

36 St.Chad, Shrewsbury, M.B., 11.4.65; for Tattenhall, see below, pp.397-8. In P.R.O.Ed.9/12, pp.286-7, there is a case at Plaistow N. of a quarrel between the parson and the teacher, in which the other managers took the teacher's part, the Education Department the parson's.

At Whittlesford the clergyman was lucky. The writer was the only surviving trustee, and after his death in 1854 it was possible to change the character of the school altogether. In Aughton the wind of change only blew in 1860 when the trustees invited the rector to take part in the government of the school. He refused, until they agreed to surrender the sole management to him; whereupon he promptly put the school under government inspection.<sup>37</sup>

Many clergy, of course, remained on good terms with such committees because they were in complete agreement with them as to the impolicy of over-educating the poor. The conflict of old and new is nowhere better seen than in the tragi-comedy of the Measand endowed school, which served a district in the immense parish of Bampton, Westmorland. The trustees were the perpetual curate of Mardale and some farmers, with, as chairman, the vicar of Bampton, a zealous and tactless reformer. The situation was comic in the eyes of the Assistant Commissioner of the Schools Inquiry Commission, who visited the school during a time of crisis. The vicar, having got a new scheme of management from the Charity Commissioners, stampeded the other trustees into authorising him to purchase some textbooks; which he bought, together with a bookcase to put them in. The master promptly put them all in the loft, 'as a protest

37 Aughton (Lancs.R.O.) M.B., Statement to Committee of Council, 1861; G.N.Maynard MSS. (Cambs.R.O.) v.6, 24.11.49.

against the spirit of innovation'; the trustees refused to pay for the bookcase on the grounds that they had never agreed to its purchase and the vicar was consequently sued for the debt in the county court. The tragic side of the affair becomes clear when we read the vicar's impassioned letters to the curate of Mardale:

'... The Trustees are under moral obligations to show that there is something like value received by the public for the money already expended...

'...With an endowment of nearly £90 a year or so, we have 10 children of all ages on the school register at Measand and the "work done" there would, I fear suffer in comparison with any dame School I know of. Moreover you know it is vain to look for any improvement under the present regime... it is little better than mockery or delusion to assume the present state of... affairs as in any measure commensurate with the just claims of (illegible) educational requirements. You will excuse my outspoken plainness - as I feel there is a cause - and I neither can nor will be silent, when, as regards Education, I observe almost a famine in our midst, while there is bread enough and to spare for all the School going population of the parish.'<sup>38</sup>

In view of such incidents it is not necessary to assume that all clerical mistrust of lay committees was obscurantist.

National school committees, however, as has been stated, offered no such obstruction. The clergyman was usually chairman and correspondent of the National Society, and of the Education Department if the school was under government. Often there was no committee and he was sole manager; or the committee consisted of himself and his curate.<sup>39</sup> As the person responsible for the school's

38 S.I.C., v.19, pp.313-4; Measand Papers (Archives, Kendal). The account book contains the offending order for, amongst other things, copies of Chambers' 1st, 2nd and 3rd Standard Readers, Cornwell's Geography and Lewis's Grammar; letter to the incumbent of Mardale, 1.2.68. The vicar also quarrelled with the trustees of the Bampton endowed school - S.I.C.v.19, pp. 307-12.

39 As at Wraxall - Ball, op. cit., p.210.

relations with the outside world he normally accepted ultimate financial responsibility;<sup>40</sup> and Victorian public opinion held that supervision of the discipline and curriculum of the school was an inevitable duty of the clergyman and his family. The extent to which this duty was performed varied. The harassed incumbent of a Peel district, with an inadequate stipend, no help, and a population of up to 10,000, was obviously not in a position to spend much time in his school; and it is clear from school records that some more comfortably circumstanced clergy thankfully left it to the curates.<sup>41</sup> But, on the whole, the obligation was conscientiously carried out. Of 145 Anglican schools studied, which have records sufficiently detailed to show what happened, 135 were visited regularly by the clergy, and many of them were very closely supervised indeed.<sup>42</sup> In addition to performing the functions of present-day managers and local administrators, many clergymen filled the roles of L.E.A. organisers and headmasters. The situation which often obtained was summed up by the boys of Ufton Nervet in Berkshire, when, after their rector had been made Bishop of Manchester, they scandalised the village by chalking on the schoolroom door a playground rhyme which in more recent times

40 This point is discussed in chapter 8.

41 *op. William Rogers'* first visit to a National school as a curate at Fulham, when he was sent to reopen it after an extended closure caused by the boys having thrown an inkbottle at the head of one of the other curates - R.H.Hadden, ed., *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, 2nd. edition, 1888, p.46.

42 For further discussion see below, chapters, 5, 6.

has only been applied to teachers: 'Mr. Fraser is a very good man, / He tries to teach us all that he can / Reading, writing, and 'rithmetic, / And when he thinks right he gives us the stick'<sup>43</sup>

The independence of their position enabled some clergy to carry out elaborate experiments in school organisation and curriculum - Richard Dawes, Samuel Best, Stephen Hawtreay, J.S. Henslow, and William Rogers, for example. They wrote text books, published pamphlets on education, became inspectors under diocesan boards and formed the committees of local educational societies. From this class were taken almost all the principals of Anglican training colleges, which produced the bulk of certificated teachers; and also the larger number of Anglican H.M.I.s, who, of course, formed the overwhelming majority of the Inspectorate.<sup>44</sup>

Their importance in the development of nineteenth century elementary education can scarcely be over-estimated, and much of this study will be concerned with their activities.

These, then, were some of the people who acted as promoters of schools. The motives which influenced them, apart from conventions as to the duties of property-owners, have still to be considered.

<sup>43</sup> T. Hughes, James Fraser, 2nd Bishop of Manchester, 1887, p.108.

<sup>44</sup> In view of the amount that was said at the time and later about the appointment of 'young men from the universities', it is surprising to find that they formed a relatively small proportion of the Anglican inspectorate. Of 65 Anglican H.M.I.s between 1839 and 1870, 6 were appointed from university within a few years of taking their degrees; 8 were dons of age and standing; 1 (Frederick Temple) had served in the Education Department and as Principal of Kneller Hall; 4 had been schoolmasters; 2 were domestic chaplains, 1 to a noted school founder (see p.16); all the rest had experience of parish work, and of them, 1 had also been Secretary of the National Society, 2 full-time inspectors for the London Diocesan Board, 2 Principals of training colleges (see Crockford's Clerical Directory; Foster, Alumni Oxonienses; Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses).

One very plausible line of argument may be dismissed immediately. It is certainly true that the Industrial Revolution demanded, and ultimately made inevitable, the creation of an educated labour force; but it is incorrect to assume from this that the Victorian poor were provided with elementary education because industrialists consciously desired employees who could read notices and do sums. On the contrary, as will be shown later,<sup>45</sup> mid-19th. century educationists wasted much time in vainly begging employers to express this wish, because they knew that if they would only do so the resistance shown by many of the poor to education would be broken down. Those employers who said they wanted educated workpeople were nearly always thinking of the higher education of the skilled worker - like the Cheshire farmer who rather surprisingly, considering the views of most farmers, told J.P.Norris, H.M.I., that he would subscribe £15 a year to a good school, because he wanted dairymaids who could read thermometers and men who understood steam-engines.<sup>46</sup> Factory-owners who really concerned themselves with education were influenced by wider motives - the belief, as W.G.Rimmer states in his study of Marshalls of Leeds, that 'education was indispensable to successful living'.<sup>47</sup>

45 See below, pp. 482-3.

46 S.C. 1866, q. 1978.

47 Op.cit., p.107; op. G.Courtauld on the use of education to cure the 'two grand miseries among our workpeople' - spending on 'selfish personal indulgence' and failure to prepare girls for their duties as wives and mothers - C.H.Ward-Jackson, A History of Courtaulds, 1941, p.45.

When Titus Salt employed 'whatever art could invent or money buy' to build his factory schools at Saltaire in 1867, and ornamented the entrance with two of his four stone lions, 'emblematical of VIGILANCE and DETERMINATION',<sup>48</sup> he was thinking not merely of the 3 Rs. but of those Victorian ideas of progress given enthusiastic, if confused, expression by the committee of a small Wesleyan school in Salisbury ten years before:

'The world has rolled onward - Truth and Religion, Virtue and Morality, Art and Science, have cried onward. The rich territory of intellect is laid open, and the golden mines of thought are accessible to all. Our Scholars are now invited to soar high, and walk the paths of science, talking with freedom of yonder stars, telling of worlds of which their forefathers never dreamed, to ascertain at their own fireside by the lightning flash passing events in distant lands, to descend into the earth, and there explore the mysteries of ages past, to master the Surveyor's Chain and Euclid's Elements, to sketch nature with the utmost ease and facility.....'

Proficiency 'in these and other subjects of a useful and practical nature', they concluded, 'is the privilege of the rising generation of the present day';<sup>49</sup> and Sir Titus would undoubtedly have agreed with them. To enable the rising generation to rise in society (if they were talented and industrious) was certainly an aim in some cases. As the mill-owner of Lees, near Oldham, said to the boys of his factory school, if they used the education it offered, they need no longer work on his mill floor:

"If you see a number of Irishmen, what are they doing?" "They are carrying bricks", was the reply. "And if you see a number of Scotchmen, what are they doing?" "The Scotchmen are telling them where to put them", was the reply. So might he say of those who

48 A.Holroyd, Saltaire and its Founder, 2nd.edition, 1871,p.19.

Sir Titus had bought the rejected Trafalgar Square lions.

49. Salisbury, A.R.1856, (Radnor correspondence).



took care to educate themselves'.<sup>50</sup>

Although it is unlikely that they would have given the view such extreme expression, there were many Anglican clergy who considered that one function of a good school was to promote social mobility; and the goodness of a school was often illustrated by the publication of a list of ex-pupils who had bettered themselves in after-life.<sup>51</sup>

This, however went too far for many people, even if they were zealous in founding schools.<sup>52</sup> There can be no doubt that the one motive that was universally felt was that of providing a means, through the schools, of maintaining social order, which in the eyes of all but a tiny minority of secularists was inextricably involved with the provision of a religious education. The absence of this, it was felt, produced vice and crime; its presence, order and happiness. Commenting on the country's failure to provide it, Kay-Shuttleworth's younger brother wrote in 1850, 'Can anyone look on, for the next half century without dismay? Are not the cause of religion, the cause of morality, the cause of

50 Oldham Chronicle, 7.4.60 (report of prize-giving at Zion Br. school, Lees, in Lancs R.O.); cp. Edmund Potter (the calico printer) - '... be assured that there is no real bar to honourable ambition and success with even a little education' (Trade Schools, 1854, p.14).

51 Examples, S.C. 1866, q.626; Minutes, 1863-4, pp.122-25 (apparently the Sutherland school at Lilleshall, Salop, and Mrs. Tollemache's school at Acton, Ches.) - cp. C.H. Bromby (of Cheltenham Training College) - 'To educate the working classes would be to restore the old relations of society, by which natural ability and praiseworthy industry may receive their healthy encouragement by the prospect of temporal advancement'. (The Church, the Privy Council, and the Working Classes, 1850, p.47).

52 e.g. Bishop Wilberforce - 'they did not want everyone to be learned men, or to make everyone unfit to follow the plough, or else the rest of us would have nothing to eat' - quoted in D. McClatchey, Oxfordshire Clergy, 1777-1869, 1960, p.143.

social order, and the future prosperity of this country, all compromised, deeply compromised, by our present inaction?'

'It was the street education of the masses', wrote a Bristol school manager protesting against the Revised Code, 'that burnt down gaols, mayor's residence and bishop's palace, and threatened destruction to the whole of Bristol, in the riots of 1832. Shall our past efforts in this cause be thrown away, and education be thrown back a quarter of a century?'

The contrast between the disorders of the early 19th. century and the reaction of Lancashire operatives to the Cotton Famine was commonly held to be a proof of the value of education. A comment in the annual report of the British and Foreign School Society for 1863-4 was typical:

'To what but the spread of a sound and scriptural education can we attribute the improved tastes, the orderly demeanour, the patient endurance, the kindly sympathy, now so prevalent among the poorer portion of our fellow-countrymen and country-women?'

To the Victorian there was no incongruity in identifying social and religious aims. 'The sound political economist', wrote Mary Carpenter, the Unitarian philanthropist, 'will never find his doctrines at variance with the law written by the Heavenly Father in the hearts of His creatures'.

The mixture of motives is well seen in the development of the Londonderry colliery schools. Lord Londonderry was an aggressively

53 Joseph Kay, *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe*, 1850, v.2, p.507; *P.P.*, 1862, XLI,337,p.27; *B.F.S.*, A.R. 1863-4, p.30.

54 M.Carpenter, *op.cit.*,p.vi.

high Tory who had been a furious opponent of the Mines Act of 1844. His decision to establish systematic elementary education in his mining villages was apparently taken purely in consequence of the disastrous strike of 1844 in the Durham coalfield. Education was to be provided, 'To correct this state of things, - the natural consequence of uneducated men having none to lean upon for instruction but each other, - and to lay the foundation for a healthier feeling and better knowledge among his own people'.<sup>55</sup>

After his death his widow (the heiress who brought the Durham estates into the family) continued as an active and dominant patron of the schools:

'Your comforts, your homes and your schools have been anxiously watched over', she told a gathering of nearly 4,000 pitmen in 1856, 'The latter have long enjoyed a proud pre-eminence; and although I have refused to place them under Government inspection and supervision, I know that they are well managed, and it is your own fault if you take your children away too soon and thus deprive them of the benefit of the good education that is provided for them. You well know how necessary that is for success in after life...'

She made one of her clergymen inspect them regularly and demanded detailed annual reports, some of which survive. The peroration of one of them, a neat statement of the mixed motives involved, reads as follows:

'I earnestly hope and believe that you will reap the fruits of the good seed sown by seeing a more intelligent and efficient body of workpeople springing up around you, and still more by finding hereafter that you have been the honored instrument

55 Report of the Commissioner For Mines, 1846, pp.14-17; Londonderry broke the strike in his own pits by evictions and by importing labour from his Irish estates - Lady Londonderry, Frances Anne, 1858, pp.232-5.

in the hands of God by whom hundreds and thousands of these children have been trained in the knowledge of those Holy Scriptures which are able to make them wise unto Salvation through faith in Christ Jesus.' <sup>56</sup>

The assumption that a scriptural education, along with the elements, was all that was needed to civilise the working-class child was common enough. The committee of High Wycombe British girls' school, for instance, congratulated themselves at the time of the Revised Code, 'that the Government have come round to their old-fashioned notions that "reading, writing, and arithmetic" are the essentials in the education of the class of children for whom schools such as this are intended'; the committee of the National school of St. George's, Hanover Square, expressed identical views, but added, as befitted representatives of the established church, 'the religious instruction being left in the hands of those who are the authoritative channels for imparting it...'. <sup>57</sup> But it was not logically inevitable that the motives under discussion should lead to this assumption, and much that is of interest in this period was the work of those who deduced the opposite - that education, to be truly religious and civilising, must of necessity extend beyond the elements. This point will be further considered in chapter 7. Here we may simply note the diversity of approaches. Some - Archbishop Whateley and the secularist William Ellis, for instance - advocated direct teaching of social economy; others believed that the best means of

56 Londonderry, op.cit., p.278; Report on the Londonderry Schools, 1858.

57 B.F.S.A.R., 1862-3, pp. 58-9; P.P., 1862, XLI, 337, p.517.

regenerating society was to revolutionise the working-class home by teaching domestic economy to girls. Dawes and his supporters, Professor Henslow in Suffolk, and the Lytteltons in Worcestershire all insisted on the importance of experimental science, Dawes, indeed arguing that no education could be truly religious which did not equip a child to cope with possible conflicts between religious belief and scientific discovery. Others put their faith in physiology and the laws of health, in Latin, or Euclid, or Grammar - the list could be extended almost indefinitely. The views of this influential section of educational opinion were well summed up by Francis Close in his statement to the Newcastle Commission that 'for the last 20 years of my life I have become more and more persuaded that the operatives and other children must be won and elevated by the attractions of science, literature, and the fine arts'.<sup>58</sup>

This expansively optimistic approach had its dangers in a period when mass education was in its infancy and was working with wholly inadequate resources of money and of teaching power. At its best - in the hands of men like Dawes, or Ellis, or Henslow, or Stephen Hawtrey, it produced teaching which by any standards appears to have been remarkable; at its worst, when implemented by half-educated teachers or foolish managers it resulted in the sort of caricature which Dickens drew in Mr. M'Choakumchild and led to the reaction which produced the Revised Code. But whatever view be taken of it, it is a factor to be reckoned with in the period under discussion.

58 See below, chapter 7; N.C., v.5, p.124.

As has already been stated, the majority of schools with which this study is concerned were Anglican, and in the majority of Anglican schools the parochial clergyman was the key figure. Chapter 1 has called attention to the great revival in parochial life of the early 19th century; and unless we appreciate the position which, in the eyes of most churchmen, the school held in the parish, it will be impossible to understand their attitude towards the state or towards advocates of an undenominational system in the controversies of mid-Victorian England. The position of the Anglican church as 'a visible establishment recognised by the Law of the Land and entitled to the aid and protection of the State' was, of course, changing rapidly. But almost all the clergy held that it still, as the established church, had the right and duty to provide for the education of all - even when, as at Tattenhall, they recognised the existence of denominational differences.<sup>59</sup> Confronted by a great task of evangelisation at home, they saw in the parochial school the best means of fulfilling their duty. As Archdeacon Sinclair, the treasurer of the National Society, said in one of his charges:

'... the faithful pastor can enjoy no peace of mind unless he uses every means in his power of bringing to school, and retaining there, as many as possible of the rising generation committed to his charge; and unless he effectually

59 The phrase quoted was used by an elderly high church parson in 1854 - Baker, op. cit., p.170. Note the attempts of many diocesan boards to provide machinery for middle class education.

combines religious, moral, and secular instruction in his educational system. His main object is thoroughly to develop all the faculties, mental and bodily, of the youthful candidate for Heaven, and to direct them, by God's blessing, to what is right'.<sup>60</sup>

G.F.A. Best has called attention to the fact that 'in lower class parishes ... education was the primary means by which the clergy performed their function as they conceived it'. An example on the grand scale was the work of W.F. Hook in Leeds - 27 schools built in 22 years. The poorer and more disreputable the district, the more important were the schools - two men as different as William Rogers (whose remarkable schools of St. Thomas, Charterhouse, will be described later) and the ritualist Charles Lowder in St. George's-in-the-East were agreed on this point. Children, with their lives ahead of them, were a more hopeful proposition than adults; and care for the children was 'a ready passport to the hearts of the parents'. It made an opening by means of which the clergy might reach people they would otherwise never see, for, as Rogers remarked of his coster parishioners, the church was 'the last kind of place they feel disposed to enter'. Control of their schools was for such men an essential factor in the success of their mission.<sup>61</sup>

60 J.Sinclair, Thirty-two Years of the Church of England, 1876, p.270.

61 G.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars, 1964, p.409; C.J.Stranks, Dean Hook, 1954, p.65; W.Rogers, The Educational Prospects of St.Thomas, Charterhouse, 1854, pp.11-13; C.Lowder, Ten Years in St.George's Mission, 1867, pp.49,57.

Even in more settled parishes in towns and in the country the situation just described obtained to some extent. 'Many are the instances', wrote Archdeacon Sandford, '...where religion has been recommended by the peaceable fruits of righteousness transplanted from the school to the domestic hearth'. But it would be more true to say that in such places the school was intended to serve as a cornerstone, only less important than the church, of parochial life. Sandford's manual for parish clergy, quoted above, was entitled, 'Parochialia; or Church, School, and Parish', and devoted 134 pages to the organisation and methods which ought to obtain in the school. Two of a series of six 'Parochial Papers' written by John Armitstead, vicar of Sandbach, for a similar purpose, were devoted entirely to the school. 'My great want', wrote the incumbent of Blackbourton in 1854, 'is a day school. I am shorn of my strength entirely (sic) for want of one'.<sup>62</sup> A case in Oxfordshire shows a parson prepared to maintain his right to educate all the children of his parish even against his own superiors - Rev. Edward Elton, of Wheatley, who succeeded in forcing Bishop Wilberforce's butler to send his children, not to the Bishop's school at Cuddesdon, but to Elton's school, because his home was in Wheatley parish.<sup>63</sup> Logically this duty was not confined to the poor; and though most clergy

62 J. Sandford, *Parochialia*, 1845, pp. 67-200 (quotation, p. 68); J. Armitstead, *Parochial Papers*, 1851-55; Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

63 McClatchey, *op. cit.*, p. 156.



did not look beyond the working classes (who, as one parson said, could be caught younger and more easily forced to attend regularly) some accepted the logic and provided for the middle class as well.

'I also found', wrote Rev. Barham Zincke after a visit to Dawes's school at King's Somborne, 'that no child of any class was sent out of the parish for education. This explains everything.'

Whether, if Dawes had had children, they also would have been educated in his school, we cannot know; but an occasional parson may be found who was prepared even for this - like Archdeacon Sandford, whose son Henry, a future H.M.I., went to his father's village school.<sup>64</sup> The position of the school as part of the network of parochial institutions and the focal point of welfare activities<sup>65</sup> may be illustrated by two striking instances, one from London and one from a Hampshire village.

Robert Gregory, who died in 1911 as Dean of St. Paul's, began his adult life as a Wesleyan, in business in Liverpool (where he made a considerable amount of money), was converted to Tractarianism, went to Oxford, was ordained, and served as curate to Keble's brother. After the death of his wife he moved

64 S.I.C., v.15, pp.332-3 (Worfield); F.B. Zincke, *Why Must We Educate the Whole People?*, 1850, p.47; H. Sandford, *The Gradation of Schools*, 1869, p.6 - another instance, S.I.C., v.5, q.15, 653.

65 This was not confined to church schools. The Philips family of Prestwich Park, Whitefield, built an elaborate structure of welfare and social activities around Park Lane British school - notably the local brass band.

to London in search of 'more strenuous labours'. In 1853 he was appointed to St. Mary the Less, Lambeth, and devoted his money and his business abilities to the service of a district of 15,000 people, with an ecclesiastical income of £90 p.a. He went through the parish like a rushing mighty wind, galvanising the committee of a moribund parochial school, and in the process sweeping aside the master, whose agonised protest may still be read in the minute book.<sup>66</sup> Within a few years he had established, in addition to the normal parochial societies (District Visiting, Benevolent, Penny Clothing club) an organisation which obtained government sewing contracts for women in the parish and was run without loss while paying double the ordinary contractors' rates; and a hierarchy of schools, including a School of Art of some eminence (which had the doubtful distinction of inventing the Doulton figure); an orphanage for daughters of professional men who were trained as pupil teachers in the parochial schools; schools for tradesmen's children, charging 6d. to 1/-, with provision for promising boys to attend free; orthodox National

66 'For 7 months last past, so entirely has my position in the school been altered, I may not select boys for clothing; I may not be trusted with the Minutes of the Committee; I may not be consulted about any proposed changes in the School, however much they may concern my teaching duties, my leisure hours, and my Salary, that I am but one remove from a mere automatum (sic)...' M.B.(G.L.C.R.O.) 17.8.55. For Gregory see also, Account of the Schools and Charitable Associations of St. Mary, Lambeth, 1853 (G.L.C.R.O.); his evidence to S.I.C. (v.5); and W.H. Hutton, ed., The Autobiography of Robert Gregory, 1912.

schools charging 3d.; schools in the poorest part of the parish charging 1d., and partially supported from the parochial charities, which had been reconstituted in a scheme which Gregory obtained from Chancery; and free evening schools three nights a week for the very poor. He took full advantage of government grants, while remaining a strong high churchman, fiercely opposed to the conscience clause, and the vocal champion of the National Society, of which he ultimately became treasurer.

An even more remarkable example of parochial organisation centred on the schools existed at Abbott's Ann, in Hampshire. The rector, Rev. Samuel Best, was a friend of Dawes and an educationist of standing, whose schools rivalled those of King's Somborne, giving the older children instruction in 'the useful and practical branches of science, of the philosophy of nature, or of the chemistry of agriculture', as well as in Latin and French; but his claim to originality lies in the way in which he used the schools to build up a sort of private welfare state in his parish.<sup>67</sup> 'The position of a Parochial Minister has led me to the conviction that the School is the right basis of a parochial system of provident exertion... the instrument of the social improvement and renovation of the parish'. Instead of separate clothing clubs, savings banks and benefit societies,

67 On Best, see his evidence to N.C.(v.5), S.I.C. (v.4); and S.Best, *A Manual of Parochial Institutions*, 2nd edition, 1849. This was written primarily for the information of his parishioners; for quotations, pp. 14,26.

as in most parishes, he established a Provident Society whose purposes were stated to be provision for sickness, old age, or advancement in life, and an annual supply of clothes, bedding, fuel and hops. In addition to functioning as a normal savings bank and clothing club, the society provided medical attendance for its members, paying the local doctor 1/3d. per annum for children, 2/6d. for those aged between 15 and 40 and 3/4d. for the over-40s; and also made loans to members, on the security of other members. Best and other wealthy parishioners subscribed to the society and all the fees for churching were paid into its funds; in 1849, after eighteen years of existence, it had a reserve of £1000 in government stock. Two thirds of the adult population were members; parents could take up membership for children under three; but the peculiar feature of the society was that every child in the school was required to join and contribute at least 1d. a week. These payments were entered on a School Card sent to the parents weekly, which also recorded the child's attendance and progress; and in the case of families with children of school age, the premiums payable were adjusted according to the child's attendance and good conduct record. One half of the payments additional to 1d. might be repaid each year in clothes for the child. In addition, to aid those carrying 'the heaviest burdens' (i.e., the parents of children of school age or under) there was a School Coal and Rice Fund, which allowed 1/2d. a week for each satisfactory Weekly Card, 1/4d. a

week for each Sunday school attendance and  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a week for every subscriber to the Provident Fund who was under three years old. This went to reduce the price of 1 cwt. of coal a month, calculated at cost price. Other subsidiary organisations open to members of the Provident Society were the Baby-linen Society, the Allotments Society, and the Library; but the whole revolved around the school.

Few clergy had the energy, the resources, or the organising ability of Gregory or Best; few parishes, therefore had so elaborate a structure as Lambeth or Abbott's Ann. Nevertheless, all but the most inactive attempted work which differed from that described only in degree rather than in kind. It was this association between school and parish, quite as much as the simple issue of doctrinal teaching, which led the majority of clergy to look with suspicion at secularists, advocates of undenominational education, the Education Department (in many of its moods) and even at attempts to persuade them to cooperate with other clergy in founding joint schools for several parishes - at anything, in fact, which threatened 'to make the parochial clergyman feel that the parochial school is no longer part of the Church'.<sup>68</sup> On balance, this attitude probably did far more good than harm, since it harnessed much of the zeal of the Anglican revival to the cause of mass education, and gave to many schools a significance in the life of the community which

<sup>68</sup> Phrase used by E.P.Vaughan, *The Parochial Clergy Turned Out of the Parish Schools, 1849*, p.11. For the circumstances, see Ball, *op.cit.*, pp.136, 216-7.

their successors rarely possess; but by preventing churchmen from experimenting with non-parochial schools even in places where parish schools were manifestly inappropriate<sup>69</sup> it created an inflexibility which helped to make the 1870 reorganisation inevitable.

Such, then, were some of the motives which influenced the promoters of schools. No mention has been made of inter-denominational rivalries, which certainly affected some individuals and some areas. The purpose of this chapter has been to point out that in the personalities and motives behind the foundation of both British and denominational schools (except the motive last discussed), there were far more similarities than differences of outlook; and therefore, both for this reason and because the overwhelming majority of public elementary schools in England were denominational,<sup>70</sup> and the bulk of these Anglican, it is unrealistic to describe mid-Victorian schools as if their main preoccupation was the conflict between denominational and undenominational education. This question, in fact, always bulked more largely in parliamentary speeches than in the schools themselves, and will therefore be considered later, in the context of religious problems and the struggle over the conscience clause.

69 E.g. poor parishes in large towns, without anyone to subscribe; country parishes too small to provide sufficient children for a satisfactory school.

70 The Census figures quoted in note 32, above, become still more striking if the British figure is compared with the Catholic, 311, and the Wesleyan, 363. Both these groups were denominational; neither had been seriously at work for more than a decade; yet their combined total already exceeded that of British schools and when added to the Anglican total still further increases the denominational majority. The position in Wales was, of course, different.

CHAPTER 3.MANAGERS AND THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT<sup>1</sup>

As J.R.B.Johnson has remarked, the Education Department and the voluntary bodies were engaged in a common educational task - that of civilising the working classes.<sup>2</sup> The Minutes of 1846, indeed, were conclusive evidence that the Department had accepted the necessity of acting through the voluntary schools. That both sides gained from the partnership is clear; but it is also true that their method of progress was often like that supposed to exist when husky dogs are pulling a sledge - much snarling and grumbling and occasional attempts to get as far away as possible from the other partner. Until about 1860 there was fundamental agreement between the sides, masked by petty friction; from the early '60s increasing divergencies appeared, not in basic aims, but as to the way in which those aims ought to be achieved, and the relations between the partners were modified, although not changed completely, by the Act of 1870. This study is concerned with the first stage, and the way in which the second developed from it.

1. The term 'Education Department' was in common use in official circles long before it was officially constituted (see Ball, op.cit.,p.197) and will therefore be used, for convenience' sake, in describing the period before, as well as after,1856.

2. Op.cit.,p.97.

The personnel of the Department does not, at first sight, seem to be one which would make friction inevitable. We have already noted the close connection between the Anglican Inspectorate and Anglican school promoters. A similar situation obtained amongst the Catholics, though not in the case of undenominational inspectors.<sup>3</sup> The two men who between them held the Lord Presidency for most of this period, Lansdowne and Granville, were, as has been shown in chapter 2, patrons on the grand scale, whilst Lansdowne and his chief, Lord John Russell, represented the interests of the British and Foreign School Society.<sup>4</sup> Two of the Vice-Presidents, Adderley and Bruce, were active in the educational affairs of the West Midlands and South Wales respectively. But the permanent officials were a different matter. By his marriage, Kay-Shuttleworth entered the patron class, and after he left office he behaved in a way that was typical of the active patron, in his supervision of elementary schools on the Gawthorpe estate, his re-organisation of a notable endowed school (Giggleswick), his encouragement of night schools and his patronage of the Manchester and Salford Committee;<sup>5</sup> and by the time of his opposition to the Revised

3. The most influential Catholic H.M.I., S.N. Stokes, was a former secretary of the Poor School Committee, while others were converts, two of whom, Marshall and J.R. Morell, lost their jobs because, in the opinion of the Department, their religious zeal outran their discretion. It may be significant that the undenominational Inspector who seems to have been most successful in establishing good relations with the schools was J.D. Morell, a former Congregationalist minister.

4. Lansdowne was a Vice-President, Russell President of the Society - Binns, op.cit., pp.72, 171.

5. Smith, op.cit., pp.233-4, 250-5, 305-10, 327-8.



Code, and by contrast with Lingen, he had become a hero to most school managers. But while he was in office, things were very different. His Manchester Radical antecedents aroused suspicion immediately, which was increased in Anglicans by his obvious desire in 1839-40 to limit denominational activity as far as was politically possible; while at the same time he offended orthodox supporters of British as well as National schools by his over-zealous advocacy of new teaching methods.<sup>6</sup> British committees believed that he had inspired Tremenhoe's hostile report on their schools in London, which precipitated a major quarrel between the government and the British and Foreign School Society; and no sooner was that settled than the Society split over the Minutes of 1846, and lost much dissenting support to the Voluntarists, who attacked Kay-Shuttleworth as fiercely as ever Archdeacon Denison did.<sup>7</sup> Anglican suspicions, largely allayed by the Minutes of 1846, were reactivated by the controversy over the Management Clauses, which attempted to ensure lay representation on the committees of management of church schools. Coinciding as it did with the crisis in the Church of England produced by the Hampden affair and the Gorham judgement, it assumed an importance out of all proportion to its real significance in educational history; and even Anglicans who felt that Denison went too far,

6. See Johnson, *op.cit.*, pp.110-13.

7. See Ball, *op.cit.*, pp.48-58, 127-8.

saw Kay-Shuttleworth as, to use Professor Chadwick's phrase, 'an underhand manipulator through whom the state interfered in the private affairs of the church'.<sup>8</sup>

If Kay-Shuttleworth was disliked partly for his views on education and partly because of general developments over which he had little control, Lingen owed his unpopularity much more to his own personality. At the time of his appointment, Lansdowne expressed doubts as to whether his manner was sufficiently conciliatory.<sup>9</sup> The tone of his correspondence fully confirms these doubts and certainly helped to cause the outburst of resentment against the Department in 1864, of which, however, the victim was Lowe, not Lingen.<sup>10</sup> J.R.B. Johnson and A.L.Bishop have pointed to the negative quality of almost all his policy, resulting, in Johnson's view, partly from the fact that Lingen was a secularist, and therefore out of sympathy with almost everyone with whom he had to deal, and partly from the traumatic experience of 1849, when Kay-

8.O.Chadwick, op.cit., p.343. This bitter, confused and indeterminate struggle is described from Kay-Shuttleworth's angle in Smith, op.cit., pp.135-8; from that of the National Society in Burgess, op.cit., pp.145-157; that of general church history in Chadwick, op.cit., pp.342-5; and, for the reasons given above and on p.30, will not be considered in detail here.

9.B. J.E.S., June 1968, p.140. For a full and most illuminating discussion of Lingen, largely drawn upon here, see Johnson, op.cit., pp.414-434. Dr Johnson attributes less of the Department's failure during the period to Lingen's personal deficiencies than does A.L.Bishop. Lingen's habit of writing personal congratulations on especially good reports suggests that he made some attempts to overcome them (e.g. Christ Church, Crewe, G.10.10.65; Acton G. (Ches.R.O.) Report, 1866; Pendeen (Cornwall.R.O.) 4.7.66)

10. See his letters in P.R.O.Rd.9/4, Ed.9/12; op.Smith, op.cit., p.272 (an H.M.I.); A.Jones, Principles of Privy Council Legislation, 1859 (a teacher); A School Manager in the North, On the Administration of the Parliamentary Grant, 1864. This misleading pseudonym concealed Canon Cromwell, Principal of Durham Training College and Coleridge's successor at St.Mark's (S.C.1865, qq.2657-8).

Shuttleworth was struck down and almost all the Department laid low with breakdowns, as a result of overwork; so that he was led to resist any policy which might increase pressure upon the officials who had to administer it.

It is certainly true that most of the few innovations in educational policy in the '50s appear to have been forced on Lingen by pressures which he was unable to resist. The Inspectors, as Dr. Johnson has pointed out, 'tried to act as educational statesmen, and tried to drag the Department after them into their commitments';<sup>11</sup> but it is significant that the only one who had much success was J.P.Norris.<sup>12</sup> This he owed largely to the special relationship which he established, as Inspector for the West Midlands, with Lord Granville in his private capacity of patron of schools and educational activities in Staffordshire. On a more trivial plane, the Department was forced to undertake a campaign to improve handwriting because Palmerston complained to it of the writing of government clerks, alleging that 'The great bulk of the lower and middle orders write hands too small and indistinct, and do not form their letters...'<sup>13</sup> An example of pressure exerted from outside government circles altogether may be seen in the

11. Op.cit., p.415.

12. He at least elicited a tepid support for voluntary half-time in agriculture, prize schemes and registration—see below, pp.468-82. For private reports by Norris on Granville's school at Shelton, see P.R.O.30/29, Box 23, Part 2, 29.10.55; Box 24, Part 2, 24.9.62.

13. Minutes 1854-5, p.18, note.

activities of Miss Burdett-Coutts. She was much interested in Whitelands College and as early as 1844 had sent the orphan of a friend of Dickens to train as a schoolmistress. This appears to have suggested to her that it would be to the advantage of both the schools and the middle classes if their daughters were trained to become elementary teachers rather than governesses - giving them 'an honourable independence and greater advantages than are offered elsewhere'. She drafted a circular to this effect as early as 1855, and after discussing it with Bishop Tait of London, John Louisdale, the secretary of the National Society and F.C.Cook, H.M. Inspector of women's Training Colleges, sent it to Granville in 1857 with the information that she proposed to circulate it to all rural deans and middle-class schools for girls. Granville immediately gave it official approval and sent the Department's circular on the subject for her to modify. The suggestion had little effect,<sup>14</sup> the 'English Journal of Education' attacking it on the curious grounds that the only deterrent to wholesale marriages between squires or parsons and schoolmistresses was the lowness of their birth and that public money should not be used to educate wives for men of fortune; but Miss. Burdett-Coutts was also responsible for an experiment of more importance in the 1860s, which will be discussed later,<sup>15</sup> These are both

14. Gregory's orphanage was an exception.

15. The draft is in B.M. Add. MSS. 46404 pp. 19-21; correspondence with Granville, P.R. O. 30/29, Box 19. Part 1; English Journal of Education 1858, pp. 148-152; E. Johnson, Letters from Charles Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts, 1953, pp. 57-8, 69-70; for School Unions see below, pp. 491-5.

instances of a powerful outside influence pushing the permanent officials into action.

It would, however, be unjust to Lingen to assume that official deficiencies in this period resulted simply from his personal disinclination to take positive action. The *raison d'être* of the Department - the spending of public money to encourage voluntary effort and improve education - posed, as Dr. Johnson has pointed out, a perpetual dilemma - whether to encourage effort at the cost of lowering educational standards, or to maintain standards and refuse recognition to genuine effort.<sup>16</sup> Lingen's attitude was consistent throughout - duty to the public and to education alike demanded that standards should not be relaxed, and that what he called 'the cry for larger grants more *laxly* administered' should at all costs be resisted:

It is an ungracious and unpopular doctrine to preach, but it is of the essence of the Govt. scheme to meet and to increase, not to supersede, other contributions...I am strongly of the opinion that the plea of "difficulty" ought not to be met with "more and more money", beyond a certain point, without...notice to Parlt. and the country...'

On these grounds Lingen opposed the Capitation Grant of 1853, its extension to mixed schools under mistresses, and the provision of an unlimited number of Queen's Scholarships for training - actions which made him appear an enemy of educational progress.<sup>17</sup>

16. J.R.B.Johnson, *op.cit.*, p.211.

17. P.R.O.30/29, Box 23, Part 1, 19.4.54; Part 2, 20.8.53; Box 24, Part 1, 14.2.58; Ed.9/12, pp.311-2.

The same principle led him in the '60s to resist the demand that payment by results should be applied consistently by examining all schools, whether under certificated teachers or not - a policy praised by educational historians.<sup>18</sup> But though at times this inflexibility may have served the cause of education, it made for bad relations with individual school managers. Any manager who just failed to meet the conditions for a grant, knowing his school's difficulties and his own efforts, could plead with perfect sincerity, and often with strong justification, that his was a special case, deserving of special treatment. The administrator saw things differently. As Frederick Temple (who, as a Department official and a future Archbishop, was well placed to view the situation with detachment) said in 1856;

'The central authority struggles to guard its trust by rules which are right on the whole, but tyrannical in detail - and dares not relax those rules when they ought to be relaxed, because experience proves to demonstration that one justifiable relaxation inevitably admits a hundred unjustifiable'.<sup>19</sup>

Even in hands more friendly to managers than those of Lingen, the administration of the grant would, given this dilemma, have been bound to leave behind it a trail of disappointment and resentment.

18. But see below, p. 370.

19. Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 270.

Relations between the Department and school managers were not helped by the way in which most of them did business. Later chapters will describe the struggles of officials to induce committees to keep accurate registers and systematic accounts. H.M. Inspectors complained of the amount of their time which managers wasted,<sup>20</sup> while managers complained equally of the demands made upon them by the Department. The committee of Evesham British school, which was active and experienced, nevertheless left as much of the paper work as possible to the master - 'those complicated Schedules, most vexatious'; - and at the end of 1866 their treasurer had his statement returned three times because of mistakes in the arithmetic. 'In towns or large villages', wrote the incumbent of Little Tey to Muirhead Mitchell, H.M.I., in 1855, 'your ship-load of schedules, day-books, ledgers, minutes, and routine would be all necessary and important, for us it would be labour in vain...'<sup>21</sup> When managers set about applying for a grant they often seem to have had only the vaguest notion of what was involved. The influence of gossip and rumour during the Management Clauses controversy, for example, may be seen in the anxieties of the promoter of Kirtling school:

20. See below, pp. 332, 434; Ball, op.cit., p. 212 - the pre-Revised Code relations between managers and H.M.I.s are discussed pp. 209-218, and I do not propose to repeat it in this context.

21. Evesham Br. B., L.B. (Worcs R.O.) 1.12.65, 15.1.67; Minutes, 1855-6, p. 394.

'I feel very much disposed if possible not to accept any Government or public assistance...as I understand if we do so that we shall hand over the Control of it to Government Inspectors...'

and a month later, when on a visit, he wrote:

'I have been speaking to the Clergyman of this place who tells me that they in no way interfere in a disagreeable Manner with his superintendance of the School. I believe the Government Grant is given on Condition that the School is conducted upon their plan which is I believe one in which religious instruction is either totally omitted or at any rate made a secondary Consideration and if such is the case nothing would induce me to accept relief on those terms'.

while in contrast, the committee of St. John's Chathan, appear to have thought that all they had to do to get an annual grant was to request the master to 'take the necessary steps to procure a certificate from the committee of Privy Council on education at the next examination'.<sup>22</sup>

Harry Chester, who was for nearly twenty years the second-in-command in the Department, complained of the way in which, instead of sending a proper application, people would write 'immense letters full of useless details' or, worse still, come to London for (what is called a "personal interview" at the Council Office... The public have little idea how much the time of public officers is wasted, and (let me add) how much their temper is tried by unnecessary, and therefore useless interviews'. H.M. Inspectors of all denominations reported that even when schools became grant-aided, managers continually missed opportunities for grants through ignorance. They could not bring themselves to work their way through the volumes of Minutes to find out what was available.

22. Kitling correspondence (Cambs. R.O.) 23.1.49, 21.2.49 (from Col. North); St. John, Chatham, M.B., 4.1.55.



If they did so, they could not understand the legal language and had to appeal to H.M. Inspectors or the representatives of the voluntary societies to explain it. It may well have been his experience with managers as a leading member of the Worcester Diocesan Board which caused C.B. Adderley to devote his time as Vice-President to 'consolidating the accumulated Minutes of Council'; but according to one Inspector even the Code, when complete, helped little, since so few people were prepared to spend 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. in buying it. The ignorance of many managers remained remarkable, and a source of constant irritation to Department officials.<sup>23</sup>

The financial aspects of the grant system will be discussed later; this section is concerned with the effects upon the schools which the grant system was designed to produce and the side effects which, without design, resulted from it. The building of a school involved a large initial outlay and, especially in country districts, many managers who had no intention of accepting regular grants, applied for a building grant. By 1865, in England alone more than 1,200 schools not in receipt of annual grants were listed as having had building grants since 1839.<sup>24</sup> The acceptance of government

23. H. Chester, Hints on the Building and Management of Schools, 1860, pp. 4-5; Minutes, 1854-5, p. 662; 1855-6, pp. 394-5; 1856-7, pp. 407, 457, 490; 1859-60, p. 139; 1860-1, p. 128; Child-Pemberton, op. cit., p. 166.

24. The exact figure is 1226, excluding schools which received Treasury grants before 1839, schools stated to have been closed, schools which were refused grants under the Code, and Ragged and Reformatory schools. This figure, however, cannot be entirely accurate, as other evidence shows that the record of closures is not complete. The financial side of the building grant regulations is discussed below, chapter 8.

aid involved first of all the acceptance of an investigation as to whether the school was necessary and of an appropriate size; then close supervision of the choice of site and of the design of the building. The purpose was to make sure that the site was freehold, accessible, large enough and reasonably healthy, and that the building was sound and not excessively costly. Chester believed that the supervision of sites did great good and was recognised by managers as a useful check on hasty action;

'...they have scolded and complained, and said that we were without bowels, and have attributed the greatest possible cruelty to us. Perhaps a week or a fortnight afterwards the same persons would come back, and say, "We are so much obliged to you now...We are quite satisfied it was a very bad one..."'.

The chief difficulty here was in large cities, especially in London, where suitable freehold sites were almost impossible to obtain, and where some schools were excluded from the grant in consequence - a problem to which F.C.Cook, H.M.I. for the metropolitan area, constantly called attention throughout his period of office.<sup>25</sup> The submission of the building plans to the Department architect was intended to prevent both extravagance and cheeseparing, and from this point of view was useful. It also saved many committees from putting up a building basically unsuitable for the purpose. John Armitstead, indeed, advised clergy not to trust an inexperienced local architect, but to go straight to the Department for advice. This advice was

25. Occasional concessions were made to powerful patrons - above, p. 17; N.C.v.6,q.671; Minutes, 1851-2, v.2, pp.36-7; 1852-3, v.2, pp.32-3; 1855-6, p.304; 1858-9, pp.17-18.

given in accordance with the suggestions of official memoranda, and accounts for the great uniformity of style visible in the schools of whatever denomination built during this period with government aid.<sup>26</sup>

Other conditions were that the trust deed should be properly drawn and enrolled; that it should make provision for a committee of management; and that the right of entry of H.M. Inspector should by it be secured in perpetuity. These restrictions were more apparent than real. The proper provision of a trust deed was clear gain and we have already noted the limited effectiveness of management committees (although the attempts of the Department to include a conscience clause in the trust deed after 1860 were a different matter and will be discussed in chapter 9), while the effect of inspection, at first sight the most important of all the conditions, was almost nugatory, since, when they visited, the Inspectors had no sanctions, and after 1846 they were in any case too busy with annual grant schools to come more than occasionally, even when especially invited by the managers. If they were unwelcome it was almost impossible for them to function at all. When one of them proposed to visit Scalford school in Leicestershire

26. Armitstead, Parochial Papers, II. pp. 102-3; Minutes, 1839-40 (1st edition) pp. 26-72, Minute explanatory of plans of school houses; 1851-2, v. 1, pp. 78-91, Memorandum on the organisation of schools.

the clergyman, taking the line that 'as the Government throws the burden of country schools upon the incumbent, whilst it helps others, he does not intend to have his school interfered with under such circumstances', prevented H.M. Inspector from acting by the simple process of going away from the village himself on the date fixed and giving the children a holiday.<sup>27</sup>

It is not, therefore, surprising that until the 1860s, most managers, except convinced Voluntaryists, were prepared to accept the conditions of building grants.

The extraordinarily heated struggle over school floors in the '50s, on the other hand, shows how little the Department could achieve when it came up against strong prejudices. Most early schools - at least if they were one-storey buildings - had been built, like most cottages, with brick, tile or flag floors. By the '50s, however, these were beginning to appear old-fashioned and undesirable. Armitstead, for instance, after analysing the disadvantages of all types - tiles were clean but cold; flags were even colder; boards were dirty and noisy - decided in favour of wood blocks. Inspectors pointed out the miseries which children endured from stone floors which 'benumbed the feet, and, through them, the intellects of successive generations of little scholars...'. Stokes, one

27. Minutes, 1857-8, pp. 367-8.

of the Catholic Inspectors, who had most experience of bare-foot children, remarked how, when being examined, 'they shifted painfully from foot to foot, and at length placed beneath them a copy-book or a cap'.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, as early as 1852, the Department began a systematic policy, not only of insisting on wooden floors in new schools but of refusing to apprentice pupil teachers in schools with brick floors; after 1853, wooden floors were necessary to qualify for capitation grant; and in 1854, after consultation with the Board of Health, a grant was offered of up to two-thirds (reduced in 1859 to a half) of the cost of laying boards. In most districts this was accepted with no more than the usual amount of grumbling about the expense, and the lack of durability of wood ('I put down at the bidding of your Council a lime-ash floor', wrote Hawker of Morwenstow to his friend Cowie, an H.M.I., 'and the boys have kicked it into holes...Tell me how I am to find an Uncle in London to advance in £.s.d.?'). But in Lancashire and Yorkshire there were violent protests (easily comprehended by anybody who remembers hearing clogs on wooden floors), actively supported by the local H.M.I.s, Kennedy and Watkins, who happened to be two of the most forceful members of the Inspectorate. Watkins raised the subject with Lord Granville at the Inspectors' Conference of 1853, declaring that the ban had been enforced without proper notice. To

28. Armitstead, *op.cit.*, p.111; Minutes, 1854-5, p.673; 1862-3, p.74.

arguments that stone floors were injurious to health, northerners replied that boards were worse - 'In my own home, 'wrote a parson, 'on a windy day the carpets used to heave like a sea till we pasted paper over all the seams...'. Watkins demanded to be told what objections there could be to stone or tiles when the children had the wood on their feet already. If teachers did not like it, said Kennedy, they could wear galoshes or stand on mats. The Department bowed to the storm and early in 1856 climbed down. Wooden floors were still obligatory in new schools, but were no longer to be required in annual grant schools, provided that they were warm and dry. Lingen admitted to the Newcastle Commission that the rule was abandoned because it was not supported by public opinion.<sup>29</sup> Even in the late '60s there were many grant-aided schools still without wooden floors.<sup>30</sup>

Until 1862 the annual grant system was essentially that established by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1846, with one major addition

29. P.R.O. E. 9/4. p. 17; Minutes, 1853-4, v. 1, pp. 51-53; 1858-9, p. xvi; C. E. Byles, *Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, 1905, p. 379; for examples of committees laying floors, Derby Br. M. D. 6. 12. 55; Tewkesbury (Glos. R. O.) M. B., 1856; Maidenhead, M. B., Sept. 1856; Downton (Radnor correspondence) A. R. 1855; Salisbury, A. R. 1858; Holy Trinity, Ipswich, 13. 10. 53, Leiston, 11. 10. 55, (.M. B., Suffolk Archidiaconal Society, E. Suffolk. R. O.); Truro Central M. B. 3. 10. 54; Weardale Schools M. B. 1859; Deal, 5. 12. 53; Bishop's Stortford (Herts. R. O.), 29. 1. 56; and above, p. 17; P. R. O. 30/29 Box 23, Part 2, Report of H. M. I. s' conference; P. R. O. Ed 9/12, pp. 319-20; Minutes, 1854-5, pp. 526-8; 1855-6, pp. 31-32; N. C. v 6, q. 129.

30. e.g. Hampstead Norris (Berks R. O.) 13. 7. 65; Leicester County B. (Leicester Museum.) Report, 1867; Burton-in-Kendal (Archives, Kendal) 4. 3. 68.

in the form of the capitation grant.<sup>31</sup> Before 1853, none of the money passed through the hands of the managers with the exception of the periodic book grant of 1847, which managers could claim provided they met two thirds of the cost themselves. This grant was for the purchase of books listed at reduced prices, by arrangement with the publishers, in an official schedule, which had been drawn up on the advice of H.M. Inspectors. The list was subject to periodical revision and, in the condition of schools in the years immediately following 1846, was probably useful. But by 1853 some of the Inspectors were already having doubts, on the grounds that it was stereotyped and limited freedom of choice. The Newcastle Commission criticised it as involving 'sanction and condemnation' and argued that it had done its work; and probably few people regretted its abolition by the Revised Code. It is certainly true that the quality of commonly used school books improved after its disappearance.<sup>32</sup>

31. Grant regulations between 1846 and 1870 are summarised in Appendix A, which should be consulted in connection with the rest of this chapter. The purely financial side of the grant system will be considered in chapter 8.

32. P.R.O.Ed.9/12, pp.11-12; Minutes, 1847-8, v.1, pp.xvi-xlvi; 1850-51, v.1, pp.lxxiv-lxxix; 1857-8, pp.25-27; P.R.O.30/29, Box 23, Part 2, Report of H.M.I.s' Conference; N.C.v.1, pp.350-1. For a criticism by an ex-teacher who was a Department clerk, see J. Tilleard, *On Elementary School Books*, 1860.

The exclusion of managers from all direct participation in annual grants under the Minutes of 1846 was deliberate, since the intention was that if they sought aid they should be forced to accept standards of organisation and work over which they had no control and which they therefore could not lower. It is significant that the one concession to weakness in the Minutes, the provision for stipendiary monitors, was a failure, because it conceded so little that almost nobody could take advantage of it.<sup>33</sup> In spite of this rigour, however, the success of the Minutes was so immediate and so great as to alarm Kay-Shuttleworth both as to the amount of work involved and the amount of money being spent; and before he left office attempts were already being made to introduce more stringency into the conditions of aid.<sup>34</sup> Lingen continued this process. By October, 1849, the permitted ratio of pupil teachers to children had been cut from 1:25 to 1:40; the total number to be indentured was limited (a memorandum of 13th February 1852 laid down that on no account must admissions exceed 100 per month or 1200 a year).<sup>35</sup> The offers of pensions to retired teachers and of places in the civil service to unsuccessful Queen's Scholarship candidates, which had clearly been made without thought of their implications,

33. Ball, *op.cit.*, p.133.

34. *op.cit.*, pp.136-7. The early impact of the Minutes on the schools is fully discussed in chapter 8 of this work and will not be repeated here.

35. P.R.O.Ed 9/4, p.17; Ed.9/12, p.192; Ed.11/31, 4.10.49.



were withdrawn or whittled down to nothing.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, the 1850s certainly appeared to Lingen as a period of steady erosion of standards - by, for example, the introduction of registration for teachers who could not reach certificate standard and of a lower grade of certificate for infant teachers.<sup>37</sup> But the most striking instance was the one major modification of the grant system during this period - the capitation grant of 1853.

By the early '50s, it was obvious that the Minutes of 1846 had fully succeeded in their intention of creating an aristocracy of schools and a corps d'élite of schoolmasters; but, by definition, such a body is a minority, and the schools reached and therefore influenced by annual grants were a small minority indeed - compare the 1,433 schools in Table 1 (some of them not subscription schools) in receipt of grant-aid in 1851 with the 10,595 subscription schools listed in the same year by the Census. These schools, furthermore, were very unevenly distributed, as may be seen from the county figures in Table 1 and still more clearly from a study of maps 2A and B. Some districts had scarcely been touched by the system, and were

36. Minutes, 1851-2, v.1, pp.25-27; 1852-3, v.1, p.9; 1854-5, v.1, pp.122-3; cp. P.R.O. Ed 9/12, pp.276-7 (a request for a pension), 'My Lords must lay it down as an inflexible rule that cases resting upon no argument except that ad misericordiam cannot be entertained. No grant ought to be made from the Education Vote except for the promotion of Education'. The resentment caused, being confined to teachers and pupil teachers, had no effect upon policy.

37. See Appendix A.

TABLE 1

Statistics of Schools in receipt of Annual Grant, 1850-51.  
(excluding Parochial Union Schools.)

<u>England</u> <u>Counties</u>	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
Bedfordshire	5	4	1					10
Berkshire	11	2	1					14
Buckinghamshire	11	5	1					17
Cambridgeshire	15	2						17
Cheshire	38	3	5	2				48
Cornwall	26	4	6					36
Cumberland	10	4	1					15
Derbyshire	31	2	1	1				35
Devonshire	26	7	5					38
Dorset	14	2						16
Durham	15	7	2	7	1			32
Essex	22	4						26
Gloucestershire	35	5						40
Hampshire	48	4	1				1	54
Herefordshire	2							2
Hertfordshire	9	2						11
Huntingdonshire	2		1					3
Kent	35	1	3	1				40
Lancashire	101	24	14	17	1			157
Leicestershire	7	4	1					12
Lincolnshire	11	2	7					20
Middlesex	69	6	4	10	1			90
Monmouthshire	6	1		1				8
Norfolk	12	1						13
Northamptonshire	11	1						12
Northumberland	7	1		1	1			10
Nottinghamshire	15	1	2	2				20
Oxfordshire	7							7
Rutland	1							1
Shropshire	19						1	20
Somerset	31	2	1					34
Staffordshire	38	2	5	6				51
Suffolk	16	1	1					18
Surrey	40	3	2	1			2	48
Sussex	26	2	2	1				31
Warwickshire	27	1	1	4		1		34
Westmorland	2	1	1					4
Wiltshire	28	4	1				2	35
Worcestershire	19	1		2				22
Yorkshire	174	13	25	8		1	1	222
I.O.M.	14						1	15
Total (England)	1036	129	95	64	4	2	8	1338

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
<u>WALES</u>								
Anglesey	4	3						7
Breconshire	1							1
Cardiganshire	3							3
Car <del>mar</del> thenshire	4	2						6
Caernarvonshire	6	3						9
Dentighshire	13	3						16
Flintshire	9	2						11
Glanorgan	10	3	2					15
Merioneth	2	5						7
Montgomery	5							5
Pembrokeshire	11	2					1	14
Radnor	<u>1</u>							<u>1</u>
Total(Wales)	<u>69</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>2</u>				<u>1</u>	<u>95</u>

(Minutes, 1850-51, v.1, pp.cxli-cxlii  
Statement of Annual Grants).

Column A - Church schools, B - British; C - Wesleyan, D - Catholic,  
E - Presbyterian, F - other denominations; G - unclassifiable.

receiving nothing from the public funds to which they contributed by paying taxes. By 1853 it was clear that many areas were unlikely ever to be affected by existing Minutes - indeed, many country schools, even if they had the will, had not the numbers to make possible the employment of pupil teachers.

It was by arguments such as these that the introduction of capitation grants for rural schools was justified in 1853. As we have seen, Lingen opposed them and they were hedged around with restrictions intended to safeguard standards. The teacher must be certificated; mixed schools under mistresses were excluded (as not providing adequately for older boys); the children must pay fees; the capitation scholars must attend 192 days; three quarters of the scholars between 7 and 13 years must pass examination by the Inspectors, according to age. But the process of erosion began almost immediately. Registration was introduced as a lower form of qualification for teachers; the grant was extended in 1854 to mixed schools under mistresses, in spite of an appeal by Lingen to Dawes to support the restriction;<sup>38</sup> and after H.M. Inspectors had opposed the examination and the attendance provision, the former was

38. References - see note 18, and P.R.O.30/29, Box 23, Part 2, Report of H.M.I.'s conference. Lingen tried to enlist Dawes on the grounds that women were incompetent to teach science in the way that Dawes advocated; see chapter 7, below.

TABLE 2

Capitation Grant April 1853 - December 1854, by counties.

	<u>Amount</u>			<u>Nos. of</u>		<u>Amount</u>			<u>Nos. of</u>
	£	s	d	<u>schools</u>		£	s	d	<u>schools</u>
Bedford	81	19	-	7	Anglesey	56	15	-	6
Berkshire	124	4	-	12	Brecon	7	6	-	1
Buckingham	113	15	-	12	Cardigan	32	19	-	4
Cambridge	35	9	-	4	Carmarthen	8	15	-	2
Cheshire	327	11	-	31	Carnarvon	10	7	-	1
Cornwall	146	-	-	17	Denbigh	45	12	-	7
Cumberland	45	4	-	6	Flint	115	13	-	9
Derbyshire	206	7	-	27	Glamorgan	99	10	-	8
Devon	204	8	-	19	Merioneth	36	10	-	4
Dorset	148	13	-	19	Montgomery	14	3	-	1
Durham	260	11	-	23	Pembroke	59	15	-	8
Essex	118	11	-	11	Radnor	5	13	-	1
Gloucester	237	7	-	26	I.O.M.	37	-	-	8
Hampshire	274	16	-	27					
Hereford	46	11	-	10					
Hertford	105	15	-	10	(Minutes, 1854-5,				
Huntingdon	16	16	-	2	pp. 143-257).				
Kent	141	2	-	24					
Lancashire	489	18	-	35					
Leicester	92	14	-	15					
Lincoln	115	19	-	17					
Middlesex	71	19	-	6					
Monmouth	43	3	-	3					
Norfolk	34	11	-	3					
Northampton	nil								
Northumberland	40	3	-	4					
Nottingham	49	2	-	6					
Oxford	97	1	-	11					
Rutland	nil								
Shropshire	129	-	-	20					
Somerset	131	7	-	20					
Stafford	276	17	-	32					
Suffolk	71	11	-	6					
Surrey	55	15	-	8					
Sussex	122	16	-	13					
Warwick	116	4	-	16					
Westmorland	12	14	-	2					
Wiltshire	89	17	-	10					
Worcester	30	18	-	5					
Yorkshire	809	17	-	81					

dropped and the required attendance reduced to 176 days. Even this was a demand which only a minority of children could meet and the numbers for whom grant was claimed were in many schools pitifully small.

Table 2 shows the extent of the grant in the first eighteen months of the scheme; and from this it will be clear that some public money was thereby diverted into areas which had hitherto been poorly served. But the restriction to rural schools proved impossible to maintain in the chaotic state of Victorian local government. The figures show that the most industrialised counties got most of the grant, a high proportion of which went to schools in urbanised communities which had not attained borough status. In Staffordshire, for instance, 20 out of the 32 grant-earning schools were in or on the verge of either the Potteries or the Black Country. This was manifestly unjust to the precisely similar schools within borough boundaries and the grant was extended to all schools in 1856. Lingen continued to dislike it, believing, with some justification, that the lion's share went to prosperous schools which could do without it; and in 1860 he made a determined attempt to introduce restrictions, ordering investigation of every case in which income exceeded expenditure, on the grounds that such schools did not need the grant. After four months Francis Sandford, then one of the examiners, objected, pointing out that the policy led to

embarrassing correspondence and could only be temporarily successful since, as soon as they realised what was happening, subscribers would simply decrease the school's income by withholding their subscriptions until the grant had been paid - 'As a School Manager, I should feel quite justified in taking this course'.<sup>39</sup> Lingen consulted Lowe, and was over-ruled; so the grants continued to be paid without question until the whole system was swept away.

The Revised Code is commonly explained in text books as the product of a zeal for economy and a mistrust of the higher education of the working classes. Both factors were certainly important. It has already been noted that there were grounds for criticising the over-ambitious curriculum in some schools. The pressure to economise can be understood, if not, excused, by a consideration of the fact that the education estimates for 1859-60 were  $6\frac{1}{2}$  times as large as those of 1849-50 and nearly 27 times those of 1839-40, the first year of the Committee of Council.<sup>40</sup> There were, however, other factors which made a change to something like the Revised Code inevitable; indeed, had it not been for the attempts at educational legislation in the early '50s and the setting up of the Newcastle Commission at the end of the decade, it is unlikely that the old system would have survived so long. The

39. P.R.O. Ed 9/4, pp. 67, 72.

40. Minutes, 1859-60, pp. xi-xii.

debt owed by English education to the Kay-Shuttleworth reforms, and in particular to the Minutes of 1846, can scarcely be over-estimated; but their very success produced a situation in which their weak points were accentuated.

In the first place, the grant system placed an enormous strain upon those who had to administer it. The Department had to communicate separately, not only the managers of each school, but with each certificated teacher and pupil teacher; and the paternalistic supervision which this involved led to a mass of correspondence for which its staff was wholly inadequate. All officials were agreed on the administrative problems. Chester, in many ways an enlightened educationist and no friend of restrictions on the education of the people, told the Newcastle Commission that some form of paying by results - testing by examination - was the only way to relieve the Department of the multiplicity of detail in which it was bogged down.<sup>41</sup> It further appeared to officials that the system, far from encouraging effort, relieved managers of the responsibilities which were properly theirs. Frederick Temple regarded the Revised Code as 'a means of escape from what I considered to be a vicious system'. Managers had no

41. N.C., v.6, q.716. The exasperation of officials is frequently obvious in their correspondence - e.g. Minutes, 1856-7, p.34 (circular to H.M.I.s) 'My Lords refuse absolutely to entertain questions upon the details of management in the course of each year'. For Chester's general attitude, see his 'The Proper Limits of the State's Interference in Education', 1861; and 'Education and Advancement for the Working Classes', 1863.



control over the augmentation grants to teachers and the stipends of pupil teachers and consequently would not take proper responsibility for supervising them.<sup>42</sup> (The imposition in 1859 of the limit of four as the maximum number of apprentices permitted to one teacher was not only an economy measure but also an attempt to produce more careful supervision). Since the grant had to be paid in its entirety or not at all, financial sanctions could only be used in extreme cases. What officials wanted, then, in 1862, was a simplified grant system, which would relieve them of work, would relate the size of grant to the efficiency of the school, would throw more responsibility on managers and would be sufficiently flexible to permit the easy application of financial sanctions. Given the general attitudes of mid-Victorian England, any other solution than the relating of size of grant to performance in examinations would have been almost inconceivable.

It must further be noted, in view of criticisms of the Revised Code, that at one crucial point the Kay-Shuttleworth system was already breaking down in the later '50s. There is overwhelming evidence that the pupil teacher system was reaching a crisis; the Code can only be held to have precipitated something which was already inevitable. The stipends had been fixed in 1846 and perhaps then, in view of the salaries earned

42.S.C.1865,qq.8246-7;H.M.I.s. frequently complained on this point - e.g.Minutes,1852-3,v.2,p.128; 1855-6,p.310-1,454;1856-7, pp.368-70;1857-8,pp.479-80;1858-9,pp.47,167,175;1859-60,pp.86,199.

by teachers, they were not ungenerous. But in the early stages of apprenticeship they did not cover the cost of keep, so that parents, after paying for their child at school until he reached the age of 13, had partially to support him during the next two or three years. If, as often happened in country districts, the pupil teacher lived away from home, managers nearly always had to supplement the stipend to pay for his board; while at best, his family had to wait twelve months before he received a penny unless, as sometimes happened, the managers advanced it monthly. Even in country districts these factors affected supply - there is evidence of this from Devonshire, Dorset and Wiltshire. Industrial areas, however, presented much worse problems. As early as 1850, the Rochdale Parochial school was paying 2/- a week over and above the stipend, to keep the services of its pupil teachers. From the early '50s there were complaints of the quality of candidates, of the way in which managers of several different schools might be found fighting over one boy of moderate ability, and of their willingness to put almost anybody forward - 'the maimed and the lame, and the nearly blind, have been offered at my examinations during the past year', wrote Watkins in 1853, 'and rejected, to the visible and sometimes very audible dissatisfaction of those who proposed them'.

As prosperity increased and wages rose in the '50s, H.M. Inspectors of all denominations who had anything to do with the industrial areas or with London began to prophesy disaster for the

pupil teacher system, because of the total inadequacy of the pay for boys. As Arnold pointed out in 1857, a boy 'can earn so much, and can earn it so young, and in so many ways...'

Marshall, a Catholic inspector, said that parents regarded it as 'a kind of indifferent jest, rather than a serious proposition'. In the previous year, Watkins had illustrated the financial problem by collecting information about wages. Pupil teachers, he pointed out, earned from 3/10d a week in their first year to 7/8<sup>1</sup>d in their fifth. In Leeds a boy apprenticed to a butcher earned from 4/- to 16/-; a foundry worker, 5/- to 18/-; a mason, 4/- to 12/-, without overtime. A girl in a weaving shed could earn 12/6d a week - '...in every branch of labour the payment of young persons is higher than that of school apprentices. It is also immediate...and it is unconditional'.

It is not surprising that such circumstances produced a decline in both numbers and quality. At the Christmas examination of 1861, of 661 male candidates, only 468 achieved Queen's Scholarship standard, although there were 615 vacancies to be filled in the Training Colleges. This fact confirms the recollections of H.G. Robinson, a former Principal of the York Training College, who said in 1865 that his best students had been in College in 1858 and 1859 - after that there was a steady decline. School records do not give an impressive picture of male pupil teachers in the early '60s, even of those apprenticed before the Code. Faversham, for example, a large, prosperous and, indeed,

famous school paid its pupil teachers well, employed a full complement and recruited from all over the country. Yet H.M. Inspector reported in May, 1865, that not one of the six boys approached a first-rate standard; at least two were unfit to manage a class, and, 'Their attainments generally astonish me...' (because they were so bad).<sup>43</sup>

The position of girls, for whom opportunities were fewer, was different; there was no serious shortage of well-qualified females. Yet one of the curious facts about the Kay-Shuttleworth system was that, while there were differentials for schoolmasters and mistresses and for male and female Queen's Scholars, there were none for pupil teachers. When, in many schools, they were introduced after the Revised Code there was no falling-off in the recruitment of girls. The pre-1862 system might have worked better if the girls had been paid less, in order that the boys might receive more.<sup>44</sup>

43. Minutes, 1850-51, v.2, p.466; 1852-3, v.2, pp.147-50, 623; 1853-4, v.2, pp.159-61, 447-8; 1854-5, pp.567-73; 1855-6, pp.354-5; 1856-7, pp.228-30, 295-302, 431-4, 483-4; 1857-8, pp.294-7, 531-2, 617-8; 1858-9, p.94; 1861-2, pp.22, 275; Report of Factory Inspectors, 1850, 2, pp.12-14; N.C.v.2, p.97, v.6, qq.1366, 2569; S.C.1865, qq.5775-6; Faversham L.B.(Kent Archives) Report, 1865.

44. This was proposed by the Committee of Enquiry into Estimates in 1859 but as it was coupled with a proposal for an all-round reduction in payments to pupil-teachers it was opposed by Russell, Granville, and most of the H.M.I.s consulted and was shelved until the Newcastle Commission should have reported (P.R.O. 30/29, Box, 24, Part 1, 15.12.59, 24.12.59, 4.1.60).

The evidence which has been discussed suggests strongly that change was inevitable in the early '60s, and that some of the educational misfortunes of that decade would have occurred even had the old system remained in force. The failure of the Education Bills of the '50s, as J.R.B. Johnson has pointed out,<sup>45</sup> made it inevitable that any action taken should be through administrative changes; and the Victorian passion for examination as an insurance against privileged inefficiency meant that grants were bound to be made dependent in some way upon testing. All these factors must be borne in mind in judging the Revised Code and its authors. Recent research has suggested that there is far more to be said for Lowe than most text books admit.<sup>46</sup> The rehabilitation would, however, be more convincing if the Revised Code in its ultimate form had represented Lowe's original proposals instead of being, as it was, a compromise forced upon him by the opposition of the voluntary bodies concerned with education. The struggle, which has been so often described that it will not be considered in detail here, combined representatives of most of the groups with which this study is concerned, and succeeded in obtaining three concessions, each of which made the Code more workable in

45. Op.cit.,pp.353-4.

46. See C.Duke, B.J.E.S.,Nov.1965; N.Morris,State Paternalism and laissez faire,in History of Education Society,Studies in the Government and Control of Education, 1970,pp.13-25.

the existing state of schools that it would have been in its original form - a third of the grant was to be given on attendance; infants were exempted from examination; and examination according to age was abandoned.<sup>47</sup> With these modifications the Code came into force in 1863.

The purpose of the Code, so far as the schools were concerned, was to increase the attention given to the lower classes, to improve standards in the basic subjects, to throw more responsibility upon managers and to put them in a position in which they would create a more satisfactory, because more flexible, salary structure for teachers and pupil teachers. The extent to which managers were capable of carrying out these new obligations will be considered below;<sup>48</sup> but the chance of success in any of these aims would obviously depend largely upon the way in which the Code was implemented by both the Department and the schools; and unfortunately for these chances the new system began in an atmosphere of panic. Most managers were horrified by the financial responsibilities with which they were now confronted. Only at St. Mary's Lambeth, is there evidence of a reaction which Lowe would certainly have welcomed. Here, Gregory persuaded a general meeting to resolve that the

47. For details see Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.263-278 (Kay-Shuttleworth's point of view); Burgess, *op.cit.*, pp.172-86 (National Society); Binns, *op.cit.*, pp.178-80 (British and Foreign view). Grants under the Code are summarised in Appendix A.

48. See chapters 5 and 8.

standard demanded by the Code was reasonable but required the employment of more teachers to raise individual children to it; and therefore to authorise the appointment of three additional masters at £40.p.a.each!<sup>49</sup> Elsewhere, managers' minutes and the new log books<sup>50</sup> are full of evidence of dismissals of assistants and pupil teachers and the raising of fees. Teachers were naturally resentful of the withdrawal of the augmentation grant, a resentment which was shared by most managers;<sup>51</sup> while decreases in the amount of assistance threw more work upon teachers and made efficient teaching more difficult at a time when the income of the school was going to depend upon it.

In such circumstances it behoved the Department to be careful in the way in which the Code was administered, at least in its first months; but this did not happen. There were obvious problems of interpretation involved in the implementing of a new system, solved, as such problems always had been solved, by internal administrative decisions, which were embodied in the Supplementary Rules and the Minute of 19th. May 1863, by which Article 52d was created.<sup>52</sup> This Minute and

49. St. Mary's, Lambeth, M.B. 23.10.62.

50. A provision of the Code which has done unmixed good to the study of educational history.

51. In view of the fact that they had been largely unmoved by previous breaches of faith (pensions and provision for ex-pupil teachers) it would be unsafe to assume that managers' resentment was disinterested.

52 Discussed below ,pp. 349-51 .

certain of the Rules, in particular the demand that all infants on whom grant was claimed should be present on inspection day, the refusal of the grant to any school without a Standard III and the one-tenth reduction where there was no Standard IV, caused a furore. They were enforced without warning. The Secretary of the National Society told the Select Committee of 1865 that the first he knew of them was when a clergyman wrote to him to complain, and sent him a copy which he had managed to take when the Inspector brought them to the examination. Confronted by the Inspectors (many of them at this stage on the worst of terms with the heads of the Department) with regulations which did not appear in the Code, and which were liable to make serious cuts in a school's grant, it is not surprising that some managers concluded that the Department's intention was to restore by underhand means the original proposals of the Code and that the compromise was being 'insidiously and covertly contravened'.<sup>53</sup> Even those who took a more lenient view were irritated. As Rev. William Lea, of Droitwich, remarked plaintively to the Select Committee, 'Since the introduction of the Revised Code, we never know where we are...what I mean is, that when a code is once printed and established, we want some certainty to go upon...'<sup>54</sup>

53. Minutes, 1862-3, p. xlvi; 1863-4, pp. lxiv-lxvii; S.C. 1865, qq. 86-93, 237-56 (for Lingen's view of the Rules), 1427-31, 1451-3, 2663-84, 2772, 2794-2810, 3245-3283, 3514; On the Administration of the ... Grant, p. 4.

54. S.C. 1865, qq. 1988, 2150.



These feelings contributed to the explosion of 1864, which caused Lowe's resignation and the appointment of a Select Committee in the following year to investigate the constitution of the Committee of Council; but in the meantime the administration of the Code was falling into a routine. By creating a 4th. class of certificate, the Code allowed registered teachers and holders of special infant teachers' certificates to share in the general grant, and by accepting in 1865 Miss Burdett-Coutt's plan whereby a group of rural schools could qualify for grant aid, if their teachers were supervised by one certificated master, the Department showed itself still prepared to make concessions to bring more schools within the fold. But it refused to go further, by opening grants on examination to all schools, in spite of the argument that this was only the logical consequence of Lowe's policy of free trade in education.<sup>55</sup> The passage of time sorted out some of the vexed questions of 1863. The rules which demanded the presentation of children in Standards III and IV caused less difficulty when, after the first year or two, most schools contained at least a few children working their way steadily through the Standards. Article 52d was partially rescinded in 1864 and wholly so in 1865, for schools with small endowments.<sup>56</sup> Great difficulty was experienced in enforcing Article 4, in spite of Supplementary Rule 10's attempt to define what was meant by the labouring classes.

<sup>55</sup> Minutes, 1862-3, pp. xiv, xix; 1864-5, pp. xix, lxvi-lxviii; J. Walter, op. cit.; the question was discussed by almost every witness before S.C. 1865.  
<sup>56</sup> See below, p. 351.

At first most managers appear to have ignored it; at the beginning of 1864 a conscientious manager who sent in schedules distinguishing working-class from non-working-class children was given grant on them all, on the grounds that it would be unfair to victimise him for doing what everyone else had failed to do. Later, managers usually went through the motions of excluding one or two obvious cases; and H.M. Inspectors occasionally pounced on a few more. At Mahollan, for instance, it was the Inspector, not the managers, who in 1868 excluded two children whose father kept five servants and did not work himself - a case over which one would not have thought there could have been much doubt!<sup>57</sup>

Even the optimistic reports of the Department admitted in the years immediately following 1863 that one unfortunate result of the Code was a disastrous decline in the number of male pupil teachers. This, as has been shown, was no more than an acceleration of a process which began before 1862, for which the Code was therefore not wholly responsible; nor can government policy (in spite of the slight incentive offered by the Minute of 20th. February, 1867) be held responsible for the partial recovery which had already begun by 1867. It was rather an indication that the schools had adjusted themselves to the new situation.<sup>58</sup>

57. P.R.O. Ed9/4, p.139(2)-Bugbrooke N.S.; Mahollan, Report, 1868, In 1867, of a total of 1,376,882 children, managers returned, 17,567 as not coming under Article 4 - RP.1867-8, LIII, 161.

58. Minutes, 1864-5, pp.xi-xiii; 1865-6, p.xiii; 1866-7, pp.ix-xi; 1867-8, pp.vii-xi. For a fuller discussion, see below, pp.185-7 .

A second problem, which persisted as long as the Code continued, was that of the loss of grant which could result from the absence of qualified children on the examination day, through illness or bad weather. Managers and teachers, inevitably, were always very conscious of this danger and they certainly made excessive attempts to prevent it. H.M. Inspectors became aware of the problem and their general complaints of the presence of sick children are borne out by such reports as that made by Capel after an examination of Naunton school during a whooping cough epidemic, in which he remarked that the younger children were too ill to do themselves justice. 'Had the children been well, I should have been obliged to call the Reading and Arithmetic very moderate, and the Dictation only pretty fair'.<sup>59</sup> Consequently, at the end of 1865, the decision was taken to allow grants in such circumstances to absentees under 6 and to call on H.M. Inspectors to report upon epidemics to see if there was a case for special treatment. Lingen, as usual, had doubts about 'the highly expansive character of the principles admitted', but Bruce, the Vice-President, argued that it was the right thing to do and would enable a firm stand to be taken against further requests for special treatment.<sup>60</sup> The concession was in any case too slight to solve the problem.

On one result of the Revised Code there has been universal agreement amongst contemporaries and later historians - that,

59. e.g. Minutes, 1865-6, pp. 153-4, 225; 1866-7, p. 34; 1867-8, p. 364; Naunton, (Glos. R.O.) 27.2.67.

60. P.R.O. Ed. 9/4, p. 186(a).

whatever may have been the intentions of the framers, the practical effect was to lead to a virtual disappearance of what were called the 'higher subjects', at least in all but exceptionally good schools. The evidence used for this study suggests that it is possible that this view is exaggerated - that the schoolmaster who wrote, with some inaccuracy, of the Minute of 20th. February 1867, 'Glad the new Minute...has passed, greater attention to Geography, Grammar and History will now be expected and 4/- per pass instead of 2/8 will be allowed', but who had himself been teaching Geography, History, Grammar, Drawing and Science all the time, was more typical than is usually admitted.<sup>61</sup> However this may be, the view was certainly held at the time and was responsible for the first real breach in the principles of the Code, the Minute of February, 1867, which provided extra grants on examination of one of the higher subjects, and on the examination of children who stayed on a year after passing Standard VI (not termed Standard VII in the Minute, but immediately so called by Inspectors, managers and teachers). The grant was so hedged about with restrictions as to be exceedingly difficult to understand and to administer;<sup>62</sup> but it certainly caused some schools

61. See note at end of this chapter; Evesham, Br.B., L.B., 10.4.67.

62. For detail see Appendix A: discussion of it occupies nearly as much space in the collection of precedent-making decisions in the Secretary's Minute Book (P.R. O.Ed.9/4) as does discussion of the Code itself.

to reintroduce these subjects<sup>63</sup> and may be presumed to have had some effect.

Viewing the years between 1862 and 1870 with the advantage of hindsight, it is clear that this was a period of transition during which the Department was moving towards a new relationship with the schools, a position consolidated when the 1870 Act conferred upon it greater powers of control. It remains to be considered whether and in what ways the power exercised by the Department during these years was greater than before as a result of the Code. There can be no doubt that payment by results brought about a concentration of effort on teaching the 3R.s in a way that would enable the scholars to pass the government examination and earn the grant. This, however, was only an extension of a practice already accepted so far as pupil teachers and students in training were concerned, since their work had always been prescribed by the Department and examined by the Inspectors. Moreover, it is by no means clear in that the framers of the Code really intended this result. Certainly they did not, if Dr. Duke is right in believing that Lowe was sincere in the naive optimism which assumed that everybody would do just as they ought and regard the requirements of the Code as no more than an indispensable minimum of attainment.<sup>64</sup> At the time it was often asserted that the creation of the Code in the late '50s enabled administrators, through the opportunities afforded by the

63. In schools used for this study (excluding schools opened within 3 years of 1867, which frequently introduced the 'higher subjects' after a year or two on the 3Rs only) 12-geography; 6-grammar; 5-history. H.M.I.s. differed in their opinions as to its effect.

64. B.J.E.S., Nov. 1965, pp. 23-4.

need to interpret or modify its articles, to establish an irresponsible control of policy in matters which should have been laid before Parliament. Examples of this type of action, however, may be found as early as the 1840s; indeed, the creation of the Vice-Presidency in 1856 had been intended as a means whereby Parliament could increase its control over the Department.<sup>65</sup>

It is likely that the most important immediate increase of power which the Revised Code gave the Department, was the increased possibility of using financial sanctions. As has been stated, before 1862 grants had to be given or withheld in their entirety; and consequently officials seldom proceeded beyond threats. The Code, however, provided for reductions of between a tenth and a half for faults of instruction or discipline, bad premises, insufficient equipment or inadequate staffing. It prescribed conditions for buildings, equipment and staffing. Otherwise, reductions were made if H.M. Inspector reported unfavourably on the teaching (e.g. if, in Anglican schools, the religious instruction was inadequate, or in girls' schools insufficient time was given to sewing); or if he said the discipline was too strict or too lax; or if there was an excessive proportion of failures in one or more subjects. It was very rare for a reduction of more than three tenths to be made; after 1867, indeed, Departmental rules laid down that all reductions over one tenth

65. Two early examples of modifications of the Minutes by purely administrative action by permanent officials are the substitution of 1:40 for 1:25 as the ratio of pupil teachers to scholars and the explanation of the Minute about teachers' pensions in such a way as to change its meaning completely.

should be referred to the Assistant Secretary and over two tenths to the Secretary himself. But reductions of one tenth were made fairly frequently, although the total amount of money involved was not large - in 1864, just over 1% of the grant - and they certainly influenced managers to make changes. Lingen was right in referring to this article as 'one of the keystones on which the Code rests'.<sup>66</sup>

It would, however, be easy to over-estimate the power exercised by the Department at this period. Not only was the escape route of withdrawal from inspection wide open, but a manager who was prepared for the financial loss involved in reductions could ignore the Department with impunity. The story of Clifton-upon-Teme National school<sup>67</sup> will serve as a warning against exaggerated views of what public authority could achieve.

Clifton, a Worcestershire village, had a population in 1861 of 539 persons but one remove from the brute creation, according to the schoolmaster, a Mr. Noad, who had been appointed in 1847, three years after the school opened. Noad appears to have been a registered teacher who qualified under the Code for a 4th. class certificate, which, however, he never received, for reasons which will appear. The chairman, and only active manager, was the

66. Article 52a and b of the Code; also, Minutes, 1862-3, p.xx; 1863-4, p.lxv; 1864-5, pp.xxii-xxiii; P.R.O.Ed9/4, p.223. 31 of the schools studied suffered reductions - several of them repeatedly.

67. The story may be followed in the log book, written by Noad in a flourishing copperplate. The A.G.M.s were recorded by Baker who, like some other managers, used the log book as a substitute for a minute book.

vicar, Rev. Slade Baker. He duly held annual general meetings (which were very ill attended) and visited the school regularly; but his supervision cannot have been close, since it took him eighteen months to discover a particularly vituperative remark about H.M. Inspector which Noad had written in the log book. After the first examination under the Code, in November, 1863, the work was reported to be unsatisfactory - the reading was monotonous, only one child in Standard I passed in writing, and all of the 26 children in Standards II and III failed in Arithmetic. There was consequently a reduction of one tenth in the grant - 'sweet comfort and consolation', said Noad, after 'a year's devoted zeal'. The next inspection did not take place until June, 1865, when a general improvement was reported, although the Arithmetic of Standard IV was still faulty. The full grant was paid, but Noad's certificate was withheld until the Arithmetic improved. 'With respect to the paltry Certificate', wrote Noad, 'it being of no money value whatever, it is a matter of perfect indifference to me if "My Lords" never send it'; but, he pointed out, he could show the committee that several of the top class could work the Rule of Three, Vulgar Fractions and Square Root, 'without my being near them'; 'which I should suppose far enough for plough boys'. A fortnight later, Baker examined the children and announced himself satisfied with their progress; but H.M. Inspector was not. Next year he reported a falling off - only 20% passed in Arithmetic, the Reading was indistinct, the Religious Knowledge inaccurate and there was much copying. A reduction of two tenths followed.



Two tenths was again deducted in 1867. The children never will pass, said Noad, while the Inspector gives them three sums at once. In 1868, the deduction was three tenths and the grant was down to £12.8.3d. The Inspector's comments appear to have roused Baker to mild action, since Noad, who was now casting the blame on the children's frequent absence, reported a decision that if the grant was less than £15, the difference was to be deducted from his salary - although if there was a surplus, he was not to get it; 'rather one-sided I call this'. Another three tenths were deducted in 1869, since the failures in arithmetic were 'almost universal'. Unaccountably, there was a slight improvement in 1869-70, and the Department, presumably thankful for a glimmer of hope, paid the grant unreduced, though the certificate was still withheld. But things were worse than ever next year - a two tenths reduction and a statement that the school was so very unsuccessful under the present master that My Lords 'cannot but recommend the managers to part with him, and appoint a more competent person'. But only death removed Mr. Noad, and, by a final irony, the Inspector reported after his next visit in 1872 that, Noad having died in June, and the school having been carried on by Mrs. Noad and Fanny Noad, monitress, it was in rather better condition, and an unreduced grant was paid. The inability of the Department to cope with the vis inertiae of a country manager and an incompetent teacher provides an interesting commentary upon its supposed powers.

It is easy to write of the educational history of the period as if everything of significance was contained in the interaction between Department and aided schools. Certainly grant-aid spread rapidly in the twenty years following 1846. A comparison of Table 1 with Table 3 (showing schools in receipt of grant in 1865) or of Maps 2 and 3 shows an increase in fifteen years of over 400%. But, as has already been stated, a comparison of Maps 3A and B with Maps 1A and B throws a different light on the situation; an impression which is strengthened by the figures in Table 4. These are calculated from statistics in the Minutes of 1863-4 which list the number of parishes not receiving government aid, and exclude from the calculation parishes with under 200 inhabitants, as being too small to support a separate school. It will be noted that only in three English counties did more than half the parishes contain schools in receipt of annual grants, and of these, two (Lancashire and Surrey) were among the most urbanised in the country. In many of the rural counties the figure was little more than a quarter - in four it was less. It was the contention of the Department that these parishes contained the only schools worth having; and we need go no further than the Report of the Newcastle Commission to find plenty of evidence in support of the statement constantly re-iterated by H.M. Inspectors that inspected schools were infinitely better than uninspected, and certificated teachers than uncertificated. It was natural that Inspectors should be irritated by the spectacle of managers

TABLE 3

Statistics of Schools in receipt of Annual Grant in 1865.

<u>England</u> <u>Counties</u>	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Totals
Bedfordshire	36	9	5	-	-	-	1	51
Berkshire	64	6	5	2	-	-	2	79
Buckinghamshire	57	9	1	-	-	-	1	68
Cambridgeshire	43	9	-	1	-	-	4	57
Cheshire	173	10	14	9	2	2	6	216
Cornwall	77	9	15	-	-	-	3	104
Cumberland	50	7	1	4	-	1	5	68
Derbyshire	95	6	5	4	-	-	4	114
Devonshire	146	12	6	4	-	2	7	177
Dorset	87	7	1	-	-	-	2	97
Durham	108	17	16	11	-	-	5	157
Essex	101	17	2	-	-	1	1	122
Gloucestershire	163	25	8	5	-	-	3	204
Hampshire	162	13	2	-	-	-	2	179
Herefordshire	44	4	-	1	-	-	1	50
Hertfordshire	87	16	-	-	-	-	-	103
Huntingdonshire	20	3	2	-	-	-	1	26
Kent	202	17	7	6	1	-	8	241
Lancashire	391	47	54	85	8	10	12	607
Leicestershire	66	8	3	2	-	-	-	79
Lincolnshire	110	6	25	-	-	-	3	144
Middlesex	248	23	9	37	1	7	12	337
Monmouthshire	25	16	-	5	-	-	2	48
Norfolk	112	14	1	-	-	-	2	129
Northamptonshire	70	9	4	-	-	-	2	85
Northumberland	58	14	1	8	10	1	9	101
Nottinghamshire	74	3	5	4	-	-	2	88
Oxfordshire	74	6	2	2	-	-	2	86
Rutland	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Shropshire	79	2	2	-	-	-	-	83
Somerset	158	17	5	1	-	-	8	189
Staffordshire	187	9	29	15	-	2	3	245
Suffolk	88	10	1	-	-	-	2	101
Surrey	161	23	6	9	-	-	7	206
Sussex	107	3	1	1	-	-	-	112
Warwickshire	94	11	2	10	-	3	2	122
Westmorland	23	6	-	-	-	-	1	30
Wiltshire	127	15	2	-	-	1	2	147

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Totals
Worcestershire	78	5	6	1	0	1	2	93
Yorkshire	523	30	82	28	1	-	17	681
Channel Isles	10	1	2	2	-	-	1	16
I.O.M.	22	-	2	1	-	-	1	26
<b>Totals (England)</b>	<b>4612</b>	<b>474</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>5880</b>

<u>WALES</u>								
Anglesey	23	12	-	-	-	-	-	35
Brecon	17	6	-	-	-	-	1	24
Caermarthen	29	23	-	-	-	-	2	54
Caernarvon	31	18	1	-	-	-	-	50
Cardigan	15	17	-	-	-	-	-	32
Denbigh	33	11	-	-	-	-	1	45
Flint	35	4	-	3	-	-	-	42
Glamorgan	51	40	4	3	-	-	8	106
Merioneth	12	12	-	-	-	-	2	26
Montgomery	23	7	-	-	-	-	-	30
Pembrokeshire	24	8	-	-	-	-	1	33
Radnorshire	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<b>Totals (Wales)</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>482</b>

(Minutes 1865-6, pp.495-619)

Note Schools which did not claim grant, or were refused it, under Articles 40, 51 or 52 are included.

Columns - A, Church schools; B, British; C, Wesleyan; D, Catholics; E, Presbyterian; F, Other denominations and secular; G, Unclassifiable.

TABLE 4.

Approximate Percentage of parishes in each county without Annual Government Grants (excluding those of under 200 inhabitants).

Bedford	68%	Worcester	69%
Berkshire	69%	Yorkshire	58%
Buckingham	65%		
Cambridge	75%	Anglesey	66%
Cheshire	56%	Brecon	59%
Cornwall	65%	Cardigan	81%
Cumberland	67%	Carmarthen	62%
Derbyshire	60%	Caernarvon	42%
Devon	70%	Denbigh	55%
Dorset	59%	Flint	49%
Durham	58%	Glamorgan	69%
Essex	74%	Merioneth	48%
Gloucester	60%	Montgomery	58%
Hampshire	52%	Pembroke	73%
Hereford	71%	Radnor	80%
Hertford	44%		
Huntingdon	70%		
Kent	57%		
Lancashire	48%		
Leicester	65%		
Lincoln	75%		
Middlesex	55%		
Monmouth	78%		
Norfolk	79%		
Northampton	76%		
Northumberland	60%		
Nottingham	70%		
Oxford	65%		
Rutland	62%		
Shropshire	63%		
Somerset	64%		
Stafford	54%		
Suffolk	79%		
Surrey	40%		
Sussex	64%		
Warwick	69%		
Westmorland	72%		
Wiltshire	56%		

Based upon Minutes, 1863-4,  
pp. lxxiv-lxxv.

complaining of the poverty which prevented them from qualifying for a grant, and at the same time spending on an inferior school as much as would, with a grant, have supported a competent teacher; and exasperated by the indifference which could say of a teacher, 'He is very incompetent, but we like him, for he gives us no trouble, and is very civil'.<sup>68</sup> But the existence of large numbers of bad schools outside the government system should not blind us to the fact that all the good was not confined within it.

In the first place, there were cases in which the plea of poverty was genuine and where the school promoter had to choose between doing nothing at all, and doing the best he could unaided, because he could not raise the subscriptions which the Department demanded. As G.F.A. Best has pointed out, such schools, though certainly not good, were often 'locally invaluable'. The reports of the Factory Inspectors are sometimes a useful corrective to those of their Schools' colleagues; and an example of this type may be found in Leonard Horner's report for 1850 when, explaining a grant from fines of £25 to Rev. R. Kinder's school at Lumb in Rossendale, he described how Kinder established a school for 100 children, his only resources being their pence, £16 from collections, and an S.P.C.K. book grant.

68. Minutes, 1856-7, p. 370; 1860-61, p. 128.

'Scanty and imperfect as the education given in such circumstances must be, had it not been for the exertions of this good man these poor children would have been left in the same state of neglect, so far as school-education is concerned, that all previous generations in Lumb had been!'

Even in Bassetshire, as readers of Trollope will remember, this situation existed in the fictional parish of Hogglestock; and it is fair to conclude that the schoolchildren there were better off with Mr. Crawley (who, after all, had made his daughter the best educated girl in Bassetshire) than with the probationer whom a slightly more affluent clergyman might have put in to qualify the school for a grant.<sup>69</sup>

There are other cases in which it is reasonable to assume that certain uninspected schools were fully as efficient as if they had been inspected. Endowed schools had little to gain from the grant and comparatively few of them were under government before 1870. Some were very bad - the evidence laid before the Schools Inquiry Commission provides ample illustration - but some were competently run by conscientious trustees like the Ishams of Lamport, whose master, John James Graves, the first president of the N.U.E.T., though uncertificated, was one of the outstanding schoolmasters of Victorian England. The evidence of his ability, which is clear in Seaborne and Isham's account of his career, is

69. G.F.A.Best, *op.cit.*, p.410; Report of Factory Inspectors, 1850, 1, pp.18-19 (for these grants see below, pp.344-5 ). See A.Trollope, *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, esp.chapter 13 - "'... Have you a certified teacher here?'" "I-I am the certified teacher", said Mr. Crawley, turning round upon him from his chair.'

confirmed by his own very sensible writings in 'The School and the Teacher'.<sup>70</sup> John Sutherland, the master of Crosby Ravensworth endowed school, was given only a moderate report when his school was visited by the Assistant Commissioner for the Schools Inquiry Commission (by which time he was nearly 70), but his diary reveals him as a man of humour, independence and intelligence, who was clearly an influence for good in the parish.<sup>71</sup>

Amongst school promoters there were a number of groups who, for conscientious reasons, rejected state aid. The schools of the Voluntaryists varied in quality, but they had as principal of their college one of the ablest educationists of the period, W.J.Unwin; and the very favourable report which Arnold made on Homerton when it was opened to inspection in 1868 suggests that some, at least, of Voluntaryist teachers were very good indeed.<sup>72</sup> In the Anglican church extreme evangelicals like Shaftesbury were as hostile to the Department as Denison and his followers;<sup>73</sup> and it is impossible to believe that Shaftesbury neglected the schools on his estates. Amongst the Catholics the fact that the Christian Brothers refused

70. See Seaborne and Isham, *A Victorian Schoolmaster*, 1967; *The School and the Teacher*, 1856, pp.66-9, 91-4; J.J. Graves, *On the teaching of Geography*.

71. S.I.C., v.19, p.337; manuscript extracts from Sutherland's diary are in Archives, Kendal (amongst Crosby Ravensworth papers); for other examples of good endowed schools, S.C.1865 - evidence of J.Fraser (Sulhampstead); G.C.Tooth (Longstone, Derbys,); S.C.1866, evidence of J.Simpson (Shap).

72. See W.J.Unwin, *The Primary School*, 1862; *Minutes*, 1868-9, pp.451-466.

73. *Minutes*, 1869-9, pp.247-8 for Shaftesbury's views - Government policy fetters independence and hinders religious teaching; H.M.I.s sneer, and then 'leave you like a piece of stranded seaweed'.



government grants<sup>74</sup> was held to explain the inferiority of grant-aided boys' schools, since the best teachers remained outside the system, whilst in girls' schools, most of the nuns were prepared to accept it.

Then there were the individuals who did not choose to accept aid for some of their schools. The Sykes family in East Yorkshire supervised their uninspected as carefully as their inspected schools. Lord Radnor accepted no aid for his school at Coleshill, but did not tolerate inefficiency there; two of the four schools wholly maintained by Lord Belper were inspected, two were not, but were equally well run. Alexander Thurtell, rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk, had been an H.M.I. in 1847-8, resigning because of ill-health. His one report suggests that his attitude to education was intelligent and enlightened. There is no need to assume that he had abandoned this attitude because he chose to run his school with uncertificated teachers whom he had himself trained. The one infant school of real originality amongst those studied for this thesis, at Olveston in Gloucestershire, was run by two 'ladies' and only came under the government when they had to withdraw and a certificated teacher was appointed as a substitute.<sup>75</sup>

It would be tedious to persist with this catalogue, which is not intended to prove more than the existence of some good schools

74. The Catholic School, 1849, pp. 183-5, for an appeal to them to come in. At this time they had 32 schools, educating nearly 4000 children.

75. For Sykes, see above, p. 21; Radnor, above, pp. 18-19; Belper, P.R.O. 30/29 Box 24, Part 2, 19.4.62. Milford and Kingston were inspected Belper and Normanton were not. S.C. 1865, qq. 5561-6, 5683; Minutes, 1847-8, v. 2, pp. 1-67; Olveston I. (Glos. R.O.) below, pp. 314-5.

and a reasonable number of competent ones which had achieved this standard without the aid of the Department. In many cases it was a temporary standard, reached as the result of one individual's efforts; but while it lasted, it gave good service to the children then in the school. In so far as such schools received outside help, it came from the voluntary agencies whose activities will be considered in the next chapter.

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Note to chapter 3 (see p. 89).

Few managers' minute books provide much evidence as to what was taught in schools; and many log books are not much better, recording only attendance or being filled with such remarks as 'Ordinary Progress'. In going through the records of those schools for which more detail is available, however, it became clear to the writer that in the years 1862-7 many schools were providing regular instruction in one or more of the 'higher subjects' in spite of the all but universal conviction that they had virtually disappeared. Of those which did not, many were small country schools in which it is unlikely that the teaching ever went beyond the 3Rs, R.I. and sewing.

In some schools there is evidence that the higher subjects were abandoned in 1862, and restored in 1867; but these are in a minority. In the table below, column 2 shows the number of schools, other than infant schools, open between 1862 and 1867, with records sufficiently detailed to give information as to what was taught. The other columns show the number of schools teaching individual subjects. The 'other subjects' in the last column include various Sciences, Social Economy, Domestic Economy, Gardening, Mathematics, Military Drill, Object Lessons and in two or three cases Latin or French. Most of these were taught only to the older children.

The writer is aware that at least three alternative inferences are possible:

1. This small sample of schools may be wholly a-typical.
2. Before 1862 the higher subjects may have occupied so much time that the 1 or 2 weekly lessons with the older children of the post-1862 period may have seemed a disastrous decline (this is not borne out by timetables surviving from the 1850s).
3. The belief that the Revised Code caused the immediate disappearance of the higher subjects may have been based upon impression only and have been exaggerated.

The writer inclines to the third explanation, but is aware that the number of schools is too small for valid conclusions to be drawn. This seems to be a point demanding further research.

TABLE 5.

The 'Higher Subjects' in schools, 1862-7.

DISTRICT	Total no of schools.	SUBJECTS					
		Geog- raphy	Gram- mar	His- tory	Draw- ing	Music	Other subjects
Berkshire	5	1	-	1	1	-	3
Cambridgeshire	3	1	-	-	-	1	1
Cheshire	15	13	8	8	8	9	7
Cornwall	12	11	6	7	5	9	5
Derbyshire	6	6	5	2	3	4	4
Dorset	6	2	1	1	-	4	-
Durham	14	10	7	5	4	6	7
Gloucestershire	11	8	5	3	5	6	8
Hampshire	6	1	2	2	1	5	1
Herefordshire	6	5	1	4	1	3	3
Hertfordshire	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kent	16	12	8	6	4	6	6
Lancashire	10	8	7	4	5	4	5
Leicestershire	6	5	4	4	2	5	6
Shropshire	3	2	1	-	-	2	1
Staffordshire	4	3	3	1	2	3	2
Suffolk	8	5	4	5	3	7	2
Warwickshire	9	6	4	3	2	4	6
Westmorland	4	4	2	1	1	1	1
Worcestershire	17	11	8	6	8	6	8
Birmingham	3	2	1	2	2	1	1
London	6	3	-	1	1	1	4
Manchester	20	15	10	9	10	13	10

Note that the absence of mention of a subject need not necessarily imply that it was not taught, as some of the above evidence is incidental only (e.g. that something 'happened in the grammar lesson').

CHAPTER 4.UNOFFICIAL SOURCES OF AID.A. NATIONAL.

The number of schools which received help of some kind from unofficial organisations, as distinct from the state, was much greater than the number of grant-aided schools. Virtually all of these bodies were concerned with diffusing, to use a common phrase, the blessings of a sound and religious education, since most secularists showed more interest in educational controversy than in establishing schools.<sup>1</sup> The diversity of organisations was the result of differences as to how a religious education should be constituted; but these differences of aim did not prevent marked similarities of method. Each of these organisations would be worthy of a separate study.<sup>2</sup> In this context all that can be done is to look merely at those aspects of their work which impinged directly upon the schools, leaving aside entirely such topics as their relations with government, their overseas activities and their interest in middle-class education.

Two of them, the National Society and the British and Foreign

- 1 Note Lord John Russell's criticism of the N.P.S.A. (D.K. Jones, op.cit., p.358). William Ellis was an exception - below, pp291-4.
- 2 Already done for the National Society by Burgess and for the Wesleyan Education Committee by Mathews. The destruction of the British and Foreign School Society's records in the war may prevent a more detailed study than that of Binns.

School Society, had long histories behind them in 1846, and had established the general pattern to which the others more or less conformed. They maintained training institutions.<sup>3</sup> They published school books, which were sold through depositories at reduced prices to schools in union with the Society (although in this field the British and Foreign School Society was the more active, since the National Society did no more than supplement the S.P.C.K.)<sup>4</sup> They provided inspection, though in widely differing forms; and the National society, having long made grants in aid of building, had more recently begun to make maintenance grants as well.<sup>5</sup>

The Home and Colonial School Society, which, having been founded in 1836, also pre-dated the Committee of Council, had as its first aim the spread of Pestalozsian principles in the education of young children. Consequently, in addition to the founding of a training school (Gray's Inn Road) the Society published a number of influential manuals of method and school

- 3 N.S. - Westminster, St. Mark's, Whitelands, Battersea (taken over from Kay-Shuttleworth); B.F.S. - Borough Road, and, later, Stockwell, Darlington.
- 4 The Daily Lesson Books of the B.F.S. were very extensively used, at least until the '60s. They were written by Henry Dunn the Secretary and J.T. Crossley of Borough Road, who afterwards republished them in identical form, under the title of Crossley's Comprehensive Class Books. By thus avoiding the stigma of association with schools for the poor, they tapped the private school market and were used by Kennedy at Shrewsbury - see end-papers. - 'for Schools unconnected with Societies, and for Ladies' Schools'.
- 5 Initially in Factory schools. The B.F.S. gave grants of materials.

books<sup>6</sup> and ultimately appointed women inspectors to visit its ex-students. In its aim of providing evangelical religious teaching it represented the views of a number of low churchmen who in the '40s and early '50s regarded with dislike the high church tendencies of the National Society - 'They see a strong tendency to substitute shadows for realities, - forms and ceremonies, and daily attendance of the children at church, for that teaching which affects the heart, and by God's blessing, leads to Himself'. Members of this group were responsible for the foundation of the evangelical colleges at Cheltenham and Highbury; and ultimately for the establishment in 1853 of the Church of England Education Society with<sup>the</sup> aim of providing maintenance grants for schools and teachers of evangelical persuasion.<sup>7</sup> From these sources combined, low churchmen could expect to receive the aid which they might scruple to accept from the National Society.

In other cases there was a closer connection between the body responsible for education and the church for which it functioned. The Congregational Board of Education, for instance, was founded in 1843 by the Congregational Union, to

6 e.g. Hints on the Establishment of Schools for Early Education, 5th. edn., 1851; Graduated Course of Instruction for Infant Schools, 3rd. edition, 1853; Manual for Infant Schools, 1856; Dr. and Miss Mayo, Practical Remarks upon Early Education, 5th. edition, 1857. The foundation of the Society is briefly described in Burgess, op.cit., pp.65-6.

7 Home and Colonial Society, Occasional Paper, Dec., 1851, p.2; Burgess, op.cit., pp.119-20, 142-44. There is much information on the above points in G.T. Berwick, Close of Cheltenham - Parish Pope (typescript in Cheltenham Library).

'promote the extension of primary education imbued with evangelical truth, conducted by teachers of religious character, and sustained by the combined efforts of parents and the liberal aid of Christian benevolence'. Considering that it represented the Voluntaryists, its activity was surprising. It maintained the college at Homerton, made building and maintenance grants, employed a travelling agent and published its own journal.<sup>8</sup> The Wesleyan Education Committee had been formed in 1841, as a subsidiary organ of Conference, to promote the development of distinctively Wesleyan schools in which the teachers were to be Wesleyans and the Wesleyan catechism and hymn book were to be used. Part of the Centenary Fund, raised in 1839, was allocated for training teachers, initially at Stow's Seminary in Glasgow and, after 1851, at the Committee's own college in Westminster; the Committee also employed an inspector.<sup>9</sup>

In 1847, the Catholic bishops and a group of influential laymen, headed by Charles Langdale, established the Catholic Poor School Committee, to provide education for the 40,000 Catholic children estimated to be destitute of it and to

8 The Congregational Board of Education - Its Origin, Constitution, Past Operations, and Proposed Measures, p.1, in Tracts on Education (N.D.). See Binns, op.cit., p.152; The Educator, or Home, the School and the Teacher, 1851-1864.

9 The establishment of the Committee is fully described in Mathews, op.cit. 1946, pp.156-202. The principles upon which Wesleyan schools were to be founded were printed at the beginning of each annual report of the Committee.

improve existing schools. Apart from a few peculiarities - for example, a determined effort sponsored by Wiseman to introduce music into the schools, - the Committee's methods were almost indistinguishable from those of Protestant bodies. It made grants, published school books, established for a few years a system of inspection not unlike that of the National Society and provided for the training of male teachers. This latter activity ultimately absorbed most of its income. Girls, in many schools, were well prepared as pupil teachers by the teaching orders of nuns, and well trained as students at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, and at St. Leonard's; but the maintenance of Hammersmith College, which in its early years was never full, and gained little from government grants because of the high failure rate amongst its ill-prepared young men, was a continuous drain upon the Committee's resources and led to a decrease in its other activities.<sup>10</sup> This tendency to concentrate on training may also be seen in some of the Protestant bodies just described. It would, indeed be possible to argue that the real influence of the British and Foreign School Society or the Wesleyan Education Committee was exercised through Borough Road or through Westminster rather

10 See C.P.S.C., A.R.s; for music, *The Catholic School*, 1849, pp.51-3. Boys' schools, as already noted, suffered from the refusal of the male Orders to accept Government grants; and from the fact that (C.P.S.C., A.R., 1864, p.17) 'the Catholic body comprises very few of the class of small shopkeepers and higher mechanics, from which Protestant pupil-teachers are commonly selected....'.



than through any other of their activities. This, however, is a topic too wide for discussion in this context, in which we are to consider the more concrete forms of aid which school managers could expect from the Societies.

One of the most useful services provided was also one of the simplest. In the 1840s the idea that books other than the Bible should be used in schools for the poor was one which publishers and booksellers were only just assimilating;<sup>11</sup> the difficulties, therefore, in the way of selecting and buying text books in the provinces were considerable. The depositories of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society were already well established, having, indeed, been set up in the early days when both societies attempted to exercise a rigid control over the books used in schools connected with them. By the period with which we are concerned, however, they had developed into general agencies for the sale of books, materials, and apparatus. A very large number of schools were as a matter of course equipped from one or other of these sources. The amount of business done was considerable. The annual figures for the National Society's Depository showed a

11 That some were realising the possibilities may be seen (a) in the number who were prepared to offer works at reduced prices to get them on to the Committee of Council's official Schedule and (b) the opposition, led by Longmans', to the inclusion in the Schedule of the subsidised books of the Irish National Board - see Correspondence of Messrs. Longman and Co. and John Murray with the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P., on the Publication of School Books by Government at Public Expense, 1851.

steady rise from, for instance, about £9,000 in 1851 to £29,960 in 1867. The reduced prices offered to members were a considerable attraction; according to a National Society list, drawn up in 1847, of equipment recommended for a school of 120 boys, the cost to members would be £27.17.6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d., to non-members, £39.12.8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. - a saving of nearly 30%.<sup>12</sup> Other organisations, with smaller resources, could not work on this scale, but followed the same general pattern. The Wesleyan Education Committee established a Book Agency in 1862 to fill the gap left by the abolition of the Committee of Council's schedule. The Poor School Committee, worried by the lack of books suitable for their schools, made a series of grants towards the costs of publication of approved Catholic text books.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, the Societies' periodical publications, in particular the Monthly Paper of the National Society and the Educational Record of the British and Foreign School Society provided a method of advertising posts and were, apart from applications to training college principals, the chief means whereby managers recruited their

12 For the early history of Depositories, see Burgess, *op.cit.*, pp.33; 140-1; Binns, *op.cit.*, pp.95-6; N.S., A.R.s - annual figures for the Depository; A.R. 1847, pp.96-7. The costs for 100 infants were respectively, £7.16.9d. and £9.4.7d.

13 Minutes 1862-3, pp.267-8. The C.P.S.C. opposed the publishers' attempt to get rid of the Irish books on the grounds that these were the only suitable books available for Catholic children - The Catholic School, 1851, p.224. Grants - C.P.S.C., A.R., 1857, p.16; 1858, p.9; 1859, p.8; For other bodies, e.g., The Educator, New Series, v.1, p.43.

teachers.<sup>14</sup>

Several of these organisations, so far as their limited funds permitted, made grants towards the building or equipment of schools. The Wesleyan Education Committee and the British and Foreign School Society assumed that finance was a problem for the local committees to deal with, but the British Society made a substantial number - in 1849, for instance, 120 - of grants of materials. The Poor School Committee began by offering building grants of up to 10/- per head, provided the application was approved by the bishop and government aid was applied for; and during the year 1847-8, they made grants of between £200 and £10 to 39 schools. But before long, as was always the case with voluntary societies after the first excitement had died down, the Committee was complaining of a reduced income and of the small number of subscribers - less than 500 in 1853; this generosity, therefore, could not be continued. However, occasional large grants were still made for schools of special importance - the model school in Charles Street, Drury Lane, for instance, received £1000 in 1857, as did the model school at Mount Pleasant in the following year.<sup>15</sup>

14 Other periodicals - The Educational Paper (Home and Colonial); The Educator (Congregational Board); The Catholic School (C.P.S.C.). The Monthly Paper was particularly useful because of its frequent publication.

15 B.F.S., A.R., 1849, p.4; C.P.S.C., A.R., 1848, pp.15, 58; 1851, p.5; 1853, p.7; 1857, p.13; 1858, p.8.

Catholic school managers, who could expect little middle-class support, were obviously in need of outside help, especially in covering the large expenses involved in starting a school. It is perhaps more surprising to find the Voluntarist organisation, the Congregational Board, making grants totalling £120,000 towards building schools - the Board's annual reports regularly record such aid.<sup>16</sup> But all of this was on a limited scale. Only the National Society had resources enough to provide grants for most schools receiving government aid and many which did not; grants which had always been made on conditions similar to those ultimately adopted by the state - equivalent local contributions, freedom from debt, secure tenure of the site and the acceptance of certain standards of accommodation; although, inevitably, the Society's powers of enforcement were less effective than those of the Education Department. The vast amount of correspondence still extant in the National Society archives is sufficient indication of the scale upon which it worked; the file relating to Gregory's district may be taken as an indication of what an enterprising and persistent manager might hope to receive in building and equipment grants. Surviving correspondence for the years 1859-1866 shows that the Society voted, in 1859, a grant for new schools at the rate of 2/6d. per child (at this time their

16 Binns, *op.cit.*, p.152; Congregational Board, A.R.s, 1851-64 - e.g., 1854-5, 13 schools; 1859-60, 22 schools; 1863-4, 32 schools.

standard rate); in 1860 an additional £150 (to enable Gregory to complete the building before the Education Department's building grant restrictions came into force); in 1861, £5 for fittings; in 1865, £25 for new classrooms; in the same year, £80 towards new schools, and an additional £10 in the following year.<sup>17</sup>

Building grants, however, were not in themselves any guarantee for the success or survival of a school. Both the Poor School Committee and the Congregational Board made a limited number of maintenance grants. The Board, indeed, lamented that it had not £1500 a year to provide grants of £5 or £10, since such grants, given for a few years, often enabled schools to get on their feet.<sup>18</sup> The National Society had before 1846, on the initiative of Robert Saunders, the Factory Inspector, undertaken responsibility for the maintenance of a limited number of factory schools in the textile areas; but the first systematic provision of general maintenance grants among Anglicans came from the Church of England Education Society. By choosing this form of aid they avoided direct competition with the National Society and were, perhaps, influenced by the the demands for

17 For the system, Burgess, op.cit., pp.27-8, 31-2. N.S.Files, St.Mary the Less, Lambeth. N.S.building grants are further discussed below, p.323.

18 C.P.S.C., A.R., 1848, pp.58-60 - 89 grants of £50 to £5; The Educator, v.1, p.139.

help which produced the Capitation Minute of 1853. Their purpose was to meet 'the pressing educational want... a regular and reliable source of annual income', acting, in the words of one of the founders, Canon Girdlestone, as 'the public almoners of the rich for the benefit of poor districts'. The schools were circularised as to their intentions (the Bermondsey committee, with characteristic managerial vagueness, referred to the Society in its minutes simply as an 'Association of noblemen and gentlemen'). By 1855, they had an income of £2,487.16.6d. and were making grants in excess of this. One correspondent compared them with the society which provided evangelical curates for poor parishes - 'The Education Society is doing in our schools what the Pastoral-Aid Society has done for our churches'.<sup>19</sup>

The National Society, apart from the provision of factory schools, never entered the field of general maintenance, but during this period made a surprising variety of recurring grants earmarked for specific purposes - attempted, in fact, the same policy as the Education Department, that of providing financial inducements for the adoption of particular methods. Most of them were made in collaboration (on the £-for-£ princ-

19 Burgess, op.cit., pp.130-1, 142-4. I have only been able to find the first 4 A.R.s of the Society, from 1853-57; A.R.1854-5, p.13; 1855-6, pp.14, 25; P.R.O. 30/29, Box 23, Part 1, Girdlestone-Granville, 5.5.56; Bermondsey, M.B; 20.3.56.

ciple) with diocesan boards, and therefore depended upon the efficiency of these institutions, a point which will be discussed later in this chapter. They ranged from grants to encourage specific experiments<sup>20</sup> to offers in the mid-'50s of exhibitions to provide some training (3 months or 6 months) for teachers in rural schools which could not afford certificated teachers.<sup>21</sup> In 1858 there developed from this, after correspondence with the local boards, a policy of making grants for one to three years to enable schools in rural areas to employ certificated teachers and thereby qualify for government aid. This policy was continued after the Revised Code. By 1864, 83 schools had received the grant and the Secretary periodically circularised the boards exhorting them to take up the offer.<sup>22</sup> After the Revised Code ended the official book grant, the Society offered grants for the purchase of books, provided the diocesan boards contributed the equivalent - the purpose being to give teachers the materials necessary to bring children up to Revised Code standards.<sup>23</sup>

20 e.g. the special grant of £5 for the first year of the Salisbury Diocesan Prize Scheme - A.R., Salisbury Prize Scheme, 1860, p.12; or the participation in Miss Burdett-Coutts' ambulatory scheme - below, p.49.

21 Burgess, op. cit., p.106; Durham Diocesan Society, A.R., 1856, p.8; Suffolk Archidiaconal Society, M.B., 24.6.58, 17.10.61; Box, 20.4.56, 20.4.58. In this box of papers there are copies of the forms of application for this and other grants described below.

22 Burgess, op. cit., pp.139-40; London D.B., A.R. 1859, p.23; Suffolk Society Box, 10.5.58, 22.5.58, 9. 8.58, 16.8.58, 17.12.62, 26.1.66; N.S., A.R.1864, p. xxx.

23 Burgess, op.cit., p.142; Suffolk Society, Box, 26.1.66, 17.1.67, 5.3.67.

The programmes of other bodies were less ambitious; but then the National Society had greater resources than the others. However, it is hard not to feel some surprise that the British and Foreign School Society, with its text-book reputation for an enlightened approach to education, never attempted similar policies. It had, after all, the support of immensely wealthy Whig aristocrats, like the Russells, the Cavendishes and Lord Lansdowne, and industrialists like the Strutts, Bernhard Samuelson, and a host of lesser men, and should therefore have been able to raise money had it wished to do so. Possibly the real advantage which the National Society possessed over its rivals, even over the state, was its access to local machinery in the form of the diocesan boards. The existence of this machinery also affected the Society's attitude on the question of inspection, which is now to be considered.

In the early days of monitorial schools, both Lancaster and Bell had toured the country inspecting the schools established on their systems. The quarrel between Lancaster and his committee brought this to an end so far as British schools were concerned, but Bell continued his visits until his death, after which the National Society left inspection, which had been made unpopular by his highly critical attitude, to the district committees. The Society's original policy of appointing 'organizing masters', who undertook to reorganise schools according to the Bell system, before handing them over



to the permanent teachers, had been abandoned earlier. Meanwhile, after the British and Foreign School Society cut its connection with Lancaster, the Secretary and the Superintendent of Borough Road had carried on the work of visiting schools in their spare time. In the late '20s a travelling agent, who was as much responsible for publicity as for inspecting, was appointed; and regular paid inspection was provided in a few areas, notably in London.<sup>24</sup> The beginnings of all the types of inspection now to be described may be found in these early years.

After 1840, the 'travelling agent' merged into the inspector, except that the Congregational Board, which by its very nature could scarcely claim the right to inspect, employed an agent who in 1854 was Rev. F.Neller.<sup>25</sup> Throughout the period with which this study is concerned, the British and Foreign School Society employed a number of full-time inspectors; varying from four to seven, but normally five or six, most of them ex-British schoolmasters.<sup>26</sup> Extracts from their reports, usually showing much good sense, were always included in the Society's annual

24 The early history of inspection by the Societies is summarised in Ball; *op.cit.*, pp.14-20.

25 The Educator, New Series, v.1, p.42.

26 Four in 1849 (A.R., 1849), seven in 1861 (A.R.1861). E.Salter, inspector in the Northern district in the '60s, had been secretary of the Manchester British Schoolmasters' Association in 1847 (Ball, *op. cit.*, p.126).

reports.<sup>27</sup> Possessing no sanctions, they were often welcome where H.M.I.s were not - 'They are felt to be valuable', wrote J.S.Winder, the Newcastle Commission's Assistant Commissioner for the Rochdale and Bradford areas, '...in the way of offering suggestions as to modes of teaching and management, and are consequently received with welcome, but the absence of authority places them on such a different footing with the Government inspection, that they neither clash with it nor could be substituted for it'. Provision for their right of visit was occasionally written into the trust deeds of schools, Lonkley Proprietary School, Allenheads, for example, which were never intended for the poor. Sometimes they were able to persuade Voluntaryist managers to accept government aid, as at a British school in Monmouthshire, where the inscription, 'Non delegatus admittitur' carved above the door sufficiently indicated the mood in which it was founded.<sup>28</sup> Their visits are usually recorded without comment, in log books and managers' minutes, but there are occasional references to advice very similar to that given by H.M. Inspectors. On his visit to Pleasley Hill school in 1867, for instance, Mr. Salter reported a slight inaccuracy in reading, but general vigour, while in the early '50s the committee of Derby British school had accepted a plan suggested

27 Binns, op.cit., pp.219-222, prints some extracts from reports of the '60s.

28 N.C., v.2, p.216; S.I.C., v.19, p.467; Minutes, 1856-7, p.552.

by the British inspector for home lessons, to interest the parents in school work.<sup>29</sup> By far their most common duty however, was to conduct the annual public examinations which were almost universal in British schools. Originally these examinations, usually conducted jointly by the teacher and an outsider in front of an audience, had been characteristic of all monitorial schools, but had been abandoned by the '50s in most church schools because of the artificiality for which they were criticised by H.M. Inspectors.<sup>30</sup> In nonconformist schools, however, they survived as one of the chief means of gaining publicity and, as a result, support. As a British inspector wrote of public examinations in Lancashire:

'Every proceeding is watched with keen attention; the knowledge of the scholars, their quick and shrewd appreciation of the questions addressed to them, even their little honest blunders, together with the skill and tact of the teacher or examiner, and the discriminating and sympathetic addresses of the chairman and others at the close, invariably excite and maintain the deepest interest. Working men who never spoke in public before in their lives will sometimes start to their feet and heartily express their delight and gratitude'.

Sometimes teachers of repute were invited to examine other schools (the master of Cheltenham British school was much in demand for this purpose) but the British inspector seems

29 Pleasley Hill, 1.2.67; Derby Br. M.B., 5.5.53. Other examples of visits; Tewkesbury, Visitors Book, 3.4.45; Bishop's Stortford, M.B., 23.9.56; Park Lane, Whitefield, 7.6.66, 9.7.67; Old Shildon (Durham R.O.) 14.11.66; Domestic Mission (Manchester Archives) 27.9.64, 31.5.66, 14.8.67, 19.9.67, 5.8.68; Marshall St. (Manchester Archives) 26.3.67; Ipswich Br.I., 3.6.65, 28.6.65; Castle St., Kendal, L.B., 15.8.64, 28.8.68; Evesham Br.G., 1.3.64, 18.6.66; Moreton Br. (Glos.R.O.), 1.3.64.

30 'Annual impostures'; 'self-deluding mockery' - see Ball, op.cit., p.213.

normally to have been preferred.<sup>31</sup> Whilst from an educational point of view, Anglican doubts may well have been justified, it is possible that public examinations, which almost invariably included questions on geography, history and grammar, helped to preserve the teaching of those subjects after the Revised Code.

Wesleyan inspection appears to have been modelled on the British system, and was very similar in its aims and methods. There was only one inspector, Mr. Armstrong, previously organiser of missionary schools in the West Indies and superintendent of the Wesleyan students in Glasgow, who served from 1843 until his death in January, 1865. Since he was single-handed, his visits were less regular than those of British Inspectors. He was called in for consultation, as, for example, when he visited the Deal Wesleyans, to advise them on the conversion of their Sunday school into a day school; and his reports suggest a man of considerable perception.<sup>32</sup> The failure to replace him was perhaps an indication of declining interest in denominational education amongst Wesleyans in the '60s.

31 B.F.S., A.R., 1865-6, p.14. Examples - Truro Br.I.(Cornwall R.O.); Basingstoke Br. (Hants. R.O.); Bishop's Stortford; Hoddesdon; Zion, Lees; Jews' School, Manchester (Manchester Local History Library); Stafford Br.; see also Surrey Educational Research Association, Extracts from Records illustrating the History of Education in Surrey, 1962 - Reigate Br.

32 Abstracts were published in the Committee's Annual Reports. For his career, A.R. 1864, pp.71-2; Deal, 1.9.52.

The Home and Colonial School Society was in a special position. Whilst there was always more interchange of teachers between denominations than is realised, the Society was alone in deliberately maintaining the old evangelical tradition of cooperation between low church and dissent, providing teachers for British as well as Anglican schools. Thus the important British schools at Derby and Kendal got their infant teachers from Gray's Inn Road.<sup>33</sup> Home and Colonial-trained teachers were therefore dispersed amongst a great variety of schools, whilst the Society, advocating special infant methods, was exceptionally anxious to maintain contact with its ex-students to see that they were carrying out its ideas. They were expected to write to the College within three months of taking a school, giving their timetables and samples of their lesson notes, and to continue to write at least once a year. But this was not felt to be enough (doubtless those most in need of supervision were the least inclined to write) and in 1859 the Society decided to appoint two female visitors to inspect its old students - 'Teachers of experience, well acquainted with the principles and practice of the system, and of decided piety'. There was some difficulty in finding suitable candidates, and the offices were not immediately filled; but during the '60s the records of the Society and of schools show

33 Derby Br.M.B., 6.11.50, 4.12.50; Castle St., Kendal, M.B., 25.5.46, 3.9.46, 8.4.47, 2.7.51.

Miss Gaster, Miss Penson, Miss Jones and Miss Johnson functioning as perhaps the first professional women inspectors in England. Their technique appears to have been to spend one or more whole days in a school and to re-visit it quickly if they had suggested changes. Their reports in the Educational Paper suggest they were women of considerable ability; Miss Jones was sent to America in 1861 to organise infant training at Oswego.<sup>34</sup>

As has already been stated, the approach of the National Society to inspection was different. While the Society's immediate reaction to the Committee of Council's scheme of inspection in 1839 had been to appoint their own paid inspector, Rev. Edward Feild, the Concordat, by conceding to the Archbishops the right to control appointments to the Inspectorate, seemed to make H.M. Inspectors as much the representatives of the Church as of the State, and therefore to obviate the need for separate National Society appointments.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the group of Tractarians who revitalised the Society in the late 1830s were thinking along different lines; that the inspection of

34 Home and Colonial Society, Manual, p.37; A.R., 1858-9, pp.14-15; Educational Paper, 1859, p.6; 1860, p.70; 1861, pp.19-24; All Saints'I., Derby (Derby Library) 20.10.64; Christ Church I., Birmingham (Birmingham Library) 2.11.63, 23.4.66, 11.6.68; 19.6.68; St.Philip, Maidstone (Kent Archives), 17.2.63, 2.11.65, 3.7.67; I., 18.2.63, 25.2.63; Nettlestead (Kent Archives) 6.11.65.

35. On this point see Ball, op.cit., pp.77 (note), 204-9.

schools was an appropriate manifestation of diocesan authority and should be conducted under the supervision of the bishop; and, in terms of current church politics, the attachment of the duty of inspection to a cathedral stall might save it from the marauding hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.<sup>36</sup>

Consequently, as will be seen below, the Society left inspection to the dioceses and instead revived the office of organizing master, as a more constructive contribution to educational progress. The original organizing masters had established monitorial schools; the purpose of the new system, which depended upon the existence of a local organisation to cooperate, was that each master should spend some time in one area, working for several days in each of a number of schools advising the managers on how they might be improved, and conducting vacation courses for teachers ('harvest schools'). The masters, normally holders of 1st class certificates, were paid £120 to £150 a year, with travelling expenses. Of this salary, the National Society paid half and the local body employing them (normally a diocesan board) the other half, and their travelling expenses. In 1857 the Education Department agreed to pay augmentation grants as if they had been teaching in inspected schools. In the heyday of the system there were four such masters, but by 1861 the Society's annual report

<sup>36</sup> See Burgess, *op. cit.*, chapter 6; A.H.D.Acland, *Memoir of Sir T.D.Acland*, 1902, pp. 86-88; D.Newsome, *The Parting of Friends*, 1966, pp.218-221 (the views of Manning and the Wilberforces); R.I. Wilberforce, *On the System of Inspection Best Adapted for National Education*, 1840, p.57.

stated that 'The increased employment of certificated teachers has diminished the need of Organizing Masters, and the demand for their services has consequently fallen off'; and after the Revised Code they ceased to be directly employed. But in more remote districts such help was still needed, and as late as 1866 the Society was contributing to the salary of one employed in the Carlisle diocese.<sup>37</sup>

The function of organising masters was to improve schools not under inspection, raising them, whenever possible, to a level which would qualify them for a government grant. Since one of the masters, J. Flint, published his advice as 'Plain Hints for Organizing and Teaching a Church School, and conducting its routine for an entire day'<sup>38</sup> we have evidence on which to judge their work. Where Flint's advice was taken, it would have resulted in a school classified into four groups according to reading ability, reclassified for arithmetic, with the teacher responsible for two classes and monitors for the other two; the furniture would have been sensibly arranged, the discipline quiet. Some attempt would have been made to cultivate intelligence; the amount of learning by rote would have been reduced; the top two classes would have done home lessons;

37 Burgess, op.cit., pp.137-9; on harvest schools, below, p.145 ; Church Education Directory, 1853, p.57 - this useful compendium was published annually by the Society; Minutes, 1857-8, pp.32-35; N.S., A.R., 1861, p.ix; S.C.1866, q.1402.

38 Date of publication, 1856.



geography would have been taught, and a little grammar, but only in so far as it arose from the children's reading - in other words, the standard aimed at would certainly have received a favourable report from H.M. Inspector.

The services of the organizing masters were much in demand in the middle years of the period. In 1854, they were at work in the dioceses of Winchester, Chichester, Ely, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Llandaff, Oxford and Worcester; in 1855 in Winchester, St. David's, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Llandaff and Worcester. The overlap in the two lists illustrates the fact that, spending a considerable time in a district, they came to know its problems well. The organising master who reported to the Stafford Archidiaconal Board in 1850 on work in fourteen schools, all but three of which were in North Staffordshire must, for example, have gained considerable understanding of the problems of schools in the Potteries.<sup>39</sup> Most diocesan boards received glowing reports of the value of their work. 'Mr. Tearle has made us see our deficiencies', wrote the vicar of Bakewell in 1848. After another master had

39 N.S.A.R., 1854, p.vi; 1855, p.viii; Monthly Paper, 1850, p.122. The schools were Handsworth, Yoxall, West Bromwich, Kidsgrove, Goldenhill, Newcastle, Audley, Hamer End, Butt Lane, Burslem, Cobridge, Newchapel, Stoke and Fenton.

visited his first fifteen schools in the Hereford diocese, the Board could write of '... one unvarying testimony to the benefits their Schools have derived from his services... applications are being made on all sides for the assistance of the organizing Master, now that the nature of his services have been more clearly understood'. A rather more measured appreciation came from Lord Lyttelton, a leading figure on the Worcester Diocesan Board, which employed organizing masters for three years. He spoke of them as doing '... unmixed not very important good to the small schools, of which there are many untouched by the Government system'. The fairest summing up was probably that of the Lichfield Board, which concluded that an organizing master could not turn a feeble teacher into a good one, but could call out any capabilities that were there and, where there were none, could at least make the state of things clear.<sup>40</sup>

It would be interesting to know how far the Catholic Poor School Committee was influenced by National Society experience in appointing in 1849 an organizing mistress, Miss Gaynor from the Dublin Training School, paying her £30, board and expenses, Miss Gaynor, after taking the certificate examination, spent

40 Lichfield D.B., A.R., 1847-8, p.21; 1849-50, p.16; Hereford D.B., A.R., 1850, p.9; Worcester D.B., A.R., 1852-3, pp.5-6; 1853-4, pp.5-6; 1854-5, pp.5-7; N.C., v.2, p.314.

three months in each of four convent schools; she entered the fourth (St. Mary's, York) as a nun and was replaced by Mary Ann McCormack, who served until she was appointed head of the Galway Model School in 1852. She had no successor, since the Committee, in a period of financial stringency, argued that the convent schools reorganised by the two mistresses were now perfect models for others to follow.<sup>41</sup> If this was an imitation of National Society practice, it is paralleled by the close similarities which eventually developed between local Catholic organisations and the system which the Anglicans established after 1839.

#### B. LOCAL

The activity of local agencies larger than the committees of individual schools was for most of the period almost entirely restricted to Anglican circles. The Church of England, as has been pointed out, had a ready-made local organisation which was at this time at a stage of rapid development. The revival of the institutional life of the church, already discussed in connection with parochial work, resulted also in a new concept of diocesan functions. At the beginning of the period, Sir James

<sup>41</sup> C.P.S.C., A.R., 1849, p.17; 1850, p.8; 1851, p.6; 1852, p.7; P.R.O. Ed.11/31, 27.7.49, 28.7.49, 1.8.49, 6.12.49, 11.9.50, 16.9.50, 16.11.50.

Graham could make his notorious remark that he could not see the necessity of increasing the number of bishops, since the duties of existing ones were - and should be - so light; by the end of it, at least in dioceses like Winchester and Oxford, something like the modern concept of a bishop's functions had emerged. As a result, in this, the last period in which there was still some substance in the church's claim to be the educator of the whole people, education benefitted. The contrast between old and new may be seen clearly in the diary of the Tractarian vicar of East Dereham. When he came to Norfolk in 1850 he complained of his fellow-clergy that 'Indifferentism is the prevailing feeling among them, and the farm, the Petty Sessions, or the Union Board are their occupations'; and he hardly ever saw his first Bishop, Hinds. He was doctrinally quite out of sympathy with Hinds's successor, Bishop Pelham, an earnest low churchman, but recognised the value of his incessant activity in the diocese; and by 1870 was concluding that evangelicals were not the 'real danger to our Zion'.<sup>42</sup>

An energetic bishop who chivvied his clergy, either because he was determined to make his diocese efficient or because he was

<sup>42</sup> Chadwick, *op cit.*, pp.236, 475-6; H.B.J. Armstrong, ed., *A Norfolk Diary, 1949*, *passim*, esp.pp.13, 152. One of Bishop Pelham's first acts was to summon a meeting to discuss how to improve education - *Minutes, 1857-8*, p.356.

especially interested in education, could have a marked effect upon the schools. The London Diocesan Board owed much to the strong lead of Bishop Blomfield and, after him, Bishop Tait; while the surprising efficiency of the diocesan and archidiaconal boards in the huge diocese of Exeter (size was usually an obstacle to smooth running) was certainly partly owing to pressure from its formidable bishop, Henry Phillpotts. Lord Auckland, formerly Kay-Shuttleworth's collaborator in Battersea, who was found by the Assistant Commissioner of the Newcastle Commission in the night school at Wells, teaching a class of navvies to read and do arithmetic, had a more direct interest in education than some of his colleagues. As Bishop of Sodor and Man he reformed the school system of the island so that by the late '50s it was receiving a larger per capita rate of grant than any English or Welsh county. Then, moving to Bath and Wells, he found a diocesan board which had always been active, but chiefly, under Archdeacon Denison's influence, in opposition to the Education Department, brought it back on to the rails and made it one of the most lively and constructive of them all. Bishop Lonsdale of Lichfield, a former Principal of King's College, London, exercised a comparable influence

in his diocese.<sup>43</sup> Bishop C.R. Sumner of Winchester, in addition to a conscientious encouragement of school building (£522,039 was spent in the diocese for this purpose between 1829 and 1861) gave the Winchester Training College the free use of Wolvesey Palace between 1847 and 1862, wrote in 1845 to all the church schools in the diocese urging them to accept government inspection, collected and published favourable opinions from those who had done so, in order to overcome the resistance of others, and exercised a careful supervision over their activities. When, for example, the committee of Christ Church, Streatham, had a quarrel with a group in Tulse Hill, who wished to found a new school, they sent the correspondence to Bishop Sumner. The managers of the Bermondsey schools quarrelled with the curate of St.James's, whom they had excluded from the committee after an embarrassing episode in which the schoolmistress collapsed with a nervous breakdown (she alleged that the curate had kissed her three times and that it had preyed upon her mind); they felt it necessary to send a

43 On Diocesan Boards, see below. N.C., v.3, p.35; Minutes, 1858-9, p.xlv; Ball, op.cit., p.128. Note the account of Lord Auckland's investigation of the teaching of drawing in C.S.Macdonald, Henry Cole and Public Art Education (M.Ed.thesis, Manchester, 1966) p.44. For Bishop Lonsdale's close interest, see E.B.Denison, Life of John Lonsdale, 1868, pp.148-9.

deputation to Sumner to explain!<sup>44</sup>

Perhaps the best example, however, of episcopal influence was Sumner's protégé and ultimate successor, Samuel Wilberforce, the 'remodeller of the episcopate'.<sup>45</sup> While serving in the Winchester diocese, Wilberforce had been a notable promoter of schools in the Portsmouth area, and was largely instrumental in founding the Winchester Diocesan Board in 1839 and, as Archdeacon of Surrey, the Southwark Fund for Schools and Churches which was launched in 1845. After he became Bishop of Oxford at the end of this year the records show him re-vitalising the diocesan board, establishing a complete system of diocesan inspection and attempting to spread it beyond his diocese, expanding and virtually refounding the local training college (Culham), opening new schools, and attending educational meetings, inspiring them (his preaching was famous) with his 'eloquent and flowing words'. In his visitations of the diocese he investigated carefully the state of the schools in each parish. By 1854, after eight years' work, his visitation of the Archdeaconry of Oxford showed, of 221 parishes, only 31

44 G.H.Sumner, *Life of C.R.Sumner*, 1876, pp.308, 426; *Minutes*, 1850-51, v.2, p.378 (Bishop of Winchester's Charge, 1850); Christ Church, Streatham (G.L.C.R.O.) 28.5.45, 30.4.61; Bermondsey, M.B. 3.11.48, 23.2.49. See *Minutes*, 1850-51, v.1, pp.lxxii-iii, for his correspondence about another school.

45 Quoted by E.P. Baker, *op.cit.*, p.iii.

without church day schools; and of these, 8 were small parishes whose children went to schools in the next village; 2 were in Oxford city and in the same position; 3 were said to have no children (one had a population of 9 and in another, the congregation of 15 was said to be larger than the population); 2 were in process of building; while at Heythrop the influence of the Catholic grandee Lord Shrewsbury and in Minster Lovell of Feargus O'Gonnor's Chartist cooperative prevented the founding of church schools. This left only 14 in which there was no reasonable excuse, in several of which there was an aged incumbent or one who had only just succeeded in the living. An Oxford diocesan inspector, asked to explain to the Select Committee of 1866 why, in pleasing contrast to some other areas, all the 19 schools in his district were either receiving government aid or of a standard to receive it, replied, 'The Bishop works hard himself, and makes us all work with him'.<sup>46</sup>

The machinery through which Wilberforce and others sought to establish a system of church education was that of the

<sup>46</sup> Summer, op.cit., pp.261-4, 295; Newsome, op.cit., p.282; L.Naylor, Gulham Training College, 1853-1953, 1953, p.17; Ashwell and Wilberforce, Life of Samuel Wilberforce, 1880, v.3, p.67; Report of an Educational Conference in the Oxford Diocese, 1856, p.77; Baker, op. cit.; S.C. 1866, qq.1567, 1574. His ideas on discipline were advanced - '... make them happy...never let them get tired; if they want to sleep, don't wake them; let them kick their legs about when sitting on the bench, if they like...' (Ashwell and Wilberforce, op.cit., v.3, p.228).



diocesan boards.<sup>47</sup> This generic term will be used as a convenient label for those organisations, not all boards, and not all diocesan, which grew out of the work of the Tractarian group already mentioned.<sup>48</sup> In a number of dioceses the movement to establish the boards was well under way before the end of 1838 - for example, Bath and Wells, Chester, Chichester and Exeter.<sup>49</sup> Their originators were not thinking in terms simply of the

47 The evidence as to diocesan boards is scattered and, apparently, incomplete, and any remarks in this section must be regarded as tentative, being based only upon such evidence as the writer has happened to turn up. An attempt to investigate them through existing diocesan bodies was abandoned after several failures, as none of the dioceses approached appeared to have preserved their Boards' records. Some evidence is to be found in Parliamentary Papers. Abstracts of the reports of some boards were published by the National Society in its Annual Reports and in the Monthly Paper. The Society has an extensive, though incomplete, collection of Annual Reports of diocesan boards, which has been heavily drawn on for this section. The reports of the Manchester Church Education Society are in the Manchester Local History Library. The British Museum has a nearly complete set of reports of the London Diocesan Board from 1839-59, and odd examples of others; and isolated reports may be found in other collections. Correspondence about their activities may sometimes be found in school records, and visits of diocesan inspectors were commonly recorded in log books. The Lancs.R.O. has early records of the Chester Board in Blackburn Coucher Book no.17, compiled by Dr. Whittaker, the vicar of Blackburn; Kent Archives have the Minute Book of the Ashford Deanery Board; Hereford City Library the Minutes of the Hereford Board (Poole MSS.v.XVI); and E.Suffolk R.O. a remarkably complete set of records of the Suffolk Archidiaconal Society. The account which follows is based on this material; and it must be recognised that the writer has no means of knowing how typical it may be.

48 See above, p. 123. Burgess ascribes the initiative to S.F. Wood; Newsome, to Manning; Gladstone and T.D. Acland were much involved, and Acland himself asserted that the real author was 'Mr. G.F. Mathison, of the Mint'. For references see above, note 36.

49 Bath and Wells, 1st. Report 1838-9; Chester, public meeting 8th. January, 1839; Chichester, established 1838; Exeter, committee set up 23rd. October, 1838.

education of the poor, but of the responsibility, as one aspect of the life of the church, which in their view it should take for the spiritual and mental development of all.<sup>50</sup> Hence, for example, the Chichester Diocesan Association (for whose foundation Manning was largely responsible) had education as only one of its objectives - the others were the provision of more churches and additional curates, and the augmentation of poor livings. The first action of the Exeter Board (amongst whose members were J.D. Coleridge, Stafford Northcote and T.D.Acland and his brother) was to set up a committee to investigate the possibility of establishing a training school, the way to unite all church schools in the diocese, and the state of middle-class education. Many of the boards began by setting up a middle-class school - Chester and York, Bath and Wells and Bristol, for example,<sup>51</sup> hoping that thereby the church would be able to assert control of middle-class education. This hope had the result of making the policy of some boards more liberal than it would otherwise have been. For example, when Keble proposed at the meeting in 1839 which founded the Winchester Board that all masters of schools in union with it should be

50 On this see Manning's sermon, quoted in Newsome, op.cit., p.220.

51 In Chester and York the schools were connected with the Training Colleges. Bristol later became the Bristol Trade School (below, p.290). Bath and Wells school was Failand Lodge (Ball, op.cit., p.77).

communicants and that no books should be used unless they had been approved by the Board, Samuel Wilberforce carried an amendment that masters should merely be members of the Church of England and no books used of which the Board disapproved, in order to avoid frightening off middle-class schools.<sup>52</sup>

Although the movement had high church origins the idea was accepted by low churchmen, though not always on a diocesan basis. The Manchester evangelicals set up the Manchester Church Education Society and Francis Glose the Cheltenham Board of Education, which was ultimately responsible for founding the middle-class Cheltenham College.<sup>53</sup> Some Dioceses were late in establishing boards, Hereford, for example, not until 1849. The first report of the Carlisle Diocesan Society was only issued in 1856. Of the two new dioceses of the period, Ripon founded a board in 1841, but Manchester never had one. The clergy of Manchester and Salford and their lay supporters were used to acting independently before the diocese was established and continued to do so after the collapse of the Church Education Society, in the Manchester and Salford Committee. The first Bishop, Prince Lee, was too unpopular to be able to give a lead and was especially suspect in the field of education, since he at one time gave

52 Summer, op.cit., pp.261-4.

53 Berwick, op.cit., chapter 7, pp.9-10.

half-hearted support to the L.P.S.A.;<sup>54</sup> so the new diocese made a contribution towards the upkeep of the Chester institutions, and the conurbation of Manchester and Salford went its own way.

The position was complicated in some areas by the survival of the original local societies which had been founded in the early days of National schools. Where there was a strong lead from the bishop, these were no obstacle. The Hampshire Society for the Education of the Infant Poor, for instance, which in its day had been one of the most active of the branch societies, resigned its care for education in the diocese to the Winchester Board in 1843 and agreed to limit itself to the management of the central schools.<sup>55</sup> But in other areas there was simply a revival of the old society, with a slight modification of its functions.<sup>56</sup> This in itself, since these older bodies were firmly connected in the public mind with the education of the poor, was an obstacle in the way of

54 For Prince Lee, see D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, 1961, pp.92-147.

55 Burgess, *op.cit.*, p.35; Hampshire Society, A.R. 1843 (Winchester Archives).

56 Often at a late stage - the Northamptonshire Society was only reconstituted some time between 1852 and 1854. Its report for 1851 was a protest against the prevailing view that its work was now done, and a plea for support. The 1855 Report announced the closure of the old Central School and the new aims of providing teacher-training, the establishment of Reformatory and Industrial schools, the improvement of grammar schools and the inspection of National schools. If Reports, for the intervening years were issued, they are not available in the collections consulted.

control of middle-class education, in which field it soon became clear that the boards had undertaken more than they had any hope of performing.

Indeed, the history of many of them is a melancholy story of the contraction of large aims in the face of administrative and financial difficulties. The process is clearly seen in the correspondence of Dr. Whittaker, the vicar of Blackburn, with the forceful secretary of the Chester Board, Rev. Horace Powys of Warrington.<sup>57</sup> The function of the Board as stated at the time of its establishment was the supervision of education in a diocese which filled the whole gap between Carlisle in the north and Lichfield in the south and included the most thickly populated area of England. Local boards were to be set up in each rural deanery to organise publicity, the collection of subscriptions and the making of statistical enquiries. The Diocesan Board proposed to appoint a paid inspector, to establish middle-class schools, training schools for men and women, and model schools with pupil teachers paid by the Board; and began work by demanding elaborate returns from each deanery of every type of school in it. In view of the difficulty which the Education Department encountered throughout the period in extracting the simplest statistics from managers, it is not

57 Blackburn Coucher Book, no.17. For other information about his activities, see Ball, *op.cit.*, pp.150-51.

surprising that such a survey was quite beyond the powers of a diocesan board in 1839. Whittaker, in sending his schedule to Powys half empty, explained that the only replies he had had were from little country places where the information could be collected easily. No one else would bother. Whittaker himself was in trouble later in the year, because he went off on his holidays to Ambleside, forgetting to arrange a quarterly meeting.

But unbusinesslike habits were not the worst problem. The original subscription lists of the boards had benefitted from the excitement caused by the church's quarrel with the Committee of Council. Once this was over, they suffered badly. There was a reverse side to the Anglican enthusiasm for parochial activity - throughout the period it was extremely difficult to raise money for any but local purposes. In September, 1841, Whittaker wrote to apologise for sending no subscriptions - there was no zeal in the country incumbents, he said, and the Blackburn clergy would not cooperate at all. This response had apparently been general, since Powys issued a circular listing the unique achievements of the Board and asking rhetorically whether these were to be halted for lack of money. This provoked a sharp reply from Whittaker. The difficulties, he said, arose from Powys's 'forcing system'. He himself dare not call a meeting to ask for subscriptions. Powys should face the hard fact that there was a trade depression during which he could not expect to raise money as in 1839. He should,

said Whittaker, cut down his expensive projects (those for model schools, for example) and stop interfering with the deanery boards. The next few years saw this happen. Powys succeeded in establishing his two training colleges - Chester for men and Warrington for women - but except for a few building grants of £5 or £10, the activities of Chester Board were by the late '40s confined to their maintenance.

Detailed information about the early years of other boards is lacking, but their annual reports suggest a similar pattern of large projects curtailed by lack of funds. All of them found difficulty in raising money. Worcester, for example, was only enabled to employ an organizing master in 1852 by two special donations, one of 10 guineas from one of the diocesan inspectors, the other of £12.10.2d from the Hagley Church Association, a village society established by the Lytteltons. Salisbury, like Chester, chose to use almost all its resources to support teacher-training, whilst the Hereford Board 'most reluctantly' refused to unite with the Worcester Board in founding a training college, since the lowest contribution which could possibly have been offered towards expenses would have absorbed all its means, and it had ambitious plans for the improvement of existing schools and teachers.<sup>58</sup> The boards (or the working committees of societies) consisted of laymen as well as clergy, and

58 Worcester D.B., A.R., 1851-2, p.6; Salisbury D.B., A.R., 1854-5, pp.7-8; Hereford D.B., A.R., 1850, p.7.

in some cases the laity were very important. The London Board, like the Exeter Board, had a strong lay element, including Shaftesbury, Sir Robert Inglis, Gladstone, Acland and Mathison and, later, Harry Chester of the Education Department. The activity of the Worcester Board was largely due to two laymen - Lord Lyttelton and C.B. Adderley, who were responsible for the founding of Saltley College; but in most cases the success of a board depended on the clergy - in particular upon the tact and efficiency of the secretary and the lead from the top, usually from the bishop, but sometimes from another cleric. Until 1847, for example, what little was done in York appears to have been due to Robert Wilberforce, then Archdeacon of the East Riding, since under the aged Archbishop Vernon Harcourt the diocese was still living in the 18th. century.<sup>59</sup> The Hereford Board was founded just before Dawes came to Hereford as Dean, but it is clear from the records that its policy in the '50s stemmed from him, rather than from Bishop Hampden.

Organisation was one of the major problems for these amateur administrators. John Armitstead who, as a rural dean, had experience of the vast Chester diocese, suggested in 1847 that the secretary of each diocesan board should be ex officio on the committee of the National Society, that the boards should

<sup>59</sup> Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., pp.127-131; Newsome, op.cit., 1966, pp.279-80.



be the channels through which all applications for aid went to the Society, and that only candidates from schools recognised by the boards should be admitted to training colleges. The boards should arrange inspection through the rural deaneries, receiving quarterly reports, and there should be annual meetings in each deanery, presided over by the bishop in person (for purposes of publicity) to survey the state of education.<sup>60</sup>

Such efficiency, however, was beyond the capacity of most boards, nor, indeed, is it likely that many clergy would have accepted such inroads on their independence. The Canterbury Diocesan Board established local deanery boards which met quarterly to sift and forward all applications for its grants.<sup>61</sup> In the Lichfield diocese the three Archidiaconal Boards (Derby, Stafford and Salop) functioned as subsidiaries of the Diocesan Board; but in others, for example, Peterborough, Ely and Norwich, the archidiaconal organisations, which in the cases of Peterborough and Norwich went back to the early days of the National Society, were autonomous; while in York the archdeaconries and rural deaneries appear to have acted or not acted as they felt inclined,

60 J.Armitstead, *On the Means Possessed by the Church for the Education of the People*, 1847, pp.16-33.

61 E.g. Ashford Local Board, M.B., 1866-83. (Kent Archives).

reporting independently to the Diocesan Society if they did anything.<sup>62</sup>

The activities of the boards were multifarious, just because they were so un-coordinated, but fall roughly under four headings - training, general publicity and information, grants, and inspection. The first may be dealt with briefly. Apart from the three colleges of the National Society, the two evangelical colleges and the Home and Colonial Society's college, all Anglican training was provided by the boards, and absorbed much of their resources. With the exception of the anti-governmental training institution maintained, until he became involved in his dispute over the Eucharist, by Archdeacon Denison in the vicarage at East Brent, all the colleges sought relief from their financial problems by coming within the government system as quickly as possible. Thereafter they developed along very similar lines and will not be given detailed consideration in this study.<sup>63</sup> Before 1846, however, a number of boards gave support to the provision of training in local model schools; and, as a means of improving

62 Information from A.R.s and Church Education Directory.

63 Their early relations with government are dealt with in Ball, *op.cit.*, chapter 9. For East Brent, see G.A. Denison, *Notes of My Life*, 3rd edition, 1879, p.180; *Church Education Directory*, 1853, p.72. He had 25 students and 2 masters, and charged £20 p.a. The work of Canon Fry in Leicester will be considered below.

standards in remote districts, this practice persisted long after the establishment of the colleges. The Truro Central school, for instance, was still undertaking this work regularly in the '60s.<sup>64</sup> The desire to establish some sort of standard, below that of the government certificate, but nevertheless identifiable, may also be seen in the grants of £12 to £15 given by the Bath and Wells Board, for the training of young teachers in selected schools, followed by an examination lasting a day, for the award of the Bishop's certificate of competency.<sup>65</sup>

The Boards also provided publicity for the various sources from which schools might expect aid. As soon as the Minutes of 1846 were published, Bishop Wilberforce directed the Oxford Board to memorialise the government in support of them and to ask rural deans to recommend them to their clergy.<sup>66</sup> Annual reports often gave details of the conditions upon which government and other aid would be granted; and, as we have seen, the National Society's maintenance grants depended on the active collaboration of the Boards. Upon the willingness of the Boards to cooperate in making the necessary arrangements and

64 Truro Central M.B., 5.5.63, 2.7.67; B., L.B., 5.5.63, 3.8.63, 26.6.66; G., L.B., 29.9.62; I., L.B., 19.1.63, 6.6.64, 10.9.66. One of these trainees, Mr. Barrett, entered for 3 months in 1863 'with the idea of preparing himself for the office of Schoolmaster', gained his certificate, returned as assistant in 1866, and became headmaster in 1867. Manchester regulations - Manchester Church Education Society, A.R., 1844, pp.28-30.

65 S.C. 1865, q. 153, pp.476-8; Bath and Wells D.B., A.R., 1848-9, pp.11-14; 1849-50, p.14.

66 Ashwell and Wilberforce, op.cit., v.I., pp. 387-8.

in contributing towards the cost, depended the success of organizing masters; and one of the masters' major functions, that of holding 'harvest schools', was in fact invented by William Fry, the secretary of the Leicester Archidiaconal Board, in 1842, and quickly taken up by several other midland Boards. The purpose of these meetings, lasting normally between three and six weeks, was to break down the almost incredible isolation in which village schoolteachers lived, to introduce them to new methods and to start them on the path of self-improvement since, as the Archdeacon Sandford put it, 'It is found that, to rouse a torpid understanding, a short period of stimulus by severe study, and frequent as well as searching examination, is not unfrequently sufficient'. The summary, in Appendix E, of a report on a harvest school held in 1853 will indicate their similarity, both in the type of subjects discussed and the amount of work demanded, to modern D.E.S. vacation courses; indeed, Kennedy suggested in 1850 that the Education Department ought to undertake the annual provision of such meetings.<sup>67</sup>

In towns there was a possibility of meeting more regularly. The Manchester Church Education Society, for example, established weekly classes in 1847 to help teachers to prepare for the

<sup>67</sup> Appendix E; Burgess, op.cit., p.138; Leicester Archidiaconal Board, Statement ... respecting the exertions of the Rev. W.Fry, 1855, pp.6-10; J.Sandford, op.cit., 1845, pp.141-2, 423-5; A.R.s of Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Huntingdon Boards; York and Norwich Training Colleges provided courses during the harvest holidays - York Diocesan Society, A.R., 1845, p.10; Suffolk Society, M.B., 8.10.46; Minutes, 1850-51, v.2, p.443.

certificate examinations, which by 1849 developed into the Manchester Church Teachers' Institute, with a library, monthly meetings and regular courses of lectures during school terms. By the middle '50s when some teachers were beginning to jib at the hard grind involved in harvest schools, this sort of development became common.<sup>68</sup>

In the last fifteen years of the period many diocesan boards became involved in the prize scheme movement. The beginnings of this movement will be considered in chapter 10; in essence it provided for the examination of senior pupils from a number of schools, with substantial prizes for good performance, and was originally intended to encourage individual children to stay on at school longer than was customary. In the hands of the diocesan boards, however, more emphasis was placed upon school performance - the examinations became a means of establishing an external standard towards which schools might aim. The idea of offering prizes to teachers for good work was an old one; in Northamptonshire, for instance, Sir James Langham bequeathed money for this purpose in the early '40s;<sup>69</sup> but the mid-Victorian

68 Manchester C.E.S., A.R. 1847, pp.18-19; Rules of the Manchester Church Teachers' Institute, 1849 (Manchester Local History Library); Report of a Conference in the Oxford Diocese, 1856, p.I.

69 Northants. Society, A.R.s 1846, 1847, 1848.

passion for examination gave it a new stimulus and introduced a new dimension. The earliest example of this extension of the prize scheme idea was only marginally connected with the diocesan boards - the Ashburton prizes for 'Common Things' offered to students at Winchester and Salisbury Colleges and teachers in Hampshire and Wiltshire in 1853-4. But at the same time the Worcester Board, always quick, under Lord Lyttelton's influence, to take up new ideas, was already investigating the subject and established a scheme in the Kidderminster area, extended to the Worcester Archdeaconry in 1854. Coventry and Birmingham followed shortly after. Hereford, after experimenting with prizes given by its inspectors, established a two tier system of initial examinations in the schools, with small prizes, and central examinations of the prizewinners for larger prizes, with 'marks of approbation' to teachers whose pupils did well; and the Salisbury diocese began a large-scale prize scheme in 1860.<sup>70</sup> There is evidence of schemes in parts of the dioceses of Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Exeter, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, Ripon and York, and there were certainly others. The aged

70 For Ashburton Prizes see below, pp 295-7; Worcester D.B., A.R., 1853-4, pp.9-10; 1854-5, pp.5, 13-14; Minutes, 1856-7, pp.276-9; A.Hill, ed., Essays upon Educational Subjects, 1857, pp.143-52; Poole MSS., v.XVI, 3.1.57; Hereford D.B., A.R., 1856, pp.30-33; Report of Diocesan Examination, 1859; 1st A.R. of the Salisbury Diocesan Prize Scheme, 1860; D.Melville, The Prize System in Education (in Transactions of the Social Science Association, 1858, pp.249-57).

Bishop Phillpotts, in his charge for 1863, attempted to stop the rot alleged to have been started in religious teaching by the Revised Code, by offering prayer book prizes, to be awarded by the Exeter Diocesan Board for proficiency in religious knowledge, a type of prize which had a long history before it.<sup>71</sup>

Many diocesan boards established local depositories at which managers could examine and purchase text-books. A sub-committee of the Cambridge Archidiaconal Board, indeed, conducted an elaborate experiment, trying out recommended books in a school, and drawing up three lists of books suitable for use in three different types of school. In 1850 the Department, after approaches from Bangor and Oxford, agreed to supply the boards with specimen copies of all the books on the official schedule, to aid managers in making their selection, an offer of which some boards took advantage. The members of the Hereford Board, dealing with an exceptionally remote and inaccessible area, had a particularly elaborate scheme. They were well established with the local bookseller, Mr. Head, whom they made their librarian, and on whose premises they met; and in their first year advanced £65 to establish a school book depot in his shop. This sum purchased 4750 volumes

71 N.C.v.2, pp.129-32; Minutes, 1858-9, p.134; 1866-7, pp.112, 155; 239, 241-3; 1868-9, p.160; Painswick (Gloucester Library) A.R. 1859, pp.4-5; Report of Commissioner for Mines, 1857-8, p.12; 1859, p.23; G.C.B.Davies, Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, 1954, p.380.

from the National Society and the Irish Board, of which 2940 were sold in the first 12 months, a figure which by 1853 had increased to 8310. A teachers' library of 230 volumes was opened, including the standard contemporary books on method - Abercrombie on psychology, the works of Stow, Wilderspin and Wood, Henry Dunn's 'Principles of Teaching', and recently published works by Dawes and Archdeacon Bather. In 1853 the Board set up a book-hawking system to reach remote districts and by 1856 had begin to offer grants in aid of school libraries, adjusted to the size of the school, and had drawn up a circular of very sensible hints on the principles to be followed in establishing them.<sup>72</sup> Provision of this sort could obviously have a marked effect on the schools of an area; but it must be admitted that the efficiency of the Hereford Board appears to have been exceptional.

Most boards made building and maintenance grants, limited in number and amount by the size of their incomes. The more active were not prepared to spend large sums on building and usually attached conditions to their grants - the Ripon Board, for example, demanded a guarantee that the clergyman

72 Minutes, 1850-1, v.1, pp.lxxv-lxxxix; Cambridge Board, A.R., 1841, pp.17-18; Bath and Wells D.B., A.R., 1844-5, p.14; Manchester C.E.S., A.R. 1846, p.17; Durham Society, A.R. 1852, p.6; Hereford D.B., A.R. 1850, pp. 9,10; 1851, pp.11, 19, 1853; pp.11-12; 1856, pp.34-7; book-hawking was organised by other Boards - e.g. Canterbury.



would teach in the school for at least an hour a week and would admit the Bishop's inspector. The Suffolk Society's Minute Books record a careful supervision over size, costs, plans and the state of the trust deed of schools applying for aid.<sup>73</sup> The same pattern obtained in the case of maintenance grants. Some Boards made grants of books and maps - Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Oxford, Rochester, Suffolk and Worcester are all recorded as doing so.<sup>74</sup> Others gave money grants on varying scales, exercising varying degrees of supervision.<sup>75</sup> The Suffolk Society, which until 1849 offered grants at a flat rate of 2/- per scholar on average attendance, determined in that year to consider each case upon its merits, and followed this line for the rest of the period. The school at Aldringham, for example, a regular applicant, was twice refused a grant on the grounds that there were large arrears of school pence uncollected, and once payment was delayed until the mistress had been sent for three months' training to Norwich, for which purpose the committee offered the managers

- 73 Examples of building grants in A.R.s of Bath and Wells, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chester, Chichester, Durham, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Manchester, Northants., Norwich, Oxford, Ripon, Suffolk; other evidence for Carlisle, Gloucester, Lichfield, Salisbury, Worcester; Ripon D.B., A.R. 1851, p.12; Suffolk Society, M.B., passim.
- 74 Bath and Wells D.B., A.R.; London D.B. A.R.s; S.C. 1865, qq. 5044, 6736, 6791; 1866, q.237; St.John, Chatham M.B., 1.2.55; Crowle (Worcs.R.O.) 3.2.68.
- 75 Examples of maintenance grants - Bath and Wells, Canterbury (Ashford Board), Durham, London, Manchester, Northants., Norwich, Suffolk, Worcester.

a grant.<sup>76</sup>

Since the boards provided the machinery and half the costs of the National Society's grant schemes, they were familiar with the idea of earmarking such grants to promote specific ends. There is scattered evidence that some were ambitious enough to pursue the same policy. The history of the London Board provides some notable examples. As H.J. Burgess has pointed out, in 1843-6 it conducted what was virtually a pilot scheme for the Minutes of 1846. Exhibitions of £10 p.a., rising to £15, were offered to boys and girls between 13 or 14 and 17 or 18 who were placed as assistants in selected schools, taught by the teacher and the clergyman, and ultimately competed for exhibitions in one of the National Society's colleges. Beginning with 10 boys and 10 girls in 1844, the scheme trained 37 pupil teachers before it was superseded by the Minutes and was used by officials as evidence of the practicability of such a system.<sup>77</sup> Between 1849 and 1853 the Board devoted £200 a year to remedy one of the admitted weaknesses of the Minutes - the loss of potential pupil teachers whose parents could not keep them at school until they reached the age of 13. It offered, on

76 A.R. 1849-50, p.11; M.B., 13.6.50, 13.12.50, 22.12.53, 16.3.54. This case and others in the M.B. illustrate the tendency for such grants to be monopolised by the few schools which took the trouble to apply.

77 Burgess, op.cit., pp.100-1; Ball, op.cit., p.105; London D.B., A.R., 1840, p.19; 1841, p.22; 1846, pp.7-10; 1848, p.7.

examination, exhibitions of £5 to children of 12, whose parents would allow them to stay on as monitors. By 1853, 113 such grants had been made. A few other boards appear to have followed suit. In 1853, Hereford was offering £10 for two years to 11-year-olds who seemed likely to qualify as pupil teachers; and as late as 1867 there is an isolated example from the Salisbury diocese - a grant of £4 to Eliza Ham, of Beaminster girls' school, 'provided she passes the Government examination'.<sup>78</sup>

The failure of the official provision of stipendiary monitors to meet the needs of schools which could not qualify for pupil teachers led some boards, Bath and Wells, Lincoln and Worcester, for example, to offer exhibitions to monitors on less stringent terms. For the last 15 years of the period the Canterbury Board worked a particularly successful scheme of this kind. Schools without government pupil teachers or stipendiary monitors were eligible for one grant at a time. The monitor was to be 12 years old, and was appointed after examination by the Diocesan Inspector, initially for one year; but the grant was renewable, on further examination, for one or more years. Boys were paid £4 in the first year, £6 in the next, girls, £3 and £5

<sup>78</sup> London D.B., A.R., 1849, p.6; 1850, pp 5-8; 1853, pp.6-7; Hereford D.B., A.R. 1853, p.22; Beaminster (Dorset R.O.), paper dated 9.1.67.

respectively; and afterwards as the Board thought fit. Diocesan monitors appear in a number of Kentish school records in the '60s, usually passing the government examination in Standard IV or Standard V. That the diocesan examination was not a formality is proved by the number of failures recorded in it. The scheme at least ensured some permanent assistance, not falling below a minimum standard, for teachers who would otherwise have had none.<sup>79</sup>

Other examples of grants for specific purposes were, in London, offers of £5 to enable schools to apply for books from the official book schedule; grants in aid of evening schools (Canterbury and London); support, in the lean years after the Revised Code, for students in training colleges (Canterbury, Hertford and Lincoln). The Bath and Wells Board anticipated the National Society by several years in deciding in 1855 to encourage the employment of certificated teachers by setting aside £100 a year for two years to provide grants of up to a quarter of a teacher's salary of £50 with a house - a sum which would easily have obtained a certificated teacher

79 Bath and Wells D.B., A.R. 1852-3, pp.9,11; Worcester D.B., A.R. 1850-1, p.7; 1852-3, p.7; S.C. 1865, q.6736; Canterbury D.B., A.R. 1855, p.9; Ashford Board, M.B. 25.4.67, 6.5.68. Schools with Diocesan Monitors (Kent Archives) - Boarstead, Christ Church, Dover, St. Philip, Maidstone, Nettlestead, Riverhead, Westwell, College Street Yalding. There is an application form for the grant in Misc. Correspondence, Downe.

for a rural school.<sup>80</sup>

In the field of inspection, the Boards never entirely lost sight of the hopes of 1838-9 that dioceses would provide a national system. In 1853, the Bath and Wells Board memorialised the Commission on Cathedral Churches asking that a stall be set aside in each cathedral to endow inspection. In the following year, Bishop Wilberforce made a determined attempt to induce Granville to accept a scheme for inspecting all the schools in the country by appointing diocesan inspectors at £70 a year to do it - 'We offer you, a cheap machinery; and we expect to receive from you permanence from your grants'. In 1863 the Hereford Board offered its services to the Department for the inspection of small schools;<sup>81</sup> and the subject was one of the topics of enquiry for the Select Committees on Education of 1865 and 1866. But even if there had been more sympathy towards the idea than existed in the Department, it is unlikely that anything so amateurish and uncoordinated as diocesan inspection could ever have been used officially. It was no official, but the Secretary of

80 London D.B., A.R., 1848, p.9; 1851, pp.6-7; 1859, p. 11; Ashford Board, M.B., passim; S.C. 1865, q.6736; Bath and Wells D.B., A.R., 1855-6, pp.12-13; Minutes, 1869-70, p.199.

81 P.R.O. 30/29, Box 19, Part 2, 26.9.53, 'Jany., 1854'; Poole MSS., v.XVI, 28. 1.63.

the National Society who, when questioned as to whether diocesan inspectors were the equals of H.M.I.s, replied, 'In some parts of England I think that they are so, but as to others I have my doubts about it', and an inspector for an active diocese (Worcester) who said of the possibility of collaboration, '...in our diocese, the existing machinery would not do it'. Gloucester appears to have been the only diocese which never had any inspection at all during the period; but much of the time of the other boards was spent in a struggle to make partial arrangements universal and efficient.<sup>82</sup>

Some, like Chester, had begun with ambitious plans for full-time inspection by paid officials. Some of them were men of great ability - F.C.Cook, H.M.I., for example, who was inspector for the London Board between 1841 and 1844, or Rev. Harry Baber, who before he became Chaplain of Whitelands was inspector in the Lichfield diocese. But they absorbed so much of their boards' incomes that most of them disappeared during the 1840s; and although in a few cases voluntary inspection was established - the Cambridge Board, for instance, made use of resident members of the university -

82 S.C.1865, qq.1706, 7627; S.C. 1866, q.2350. The statement about Gloucester was made in 1865. I have found evidence of some sort of inspection in every other area whose records have been used. There is a short account of diocesan inspection in Burgess, *op.cit.*, pp. 91-94.

it got off to a slow start.<sup>83</sup> The real development dates from the first years of Wilberforce's episcopate and the publication by Sir Henry Thompson, vicar of Frant, of a pamphlet entitled 'Hints on the Duty of Diocesan Inspection'. Starting from the premise that, although government inspection was valuable, the Church should 'provide within herself the means of inspecting her own Benevolent Institutions', he suggested that each diocese should be divided into small districts, the schools of which should be inspected twice yearly by inspectors appointed by the bishop. The inspection should be public, surrounded by every possible solemnity and based upon a plan of study applicable to the whole diocese. Thompson appended one such plan - a syllabus, in fact, for six month's work in the 3Rs, religious knowledge, composition, geography, history and grammar; and suggested that there should be four standards, with easy and difficult variants for the top class, to be chosen according to local conditions. Wilberforce, who was at this time engaged in arousing the Oxford Board to greater activity, seized on the scheme, got it accepted in his diocese and urged Thompson to publicise it, sending it

83 Early inspectors - London D.B., A.R. 1841, p.9; Lichfield D.B., A.R., 1847-8, pp.16-17; Cambridge Board, A.R., 1841. The early history of local inspection was summarised in the report of the National Society's sub-committee on diocesan inspection of 1854 (Monthly Paper, 1854, pp. 183-7).

first to Bishop Sumner and later to the other bishops.<sup>84</sup>

These simple suggestions evidently met a strongly felt need, since they triggered off renewed activity in almost all dioceses. The annual meeting of Diocesan Secretaries endorsed the principle in 1850, and a sub-committee of the National Society, set up to investigate inspection, adopted the scheme in 1854, with the addition that one of the group of inspectors should be chairman, or at least responsible for communication with the bishop.<sup>85</sup>

In essentials, Thompson provided the plan for most dioceses. The obvious district unit was the rural deanery, and most bishops felt that church discipline impelled them to appoint the rural deans as inspectors, unless they were unwilling to act. This was probably an error, since lack of interest or ability in a rural dean could ruin inspection in his district.<sup>86</sup> In some dioceses there was great difficulty in persuading the inspectors to agree upon a scheme of work and keep to it

84 Sir H. Thompson, *National Schools - Hints on the Duty of Diocesan Inspection*, 2nd. edition, enlarged 1848; Oxford D.B., A.R.s 1846, 1847, 1848.

85 For direct evidence of influence, Exeter D.B., A.R., 1848, p.21; York Diocesan Society, A.R. 1848, p.14; Herts. Archidiaconal Board, A.R. 1848-9 (in *Monthly Paper*, 1849, p.96); Worcester D.B., A.R. 1848-9, p.11. Most other Boards undertook general consideration of inspection between 1848 and 1852. For the sub-committee, above, note 83. Wilberforce and Thompson were two of the six members. In 1855 the National Society drew up 'General Instructions for Diocesan Inspectors' - A.R. 1855, pp.xxvii-xxix.

86 See S.C. 1865, qq.4169,5850. In Oxford, the clergy of each rural deanery elected their own inspector subject to the Bishop's approval. The Bishop of Lincoln made special appointments (S.C.1865, q.6732).



when agreed.<sup>87</sup> Much, of course, depended upon the personality of the coordinator. In Hereford, William Poole, the secretary of the Diocesan Board, acted in this capacity; in Oxford, the Principal of Culham; and in the diocese of Bath and Wells, where inspection predated Thompson's pamphlet, the district inspectors were subordinate to the Diocesan Inspector, who received an honorarium of £50. London and Canterbury were the only dioceses with paid, full time inspectors in the '50s and '60s. The Canterbury inspector was paid £200 a year and visited every school in the diocese biennially, inspecting just over 200 schools a year.<sup>88</sup>

In a few cases, the boards provided their inspectors with some professional assistance, Carlisle, for example, employing two organizing masters in the '60s, and Lichfield appointing ex-teachers (one of them Flint, the National Society's organizing master) as assistant inspectors in the archdeaconries of Derby and Stafford.<sup>89</sup> The diocesan inspectors had to face the sort of hostility which confronted H.M.I.s In Northamptonshire, for instance, of 44 committees of management offered

87 S.C. 1866, qq.2306, 2414-2426 (Worcester). This illustrates the sort of problems faced by a diocesan board whose driving force was the laity, not the Bishop.

88 Poole MSS, v.XVI; Report on the Diocesan Inspection in the Diocese of Oxford, 1860; Bath and Wells D.B., A.R.1844-5, pp.13-14; 1848-9, p.25; London D.B., A.R. 1854, p.5; S.C.1866, evidence of Rev. B.F.Smith.

89 S.C.1866, q.235; Lichfield D.B., A.R.1855-6, pp.13,17.

inspection in 1855, 10 refused, 7 asked for a postponement, and one would not answer one way or the other; and though this area was worse than most, there was a residue of non-cooperators in every diocese. A Derbyshire inspector told the Newcastle Commission that this happened usually when the inspector was definitely high or low church, and the school manager of the opposite persuasion, but often the reason seems simply to have been dislike of interference; and inspectors had to watch their step. The published reports of Smith of Canterbury and Ashwell of Oxford were mere non-committal lists of statistics; while a Suffolk inspector felt the need to add to an almost wholly favourable report on Eyke school a covering letter explaining that it was very difficult at once to write a faithful report and do justice to exertion - and that if he had not succeeded he hoped the vicar would recognise his good intentions. A few mild suggestions made by the diocesan inspector to the manager of Kirtling school provoked the latter to write a letter of protest to the Cambridge Board declaring that 'Inspecting a Village School in the heart of the country, is a very different thing to the Inspection of a Town school. The requirements in the one case are not necessary in the other...'.<sup>90</sup>

90 Northants. Society, A.R.1855, pp.10-12; S.C.1865, q.7885; N.C.v.6, q.3380; Suffolk Society, Box, 22.3.60. The report had described a new, good building; children 'orderly, quiet, and attentive, and without exhibiting any remarkable intelligence seem desirous of self-improvement'; fair scripture, tolerable reading and writing, some readiness in answering questions, signs of improvement; Kirtling Papers, 24.5.59, 23.11.59.

It may never be possible to judge how effective these inspectors were, since most of the surviving records of their visits are inevitably in the log books of those grant-aided schools in which their success was certainly least, since they tended to duplicate the work of H.M. Inspectors. The Carlisle Society, indeed, did not send its inspectors into such schools at all, thinking it a waste of time; while the London Board, assuming after the appointment of Cook as H.M.I. in 1844 that most schools would accept government inspection, discontinued paid inspection for ten years, only resuming when it was clear that many schools were permanently debarred from government aid by, for example, the conditions on which their sites were held.<sup>91</sup> The best of the diocesan inspectors were certainly very good. J.D. Glennie, appointed by the London Board in 1854, gave some of the soundest advice on method which it has been the present writer's lot to read.<sup>92</sup> Smith's reports on individual schools were forceful and critical. He seems to have spotted weakness

91 S.C. 1866, q.1421; London D.B., A.R. 1854, pp.5-6. There is a little evidence in S.I.C. of improvement resulting from diocesan inspection - e.g., v.16, p.359, v.18, p.158. Note also F.C. Cook, H.M.I. (N.C.v.6, qq.910-11,921) '... it is very much needed...the object of the London board has always been to raise the schools...to such a position that they may receive the Government grants...I think that it was very efficient indeed. I think it was as good as any other inspection...'; and F. Watkins, H.M.I.'s statement that a major need of the York diocese was general and thorough diocesan inspection - Letter to the Archbishop of York, 1860, p.33.

92 London D.B., A.R. 1854, pp.11-20; 1855, pp.14-52. Some of it was published as, Hints from an Inspector of Schools: School Needlework made Useful and School Reading made Easy, 1858.

in the show schools at Faversham while H.M. Inspector had still nothing but praise for them.<sup>93</sup> As for the part-timers, it would not be fair to judge their effectiveness on the basis, for example, of the re-iterated complaints, never remedied, written by the diocesan inspector in the visitors' book of Brailes school, Warwickshire, since there were plenty of schools in which H.M. Inspector had no more effect.<sup>94</sup> When grants from the diocesan board depended upon their recommendation their influence was doubtless great; perhaps most of all where there was a bishop like Wilberforce to follow up an unfavourable report. Certainly diocesan activity was sufficiently impressive in the '50s for Catholics to desire to introduce a similar organisation. This was partly due to the influence of Manning, who had been one of the architects of the Anglican diocesan boards; but not wholly. Lord Edward Howard, in a letter to the 'Catholic School' in 1855 advocated

93 Examples of reports in Kent Archives - Bearstead, 16.6.65, 12.4.67; Chevening, 29.4.51; Downe, 6.12.60; Faversham B. L.B. 19.11.63; Nettlestead 28 2.65; Flaxton, B.G., 12.5.65; Riverhead, March, 1863; Westwell, 15.4.56; College Street, Yalding, 7.10.65, E.g., Chevening Boys', 'In consequence of the School being under the government of a Mistress, a spirit of rebellion is generated among the boys, which her husband vainly endeavours to restrain by physical force. To this circumstance, unfavourable to the formation of character, may also be attributed their want of intelligence and of activity in school work. The religious knowledge however is fair. But in every thing greater exactness should be insisted on. Arithmetic alone forms an exception to the general mediocrity of attainment in the subjects of secular instruction.' On Faversham, see below, p. 172.

94 In Warwicks.R.O.

diocesan inspection and the establishment of local committees, and this was attempted in the following year. Manning was appointed one of two Inspectors for the Westminster diocese and given the task of drawing up a scheme of religious examination for pupil teachers. Ten years later one of his first actions as Archbishop was the setting up of the Diocesan Education Fund, with functions almost identical with those of an Anglican diocesan board. The systematic extension of local activity in the Catholic church, however, receiving, as it did, its major stimulus from the 1870 Act, is hardly within the scope of this study, and will not be further considered.<sup>95</sup>

The often confusing material relating to the unofficial institutions of elementary education in the mid-19th. century seems to the present writer to illustrate the weaknesses and strengths of voluntary effort in general - uncoordinated activity, amateurishness, a disproportion between means and objectives; but at the same time, persistence, vitality and, sometimes, originality, worthy of more recognition than they have usually received. It is hoped that the next three chapters will provide further illustration of these characteristics, by investigating the work of managers in the schools themselves.

95 The Catholic School, 1855, pp.99-112; C.P.S.C., A.R., 1856, pp.11, 65-68; 1857, p.17; 1866, pp.xlviii-xlix; V.A.McClelland; Cardinal Manning, 1962, pp.33-38.

CHAPTER 5.MANAGERS, SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

The limited powers of modern school managers sometimes obscure the fact that a century ago the term retained its literal meaning. The function of managers was to manage their school, with the teachers in strict subordination; and managers who did less were open to charges of neglect. The object of the next three chapters is to examine the way in which this function was carried out. The division is arbitrary and will involve much overlap, but the amount of material is great. Chapter 5, therefore, will concentrate on administration, chapters 6 and 7 on teaching and relations with the pupils. Such special problems as the raising of money, the encouragement of attendance, and the religious question will be considered later.

We have already seen that early Victorian elementary schools were no longer exclusively concerned with the very poor. The Church of England claimed the right to supervise the education of all; and British schools and those of the Wesleyans and Congregationalists naturally developed a special interest in the education of the lower middle class in which the chief strength of old established and 'respectable'<sup>1</sup> dissent lay.

1. As distinct from 'primitives', 'rangers', etc., amongst whom the working-class element was much stronger.

The idea of a gradation of secondary education, at least the lowest grade of which should be open to children of the class attending National and British schools, with, as a corollary, the concept of an educational ladder leading from 'the very lowest form of the primary school, up to the highest culture which the country can afford', was held by a sizeable minority, of widely differing persuasions, long before the days of the Schools Inquiry Commission or Thomas Huxley. As the vicar of Windsor remarked at a conference in the Oxford diocese in 1856, 'The steps in the social ladder have been broken away; you must in some way replace them'. At times in the '50s even the Education Department seemed to be toying with the idea, as in a letter of 1856 which attributed to the Lord President (Granville) the view that 'a system of secondary schools might with great advantage be added to the present system of primary schools...'<sup>2</sup> Hence it is not surprising to find some managers attempting the

2 J.D. Morell, H.M.I., *On the Progress of Society in England*, 1859, p.12; Report of an Educational Conference in the Oxford Diocese, p.12; Minutes 1856-7, p.42 - cp. P.R.O.Ed.9/12, p.139 (24.3.49). Other expressions of this view in the '50s - Henry Moseley, H.M.I., *Trade Schools*, 1853; W.J. Kennedy, H.M.I., *Minutes*, 1855-6, pp.450-1; J.P. Norris, H.M.I., *Minutes*, 1857-8, pp.435-7; C.H. Bromby, Principal of Cheltenham Training College, *op.cit.*, p.47; Robert Gregory in Hutton, *op.cit.*, p.85; F.B. Zincke, Vicar of Wharstead, a radically minded friend of Prince Albert, *The School of the Future*, 1852, pp.20-23, 127-8; C. Richson, Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Committee, *Education in "Trade Schools" Necessary...*, 1853, pp.9, 22-4; Miss Elisabeth Sewell, N.C.v.5, pp.355-7. Later examples, H.W. Bellairs, H.M.I., *Minutes*, 1868-9, p.21; H. Sandford, H.M.I., *op.cit.*, 1869; Lord Lyttelton, *Address on Education*, 1868, pp.29-30.

provision of secondary, as well as primary education.

The amateurish quality already noted in voluntary effort, however, meant that successful examples of a complex organisation of schools were rare. One such instance, the parochial schools in Lambeth developed by Gregory, was described in chapter 2. Another, upon which the Lambeth schools were partly modelled, was the structure built up almost accidentally by William Rogers at St. Thomas', Charterhouse. Rogers, a man 'of large sympathies and independent mind...singularly loved and trusted by friends in all classes of the community...' as his memorial tablet<sup>3</sup> puts it, was a slum parson of a type more common in the 20th. than in the 19th. century. He appears to have had no interest in the doctrinal questions which exercised most of his contemporaries. He scandalised the editor of the Monthly Paper in 1865 by remarking on a public platform, 'Hang the theological question', and once said to Gregory, 'Your ideas and mine, Gregory, differ fundamentally. I believe in flannel petticoats, and you believe in the Church Catechism' - which was perhaps why Gregory died

3 In St. Botolph, Bishopsgate; amongst the more unlikely of these friends was the future Edward VII, whose name appears on the memorial.



a Dean, and Rogers a mere Canon!<sup>4</sup>

He came to St.Thomas, Charterhouse in 1845 and stayed until 1863. The boundary of the district, he said later, zig-zagged to cut off every better-class house in the neighbourhood. 'We were all ragamuffins. Costermongery was the "industry" of the place'. The more respectable inhabitants were costers, the rest thieves and prostitutes. As the police rate was not collected, the police never functioned, and the district (immediately behind Smithfield and Farringdon markets) served as a sanctuary for the 'wanted'<sup>5</sup>. Evangelicals regarded Golden Lane, which ran through the middle of it, as the most vicious place in London, and Ragged schools flourished there. But Rogers disliked what he felt to be their sentimental inefficiency and would never have anything to do with them. Only the best was good enough for such an area. 'This stronghold of Satan and hell must not be attacked with a popgun...!'

4 Monthly Paper, 1865, p.218; Hutton, op.cit., p.123. For Rogers, see R.H.Hadden,op.cit.; N.S.Files,St.Thomas, Charterhouse; 4 pamphlets by Rogers - A Short Account of the St. Thomas,Charterhouse Schools, 1851; The Educational Prospects of St.Thomas, Charterhouse, 1854; The Proceedings at laying the foundation stone of the...new school building, 1856; St.Thomas,Charterhouse Schools, 1857; and his evidence to S.C., 1861, and S.I.C., v.5.

5 Described in Rogers, op.cit., 1854, pp.6-12; amplified in Hadden, op cit., pp.48-56.

When, therefore, he established his first school at the beginning of 1846, he guaranteed the master £100 a year (at a time when his own stipend was £150), and took every opportunity presented during the next few years for increasing efficiency. He was one of the first to apply for the London Diocesan Board's pupil exhibitions and for grants under the Minutes of 1846 (he had 9 male and 8 female pupil teachers in 1850) and for the Science and Art Department's grants. St.Thomas' had the largest book grant of any school in the country in 1850; and the largest capitation grant in 1857, the first full year of its extension to townschools.<sup>6</sup>

By 1849 'this zealous and industrious clergyman'<sup>7</sup> was attracting notice. In order to gain support for his schools, he began to seek publicity deliberately. During the next few years, by publishing pamphlets and by making the fullest use of his own attractive personality he got the backing of a great variety of influential people - Prince Albert, the Duke of Argyll, Lansdowne and Granville, several other peers, Dawes and Best, secularists like William Ellis and Hodgson - to add

6. E.A.G.Clark, *The Ragged School Union and the Education of the London Poor*, M.A.thesis, London, 1967, p.25; Rogers, op. cit., 1854, p.35; London D.B., A.R., 1850, p.13; Minutes, 1850-51, v.1, pp.cxxviii-cxl, clxix; Science and Art Department, 1st A.R., p.90; EP., 1857-8, XLVI, 259.

7. London D.B., A.R., 1849, p.9; phrase used in the Board's justification of a very large grant. School not named, but it is clear from the accounts that it was St.Thomas, Charterhouse.

to a circle of private friends who included Gladstone, John Walter, Stafford Northcote, Frederick Temple, Lingen, and, perhaps most useful of all, several London bankers. Not surprisingly, he was able to embark upon an extensive building programme. His schools grew and prospered; they were well staffed, carefully supervised by Rogers and, though not strikingly original, gave a good education - but not to the children for whom they were intended. In 1854, of over 1,000 pupils, only 157 belonged to the district, when on population figures there should have been about 700. The majority came from outside, from the families of tradesmen and artisans attracted by the quality of education provided. An atmosphere was thus created which, though it civilised an occasional street arab, kept the majority out. Rogers felt that he was meeting a need, although not the one he had intended. He therefore decided to develop the commercial and secondary work of the upper classes, increase the fees, and use the resultant funds to establish a separate school in Golden Lane for the coster families - initially intended to be free, but later charging 1d. to parents willing to pay, and with hours (10. a.m. to 2.p.m.) which would allow the children to work in the markets if their parents wished.

By 1857, his system was complete. He had a School of Art;

five schools in Goswell St. charging varying fees - two boys' schools of which the upper taught French, Latin, Mathematics and Science and to which an exhibition from the lower school gave a boy free entry every six months; a girls' school in which the top class learnt the middle-class accomplishments of French and fancy needlework; a juvenile school for the 6 to 10s, and an infant school for the 2 to 6 year olds. In Golden Lane was the costers' school, with, in 1861, 868 children on the books, 1 master, 2 mistresses and 12 pupil teachers. There was an evening school for young men, including an advanced division learning Latin, Mathematics, Bookkeeping and Elocution, three others for young women, boys, and girls; and drawing classes. There were parents' meetings three nights a week. All the schools were supported from one fund, so that the surplus from Goswell St. (in 1860 the fees alone brought in £1294,13.2d) went towards the support of Golden Lane. The parentage of the children varied from curate, lawyer and accountant at one end of the social scale to rostermonger, hawker and chimneysweep at the other; but whichever school they attended it was well-equipped, well-staffed and well-run. An Inspector explained the success of the evening schools by referring to their comfort, the 'brilliant lighting and warmth', and the 'genial and business-like tone' which pervaded them; and the latter phrase might

well be applied to the whole structure.<sup>8</sup>

Rogers' success was perhaps made easier by the fact that he never had to work with a committee. Gregory, who was faced with a partially-existing framework of school committees, was never able to achieve so rationalised a structure. There are a few examples of trustees of large endowments successfully combining middle-class schools with elementary schools - the Bedford schools and the four free King Edward's elementary schools in Birmingham are cases in point<sup>9</sup> - and occasionally arrangements were made for the local endowed school to serve virtually as an advanced division of the boys' elementary school; or endowments were used to provide scholarships to the grammar school.<sup>10</sup> But success seems to have depended on the existence of special conditions in either the locality, or the school, or both - as was the case with the 'College for Sailor Boys' maintained by the Sellonite Sisters as an adjunct to their schools in Devonport.<sup>11</sup>

8 Parents' occupations given in p.p. 1857-8, XLVI, 261; Minutes, 1859-60, p.25.

9 See S.I.C., v.12, pp.449-454; v.15, pp.680-6.

10 e.g. N.C.v.6, q.3951 (Sevenoaks); S.I.C., v.12, pp.178-9 (Aylesbury); v.14, pp.21-3 (Calne); v.15, pp.332-3 (Worfield), 374-5 (Audley); J.Lawson, in Studies in Education, v.2, no.1, p.9 (Marine School, Hull). The Bristol Trade School, which was the old Diocesan School reorganised at Moseley's suggestion, had 50 places open to ex-National schoolboys at half fees - 2d. a week (Minutes 1855-6, p.41).

11 T.J.Williams, Priscilla Lydia Sellon, 1965, pp.68, 70-1. Note also R.R.Sellman, Devon Village Schools in the 19th. Century, 1967, p.p.32-4 (St. Andrew's College, Chardstock).

It may be doubted whether many committees of management were capable of the effort involved in organising a graduated system. Certainly the committee at Faversham, working under the most favourable conditions, was not wholly successful.<sup>12</sup> The United National schools, established to serve the whole town, were opened in 1852, after the trustees of the town charities had made £4,500 available for building and promised an annual income of £500. They consisted of boys', girls' and infant schools, with a Commercial school attached, eight exhibitions to which were awarded each year, on examination, to boys from the National school. A further ten bursaries of £5 were offered annually to enable boys already in the Commercial school to stay on. Five scholarships were available for boys from the Commercial school to go to the grammar school; but this part of the scheme never worked satisfactorily, since the master of the Commercial school did not want to lose his best boys, and the trustees of the grammar school were not very willing to cooperate. The schools were publicised by Chadwick in his evidence to the Newcastle Commission and became a show place, much visited - one of the first entries in the log book, (17th July, 1863) recorded a proposed visit from

12 Kent Archives have extensive records of these schools which, however, do not include the managers' minutes for this period. See also P.F., 1862, XLIII, 1, pp.18-25; S.I.C., v.11, pp.49-61.

the Comte de Paris - and received unadulterated praise from almost everybody except the diocesan inspector, who in 1863 criticised the reading and the arithmetic.

Faversham was a case in which the Revised Code proved useful. When it came under examination in 1864 the results everywhere except in Standards I and II were well below average. H.M. Inspector was therefore led to examine the situation more closely. He then realised that the managers had admitted far too many children, so that classes were scattered about in different places; and that their method of ensuring unity of approach had been to appoint one headmaster, George Robinson, with the duty of supervising the whole and teaching the Commercial school and the boys' National school with only one assistant (duties undefined) and six singularly inefficient pupil teachers. Nobody could blame Robinson - he was 'active, vigilant, and a good teacher' - but he was asked to do the impossible. Two years' pressure from the Department caused the managers to appoint three assistants, each with the duty of supervising one section of the school. The work began to improve; by 1868 the school was achieving a 94% pass rate and 96 boys earned the 'higher subjects' grant. The managers were not stingy - they paid their teachers and pupil teachers generously - but it is clear that, left

to themselves, they had no conception of the problems involved in running a group of large schools.

Most managers who attempted to provide both primary and secondary education for middle- as well as working-class children did so under the roof of one school, by one of two means. They either, as at King's Somborne, or the reformed endowed school at Bunbury, in Cheshire, created a school so good as to attract middle-class parents and then allowed the group following a secondary course to evolve by the natural selection of those whose parents cared enough about their education to keep them at school after others had left; or, as in many British and some town National schools they established 'select' classes, paying higher fees. Penzance National school, for example, had a class of 30, paying 2 guineas a year, to which the local clergy, surgeons and mines superintendent sent their children.<sup>13</sup> Such classes inevitably attracted the middle classes and those aspiring to middle-class status because of their exclusiveness; but they did not debar the working-class child whose parents were willing to pay for him.

13. S.I.C., v.14.p.436. References to 'select classes' appear fairly frequently in log books. It also probably is the explanation of a mysterious 'First Class in Desks' separately listed in the Girls' Class Register, 1858-60 of Belper Br. School (Strutt Papers).



The organising abilities of most managers, were sufficiently taxed by the supervision of boys', girls' and infant schools. As stated in chapter I, although patrons might be concerned with many schools, it was unusual by this time to find a committee running more than one group. Occasionally in an area of fast-growing population one committee continued to run the National schools of the districts into which the original parish was split - Bermondsey and Bayswater are cases in point. But a similar committee in Blackburn broke up in disorder in 1846, owing to doctrinal quarrels amongst the clergy involved, leaving the parish church with no school at all, the vicar having, as he put it, been 'busily employed in building schools for every body but himself'. The committee of the Weardale schools, established in 1820 under a trust set up by Bishop Shute Barrington for education in the dale, lasted longer, but dissolved itself more amicably in 1866, dividing the income amongst the ten new committees of the existing schools. There were one or two cases of successful cooperation between managers of different schools in a district. The Carlisle School Union, for instance, established in 1858 the principle that no child should be admitted to any school without a certificate that he had given a month's notice at his previous one; <sup>14</sup>

14. The Bermondsey committee met monthly; Blackburn Coucher Book no.15; N.S.Files, Blackburn,1-12-49; J.L.Dobson, op.cit.; Weardale M.B.,12-12-66; Minutes, 1858-9,pp.134-5.

but the most successful example met with in this investigation resulted, as was often the case in this period, from the work of an individual.

William Fry, the secretary of the Leicester Archidiaconal Board, has already been mentioned as the inventor of harvest schools. He was not a publicity seeker and his activities were consequently only recorded in some Inspectors' reports, a statement from the Board and records of the schools with which he was concerned. His work in harvest schools was only one illustration of his recognition of the need to raise standards of teaching; he also established a training school in his house in New Walk, Leicester, providing courses for uncertificated teachers and preparing students for entrance to training colleges. Moseley and Derwent Coleridge both spoke very highly of this side of his work. He resigned his benefices in 1847, in order to give himself time and energy to spend on the schools of Leicester. As an H.M.I. remarked in 1868 - 'To the enterprise of a single unbeneficed clergyman.... that "metropolis of dissent", owes more than half its primary schools'. He did not supersede committees, but offered his services to them as secretary; and most committees were naturally only too glad to have someone to do their work for them. The children liked him - an Inspector spoke of their 'bright sunny smiles' when

they saw him. He visited each school and taught regularly; and clearly knew the children well. A new mistress at the County girls' school, who was annoyed when he differed from 'my decided opinion that the children are very backward', had within a fortnight come to the conclusion that she had been wrong. But, more important, he equalised the fees in the schools with which he was concerned, collected them weekly, paid the pupil teachers weekly, arranged for their board and lodging and provided school materials.<sup>15</sup> Having control of a large number of pupil teachers, he was able to distribute them rationally, moving them from one school to another when necessary<sup>16</sup> and he appears also to have had a supply of assistants whom he sent to schools as and when they were needed. He continued this work until advanced age forced him to retire in 1874.

The presence of Fry in a district containing a number of schools to some extent spared local managers the problem which, apart from the raising of money, gave them most difficulty - that of staffing. If the approach of Victorian

15. On Fry, see Leicester Archidiaconal Board, Statement..., 1855; Church Education Directory, 1853, p.81; Minutes, 1848-50, v.2, p.11; 1854-5, p.288; 1855-6, p.42; 1867-8, p.94; records of Leicester Co. schools in Leicester Museum. His training school took 15-30 pupils at a time; he charged board and lodging only. Leicester Co.G., L.B.5-7-67, 16.7.67; M.B.25.2.51, 24.11.74.

16. It is an indication of his standing that he was allowed to do this. When the owner of Pleasley Mill moved pupil teachers between his mill school and the local British school of which he was the patron, he was reproved by the Department - Pleasley Hill, 15.3.65, 31.3.65, 7.12.65.

school promoters to this question seems lacking in forethought and planning, we must bear in mind that they might very often be competing with every other school in the district, and must remember the reluctance of modern L.E.A.s to make appointments to specific schools, and thereby deprive themselves of the power to move teachers as conditions change. Nevertheless, even contemporaries agreed that the distribution of teachers was, in a phrase used by Kennedy, 'scrambling, hap-hazard, and unequal'. There were, of course, many little rural schools and many bad town schools in which appointments went, as in the past, by favour, to someone unfit to teach. But managers who hoped for a government, or even a diocesan grant, or who were concerned about standards, were confronted in the '40s and the '50s with a sellers' market without, in many cases, the resources which would enable them to offer a sufficient salary. Where there was a wealthy patron, of course, the position was easier. As Kennedy said, in the passage already quoted, a difficult school might have to put up with someone nervous and timid, while the squire of a village could secure 'for his orderly little school a person full of life and power, who is planted there like a young oak in a flower-pot'.<sup>17</sup> But Lord Radnor's long search for someone to meet his exacting

17. Minutes, 185 3-4, v.2, p.449.

requirements shows that even patrons might have difficulty in finding what they wanted. Managers with less money behind them could expect more difficulty. Even when the shortage of qualified men teachers disappeared in the early '60s, variations of salary continued to ensure that movement was frequent, whilst schools qualifying for government grant by employing probationers had to face a change at least every two years, since such teachers moved on as soon as they had obtained the certificate. A school of this type might expect at some stage to lose several month's grant because it was under an unqualified stop-gap.<sup>18</sup>

Managers themselves increased the number of changes. Some of them, perhaps in reaction against the immoveability of the old endowed school teacher, assumed that any defect in the school could be remedied by dismissing one teacher and appointing another.<sup>19</sup> When the active manager was a

18. An example - Griffydam, note on blotting paper in log book, of staff, 1862-72-E. Lister, left Dec. 1864; H. McNeal, left June, 1865; gap of 6 months under monitor; M.F. Mogford, left Dec. 1868; M.A.Ryder, left Sept.1870; L.Walker, left Dec. 1871; M.A.Dearden, commenced, Jan.1872. Other examples of a gap in qualified staff- Eaton Bishop, Orcap (Herefords.R.O.); St.Mary Newsham; Hampstead Norris; Idridgehay (Derbys.R.O.); Reach (Cams.R.O.); Brantham, Heveningham (E.Suffolk R.O.); East Peckham, College St. Yalding (Kent Archives); Penistone (Leeds Museum); Firbank (Archives, Kendal).

19. e.g. Frodsham (Ches.R.O.) 1.12.37, 10.4.41, 5.5.50, 22.3.61; Weaver Navigation Trustees, M.B. 2.12.50; Derby Br. M.B.23.12.52; Weardale, M.B.30.9.57; Haughton-le-Skerne, (Durham R.O.) 7.7.60; Washington (Durham R.O.) 21.2.62, 18.7.66; Bishop's Stortford M.B. 25.8.53; West Hackney (G.L.C.R.O.) 10.7.48; Ipswich Br., 14.3.48, 25.9.49, 23.10.49.

difficult person, changes were inevitably frequent. Milwickschool in Staffordshire, with a reasonable salary (£60), in a pleasant village, and under the patronage of the Harrowby family, must have seemed an attractive appointment, but had four masters between 1862 and 1870, the first three of whom left after incessant quarrels with the vicar and his wife. Headley National school in Hampshire was even worse, having seven different teachers between 1863 and 1868.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes managers created their own problems by their choice of teacher. The committee of St. Stephen's, Salford, for instance, appear to have been a conscientious body of men with a genius for misjudging character. That they had to dismiss one caretaker in 1854 for misconduct and another in 1867 for indecent assault might be considered accidental; that they had to dismiss two pupil teachers within two months of each other in 1864, unfortunate; but their choice of infant mistresses was disastrous. They appointed a Miss Hodgson in 1863 and gave her notice six months later because they found out she was not an Anglican; but she stayed long enough to get a bad report from H.M.I. and, when she left, took lists away with her which had to be replaced with copies from the Inspector. Two years later she was demanding of the

20. Milwich (Staffs.R.O.) L.B., Accounts; Headley (Hants R.O.) L.B.

committee £5. which she said they had promised her, blaming the disorder at inspection on their failure to supply equipment until shortly before the inspection and 'the unsuitable hour at which it took place which was 9 o'clock on Monday morning'. She, however, was mild compared with the tartar who replaced her. Miss Clough became mistress in 1864 at £45. p.a.; by 1866 her salary had increased to £64 and she demanded £80; the committee offered her £70 which she accepted. Three months later she threatened to resign if her whole salary, instead of only a proportion of the children's pence, was not paid to her quarterly. The committee explained that until the government grant came, they had not the money available. She then gave three months' notice unless the committee paid her a gratuity for teaching the pupil teachers, which they refused. She thereupon closed the school for two weeks without permission; falsified the registers ('omissions', as Lingen wrote, '...(in both senses of the word) calculated to injure the Managers and to reduce their claim upon the Government grant'); and failed to account for some of the pence. Before she left, '..... she told the children that they need not come again....as it "was only a school for Babies"', and during the next eighteen months pursued the committee with threats and lawyer's letters demanding £13.15s. which she claimed was due to her. It is regrettable that the end of this

episode is not known; and it must be admitted that few committees miscalculated so greatly in their appointments. Still, the story is sufficient to indicate that managers were not always to blame in quarrels with the teachers.<sup>21</sup>

Teachers were usually sought either by advertisement in the local paper and in appropriate national periodicals (for National schools, the Monthly Paper; in a Voluntaryist school such good Anti-State Church Association journals as the 'British Banner', the 'Nonconformist' and the 'Patriot'),<sup>22</sup> or by writing to training college Principals, who normally arranged appointments for their outgoing students and, in some cases, for their old students as well.<sup>23</sup> The salaries

21. St. Stephen's, Salford, M.B., passim.

22. Ipswich Br., 14.3.48.

23. Examples - Middlewich (Ches.R.O.) M.B.21-6-52 - Cheltenham; Derby Br. M.B. 23-10-50 - Borough Rd., 6-11-50 - Glasgow, Home and Colonial; Hoddesdon G. 2-2-47 - Glasgow; Bishop's Stortford, 8-9-53, 20-5-57 - Borough Rd; St. Mary, Islington (G.L.C.R.O.) 10-5-50 - Cheltenham; Ipswich Br., 8-12-53 - Borough Rd.; Frodsham, 16-11-57 -Warrington; Kenilworth M.B. 24-6-62 - Home and Colonial; Castle St., Kendal, M.B. 2-7-51 - Home and Colonial, 16-2-55 - Edinburgh; and St. John, Chatham, whose committee evidently believed in thoroughness, Nov - Dec., 1857 - Highbury, St. Mark's, Battersea; 11-1-58 - Brighton, Derby, Cheltenham, Norwich.



offered appear to have been simply the lowest figure at which managers had any hopes of getting the teacher they wanted. It was common practice to give a rise after one or two years' satisfactory service; but it was very unusual for there to be any arrangement for further increase. The committee of Truro Central school was almost unique in arranging annual increments of £5. during the first four years of service of a teacher they appointed in 1867. Sometimes after good service, a permanent increase would be given - the committee of Derby British school for example, gave their able mistress, Miss Belcher, two rises of £5. in the seven years between 1854 and 1861;<sup>24</sup> but much more commonly managers simply made a present to the teacher of £5. or £10. or part of the capitation grant. From their point of view this practice had the advantage that it could be made dependent on the state of the funds; but it did not improve relations with teachers who, having once received such a payment, naturally felt they were being treated unjustly if it was subsequently withheld.<sup>25</sup>

24. Examples - Aldermaston (Berks.R.O.)Accounts, 1850, 1851; Weaver Navigation Trustees, 6.3.43, 6.5.44; Middlewich, M.B.21.1.42; Derby Br. M.B. 2.11.44; Painswick, M.B.20.3.69, 26.1.71; Kings Langley.G. (Herts.R.O.) 1853, 1855; St. John, Chatham, M.B.28.12.57, 28.4.58; Ipstones (Staffs.R.O.) 14.1.54; Kinver (Staffs, R.O.) 21.11.63; Upton-on-Severn (Worcs R.O.) 1859-60, 1861-2. Salaries will be further discussed in chapter 8. Truro Central M.B., 2.7.67; Derby Br. Accounts; an earlier rise of £10. had been given her because she lost the use of the teacher's house.

25. Examples - Basingstoke M.B.30.6.53; St. Clement Blackburn (Coucher Book) 26.8.51; St. Chad, Shrewsbury, M.B.25.3.67; Tattenhall (Ches. R.O.) M.B.25.1.64; Strood (Kent Archives) M.B.7.3.66, 5.3.67, 11.2.68, 9.2.69; Wateringbury (Kent Archives) 6.2.56; Bermondsey, 19.3.58; Maidenhead, 7.8.60; Hurst and Ruscombe (Berks R.O.) 1858; Milwich, Accounts, 1861.

The Revised Code is commonly held to have inaugurated a period of bad relations between managers and teachers over the question of salaries, and instances of this certainly appear. At Tattenhall, in Cheshire, for example, troubles which will be discussed later were heightened by incessant bickering between the master and the managers over the

distribution of the grant.<sup>26</sup> But in view of the general panic amongst managers and the justified resentment amongst teachers against the loss of the augmentation grant and cuts in staffing, there is far less evidence on this point than might have been expected. This seems to have been chiefly due to amazing forbearance on the part of most teachers. The Maidenhead managers, for instance, having discussed the new arrangements with their teacher, 'could not help expressing their high approval of the manner and spirit in which their proposal had been met, and accepted by Mr. Beal'.<sup>27</sup> This forbearance must have been encouraged by the number of instances of managers who, it is clear from the records, made an honest attempt to see that their teachers suffered as

26. Tattenhall M.B., passim.

27. Maidenhead, 22.1.63. His loss cannot have been very great. He had hitherto had £55, £3. or £4. from the capitation grant and, of course, augmentation and a gratuity for one pupil teacher. He was offered a guaranteed minimum of £80.

little as possible financially. To give a few examples - at Christ Church, Streatham, a sub-committee set up to decide how the school should be administered under the Code suggested that the grant should be used (i) to pay the pupil teachers; (ii) to pay the teachers for instructing the pupil teachers; (iii) to pay the teachers the equivalent of their former augmentation grant. Only when these three things had been done should the balance be put into the general fund. At Haughton-le-Skerne, the committee decided that, out of a probable grant of £57.10s., £21.10s. must go to the master and £15. to the mistress to make up for the augmentation grant. The trustees of Watton village school, Hertfordshire, gave the master an extra £15., 'he having lost that from the Government'; in 1863-4, the master of the school at Rode Heath, Cheshire, was paid £13.10s. for 10 months' instruction of the pupil teachers, and £25.1.1d., 'in lieu of Certificate Money'.<sup>28</sup> When this

28. Christ Church, Streatham, 7.10.63; Haughton-le-Skerne, 11.4.63; Watton (Herts.R.O.) 2.3.64; Rode Schools (Ches.R.O.) 1863-4, expenditure; other instances - Milwich, Accounts, 1863; St. Thomas, Winchester (Hants.R.O.) M.B.Dec.1863; Penkridge, Agreement between Lord Hatherton and teacher, 1863 (Salary £80 +  $\frac{1}{2}$  grant - guaranteed minimum, £25); Middlewich, Accounts, 1866; Royston (Herts.R.O.) 10.6.64; Bishop's Stortford M.B. 21.9.63, (£60. + £20 - he had hitherto had £15. augmentation and £5. gratuity); St. Clement, Ipswich B.22.12.63, I.23.12.63; Tewkesbury Br. Accounts - this was the more creditable as the managers were in serious financial difficulties. In 1865 it was calculated that the average reduction was only £5. (Minutes, 1864-5, p.xviii) but this, of course, included many instances of much greater loss.

happened relations between managers and teachers must have improved, rather than worsened, whatever they both thought of the Education Department.

The worst immediate result of the Code was the drastic cut which many managers made in the number of pupil teachers. They had probably been more conscious than officials of the weaknesses of the old system. They had to discipline unsatisfactory pupil teachers (and there were plenty of those in the early '60s).<sup>29</sup> They were aware of the difficulties faced by a boy from a poor family who had to do a whole year's work before receiving his stipend.<sup>30</sup> They were also aware of the country schools which had no suitable male candidate at the time when he was wanted, and the town schools which could not find boys at all unless they imported them;<sup>31</sup> and at the same time they knew that there was never any difficulty in finding girls. In the adjustments which followed the Code some managers were certainly

29. On this, see below, pp.230-33.

30. In London (G.L.C.R.O.) St. Andrew, Holborn boarded and clothed the pupil teachers (M.B. 4.2.51); Bayswater N. clothed them (M.B. 2.3.54, 3.5.60); St. Mary, Islington paid them in advance (M.B. 25.2.48). Christ Church, Birmingham paid them quarterly (B.,L.B.24.12.63).

31. The incumbent of Droitwich sent children from his schools to be pupil teachers in his friends' schools in Halifax (S.C. 1865, qq.2225-6); of 5 applications for a pupil teachership in Bayswater in 1866, only one was from a Londoner - the others were from Little Baddow, Swaffham, Basingstoke and Leighton Buzzard (Testimonials and Applications).

less generous than the Department wanted them to be; but it appears that officials wished to see much less paid in the early years of apprenticeship and some differentiation between districts and between males and females. The committee of St. Chad's Shrewsbury, for example, consulted the local H.M.I., Bonner, on this point. He advised, for boys in the first two years £4 and £6; then a sharp rise to the old figure (£5, £17.10s., £20) for the last three years: but 'it must always depend on the rate of wages given in the neighbourhood, and the advantages of any particular school wherein to learn the business of a Teacher'. Although some schools (Faversham, for example, Christ Church, Crewe, Painswick National Boys', Bishop's Stortford British) continued to pay at the old rate, the general principles underlying Bonner's advice seem on the whole to have been applied. St. Chad's was only slightly less generous than Bonner advised, but chose to pay weekly, to boys in the five years respectively, 1/6d, 3/-, 4/6d, 6/-, 7/6d; to girls, 1/-, 2/6d, 4/-, 5/6d, 7/-; the chief difference being that the payment for the second year was higher. Marked variants developed between districts and between boys and girls; and there was a strong move away from annual payments, towards smaller amounts, paid more frequently, as the following tables for 1869 show:

TABLE 6

## PAYMENTS TO PUPIL TEACHERS, 1869.

<u>Wages begin at</u>	Church schools		British schools		Catholic schools	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under £5	9.7%	16%	11.2%	21.7%	4.5%	4.5%
£5-£10	79.9%	80.3%	80.8%	74%	86.4%	83.6%
Over £10	10.4%	3.7%	8%	4.3%	9.1%	11.9%
<u>Wages rise to</u>						
Under £10	4.1%	6.2%	2.4%	2.8%	2.7%	2.5%
£10-£15	13.5%	21.9%	9.7%	25.4%	8.2%	16.6%
£15-£20	72.3%	69.7%	72.8%	67.1%	84.6%	79.8%
Over £20	10.1%	2.2%	15.1%	4.7%	4.5%	1%
<u>Wages paid</u>						
Yearly	39.6%	35.6%	46%	43.8%	34.6%	49.3%
Half yearly	6%	5.7%	6.2%	6.1%	1.8%	.7%
Quarterly	46.4%	52%	36.9%	41.8%	40%	40.1%
Monthly	4.6%	5%	7.8%	6.6%	19.1%	6.7%
Weekly	3.4%	1.7%	3.1%	1.7%	4.5%	3.2%

It would have been better if the figures had been higher all round; but this was, given contemporary conditions, a healthier structure than existed before 1862.<sup>32</sup>

32 Minutes, 1869-70, p. xxiv; St. Chad, Shrewsbury, paper (undated, but evidently 1862-3); Faversham, P.T. Account book; Christ Church, Crewe B. Jan. 1867; Painswick M.B. 7.2.65; Bishop's Stortford, M.B. 29.2.64. A starting figure of about £8, rising by £2. or £2.10s. was common - e.g. Holy Trinity Runcorn B. (Ches. R.O.); Christ Church, Stafford (Staffs R.O.); St. Anne, Windsor (Berks. R.O.); Lye (Worcs. R.O.); Castle St. Kendal; Royston, Truro Central paid only £3. rising to £13. Girls - Kinver, St. John, Chatham, £5. rising to £10; Painswick £5. rising to £17.10s.; Kenilworth, £8 rising to £16. In Manchester, the full rate seems to have been usual (St. Thomas, Red Bank, St. Stephen, Salford). The lowest figure found was Aldermaston, 2/6d weekly for years 4 and 5. Ipswich Br. paid boys £8-£16, girls £7-£15, with annual sums from £1. (first year) to £3 (fifth year) contingent on satisfactory work (M.B. 23-6-63); Strood offered a girl £46 over 5 years - £5. in first year, 'ascending as the rector thinks fit' (M.B. 18.1.64). I have found no examples of payments over £20; but more examples of weekly payment than the official figures would suggest.

From some points of view the supervision which managers were expected to exercise over their schools was parallel with types of supervision familiar to present-day teachers. The absence of L.E.A.s and their officials, and the fact that the vast majority of teachers were working in isolation in their schools meant that there was none of the oversight now maintained by L.E.A. organisers, or by headteachers over their staffs - a lack which could only be met by managers. This fact, given the Victorian belief in examination, accounts for the Department's continuous pressure on managers to examine their schools regularly. Supervision of this sort appears, for example, in the log book of Lea Marston school, where it was exercised jointly by the parson and the patron, the ex-Vice-President C.B.Adderley, or, very clearly, in the thoughtful comments made, after each quarterly examination, by W.J.Butler of Wantage in his parish Day Books. After a two-day examination of the boys' school in 1865, for instance, he wrote, 'It is certainly inferior both in tone and knowledge to its usual average. The smallest Class are terribly backward and the first Class want style in their Composition. They know neither Geography, nor Grammar, both which they knew in former years. I am seriously anxious about them.' At the end of each year he analysed the state of parochial life, and in 1865 he included as one of the problems to be faced in the New Year the fact that the boys' school was losing its character; 'The Revised

Code and its requirements have a good deal to do with this - but I feel that with real care and vigour we might meet all this, and brighten the School work'.<sup>33</sup> Supervision of this kind and quality can have done nothing but good.

In other cases, the tight control exercised by managers may be accounted for by factors which might obtain at the present day. Dawes, Best, Stephen Hawtrey, J.S. Henslow, for example, or amongst patrons, the Lyttletons, the Tomkinsons of Acton, or Miss Martineau of Norwich left their teachers little room for manoeuvre, treating them as mere executive subordinates; but this might be justified on the grounds that they were engaged in experiments in which the originator had inevitably to determine approach and method. However, as has already been indicated, the subordination of teacher to patron or manager was regarded as axiomatic by almost everybody except some teachers, whose increasing resentment, as they became more articulate and more independent, was voiced in their journals.<sup>34</sup> As the 'Educational Expositor' once pointed out, teachers occupied a position similar to that

33. Lea Marston (Warwicks R.O.) passim; Parish Day Book, Wantage (Berks.R.O.) 1862-5, 4.4.65; 1865 Summary.

34. e.g. Educational Expositor, 1853, pp 18-22, 142-3; 1854, pp. 411-4; The School and the Teacher, 1855 pp.4, 115. For the attitude of H.M.I.s see Ball, op.cit., pp.220-7.



of the clergy in the late 17th. and early 18th centuries; and optimists among them believed that a similar transformation would take place. But the process had barely begun. William Rogers, as might have been expected, expressed his view of the inferiority of the elementary schoolmaster moderately, and in terms which have been heard in the 20th. century:

'...however much I may esteem them as friends and fellow-laborers, till they are taken from the same rank of society and have undergone the intellectual training and the social discipline which it is absolutely necessary the doctor, the lawyer, and the clergyman should undergo, I must confess myself to be one of those interested and prejudiced persons who cannot accede to the National Schoolmaster a rank on the level with the learned professions'.

But this attitude was advanced. Most upper-class opinion was both contemptuous and resentful of schoolmasters' claims. As John Walter wrote to a diocesan inspector who was interested in a teachers' association;

'I only hope you are fully prepared to welcome its consequences. These gentry do not, as a class, take the lowest view of their own importance; and their pretensions will rise in an exact ratio with the status you confer upon them. At least half a

dozen new societies will be required to satisfy their demand'. 35

Nevertheless, the period was one of transition. One observer mentioned the ambivalent attitude of the upper classes as one of the chief problems with which teachers had to contend;

'In one case he is encouraged to wear a particular-out coat, recommended to the Bishop for a license, taught to aspire to be a deacon; and meanwhile is often, at meetings and on public occasions, treated with as much deference as one of the "inferior" clergy: in the other case, he is looked upon as a paltry fellow, a mere drudge of the parish, whom it is a kindness to notice with a donnish nod as \_\_\_\_\_, "the poor schoolmaster".'

The recognition - limited, but real - of the changing position of the teacher by some school managers may be seen in their cautious encouragement of teachers' associations. Many provincial groups were established, not by the teachers themselves, but by local managers, diocesan inspectors, or

35. Educational Expositor, 1853, pp. 157-161, 190; Walter, op.cit., p.32; cp. the charges of conceit investigated by N.C.; and S.C.1865, evidence of Rev. W.G.Cookesley.

diocesan boards.<sup>36</sup> When, as was inevitable, they developed beyond the stage of listening to improving lectures in company with managers and began to act independently, Department opinion frowned upon them as:

'...wholly at variance with the position My Lords are endeavouring to create for the Schoolmaster...vis. that of a public servant acting under a public body (the Managers of his School). In that relation his duties are executive only'

but they maintained their connections with managers, who gave them dinners, lectured to them, and were invited by them to preach at their national meetings. Curiously enough, these denominational societies played a larger role in the origins of modern teachers' unions than those founded by teachers themselves, like the United Association started by Kay-Shuttleworth's protégés, Tate and Tilleard; since the latter tended to be confined to certificated teachers, whilst the others, initially on the insistence of the clergy, included uncertificated, thereby admitting, for example, J.J.Graves of Lamport, whose work in establishing the N.U.E.T., carried on with the

36. A Schoolmaster's Difficulties Abroad and at Home, 1853, p17. Evidence of encouragement by Diocesan Boards in A.R.s., York, 1848; Bath and Wells, 1848-9; Worcester, 1850-51; Hereford, 1853. The clergy of North Malling Deanery, Kent, in turn gave an annual dinner to the schoolmasters - Teston (Kent Archives) passim; and the Bridgenorth Association had an annual dinner with managers (P.R.O. 30/29. Box 23, part 2, 3-5-55). The Manchester Church Teachers' Association was founded by the Church Education Society. Winchester Archives have the Minute book of the Hampshire Church Schools Society, in the foundation of which Dr. Moberley of Winchester College took an active part. The Bishop of Bath and Wells' Teachers' Certificates (above, p.144) originated from a proposal made by the Chew Schoolmasters' Union (D.B., A.R., 1848-9, pp.11-14); cp. McClatchey, op.cit. p.156.

full approval of the trustees of his school, has recently been described by Seaborne and Isham.<sup>37</sup>

Within limits, then, some managers were prepared to encourage teachers to discuss their position and its responsibilities; but few thought of them as anything but subordinates. If they had been challenged on this point, they would probably have said something like <sup>R.B.Girdlestone</sup> (the manager of Wordsley school) in 1865 - '... we want some persons who will aid and abet us in our religious and moral work, and we think far more of that than of any personal acquirements, or of any talents'. As we have seen, British and Wesleyan committees were as preoccupied with the religious and moral functions of the school as were the Anglicans and the Catholics; so that many nonconformist teachers were not free of the supervision that pervaded church schools. The involvement of some Baptist ministers with the schools has already been noted. In the

37. P.R.O.Ed 9/12, p 278. For a general account of the beginnings of teachers' unions see A.Tropp, *The School Teachers*, 1957, pp. 45-57; S.C. 1866, qq.1468-9, 1552, 2210; Seaborne and Isham op. cit. In the Granville Papers there is an interesting letter from Norris on the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters - 'very church very "Protestant", and rather pragmatic'. At their national meetings, he said, they went to church, got someone like Hugh Stowell to preach, and then spent 3 days talking about themselves. They were passing through 'a self-conscious stage, sensitive and impatient'; but were harmless compared with the United Association, with Tilleard as its secretary, whose periodical, the *Expositor*, contained 'disaffected and even offensive' material (N.B. that Tilleard was the Department clerk whose annotations on H.M.I.s' reports were investigated by S.C. 1864) P.R.O. 30/29. Box 19, Part 2, 14.12.55.

Unitarian New Meeting school, Kidderminster, the teachers had to work in the Sunday school as if they had been Anglicans and the children went to the chapel during school hours to practise hymns for the services. Conscientious Wesleyan ministers visited the schools and prayed with the children or tested them on the Catechism. The Hoddesdon British school met on Sundays and, rather surprisingly, the committee agreed to a Church of England parson coming in to teach the Anglican boys. The anxieties of the committee of the Manchester Jews' school may be traced in their annual reports. They had the special problem of being unable to find certificated Jewish teachers until the late '60s. They were therefore forced to employ Christians, one of whom they had to dismiss for suspected proselytising, and they were much exercised by disputes between the left and right wings of the community as to how much attention should be given to the teaching of Hebrew.<sup>38</sup>

It is in Anglican schools, however, that the subordinate position of the teacher is most clear, at least in the field of religious teaching. It will be recalled that for many

38. S.C.1865,q.3363; New Meeting, Kidderminster, B, 19.6.63, 20.8.63; Penryn, 6.11.63; Oakenshaw 4.10.64; Hoddesdon. M.B. 2.9.44; Jews' School, Manchester, A.R.s, esp. 1856-7, p.7; 1858-9, p.6; 1863-4, pp.3.7; 1866-7, p.8; 1868-9, p.8. A special problem was to provide for normal weekday lessons on Sundays, when gentile teachers would not attend.

clergymen there was no real distinction between day and Sunday schools. The records of Bishop Wilberforce's visitation of 1854 show the extent to which the clerical duty of catechising was carried out in day schools, and to which the day school was used as a means of preparing for Sunday school.<sup>39</sup> Weekday attendance at church was frequent, especially during Lent, when it was almost universal. Only at Ashton-under-Lyne do we find a clergyman acquiescing when the teacher 'objected on three grounds (1) Breaks up the school, (2) Takes away teaching power, and (3) Waste of time'. At Cradley, in the Black Country, under a high church vicar, the children were in church every week, at Brackenfield, in Derbyshire, on saints' days. The vicar of Crosby Ravensworth (this appears to have been a personal foible) made the boys attend church annually on the feast of King Charles the Martyr.<sup>40</sup> Some high church clergy imposed their favourite devotional practices on their schools. Frederick Watkins' reports, for instance, described with some relish the eccentricities enforced by the notorious ritualists of St. Saviour's, Leeds.<sup>41</sup>

39. Cp. C. M. Yonge, Langley School, p. 157 - 'Friday was the day on which the girls at Langley always repeated their Collects and other lessons to Mrs. Wright [the schoolmistress] so as to be sure of being perfect for Sunday'.

40. Ashton-u-Lyne (Manchester Local History Library) 20.2.65; Cradley (Woros.R.O.) - the vicar had previously been curate in the Lyttelton living of Halesowen (Crockford); Brackenfield (Derbys.R.O.); Sutherland Diary 30.1.51; Cp. St. Mark's Windsor, below, pp 308-10.

41. The children had to pause whenever the clock struck, cover their faces and pray. There was a terrible row when the clergy refused certificates of good conduct to pupil teachers who had not been sufficiently regular at confession - Minutes 1850-51, v.2, p.148; 1853-4, v2, p.178.

It was common for the schoolmaster also to be the church organist - indeed, it was often required in advertisements. This accorded well with the practice in colleges like St. Mark's, York and Saltley of making a special point of teaching church music - Professor Chadwick, indeed, attributes the contemporary revival in church music to the training given in such institutions.<sup>42</sup> It had the advantage from the clergyman's point of view of enabling the master to train the choirboys during school hours and to teach the children to lead the congregation in singing; it explains the one extravagance observable in a number of schools - the provision of a harmonium;<sup>43</sup> but it also involved the master in absence from school to play for weddings, funerals and weekday services.<sup>44</sup>

42. Chadwick, op.cit., p.519.

43 Harmoniums - Painswick M.B. 5.4.65; Ryton (Salop R.O.) December 1866; Barrow (Ches. R.O.) 20.2.66; Warwick N.B. (Warwicks. R.O.) 18.6.68; Milwich. 30.11.65; Christ Church, Stafford.23.8.65; St. Luke, Chorlton(Manchester Archives)B.5.8.63; St. Breage (Cornwall R.O.) 16.2.66; Camborne (Cornwall R.O.) 18.3.67; Merrymeet (Cornwall R.O.) 16.11.66; Billingham (Durham R.O.) 6.10.64; St. Margaret (Durham R.O.) G.14.8.65; Brome and Oakley (E. Suffolk R.O.) Accounts 1859; Bexleyheath (Kent Archives) 12-4-64; Strood M.B. 25.11.64; Christ Church, Birmingham B.1.2.66; Firbank 18.11.69; Brackenfield,21.3.65. St. Clement's, Nechells, had a real organ - 18.3.70. (in Centenary Brochure, Birmingham Library).

44. St. Breage, passim; St. Thomas, Winchester, L.B.passim; Billingham, 26.6.63, etc.; Cradley, 15.12.62, etc.; at Painswick (A.R.1855,p.4) the printer employed as industrial master was also organist. In Downe, Misc.Correspondence, is an application for the post of master and organist from a 21 year old teacher who had already been a church organist for 5 years (10.4.67).

The obligation to teach in Sunday school was normal, though not absolutely universal. Occasionally, as at Dry Drayton, Kirtling and Painswick, the teacher was paid extra. But it was usually assumed - at least by managers - to be an integral part of his or her duties, and was probably the biggest single cause of friction between managers and teachers during the period - although few went as far as the master at Maidenhead who accused the rector in front of the children of faking the records by inserting the duty into his contract after it had been signed.<sup>45</sup> Some teachers, feeling that they were as entitled to a day of rest as anyone else, refused to do the duty unless it was specified in their conditions of service (although they tended to be as annoyed as the clergy when pupil teachers caught the infection and took the same line); whilst the clergy, arguing that Sunday and day school were one, insisted that the obligation was automatic.<sup>46</sup> In some instances they were

45. Dry Drayton (Cambs.R.O.) Misc.papers (receipts); Kirtling, 10.12.53.(paid out of church rates); Painswick MB.1845; Maidenhead, 23.1.45 - 'I said "Do you mean to say that I have made a false entry into the Minute Book?" He said, "You, you, Mr. Birch, have, you know you have".' The teacher's language was 'such that my friend, Mr. Hope, said he wondered I did not strike him...'. He was dismissed.

46. Educational Expositor, 1853, pp.96-7, 341-2; The Pupil-Teacher, 1857-8, p.293; 1859, pp.89-90; The School and the Teacher, 1856, p.33; Minutes, 1854-5, pp.124-5 (statement of pupil teachers' Sunday duty); examples from school records - Ipstones, 24.3.63; Maidenhead, 2.1.43, 9.11.58, 6.8.61; E.Farleigh (Kent Archives) 28.6.62; St. Mary Cray (Kent Archives) Rules; St.John, Chatham M.B. 18.12.63, 6.1.64; Royston, 19.2.46. At Greycoat, Ipswich (8.7.57) and Wateringbury (31.12.64) the teachers were required to attend on Sundays during school holidays or provide a substitute. Training Colleges were generally opposed to compulsory Sunday School teaching (N.C.v.5, p.293). The Home and Colonial Hints (p.15) described it as very objectionable but the Department did not oppose it. For a Unitarian instance, New Meeting, Kidderminster.



expected to teach under the supervision of the clergy: in others to supervise the sometimes large band of amateur Sunday school teachers;<sup>47</sup> in almost all, except when the master was organist, to sit with the children in church and see that they behaved. Monday punishments for Sunday misbehaviour are a regular feature of many log books. As has been said, the duty frequently caused bickering between teachers and committees but the records suggest that the majority of teachers accepted it (perhaps too easily) with a mixture of resignation and genuine piety.

The supervision expected of managers in the fields of school discipline, method and curriculum will be considered in the next chapter. Public opinion and the Education Department held them responsible for the moral conduct of schoolteachers - so much so that Lingen ordered that if managers once had to dismiss a female pupil teacher for unchastity, none should be apprenticed in future without strict enquiry by H.M.I. into the state of the school.<sup>48</sup> This

47. The Sunday school teachers of St. Clement's, Blackburn (Coucher Book) went on strike in 1852, to force the dismissal of the schoolmaster, who had been delivering Radical harangues during a Parliamentary election campaign; they said that a man who derived his living from the Church should not vote for an enemy of the Church, let alone canvass for him.

48. Extracts from the Reports of H.M.I.s, 1852 p.v; Monthly Paper, 1865, pp.92-3, 117; P.R.O. Ed 9/4.p.59.

responsibility, a duty too much, perhaps, to the taste of some managers, could easily degenerate into a niggling interference with the teachers' private life. The managers of St. Andrew's, Holborn, can scarcely be blamed for suspicious questioning as to why a man was seen at 10.50p.m. entering the house in which the mistress boarded with the girls of the industrial school, or why the police found the street door open at 11.45. p.m.; nor those of Royston National school for telling the mistress that if she continued to contract debts she was unable to pay she would be dismissed.<sup>49</sup> But Lord Radnor's objections to the domestic habits of the Irish seem more questionable; so do the Duchess of Sutherland's qualms over the 'playful ringlets' of a schoolmaster's fiancée, which she felt to be of sufficient importance to be discussed with Kay-Shuttleworth.<sup>50</sup> Lesser managers behaved in a similar way. The master of St. John's, Chatham, felt he had to announce his intended marriage to the managers and receive their consent; while cryptic entries in the log books of St. Luke's, Chorlton on Medlock, suggest that the managers attempted to make the teachers of their boys' and girls' schools marry each other for their convenience. The Home and Colonial Society, in their 'Hints on the Establishment of Schools....' assumed that committees would reprove

49. St. Andrew, Holborn, M.B. 1.3.58; Royston, 16.1.54.

50. Smith, op.cit., pp.208-9.

teachers for finery or untidiness in dress, or irregular habits; they found it necessary to point out that this should be done kindly, and 'after school hours'.<sup>51</sup>

There were certainly far more quarrels between managers and teachers than appear in the records, since teachers who entered accounts of such quarrels in log books were liable to find themselves in trouble, not only with their managers, but with the Department.<sup>52</sup> Many seem to have arisen from the fact that manager and teacher each regarded the school as 'his', and resented the pretensions of the other. The teacher felt himself to be the professional, the manager the amateur; while even well disposed managers felt of teachers, as the vicar of Berwick epigrammatically remarked, 'They think they know much more than they do, because they know much

51 St. John, Chatham, M.B. 9.7.60; St. Luke, Chorlton, 19.10.63 - Boys' - resigned 'on account of the Committee wishing me to be married, and also because of the arrangements in the teachers' residence'; Girls' - resigned 'in consequence of a request from some of the members of the committee on Sunday the 18th to publish my barns in Church and also on account of the arrangements in the Teacher's Residence'; Home and Colonial, Hints, p.23; op. The Society's attitude to one of their own teachers who married without approval - below, c.7, note 21.

52 Minutes, 1865-6, p.64; 1866-7, p.190. Curiosity is aroused by the rector of Ryton, Salop, who cut 20 pages out of the log book in 1872 and wrote 'Records destroyed, so as not to perpetuate the memory of serious differences of opinion between the Managers and Teachers, to the great detriment of the School during the above two years'.

more than they did'. Fraser, the future Bishop of Manchester, remarked rather disarmingly to the Select Committee of 1865, that he preferred a woman teacher, as he liked to spend a good deal of time in his school, and there was less likely to be a conflict of opinion than with a master. The submissiveness of females perhaps explains the surprising fact that the incumbent of Portishead found that sending his teacher to join the scholars when he taught the top class made her 'docile, intelligent, and free from ... conceit'.<sup>53</sup>

Sometimes teachers asked for trouble, like the master of Plaistow National school, who, when told by the clergyman to punish some children who had not been to Sunday school, 'instantly told them all to sit down again, for that not one of them should be punished, using most extraordinary language....', or the mistress of a new school at St. Stephen's, Manchester, when the vicar brought the government papers to be filled in; 'he wishing to do the portions which I had been accustomed to do myself I refused to give him the information required'. One can only be sorry for both the clergyman and the assistant teacher of the school at Packington who had to act as buffers between Lady Aylesford and the schoolmaster, when the Countess sum-

53 N.C., v.5, pp.163,256; S.C.1865, q.4124.

moned the assistant to make herself useful at the Hall, and the master forbid her to go.<sup>54</sup> In other instances it is clear that the teachers were badly treated, as in a rather pathetic case at Bullbrook, in which one of the two patronesses made the pupil teacher cry, and the teachers, her parents, rushed to her defence. When told by the managers to apologise, they heroically, if self-consciously, refused to do so and resigned. Another such case was at Headley, where the rector quarrelled with the master, over possession of the school key, immediately after his wife's death.<sup>55</sup>

Whatever the relations between managers and teachers, they seem, as a rule, to have been far worse when there was a ladies' committee involved:

54 P.R.O. Ed 9/12, p.286; St. Stephen, Manchester, G.10.3.68; Packington 9.1.65, 26.2.65.

55 Bullbrook (Berks R.O.) 25.6.69, 10.7.69, 12.7.69. The master copied his letter into the log book. 'We are willing, nay bound, to render to all their due - "Fear to whom fear - Honour to whom honour etc.", but we are sorry that the circumstances of this case shew us that our Christian duty must lead us to refuse to accede to the wishes of the Committee.' The effect is slightly lessened by the next sentence - 'I shall feel much obliged...for the payment of my last quarter's accounts which are now 7 weeks in arrears..' Headley, 13.2.67, 20.2.67. Other examples of quarrels - St. Mary Cray, 9.8.50; Wateringbury, 22.5.51; College St., Yalding, 12.1.61; Weardale, M.B.23.10.67; and (frequent) Milwich (above, note 20); British schools (both quarrels over pupil teachers) New Meeting, Kidderminster, B., 1863-4; Warwick Br. (Warwicks.R.O.) B.26.6.67 to 16.12.67.

'...matters at Stoneborough National School had not improved, though the Miss Andersons talked a great deal about progress, science, and lectures.

'The Ladies' Committee were constantly at war with the mistresses, and that one was a veteran who endured them, or whom they could endure beyond her first half-year. No mistress had stayed a year within the memory of any girl now at school. Perpetual change prevented any real education, and, as each lady held different opinions and proscribed all books not agreeing thereto, everything "dogmatical" was excluded; and...the children learnt nothing but facts about lions and steam-engines, while their doctrine varied with that of the visitor for the week'. 56

Charlotte Yonge thus described a fictional ladies' committee; and it is a not unfair picture of the state of affairs which was liable to exist. The contribution of 'ladies' to education should not be underestimated; invaluable work was done by many individual women in the schools. The trouble arose when a group of them formed a committee and were given some executive responsibility. This perhaps seems inevitable when we remember how many of them were

56 C.M.Yonge, *The Daisy Chain*, 1856, Part 2, chapter 2. It may not be coincidence that the most tiresome of all the ladies' committees studied for this thesis was that of Winchester Central School, which Miss Yonge, living nearby and with friends in the city, must have known.

half-educated, middle-aged women with too much time on their hands. Mrs. Hippisley Tuckfield, who published a very enlightened book on education in 1839, remarked, 'How many elderly spinsters might be spared years of ennui and discontent, if they would exert themselves for the good of the rising generation!' <sup>57</sup> which was true enough; but a committee of such spinsters, working off their neuroses on a school, could create havoc.

They were often detested by teachers as rude, interfering and censorious, ruining discipline by criticising and reprimanding in front of the children, and relentless in their hostility to whatever did not accord with their narrow views. A schoolmaster wrote to the Monthly Paper, 'I am constantly being annoyed and discouraged by the remarks of lady patronesses.... One lady, on seeing my first-class of girls draw the map of Europe from memory, remarked; 'Is it not ridiculous to see girls who will probably be my servants, taught to do that which I cannot do myself?''.

A woman teacher complained in another periodical of the 'inquisitorial power' of a ladies' committee; '... the sole business of that amiable body appearing to be finding fault with everything done in the school (about which they under-

57 Mrs. Hippisley Tuckfield, Education for the People, 1839, p.2.

stand nothing); and taking note of the behaviour and dress of the mistress'. A 'layman of experience' once said to Archdeacon Allen, the former H.M.I., '...ladies are both too soft and too hard... too hard, in that they will often make a most injudicious fuss about external matters; too soft, in that they not unfrequently speak in praise of things about which they had better be silent.'<sup>58</sup>

Records of the activities of some ladies' committees confirm this picture. They were fierce on the subjects of hair-cutting and the wearing of crinolines.<sup>59</sup> They made fussy regulations about what should be taught,<sup>60</sup> and they frequently interfered with discipline<sup>61</sup> (although sympathy with the teacher is somewhat lessened by the fact that they were usually trying to stop her beating the girls). H.M. Inspector put the matter tactfully in relation to the girls' school at Kenilworth in 1864 - 'This is the

<sup>58</sup> Monthly Paper, 1855, p177; Educational Guardian, 1860-1, p.287; Lectures to Ladies, pp.212-3.

<sup>59</sup> Middlewich, M.B.10.12.36; Winchester Central, Ladies' Rules, Nov.'45; 4.4.45; M.B. 17.10.45; Hackney Par. (G.L. C.R.O.) 5.8.61; Wateringbury, 31.12.60.

<sup>60</sup> Hackney Par. 1.5.48; Maidenhead, Ladies' M.B.5.10.46; 2.5.48. 2.9.50, 4.10.50; Winchester C. Ladies' M.B.16.7.40.

<sup>61</sup> Winchester C. Ladies' M.B. 27.9.39, 20.1.43, 24.2.43, 3.3.43, 19.7.44, 14.7.45; Rules 12.7.45, 14.7.45; Bermondsey M.B., 21.5.47, 18.6.47; Maidenhead, M.B. 28.9.63; St. John, Chatham, M.B. 6.4.54; Kenilworth, M.B.15.2.70.



only school I inspect in which I think the Mistress and pupil teachers would have a better school if less were done for them by those who kindly visit the school'. The managers took the hint and abolished the ladies' committee, with the result that the next report read, 'Discipline good, much improved especially in tone'; and when the ladies' committee was reconstituted in 1868, strict rules were laid down for its conduct,<sup>62</sup>

The episode just described illustrates the fact that the 'gentlemen' as well as the teachers suffered from a difficult ladies' committee. The managers of the Winchester Central school had to deal with five different mistresses between 1842 and 1848, all of whom left after quarrels with the ladies. In September, 1844, after receiving a letter of resignation from one mistress, 'complaining at ye same time of ye ill-timed interference of individual Members of ye Ladies' Committee with her management of her school', they passed a resolution directing that all causes of complaint should be reported to the gentlemen and that any necessary reproof should be given only by the

62 Kenilworth, Rules, 1868; M.B. 15.9.64; 13.9.65, 11.11.67 - to be appointed 'together with certain rules for their guidance'. The vicar said 'he thought the Mistress would like it'.

secretary of the society or the president of the ladies' committee. But within a year the ladies were writing to the next mistress complaining of the 'great impropriety' of her conduct and the 'great disrespect' she showed to them; and although she wrote an immediate apology, she handed in her notice the next week. Her successor left within a year and of the next one the ladies' minutes record, twenty months later, that she 'having resigned her Office in a manner that showed some wrong feeling, was spoken to on the subject'. The first extant minute book of St. John's school, Chatham, contains a long statement by the managers which must represent the final stage in a quarrel with the ladies' committee that resulted in its disappearance; and the ladies did not forget, since, when they were invited ten years later to form a committee to supervise the sewing, they refused to do so. The managers of Deal Wesleyan school were clearly nervous of the ladies; when they were about to form such a committee, they wrote to Westminster 'requesting information on the management of female Committees', and two months later they rejected a statement in the ladies' first report saying that 'sewing is the most important part of the girls' education'. St. Thomas's, Winchester, solved the problem by appointing a ladies' committee of two only - the rector's wife and the

daughter of one of the committee members. Other committees of management confined the ladies strictly to such activities as supervising sewing and school-cleaning, while Ipswich British school gave three of the gentlemen the job of organising and convening them.<sup>63</sup>

It would, however, be misleading not to admit that some ladies' committees were very successful - Derby British and Ipswich British, for instance, working within their appointed limits. The Quaker ladies of Hoddesdon British and Castle Street, Kendal, schools, left a large measure of independence, were admirable; and the ladies' committee of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, was far more reasonable than the committee of management. By a threat of resignation they forced the managers to give up an attempt to make the children wear uniform on Sundays and to make the girls scour the schoolroom floors. They kept the curate up to the mark about ordering books, and arranged to spend surplus funds on clothes for the poorest children. When the managers refused the mistress her share of the grant in 1867, on the grounds that she had not attended Sunday school or visited

63 Winchester, Secretary's Memorandum Book, 3.9.44; 19.6.46; Ladies' Committee Rules, 17.9.44, 12.7.45, 14.7.45, M.B.16.7.45, 4.2.48; St. John, Chatham, M.B.6.4.54, 3.2.64, 3.3.64; Deal W., 9.10.55, 20.12.55; St. Thomas, Winchester M.B.14.2.56; Ipswich Br. 22.2.48.

parents, they came to her defence, pointing out that 'such duties had not been required of her, they having arranged to relieve her of them'. At the same time, they were always prepared to defer on non-essentials, and, by a diplomatic approach, kept the peace with a committee of management which other evidence shows to have been quarrelsome.<sup>64</sup>

To end this chapter on a note which might imply that friction between managers and teachers was normal and good relations the exception would be a mistake. It would be anachronistic to assume that Victorian teachers were bound to find their subordinate position intolerable. Many, no doubt, simply accepted it as a necessary condition of a job which, at any rate for women, possessed very definite advantages. But it is clear from entries in log books that a large number shared in the aims of their employers. The Wesleyan mistress who wrote; 'Children remarkably docile. Long to lead them all to the Saviour'; the evangelical who recorded morosely, 'Farmer Mitchell married to a Papist. This event forbodes evil to the village'; the High Churchman who spent a Scripture lesson explaining the tract called

64 Basingstoke M.B.12.3.58; St. Andrew, Holborn, M.B. 9.2.64; St. Stephen, Salford, 28.6.65; Needham (E.Suffolk R.O.) 22.11.65; Derby Br.M.B.; Ipswich Br. M.B; Hoddesdon G.M.B.; Castle St., Kendal M.B.; St. Chad, Shrewsbury M.B., Ladies' M.B.

'Why is Church better than Chapel or Meeting House?'; or the master employed by R.N.Philips, the Manchester Radical, who excited much interest by reading to the children from Samuel Smiles, are a sufficient illustration of this fact. Such teachers welcomed their role of assistants in 'the Christianisation of the children of the lower classes, meaning by that term their moral and spiritual improvement'.<sup>65</sup> They never missed the chance afforded by sudden death to point out the uncertainty of this life and the need to prepare for the next.<sup>66</sup> They seized opportunities to inculcate the virtues of thrift, hard work, homesty, respect for betters and respect for the aged:<sup>67</sup> and to warn against the sinfulness of drinking, racing, swearing and Sabbath-breaking. The boys of St. Thomas Stourbridge, were

65 Oakenshaw W. 2.2.65; Nympsfield (Glos R.O.) 27.2.65; Powick (Woros.R.O.) 26.4.65; Park Lane, Whitefield, 5.9.62; S.C.1865.q.4245.

66 Headley, 25.6.66; Oakenshaw, 5.12.64, 6.12.64; Waterside Colne (Lancs R.O.) L.B.24.11.65; Park Lane, Whitefield, 14.8.63; Dukinfield B. (Ches.R.O.) 6.1.64; Macclesfield I. (Ches.R.O.) 13.11.66; Griffaydam, 16.10.63. Long Itchington (Warwicks.R.O.) B.18.4.64; Archbishop Tenison's (G.L.C.R.O.) L.B.27.9.66; Lower Moseley St. (City News.1914) (Manchester Local History Library); St. Breage, 3.5.67; Penryn 17.12.66; Heveningham.1.1.63; Holy Trinity, Ipswich 2.3.68; Needham 26.4.66; Stowmarket (E.Suffolk R.O.), 19.2.67; Christ Church, Birmingham.B.25.8.65; St.Thomas, Stourbridge (Woros.R.O.), G., 14.12.63; Firbank, 12.10.69; Christ Church, Crewe.B.13.5.63.

67 Christ Church, Crewe B.19.2.63, 22.4.63; Brackenfield, 17.8.63; Park Lane, Whitefield, 10.10.62; Penryn, 15, 10.63, 5.11.63; Teston 20.4.64; Castle Eden B. (Durham R.O.) 6.1.65; Truro Central G., L.B.29.10.69; Hayle Foundry, 3.9.67; St. Andrew, Ancoats (Manchester Archives) 8.2.67; Dukinfield B. 11.11.63; Macclesfield B., 28.5.68; Christleton (Ches.R.O.) 24.5.65.

solemnly cautioned against the sin of attending a performance by females on the high rope, and the children of St. Philip's, Maidstone, were liable to be kept in from noon to 1p.m. to stop them attending public executions.<sup>68</sup> When teachers were of such calibre, there was in normal circumstances no room for conflict with the managers.

The author of 'A Schoolmaster's Difficulties', indeed, after listing nine types of undesirable managers, including the Martinet - 'all order, no eye or ear for anything else'; the Scatterbrain - 'rushing periodically through the room like a storm'; the Visionary - 'devising improvements whose rehearsal distracts the master'; and the Crowder - 'a fond promoter of treats and shows'<sup>69</sup> - nevertheless concluded that teachers should put up with them. 'They are really the responsible party, both to the parents and before the world, for the course they adopt, though you may be the instrument they use'. Few managers were perfect; but a record of someone who must have been near the ideal may be found in the log book of Child's Wickham in Worcestershire. This was a country school, with an average attendance of about 40 children, built at the

68 Nympsfield 5.6.65; Crewe Green (Ches R.D.) 24.11.64; Whitwick G., (Leics.R.O.) L.B. 13.9.65; Wordsley (Staffs.R.O.) 17.10.64; Dukinfield B. 6.1.64, 2.3.64; Headley, 28.5.66; St. Thomas, Stourbridge B. 30.7.63; St. Philip, Maidstone, 11.1.66, 10.1.67.

69. A Schoolmaster's Difficulties, pp. 69-72, 75. The other five were the Busybody, the Indifferent, the Drag, the Hector and the Patron.

vicar's expense and taught by a succession of probationers. The vicar, Rev. J.Hartley, opened the school in 1863, put it into working order before asking the teacher to take it over, examined it regularly, and from time to time spent the whole of several days in the school so that individual help could be given where needed. 'The Vicar helps a great deal in the school', wrote one of the teachers soon after her arrival. He took over when the teacher was ill, or when one of them was clearing up her house, preparatory to leaving. He taught in the night school; took everybody on an outing to Sudley; bought a magic lantern for the school; and established a clothing club for the children in which he provided premiums of 2/9d in the £. One teacher after another sang his praises; 'there could not possibly be one more kind and considerate - a better minister for a Teacher of a school could not exist!'<sup>70</sup>

Thus far we have considered managers mainly in relation to the types of schools they founded and the men and women they employed to teach in them. The account of Mr. Hartley is a reminder that the purpose of this activity was to influence what the 19th. century was fond of calling the rising generation. Chapter 6 will be concerned with the way in which, through discipline, methods and curriculum, this influence was exercised.

<sup>70</sup> Child's Wickham (Woros.R.O.), L.B.passim, esp.23.12.63; Minutes, 1866-7, p.40.

CHAPTER 6.MANAGERS AND PUPILS I SUPERVISION.

Among the functions still undertaken by some managers of country schools are the vestigial remains of those which must, to Victorian children who never had a holiday, have seemed of vital importance. Nineteenth century managers were the purveyors of feasts and treats ranging from the simplicity of baskets of cherries or tea and buns to the elaborate excursions arranged by the L.N.W.Railway for its Crewe schools or by the managers of Basingstoke British school for their children.<sup>1</sup> Some, though by no means all, paid for visits to the entertainments which toured the country with school audiences especially in view. Apart from the ubiquitous dioramas, the most frequently recorded of these were the Piping Bullfinch (whose itinerary can be traced by means of log books) and Dr. Mark and his Little Men (a Victorian equivalent of the Vienna Boys' Choir). William Rogers went one better than anyone else when, during a school trip to Windsor in the first year of Queen Victoria's

<sup>1</sup> The Crewe schools went to Beeston, Hawkestone Park, Rhyl and Llandudno (Christ Church, Crewe L.B.s); Basingstoke Br. between 1866 and 1871 to Southampton, Portchester, Netley, Windsor and Hampton Court. (Basingstoke Br. advertisements). R.N.Philips arranged treats for his Park Lane school at Blackpool, when the school processed along the promenade to the music of its own brass band. (Park Lane, Whitefield, L.B.)



widowhood, he induced the Queen to come out and let the children see her.<sup>2</sup> To parents the degree of generosity shown by managers in contributing to the clothing clubs, shoe clubs and savings banks which many of them sponsored in their schools must have been of more importance.<sup>3</sup> For most managers, however, these activities were carrots to aid in bringing children to school and keeping them there. The very partial degree of success which they achieved will be discussed later. This chapter is concerned with what they did with those who came.

It has been noted that one feature of elementary schools in the early years of this period was a change in the class from which their pupils were drawn. As has been said, in British and nonconformist schools this was the largely accidental result of the comparative weakness of established dissent amongst the poor, in contrast with the lower middle class; in other types of school it was a more conscious and deliberate attempt to bring about a mixture of social classes -for the Jews, for example, a

2 The Piping Bullfinch had been shown at the Exhibition of 1862 and appears at intervals between 1863 and 1867 in Lancashire, Cheshire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, Dr Mark throughout the country from Cornwall to Westmorland; for Dr. Mark and dioramas, see R.Wood, *Victorian Delights*, 1967; Hadden, *op.cit.*, p.84.

3 See p.465.

means of uniting the Jewish community. The committee of the Manchester Jews' school pointed out that one advantage of introducing fees was that 'the Institution will lose the objectionable name of Free School, and wealthier parents will have the less hesitation to send their children to be instructed there'.<sup>4</sup> Anglicans who, following Dawes, wished to educate middle and lower-class children together, argued that thereby 'many jarring elements between these two classes would give way: the feelings between them would be much softened and subdued by an united education which is sound and practically good', but they also argued that this was altogether to the advantage of the poor. The Revised Code was attacked because it would 'tend to the exclusion of exactly that class which is now, in fact, humanized, taught, and reformed in our national schools, by being brought in contact with children who are morally and socially superior to themselves...'. Moreover, the poor would benefit from the increased money which such combined education made available. Where the classes were educated in separate schools this could only happen when, as at St. Thomas, Charterhouse, the profits of one school were used to counterbalance the losses of the other; but where they were educated together it could be achieved by the innovation of fees graduated, not according to the

<sup>4</sup> Jews' School, Manchester, A.R.1843-4,p.8.

amount taught, but according to parental status or income, with the managers deciding at what rate the parents should pay, and the children treated in school 'on terms of perfect equality'. The argument used to justify this was summarised by Samuel Best of Abbott's Ann, where the fees varied from 2d. to 1/- a week - 'We think the education is worth a shilling a week, and if we choose to give it to the poorer classes at a much cheaper rate, we have a right to do so'. Where schools were as good as those of King's Somborne or Abbott's Ann, farmers and tradesmen accepted this view; and the number which introduced charges of this type shows how many managers at least hoped for success.<sup>5</sup>

This desire to bring the lower middle class into the elementary schools had an important bearing upon the attitude of managers to questions of discipline. Apart from the Voluntaryists, few of them were prepared to allow parents any say in the running of a school; but middle-class parents could not be treated so cavalierly, so harangued and patronised, as those of the poorer classes. As an Inspector pointed out in 1851, the tone of regulations in many schools 'hurt the proper pride' of parents and

5.R.Dawes, Hints on an Improved and Self-paying System of National Education, 1847, pp.4,8; P.P.1862,XLI,189,p.40; Minutes, 1847-8, v.I, pp.8,24; S.I.C., v.4, qq. 7214,7221. For further discussion of graduated fees, see below, p. 361.

discouraged attendance; and, in order to attract prosperous and independent families, managers were in general forced to relax them. By the '50s it was becoming unusual to find parents brought before committees to be admonished for petty offences committed by them or their children; and even in so backward an area as Norfolk a group of clergy are found in 1860 condemning the 'want of judgement' of 'poor Stone', the vicar of West Bradenham, who, in a moment of folly, took a pair of scissors to school and cut the children's hair, 'nolens volens', with the result that the 'wrath of the British matrons is kindled to the uttermost...' - 'He might have known that nothing irritates mothers more....they seem to associate a closely cropped head with the prison or the penitentiary'. Twenty years before it is more likely that he would have been praised.<sup>6</sup>

6. For Voluntaryists, W. Unwin, *The Primary School*, Part 1, 1862, p. 43; note cases reported by H.M.I.s in which parents' or parish meetings were held before graduated fees were introduced - *Minutes*, 1852-3, v. 2, p. 239 (Mornacote N.); 1853-4, v. 2, pp. 525-6 (Freehay N.); 1854-5, p. 634 (Bideford Br.); *Minutes*, 1850-1, v. 2, p. 255. There is a good example of the sort of harangue to which parents were subjected in Haddenham (Cambs. R.O.) Address to Parents (undated, but type and paper suggest 1820-30) '...Finery is inconsistent with your station in society. A love of dress...has brought disgrace on many families - and caused many a Parent to go down to the grave with an aching heart. Read the Bible to your Children,... Remember that you must meet your Children at the bar of God.' etc.; Armstrong, *op.cit.* pp. 69-70.

Where a school had a powerful patron, the employer or the landlord of the parents, their independence might still, of course, be severely circumscribed. The Pleasley Hill British school log book, for instance, records the departure of two scholars in 1865, 'Lady Caernarvon having ordered the parents to send them to a School supported by her at Teversall - seeing that they hold a farm under her and in the said parish'. An implied threat is clear in a circular from Lord Ellesmere announcing the establishment of evening schools on his South Lancashire estates in 1854 - '... it is Lord Ellesmere's sincere wish that it may be extensively taken advantage of, and that the good sense of the people will render it unnecessary for him to consider any means for enforcing attendance at the Schools'. Ellesmere was certainly actuated by zeal for education; and the close personal supervision which, as already noted, many of these patrons exercised over their schools could at times produce very good results. Its effect upon attendance will be discussed later. The Lyttletons' school at Hagley was a show place in the '50s and the '60s. J.P. Norris, after nearly fifteen years' experience as an Inspector, attributed the advanced state of education in Cheshire and parts of Staffordshire to the number of schools dependent upon individuals which existed there; while the most idyllic picture of a Victorian school

known to the present writer is that of a remote school under an uncertificated teacher, visited by H.M. Inspector at the wish of its autocratic patron, the Proprietor of Scilly - '...this little school to which I have seen the children late on a summer's afternoon bounding down like wild deer through the long fern all eager for their examination, and then a few minutes later answering questions from the Bible with thoughtfulness and intelligence, and doing arithmetic and dictation with neatness and accuracy...'.<sup>7</sup> In Scilly, of course, there was a patron with exceptional power; the ordinary manager could scarcely hope to produce such a striking result.

It is probable that Kay-Shuttleworth, in framing a system whereby managers, in order to obtain government money, were compelled to employ a qualified person, of whose qualifications they were not the judges, expected to create a situation in which the continuous superintendence of managers, except in matters of administration and finance, would be unnecessary; when the school would be under a salaried teacher responsible, in a phrase used by Lingen in 1849, 'for the continuous action and progress of the School throughout in all its details, and on whom any neglect

<sup>7</sup> Pleasley Hill, 19.5.65; Lord Ellesmere's Circular, 16.2.54 (in Sutherland Papers); Minutes, 1863-4, pp. 114-5; 1869-70, pp. 36-7. For attendance in Scilly see below, p. 463.

of these duties can at once be visited with adequate penalties'. But if this was the intention, it was not fulfilled. Certainly there were some schools in which the master functioned in virtual independence - mostly large town schools whose managers could afford to pay high salaries to attract good men. Examples from the material used for this study are the L.N.W.Railway's schools at Crewe, Waterside National school in Colno, Cheltenham British school, and New Jerusalem, Manchester - although here a curious situation obtained in which control was exercised by an able, but unqualified headmaster, while the certificated teacher appointed to comply with government regulations served as assistant. There must have been many others of whom little or nothing is known. It would, for instance, be interesting to know more of the teacher at Great Harwood National school - a former pupil teacher there, who trained at Chester, returned as master at the age of 20 in 1862 and stayed for 27 years, coping with a night school and a large number of half-timers. In 1867, H.M. Inspector reported not a single failure - not even an approach to one. The teaching, he said, was not mechanical, the reading being remarkably intelligent, the geography and grammar creditable, and the pupil teachers very well prepared. In 1869 he wrote,

'This Remarkable School has again passed an Exam. which is at least equal to any previous one'. The log book provides no clue as to how the master did it; without the reports, nothing would be known of his success, and no doubt there were other similar cases.<sup>8</sup>

But these were the minority. Increasingly in the '50s the Department accepted the view that the government system could only be extended if reliance was placed on managers, first to bring a school up to standard and then to supplement the efforts of mediocre or inexperienced teachers to keep it there. The extension of the capitation grant to mixed schools under mistresses is a case in point, since it was accepted as axiomatic that women could not cope with boys unaided. Continuity and stability could only exist in small schools under probationers (who, as already stated, almost always left for more highly paid posts as soon as they got their certificates) if the manager, rather than the teacher, controlled methods and curriculum. Indeed, as has been shown, a principal aim of the Revised Code was to force managers to take more responsibility for what went on in the school. It is, therefore, impossible to

<sup>8</sup> P.R.O.Ed. 9/12, p.159; R.Race, An Old Manchester School (City News, 1914, Manchester Local History Library); this also obtained at Abbey St Br., Bethnal Green - Minutes, 1859-60, p.185; Great Harwood (Lancs.R.O.).



give an accurate picture of the day-to-day working of mid-Victorian schools without considering the role of managers in discipline and in teaching.

The need for constant and consistent supervision explains why, even when there was a committee, control so often passed into the hands of an individual; usually a clergyman or sometimes a woman, since they were the people who had sufficient leisure on weekdays to visit the school regularly. The practice in the early days of monitorial schools had been for the committee to take turns at visiting over a period of a week or a fortnight - occasionally a month - undertaking to go in once or twice during their turn of duty. By the '40s, most National school committees had delegated visiting to the clergy - the rules of Painswick, for example, drawn up in 1844, while arranging for the committee to visit in rotation, appointed the vicar and the curate as permanent visitors. In British and nonconformist schools the system lasted much longer; but it was difficult to ensure that it was carried out once the first enthusiasm waned. The Tewkesbury British school committee, after having visited regularly during its first year or two, later allowed control to pass into the hands of a treasurer who played havoc with the organisation and ultimately absconded. Even when visits

of nonconformist clergy were arranged in rotation, the arrangement was apt to break down. The master of Rugby Wesleyan school recorded on 2nd November, 1868, a visit from the 'first Minister who has attended his monthly appointment for the last seven years'.<sup>9</sup> There were disadvantages even when committees conscientiously carried out their duties, since few were sufficiently united in opinion for a consistent line of policy to be followed by the different visitors; as has been seen, this was a frequent complaint against ladies' committees, which were far more assiduous in visiting than the men.

It was natural that conscientious managers like Mr. Hartley of Child's Wickham should feel a special obligation to attend to the school when it opened or when there was a new teacher. Another Worcestershire school, Crowle, had been open for two years before it began to get favourable reports, and the pupils became, as one of the masters put it, more tractable than 'the rough, half savage children that were in some time ago'. This success must have been due as much to the incumbent, Rev. W.H. Woolrych and his wife, as to the two successive masters, one of whom died, and both of whom lost their wives during these years. The Woolryches came in every day to teach, bought books and distributed

<sup>9</sup> Painswick, M.B., Rules; Tewkesbury, Visitors' Book; Rugby W. 2.11.68.

rewards. The debt must have been especially great to Mrs. Woolrych, who taught sewing, singing, reading and arithmetic, concentrating on the backward children, being 'very persevering with the "awkward squad" of Standard 1'. That this was a special effort is shown by the fact that once the school was securely established, their visits decreased to the two or three times a week from one or other which was the normal pattern for a conscientious parson and his wife.<sup>10</sup>

The similarity between such activity and the work of a good headteacher in a struggling primary school at the present day will be obvious. In the field of discipline, also, there were close resemblances between the functions of a manager and those of a modern headmaster. While managers (with the exception of a few ladies' committees) interfered much less in minor disciplinary matters than had been customary earlier in the century, they were the ultimate authority and, in particular, attempted to stand between the teacher and the parents. As the committee of St. Mary Cray put it, 'No Parent or Friend of a Child can, upon any account, be allowed, to have any words with the Master or Mistress'. Plenty of parents in fact had more than 'words' with the

<sup>10</sup> Crowle passim, esp. 19.6.65, 23.6.65, 28.6.65, 7.12.66.

teachers, but the insistence of most committees that parents must complain only to the managers must have given some degree of protection.<sup>11</sup> It is clear from the records that whenever possible in such quarrels they backed the teacher; although a number made commendable attempts to restrict the use of corporal punishment.<sup>12</sup>

An important problem in government-aided schools was that of ensuring proper supervision of the pupil teachers. The Minutes of 1846 had limited the functions of managers in this sphere to the provision of annual certificates that the pupil teachers had been properly instructed and that their conduct had been good; but here, also, the Department came to expect more of managers than of teachers. In 1857, for example, after complaints from H.M. Inspectors that the certificates were often a mere formality, that teachers were not giving the required amount of instruction, or were giving it at times convenient to

11 St. Mary Cray, 18.9.50; Dursley (Gloucester Library) A.R. 1845, p.7; West Hackney, Rules, 1858: College St. Yalding, 5.1.59; Haughton-le-Skerne, Rules, 1861; examples, Bermondsey, M.B.19.1.55; Ipswich Br., 1859; Royal Free, Windsor (Berks. R., O.) L.B.15.6.63; Kinvor, 31.3.63; Christ Church, Streatham, 3.6.57, 4.11.57; West Hackney, 1.9.63; Staveley (Archives, Kendal) Extracts from log book, 1.2.64.

12 Examples - Jews' School, Manchester, A.R. 1845-6, p.14; Bayswater, 4.10.49; Bermondsey, M.B.21.2.51, 21.3.51; Granby Row passim; Maidenhead, 28.9.63; Pleasley Hill, 28.10.63; Merrymeet, 9.2.67; St. John, Chatham, M.B.7.5.67; Kenilworth, M.B.15.2.70; N.C.v.2, p.389 (Beaumont Schools); cp. Educational Expositor, 1854, pp.68-70.

themselves but undesirable from an educational point of view - the dinner-hour, for example, or immediately after school - a circular was issued to the Inspectorate ordering careful investigation and an insistence to managers that they should fix the times, and should visit the school without notice to check that the instruction was being properly given. 'Where such co-operation is not given....a reason exists for withdrawing public assistance from which no fruit can be expected'. Reports for the years immediately following do not suggest that there was any improvement;<sup>13</sup> the assumption of the Revised Code was that if managers had to pay the pupil teachers themselves, they might be more concerned to see that they were getting their money's worth.

Inevitably, official records call attention to the delinquents. That there were many managers who took their responsibility for pupil teachers seriously may be illustrated from the records used for this study. It was natural in the years immediately following 1846 that school promoters should feel an excitement about the careers of their first pupil teachers which was scarcely maintained at a later date, but managers' minutes and other records of the '50s show many of them keeping a careful watch on their pupil

13. Minutes, 1854-5, pp. 494, 652; 1856-7, pp. 34-5, 230, 782-3; 1857-8, pp. 458, 750; 1858-9, pp. 175-7, 359-60; 1860-1, pp. 133-4.

teachers' progress and often providing rewards for effort. The ladies of Castle St. school, Kendal, for example, made their pupil teacher prepare a monthly exercise for them to mark; the committee of the Manchester Jews' school made a detailed progress report to subscribers in their annual reports - as, for example, on Wolf Levy, who finished his apprenticeship in 1860 - '...he has pursued his tasks steadily and perseveringly, - faithfully seconding the efforts of the master, and attaining a control - mild yet firm - over the pupils, which is scarcely hoped for in his successor, John Harris, who, however, promises improvement as he advances in the term of his apprenticeship'. 14

Such instances, however, cannot necessarily be regarded as typical, since managers with energy enough to keep records (which many certainly did not) are likely to have also been managers who would be more than normally willing to supervise.

But some managers did more. There is occasional evidence of individuals taking an active part in the instruction of their pupil teachers. As might have been expected, Mr. and Mrs. Fry did so in Leicester. The clergy of the Kidderminster National school must have done the same, since Frederick Dugard, H.M.I., told the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System in 1898 that when he was a pupil teacher there (in the later '50s) one of the

14 Castle St., Kendal, M.B., 12.11.57, 12.5.59, 3.9.63, 4.8.64; Jews' School, Manchester, A.R. 1860-1, p.7; Christ Church, Streatham, 4.6.56; Maidenhead, 8.6.57; Deal, 7.3.60; St. Chad, Shrewsbury, M.B. 25.3.61; St. John, Chatham, M.B. 27.11.61.

clergyman taught him Latin, another German and a third Mathematics. Other instances are recorded, of which the most interesting is the arrangement made by Rev.P.Marshall of St. John the Baptist, Manchester, who each week assembled the assistants and pupil teachers of all his three schools for a training session. Either a criticism lesson was given by one of them, or a model lesson by one of the qualified teachers, and afterwards discussed under Marshall's chairmanship; or occasionally Marshall himself gave a lecture on such a topic as 'The Art of investigating a subject'.<sup>15</sup>

These, however, were exceptions. A major problem of the pupil teacher system was always the fundamental cleavage of interest between the pupil teacher and to some extent the Department, on the one hand, and managers <sup>and teachers</sup> on the other. To pupil teachers the importance of apprenticeship naturally lay in the preparation for their future career; and this was the first consideration with the Department. Some enlightened managers took this view. Samuel Best, for example, declared that '...the barriers of poverty are broken down. The effort to educate a quick and clever, or a painstaking and industrious boy, is almost limited to supporting him until his thirteenth year'; '...enable your

15. Leicester Co.G., 22-3-64, etc.; Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System, 1898, qq.7108-9. Dugard became an H.M.I.s' Assistant in 1867. Whiteshill (Glos.R.O.) passim; Granby Row, passim; St.Thomas, Red Bank I, 3-5-65; St.John the Baptist, Manchester, (Manchester Archives) L.B.s.

children', he urged parents, 'to relieve you from the burden of their maintenance, while they assert their own independence in the best of all ways, their spiritual and social improvement'. But the average manager and the average teacher frequently succumbed to the temptation of regarding the pupil teacher as an aide to be used during apprenticeship as best suited the convenience of the school. The effects which might be produced by this attitude are well seen in a letter which Watkins once received from a third-year pupil teacher. The girl was employed in a school which had recently become mixed, the mistress of the girls' school having left. She had been given the elder girls to teach in the old girls' schoolroom and had taken all the needlework in the afternoons. She had received no instruction, since regulations forbade the teaching of an unchaperoned girl by a man;

'I have had no system but my own to work by, no judgment but my own to depend upon; in short, I have just taught them as I liked...

'Now I think, in the first place, that it is very wrong to intrust me so young, and consequently so inexperienced as I am, with so important a charge; and, secondly, I think I shall not pass the examination...and so I shall lose a whole year's salary besides a whole year's tuition, though I shall have had double the work, and more than double the care that I ought to have had'.

The just resentment of this Yorkshire girl is clear in every line of her letter. Few pupil teachers had as much to complain of; but it is clear that many of them suffered



from petty ill usage, sometimes by managers, more often by teachers, who were allowed by managers to turn them into drudges. The danger was stressed by the author of 'A Schoolmaster's Difficulties', who felt it necessary to write 'Do not be for ever measuring their powers by your own wants and weariness'.<sup>16</sup>

The system, in fact, even when administered with fairness, made almost intolerable demands on young adolescents. This, no doubt, as well as faults committed either against or by pupil teachers, explains why almost without exception the managers of schools studied for this thesis were called upon - some of them frequently - to discipline erring apprentices. Few teachers seem to have been able to cope unaided. This is not surprising when we consider that many of them were in their early 20s; that they took charge of schools without any experience, as adults, of working under a responsible head; that they had to undertake single-handed the education and training of intelligent adolescents up to the age of 18, and that these adolescents

16 S. Best, op. cit., pp. 16-17; Minutes, 1857-8, p. 302; A Schoolmaster's Difficulties, pp. 89-91; there were frequent complaints (justified, as is clear from many log books) that they were left to open morning school, the master arriving at about 9-15; and left to cope unaided with the most backward children; or note the obtuse master who interrupted a pupil teacher in full cry - '...the children were listening with deep interest, and I felt delighted in imparting to them something which they were almost entirely ignorant of, when my master came up to the class, cleaned out my diagrams, and led the children's minds into quite a different channel' (Papers for the Schoolmaster, 1855-6, p. 168).

had frequently got to know their master through and through, in his strengths and his weaknesses, before ever they were apprenticed. In this connection it is worth noting that Best would never accept boys from his own school as apprentices - he felt that it was better that they should go elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, some of the worst troubles arose when a pupil teacher was expected to adjust, mid-way through his apprenticeship, to a new master with habits and demands different from the old.<sup>18</sup> In these instances it is clear that at times the managers' sympathies were with the pupil teachers.

Much of the misconduct which came in for censure was harmless enough - the Manchester girl in trouble for walking home from the singing class with the organist, for example.<sup>19</sup> Some of it was momentary rebellion against a life which must have demanded harsh and continuous self-discipline. This is the probable explanation of complaints, very frequent, of unprepared tasks, insolence, and 'larking about', in boys and girls who ultimately turned out well. But the commonest cause of serious trouble was complaints

17 N.C.v.5,p.81; the same suggestion was made in Monthly Paper, 1850,p.413-4.

18 Examples - New Meeting, Kidderminster, B., 1863 and 1868; Warwick Br.B.1867; Evesham N.B.1864.

19 St. Mark, Hulme, G. (Manchester Archives) 9.10.63.

from parents that pupil teachers had hit the children; and there were some cases in which managers were clearly at fault in choosing someone whose unsuitability ought to have been obvious.<sup>20</sup> The existence of log books means that there is much more evidence dating from after 1862 than from before; but enough survives from the earlier period to show that trouble with pupil teachers was not simply a post-Revised Code phenomenon - perhaps the most striking being the conviction in 1854 of a Sheffield pupil teacher as a disorderly apprentice, and the dire forebodings of the incumbent of Swinton, Yorks, in 1862, that the Revised Code would offer 'disaffected pupil teachers' the opportunity to become 'ringleaders in sedition among the children and parents'. However, the record for misdoing, albeit petty, was perhaps held by a pupil teacher of the '60s, one Laura Laurdell, who contrived to go through her entire apprenticeship at Holy Trinity, Ipswich (a very good school) in a perpetual state of being reproved by the rector and told that if she did not mend her ways she would be dismissed!<sup>21</sup> The attitude of managers to such a

20 Oakenshaw, 6.4.64, 4,5,64; Dukinfield G.6.6.66; Leicester Co. B., 15.8.67; Granby Row, 30.4.63, 2.11.65 et seq.; Hayle Foundry, 22.9.65, 4.10.65; Warwick Br.B.26.4.67; All Saints, Chorlton (Manchester Archives) 5.2.66; St. Stephen, Salford, 22.8.64.

21 Truro Central M.B.7.5.49; Maidenhead, 1.3.59; Castle St. Kendal, 9.8.60; P.R.O. Ed 9/12 pp.125, 222, 280, 313, 348; Educational Expositor, 1854, pp.24-5; EP.1862, XLI, 337.p.104; Holy Trinity, Ipswich, L.B., passim.

pupil teacher must have been rather like that of a modern head watching the progress of a particularly difficult adolescent through the upper forms of a secondary school.

The period with which this study is concerned saw the evolution in elementary schools of a concept of teaching different not only from that of the monitorial system, but also from that of public and middle-class schools. As Lingen once said;

'An elementary or even a secondary school for the poor differs essentially from schools where the children of opulent parents are sent to be educated, in schools of this latter kind, little more is done by the teacher in school-time beyond hearing the scholars repeat, and beyond examining them upon, the lessons which they are presumed to have learnt elsewhere. But in a school for the poor...the teacher, instead of having merely to ascertain what the children have learnt, has to be actively and positively teaching them from first to last...'. 22

This transformation, which was already taking place before 1846, was brought about by various factors. There is little sign of direct influence from those reformers, Robert Owen, for example, or the leading figures of the Central Society, who have attracted the attention of modern writers on English educational history; they were too alien from schools which, in their different ways, were all concerned with the maintenance of the establishment, to have had much effect. But in the decade between 1835

22 Minutes, 1851-2, v.I. pp.74-75.

and 1845 the ideas of the Scots, Stow and Wood, of the Pestalozzians connected with the Home and Colonial Society, and, after 1840, of Kay-Shuttleworth, began to find acceptance. The Wesleyans worked on Stow's principles from the start. By the end of the '30s advanced opinion in the National Society regarded the monitorial system as, at best, a necessary evil. The British and Foreign School Society clung to it longer, perhaps the more so because of the aggressive hostility of the first undenominational Inspector of Schools, H.S.Tremenheere; but by the late '40s it was beginning to accept change. Joseph Fletcher's report of 1851 on Borough Road (the first since 1846) showed an institution in a state of transition from monitorial to collective teaching;<sup>23</sup> and by 1854, when the Society published the 'Handbook to the Borough Road Schools; Explanatory of the methods of instruction adopted by the British and Foreign School Society', the change was complete. National and British schools adopted collective teaching, though in units smaller than those

23 Burgess, op.cit., pp.95-7; Ball, op.cit., pp.52-58. The complacency with which Tremeneere himself described the quarrel with the Society (E.L.& O.P.Edmonds, I Was There, 1965, pp.41-7) sufficiently explains the bitterness with which he was regarded. The government was fortunate that his immediate successor, Fletcher, never put a foot wrong in his relations with committees. Minutes, 1851-2, v.I, pp. 397-427.

favoured by Stow; experience taught the Wesleyans that the immense galleries of the Glasgow System, for 100 to 120 children, were too great a tax upon the lungs and the discipline of the average teacher; schools outside the government system made use of adolescents as assistants, who were sometimes even called pupil teachers;<sup>24</sup> the Department, by providing standard plans for schools applying for building and equipment grants,<sup>25</sup> powerfully aided the movement towards uniformity; so that by the late '50s, children and teachers could move about between schools without meeting any very marked differences of organisation.

The organisation thus evolved was not one of class-teaching in the early 20th. century sense of the term. It was assumed that the children would be divided into classes; four was the standard number for a boys' or girls' school, to allow for variants between 7 and 13 years. The Revised Code's tendency to produce six, corresponding to the six standards of the annual examination, had only just begun to operate in the late '60s. All but the smallest and poorest schools had, in addition to the schoolroom, one, or sometimes two classrooms. These were in theory for the

24 e.g. PP. 1856, XLVI, 405, p. 11 (Manchester Secular School); Ipswich Br., 4.1.53, 3.5.53.

25 See chapter 3, note 26. The influence of the Department was particularly felt in the substitution of small galleries for large.

collective instruction of two or more classes together, but in practice they were often used for the 'select class' where one existed, or for the infants, or, in mixed schools, for the girls' sewing. For the most part the children remained in the schoolroom under the eye of the teacher; and the theory was that they should alternate between instruction in large groups from the master or some other adult; in classes, with the pupil teacher or a senior monitor; and in subdivisions of classes under ordinary monitors, who never disappeared from the schools during this period. This apparent flexibility could only be achieved with the aid of a very rigid timetable, which now, for the first time, became an accepted part of school organisation.

The best known version of this plan, operating with variations in all types of schools, was that advocated by Henry Moseley, H.M.I., under the name of the 'tripartite system'.<sup>26</sup> It may be seen at its most effective in the school at West Ashton, Wiltshire, as described by its

26 Minutes, 1845, v.I, pp.250-56; for discussion, see Monthly Paper, 1851, pp.184-7; B.F.S., Handbook, pp.5-9; Educational Record, v.3, pp.266-8; English Journal of Education, 1847, pp.139-42; J.Symons, School Economy, 1852, Part 2, Chapter 2; T. Morrison, Manual of School Management, 1859, pp.52-61; J.Gill, Introductory Textbook to Method and School Management, 7th edition, 1861, pp.48-50; J.Currie, Principles and Practice of Common School Education, N.D. pp.162-3.

manager, Rev. F.H.Wilkinson, and H.M.Inspectors. In this school, there were three rooms, one equipped for reading classes, the second for writing (full of parallel desks) and the third, with a gallery holding 60 children, for oral instruction. It was staffed by a master, a sewing mistress, three pupil teachers, and five monitors. There were three divisions, and a timetable allowing three changes between 9a.m. and noon. The monitors, supervised by the sewing mistress, taught reading, the pupil teachers writing and arithmetic in the second room; and the oral instruction was taken by the master. The school was immensely successful, the numbers rising from 150 in 1851 to 270 in 1854 (in a village of less than 300 inhabitants), 54 of whom boarded in the village in five lodging houses; but how far this was due to the tripartite system, and how far to the farm and dairy attached to the school, the room in the parsonage open every evening to pupil teachers, monitors and boarders, warmed, lit and equipped with games and puzzles, and the efforts of Wilkinson, who heroically took 155 children to the Great Exhibition, leaving at 3a.m. one morning and arriving back 24 hours later, may be questioned.<sup>27</sup> However, the success of West

<sup>27</sup> Monthly Paper, 1851, pp.47-9; Minutes, 1850-51, v.2, p.29; 1851-2, v.2, pp.7-8; 1854-5, pp.301-2.



Ashton and other schools like it popularised the system, and caused it to be attempted in schools in which lack of accommodation and staff prevented anything but a makeshift. In such schools there could be no more than an attempt to see that every child was taught by the master once a day, that arithmetic was not taught by a very junior monitor, and that the school was reclassified into small groups for reading.

The effort demanded of managers in transforming a monitorial or dame school, or in establishing a new one run on modern lines, varied considerably. In some cases it involved no more than the finding of pupil teachers for an able master or the raising of money sufficient to pay the salary of a good teacher. Elsewhere there might have to be expensive new building or constant supervision. The long haul which might be necessary for both managers and teachers to bring a school up to the standard qualifying for a government grant is not well documented; but in outline it can sometimes be traced, as in the notes at the beginning of the log book of Winston school in Suffolk.<sup>28</sup>

28 Winston L.B.(E.Suffolk R.O.). Other instances, rebuilding at St. Mary, Islington, 20.6.56; Haughton-le-Skerne M.B.1858; Goudhurst (Kent Archives) Appeal, 1861; Weardale Schools - Governors' Report, 1868; re-equipment at Jews' School, Manchester, A.R.1853-4, .p.7; St. James, Clitheroe, 8.5.58; Bermondsey, M.B.15.10.58, 15.4.59; teacher sent for training, West Hackney, 11.3.52.

This school was opened at the beginning of 1864 and Mrs. Susan Rumsey appointed mistress in 1865. The following year the decision was taken to apply for inspection so that the school might eventually be eligible for grants. The first report, made in December, 1866, found fault with the equipment, the reading, Standard II's arithmetic, and Mrs. Rumsey's own spelling. By January, 1868, the instruction had been improved, being 'very fairly accurate'; but more desks and a classroom were needed. At the Inspector's third visit, in December, 1868, he found preparations being made for the building of a classroom. In this, the first formal examination, of 30 presented, 29 passed in reading, 29 in writing, and 24 in arithmetic; Winston, the Inspector said, was now a 'very good village school' - and should begin to keep a log book and an admissions register. The final stage was reached when Mrs. Rumsey's certificate was issued at the end of 1869. Such an effort, involving expenditure by managers and, on the part of the teacher, persistence and willingness to stay in the same place for several years, was one which many did not care to make. Indifferent managers would not embark upon a course which produced no immediate returns; wealthy ones often considered that the ultimate prospect of a small government grant was not worth years of irritating red tape. This was undoubtedly one

cause of the slow spread of the government system.

It was the common experience of managers, as will be shown in chapter 10, to find that the majority of their pupils were little more than infants. This was a source of worry and resentment; but it did not lead to developments in the education of infants at all comparable with those to be found in the education of older children. On the whole, managers preferred to spend their limited funds on the salary of a teacher competent to work with the minority of older children and to instruct pupil teachers. Even when they could afford to employ two, they preferred (unless they were under Scottish influence) to have two single-sex schools, leaving the mistress of the girls to supervise the infants - only in Wesleyan and some evangelical schools was the arrangement of two mixed schools, one infant and one juvenile, found. Consequently, the infants were left to the mercy of monitors or pupil teachers, many of whom had no taste for the work, since Department policy required that all female pupil teachers should alternate between the girls and the infants, to give them experience of both - an arrangement which was much resented.<sup>29</sup> Although a minority of managers recognised the value of the specially organised infant school, as 'affording security to their persons and the best culture of their infant minds, - sheltering them

29 Minutes, 1851-2, v.I, pp.98-100; Monthly Paper, 1859, pp.207-8, 262.

from the baneful influence of bad habits, and guarding the opening faculties from receiving a wrong bias', many even of those who established a separate infant school felt, as the Derby British school committee said when the state of their funds forced them to consider closing one of their schools, that it was the least important and the most easily restored.<sup>30</sup>

Adequate training for work with infants scarcely existed outside the Home and Colonial Society's College. The Education Department had, in attempting to increase the numbers of qualified infant teachers, accepted a standard lower than that demanded of others; and in the '60s helped to divert their minds from infant problems by advising, except in cases where the mistress was obviously incompetent, that she should be encouraged in her work by being entrusted with the teaching of Standard I.<sup>31</sup> Most managers who gave much thought to the infants seem to have felt that the chief job of the school was to teach them as many as possible of the things which some of them would have no opportunity to learn at a later stage.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Address to Bridport (Dorset.R.O.- Bridport Industrial School papers); Derby Br. M.B.7.10.52.

<sup>31</sup> A rare case in which H.M.I. advised against it was Thurlaston (Leics.R.O.) M.B. 1.1.68, where the mistress, aged 52 at the time, was an ex-dame who had taken her certificate by examination 10 years before.

<sup>32</sup> See Educational Paper 1859, p.18, for a manager's suggestion that there should be assistants in infant schools, paid at piece rate for success in teaching (1) letters (2) four letter words and (3) the Gospels.

Hence it was rare to find committees interested in experiment or prepared to accept Froebelian ideas, which received a good deal of publicity and strong support from a few H.M.I.s. - notably Mitchell - immediately after the Educational Exhibition of 1854. There were some instances in the Eastern Counties (Mitchell's district) and in London. The conscientious ladies of Castle St., Kendal, on the advice of H.M. Inspector, Scoltock, bought and studied a book about the "Kinder Garten" and decided to buy such of the toys as were suitable, which, they later remarked, appeared to answer well; but most of the small number of instances of kindergarten work appear to have been due to a teacher trained by the Home and Colonial Society.<sup>33</sup>

If the quality of infant education at this period suffered from a general failure to think clearly about its

<sup>33</sup> Mitchell was the Department's representative on the committee of the Society of Arts' Educational Exhibition of 1854 and was much impressed by the work of the Ronges there. He thereafter was a persistent advocate of Kindergarten and had some effect in East Anglia (Minutes, 1854-5, pp.473-4; 1855-6, p.402; 1856-7, p.363; 1859-60, p.60). Kindergarten was introduced into Westminster College in 1856 (W.E.C., A.R. 1856, p.22) and Gray's Inn Road in 1859 (Educational Paper, 1859, p.5) and is found in a few infant schools in the late '50s and '60s - e.g. St. Philip, Maidstone; Nettlestead; Castle St. Kendal. M.B.10.9.58, 18.11.58; St. John, Middlesborough (Minutes, 1864-5, p.131); Pickering W. (W.E.C., A.R. 1858, App. p.22); N.C.v.3, p.374 - unnamed church school in London. The book was presumably the Ronges' Practical Guide (1855).

objectives, the development of evening schools was even more affected by confusion of aim. This is a complicated question, involving issues wider than those with which this thesis is concerned, and it will only be touched upon here in so far as it concerned school managers.

The Department contributed its quota to the confusion.

Its first actions were the result of an approach from the London Diocesan Board, which in 1851 had offered grants to night schools for 'the respectable and well conducted', who could pay fees, and might well want a certain amount of advanced instruction. The Department offered grants to certificated assistants appointed to teach one session in the day school and one in the night school; and in 1855 seemed to be moving towards support of some form of further education by offering grants for night school teaching to persons without certificates but with qualifications in such subjects as navigation. However, after the Revised Code, grants were restricted to the elementary subjects, while previous regulations were rescinded and day school teachers were left free to keep an evening school if they so wished.<sup>34</sup>

The motives of managers in founding night schools were

<sup>34</sup> Minutes, 18 51-2, v.1, pp 74-6; 1854-5, pp.109-112; 1861-2, pp.xxi-xxii; 1862-3, pp.xxiii-xxiv,; London D.B., A.R., 1851, pp.6-7.

varied. For Best - who was secretary of the Hampshire and Wiltshire Adult Education Society - and for the Lytteltons at Hagley, the evening school was only one element in a complicated structure of clubs and societies formed to civilise village life. In other cases the motive was a zeal for evangelisation closely akin to that which inspired the Ragged school movement. A striking instance of this was the night school run by Mary Simpson, the daughter of the vicar of Baynton, Yorks., whose mission was the regeneration of farm lads in their late 'teens and who recruited her scholars by tramping the fields and walking beside the plough. Similar zeal existed in the unlikely persons of the Directors of Price's Patent Candle Factory. Finding some of the boys earnestly practising writing after work, assisted by one of the foremen, the directors established night schools to which were eventually added day schools for the boys to attend when there was no work, and a licensed chapel for services; and gradually, in order to induce more boys to attend the school, elaborate provision was made for excursions, a cricket club with play three evenings a week in summer, and allotments, open to school attenders only. In 1852, the shareholders authorised the spending of £1200 a year, £300 to provide a chaplain and the rest on the

schools.<sup>35</sup>

Such developments, of course, like much of the charitable work of the evangelicals, depended on nothing more reliable than the attitudes of individuals. Mary Simpson was still at work in the late '60s, but by the time the Newcastle Commission reported everything but the evening school had disappeared from the Candle Factory;<sup>36</sup> and similar chance factors influenced other types of evening school activity, which fell into two main groups. On the one hand there was the evening school for ambitious adults, or near-adults, who either wished to get the education they had not had as children (like the navvies at Wells) or who wanted the equivalent of modern further education as in the advanced classes established by Rogers at St. Thomas, Charterhouse. That there was a serious interest in such work is proved by some of the stories told by the Assistant Commissioners to the Newcastle Commission, about the zeal of the classes they visited. But the success in meeting this demand was only partial. Where the teacher, whether professional or amateur, was someone like Wrigley, the able master of the Rochdale Parochial

<sup>35</sup> Minutes, 1851-2, v.2, pp89-91; S. Best, op.cit., p.17; F. Digby Ledgard ed., Ploughing and Sowing, or, Annals of an Evening School, 2nd edition, 1861; Special Report by the Directors to the Proprietors of Price's Patent Candle Factory...1852.

<sup>36</sup> Commission on Children in Agriculture, 1st Report, pp.381-3; N.C.v.3, p.502.



school, or Rogers, or Macready at Sherborne, the evening school worked, but many who achieved reasonable success in teaching children, failed with adults who, as witnesses to the Newcastle Commission pointed out, demanded individual attention and assured results. A further cause of failure, the result of shortages of funds and teachers, was the practice of combining this type of school with that for children who had started work early - the commonest form of evening school, and the only one recognised by the Department after 1862.<sup>37</sup>

The problem of early leaving will be discussed later. Here it need only be noted that as long as many children left school at 8 or 9 years of age, there would inevitably be attempts to ensure, through evening schools, that their education was kept up. The pressure upon such children to attend was considerable. It is clear, for instance, from the stories written by Charlotte Yonge for working-class children, that evening school attendance was expected of every village boy who was not obviously destined for perdition.<sup>38</sup> Some employers - the 2nd. Marquis of Salisbury, for example - compelled attendance. Others

<sup>37</sup> See above, pp. 130, 169; N.C.v.2, pp. 52, 159-60, 236-8; v.3, pp. 35-7, 500-3; v.5, pp. 195, 318-9; Minutes, 1859-60, pp. 89-90.

<sup>38</sup> 'Langley School', already cited, was followed by a series of stories about this fictional village. Miss Yonge also wrote a number of stories as prize books for the National Society's depository.

confined themselves to indirect pressures, like Lord Ellesmere, whose evening schools, already mentioned, were founded after he had failed in an attempt to exclude boys under 11 from his collieries (10 being the legal age for beginning pit work). But though the children might be present, they could scarcely be expected to be receptive after a long day's work. Lord Salisbury's schoolmaster found that he had to let the boys sleep for the first half hour; and the inefficiency of evening schools as a means of keeping up a boy's education was one of the arguments used to support the extension of half-time.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, attempts at such schools were very general, and a few, like the one at Biddenden in Kent, were exceedingly successful over a long period of time. But in these schools, also, chance factors - the hours demanded by local employers and the personality of the teachers - determined success or failure. There can, for instance, be no other way of accounting for the fact that of the clergy in the Oxford archdeaconry in 1854, 59 had started

39 See above, p. 218; N.C.v.3, p. 502. The London Dock Co. had two nights' compulsory evening school with half-time working on those days for its apprentices (loc.cit.p.380). Eyre and Spottiswoode made their reading boys (from whom apprentices were selected) attend classes from 8a.m. - 9a.m. everyday; for others, there was voluntary night school 3 evenings a week (Report of Factory Inspectors, 1857, 2, pp.32-40); Pilkington's and Chance's glass-works and the Strutts all made employees under 18 attend night school 3 or 4 hours a week - H. Sandford, Education in Mining Districts, 1868, p.10; Children's Employment Commission, 4th Report, pp.210, 274. J.F. Winfield, a Birmingham brass founder, compelled 1½ hours attendance each day for the under-18s - Hill op.cit, pp.244-49.

night schools with at least sufficient success for them to be kept open, and 29 had tried them, but given them up.<sup>40</sup>

The problems of dealing with children in the day school, although not necessarily soluble, were perhaps more straightforward than those of evening schools. The obligation on the managers to supervise stemmed essentially from their duty to guarantee to subscribers that their money was being spent on giving the children as good an education as possible, of a type which the subscribers approved; and this inevitably involved an obligation to check on what they learnt and how they were taught it. Some managers, as has been seen, considered their duty done when they had chosen the teacher; and in some cases they were justified, since some teachers were so good that supervision would have been superfluous. (In this connection it would be interesting to know more about the relationship as regards school affairs, between Dr. Molesworth, vicar of Rochdale, a man of powerful personality, and the schoolmaster, Mr. Wrigley, regarded by some as the best teacher in England).<sup>41</sup> But H.M.I.s, diocesan inspectors

<sup>40</sup> Biddenden - S.I.C.v.11, pp.20-21; Monthly paper, 1865, pp. 124-6; E.P.Baker, op.cit. Note Stoke's comments (J.P.Norris, The Education of the People, 1869, p.82) - Success depended on regular habits and affable managers who would respect the scholar's whims.

<sup>41</sup> On Rochdale, N.C.v.2, pp.224-5; Minutes, 1851-2, v.2, p.352; 1854-5, pp.524-5; 1855-6, pp.446-7; 1860-61, pp.100-1; 1863-4, p.83.

and writers on education in general are so constantly found blaming a school's lack of success in educating upon lack of supervision by the managers that it is clear that in the contemporary view, few teachers could be thus trusted. So familiar were many managers with school routine that they were willing to take on the running of the school in the teacher's absence, sometimes merely for a day, as in some West Midland schools when the teacher went to the Saltley College reunion, sometimes for as much as six weeks during an interregnum.<sup>42</sup>

Some managers extended their supervision to the details of the timetable; this is apparent not only in occasional log book entries, but also in the careful discussion of school timetables to be found in the clerical manuals.<sup>43</sup> But far more common was the testing

<sup>42</sup> Examples of this during the '60s in L.B.s of Granby Row, Manchester; Headley, Hants; Elsworth, Cambs.; Camborne, Merrymeet, Pendeen, St. Blaizey, Cornwall; Hentland, Hereford; Middleton St. John, Co. Durham; Milwich, Staffs; Flaxton, G, Kent; Holy Trinity Ipswich, Needham, Stowmarket, Suffolk; Child's Wickham, Crowle, Evesham N. Lye, Worcs; for a six weeks' stint at Yardley Hastings, Northants, Walter, op.cit., p.106. The St. James, Clitheroe, Ladies' Committee earlier took on the school only if one of the clergyman was present to keep order - Ladies' Committee M.B.6.7.42.

<sup>43</sup> Clungunford (Salop R.O.) 19.10.66; Sissinghurst, 23.5.67; J.Sandford, op.cit., 1845, pp.190-93; Armitstead, Parochial Paper, V. pp.306-322, 326-364.

of the teaching by examining the children. We have seen that Department officials urged on managers the duty of quarterly examination, and that some of them carried it out; although others preferred to acclimatise the children by examining them a few days before the Inspector's visit.<sup>44</sup> The most normal procedure, however, was to examine the whole school each year, for prizes at Christmas. These tests were often stiff. The committee of Christ Church, Streatham, decided to make the Christmas examination of 1861 a dummy run for the Revised Code to see what amount of grant they might expect, and of 155 children, the curate, who examined, passed only 64 in all three subjects.<sup>45</sup> On other occasions, one subject only was tested - as at St. John's Cheetham, where the curates regularly examined the geography and commented - on 6th June 1863, for instance, that the children answered well, but there was a danger of mechanical answering<sup>46</sup> - and for many managers every visit was an occasion for informal testing

<sup>44</sup> Examples, Stoke Abbott (Dorset R.O.) 22.7.64; Hanham (Glos.R.O.) 2.5.64; Stroud I. (Glos.R.O.) 26.2.66; Branfield (Herts R.O.) 20.2.65 et seq., Needham 30.10.67.

<sup>45</sup> Christ Church, Streatham, M.B., 1861.

<sup>46</sup> St. John, Cheetham, Manchester, esp. 8.6.63; Lea Marston, 13.11.65; Holy Trinity, Ipswich, 23.3.63.

by questioning - the visitors of Evesham British school for example, who asked questions on geography, history, arithmetic, 'Sago and Saffron', with satisfactory results, or Mrs. Cleaver and Mrs. Gundry, patronesses respectively of Sissinghurst and Walditch schools.<sup>47</sup>

Managers are also found riding their favourite hobby-horses in the field of social training - like Mr. Rooke of the Royal Free school, Windsor, who periodically inspected the boys' shoes to see that they were clean, or Mr. Thompson of Cradley, who brought the chaplain of Worcester gaol to explain to the children 'the folly of intemperate habits', or, more minatory, the manager who brought to St. Clement's, Nechells, a man 'whose health is shattered by strong drink', but who had been induced to take the pledge.<sup>48</sup> Most schools were attempting to abolish such primitive survivals as 'souling' in October, 'nettling' at various times according to districts, and 'garlanding' on May Day,<sup>49</sup> usually by punishing the children who absented

47 Evesham Br.B. Visitors' Book; Sissinghurst, Walditch, L.B.s. Most log books contain instances of this.

48 Royal Free, Windsor, L.B. 30.10.63, 4.12.63; Cradley, 25.2.64; St. Clement, Nechells, 27.8.63.

49 This was not universal. At Plaxtol, the schools went garlanding and the proceeds were shared out on a sliding scale, the monitors getting the most and the lowest class the least. At the fictional Langley school, Miss Edith and Miss Dora provided the flowers for the garlands (.C.M. Yonge, Langley School, p.75).

themselves for the occasion; but some managers tried what encouragement would do - as at Leamington British girls' school on May Day, 1863, when 'Miss Louisa Salter came and read a story to the children this morning; Miss Emma Salter this afternoon and presented them each with a book. Mrs. Salter came in and told them how glad she was to see so many at school'.

In most Anglican and Catholic schools the clergy took an active part in the teaching at least of Church doctrine. The question of how much further managers should go was a more doubtful one. Bishop Wilberforce told his clergy that their teaching 'in the school must be that of the pastor not of the schoolmaster',<sup>50</sup> and we need go no further than the anecdotes in which W.H. Brookfield, H.M.I., specialised, to see the dangers against which he was warning them.<sup>51</sup> It is impossible not to wonder what the teachers thought of the teaching of some managers. There are only very occasional hints in log books - Teston, for example, where the children are discreetly recorded as being 'backward in comprehending the Revd. Gentleman's mode of reasoning'. A curate, at Stoke Abbott, was safer game - 'The Rev. T. Ansell visited morning school, but his familiarity with

50 Quoted in McClatchey, op.cit., p.141, n. Compare comments on this point in S.C.1865, qq.3999, 5834; S.C.1866, qq.807, 813.

51 The best known is the groom's son's composition about the racehorse (Minutes, 1857-8, p.395); the funniest, in the same report (p.385), a clerical manager's struggles to make the children say the name of Jesus in answer to Brookfield's question as to whose words they had just read in the Sermon on the Mount.

the First Class is absurd'. Archdeacon Sandford urged that all ordinands should have training in teaching; '...in days in which so many of our schools have trained masters - who do understand what teaching is - it is more than ever necessary that the clergy, with a view to their own usefulness and credit, should be "apt to teach".'<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, when a manager was 'apt to teach' he or she often had the advantage of a much wider educational background than any teacher normally possessed,<sup>53</sup> and some of them were very good indeed. Their more original ideas will be discussed in chapter 7; but in their attitude to the conventional subjects the best of them were outstanding, if we assume that modern methods are better than traditional. It would, for example, be difficult to find a more satisfactory statement of the modern approach to reading than the following, written by Thomas Short, rector of Bloomsbury and later Bishop of St. Asaph, in an S.P.C.K. tract entitled 'Hints for teaching little children to read';

'We set the child to read a story, and do not exercise him in learning unmeaning symbols of sounds which convey no idea; and by reading the story it learns to read. The lessons are progressive; but they are all stories, they

<sup>52</sup> Teston, 21.10.64; Stoke Abbott, 1.12.64; J. Sandford, op. cit., 1862, p. 152.

<sup>53</sup> Note Bellairs' (H.M.I) comments, below, p. 544.



are all sentences, having each some meaning; and through the meaning, which the child easily catches, we give him the habit of reading the words. We take it for granted that he does know English, and we endeavour to select such words as he does really know, and which he is in the habit of using; and by exercising him in these, we try to make him able to read any words'. 54

Managers of this type clearly liked and understood the job of teaching; and they were not all church dignitaries. Marshall, of St. John the Baptist, Manchester, must have been one of them; so must the unnamed curate whom D.R.Fearon found in 1870 converting two Liverpool private schools into a National school - '...it is evident that he has taught the teachers much of the best methods of instructing and managing school children; he understands the work thoroughly well, and in fact acts as an occasional head teacher to the two rooms'.<sup>55</sup>

Managers in a position to teach regularly were usually, as might be expected, clergy or ladies; this held for schools of all types. The tendency of some of them to stay away without notice, or to come late, must have been a source of irritation to teachers - Archdeacons

54. Quoted in Armitstead, Parochial Paper V, p310. This tract was one of a series and is not in the British Museum, which, however, contains 'Hints on teaching vulgar and decimal fractions', which is equally sensible. The works of Sandford, Armitstead and Bronby often show equal enlightenment: other outstanding examples are Archdeacon Bather's 'Hints on the art of catechising', 1848, and J.D.Glennie, *op.cit.*, p.157.  
55 PP. 1870, LIV, 265, p.157.

Sandford and Allen both gave warnings on this point.<sup>56</sup>

But where they could be relied upon, and where they accepted the Home and Colonial Society's advice that to be useful, they must act a subordinate part, they must often have been invaluable. Mrs. Romilly, for example, taught in Mahollan school every day from 11a.m. to noon; Miss. Green took the 1st class at West Bolden boy's school, Co. Durham, every other day at 11.30. so that the master could spend more time with the younger children; Miss. Edge worked in Evesham National girls' school on Mondays and Thursdays, and in the infants on Wednesdays and Fridays.<sup>57</sup> The most common form of help was, as might be expected, in the teaching of reading; managers also often gave dictation lessons. In other cases, their function was to counteract some weakness in the teacher. There are a number of instances of their taking on the arithmetic, usually when the teacher was a woman. Mrs. Talbot, for example, the wife of a prominent Unitarian solicitor in Kidderminster, sent her daughters, Miss. Isabel and Miss Ida to take reading at the New Meeting

<sup>56</sup> J. Sandford, op.cit. 1845, p.182; Lectures to Ladies, p.233; Hints on the Establishment of schools, p.23.

<sup>57</sup> Mahollan, L.B.; West Bolden (Durham R.O.) 4.2.64; Evesham N.G., I., L.B.s.

girls' school, her son, Master Talbot, to teach arithmetic.

In some cases managers took over the teaching of geography

or history. Mrs. Talbot, indeed, taught both in her own

house, to which the girls walked every week.<sup>59</sup> Singing

was frequently taught by managers or members of their

families, which must have been a relief to an unmusical

teacher. The master of St. Margaret's, Durham, wrote in

his log book after the curate had taken singing for

nine months, 'I feel right pleased to find that my boys

have made such progress in Singing since Mr. Dodd began

his weekly lesson'.<sup>60</sup> An example of something more

unusual was the course of lessons on domestic economy

given every year by a Miss. Johnson at Holy Trinity

girls' school, Runcorn; while Miss Maria Salter taught

astronomy to the girls of Leamington British school.<sup>61</sup>

It is worth examining in rather more detail the problems of teaching sewing, since the supervision of sewing by the female relatives of managers was all but universal and was the original *raison d'être* of ladies' committees. The subject involved special difficulties.

Firstly, as anyone who has tried it knows, it is possibly

58 New Meeting, Kiddorminster, G.

59 Geography - Braywick (Berks R.O.), Crewe Green, Stoke Abbott, Mahollam, Wordsley, New Meeting G.; History - Braywick, Brantham, New Meeting G.

60 St. Margaret, Durham, B. 26.10.66.

61 See below, chapter 7, for domestic economy and science.

of all subjects the most difficult to teach single-handed to large numbers. Secondly, except when there was a separate girls' school, it was usually taught under disadvantageous conditions, either by an unqualified and badly paid sewing mistress, or by an infant mistress who was expected to cope with the infants at the same time, or by the mistress of a mixed school who had somehow to keep the boys occupied. Thirdly, if the school provided the materials, the cost was prohibitive; but fourthly, if parents were asked to provide them, it was often found that either they wanted all their daughter's time to be spent on those badges of gentility, fancy needlework, and crochet, or else they expected her to do any sewing or knitting which the mother might happen to need for the family. Other problems will emerge as the discussion proceeds: but these should be sufficient to show why male managers and teachers were thankful to hand the organisation of sewing over to the ladies.

Most ladies would have agreed with the Deal Wesleyan committee's views on the importance of needlework. Many girls' elementary schools owed their original foundation to this, like the Beaminster National school, founded in 1830 to combat the 'extreme idleness and ignorance of

Needlework which prevails among many of the children of the Parish of Beaminster! In such schools, every other subject had to give way to it, and in almost all monitorial schools the girls were expected to spend half the day on sewing. Even Archdeacon Sandford, who was enlightened enough to teach geography, history and grammar in Dunchurch girls' school in the early '40s, arranged that the whole of every morning should be given up to needlework; although in this he was unusual - it was normally taught in the afternoon.<sup>62</sup> Five half-days a week continued to be the allowance in many schools throughout this period; but in others the number was whittled down to three, or even two. The amount tended to be least in Wesleyan schools in which, since most of them were mixed, the problems of organisation were particularly great. The Department regarded 3 hours a week of efficient teaching as the minimum; anything less, after 1862, resulted in a one tenth reduction of the grant.<sup>63</sup>

The lady visitors who appear in minute books and in the majority of log books used for this study, functioned in various ways. In some cases they supervised, leaving the mistress, pupil teachers and monitors to take a class each;

62 Beaminster Account Book, July, 1830; J. Sandford, op.cit. 1845, pp. 192-93.

63 P.R.O. Ed. 9/4, p. 97.

in others, they themselves taught a group. At Bishop Auckland, for instance, six ladies shared the two sewing afternoons between them, so that three classes were permanently taken off the mistress's hands.<sup>64</sup> Some of them also aided the mistress in the tasks of 'cutting out and fixing'. These were such as to occupy most of the spare time of many women teachers.

'Learning to sew' was normally thought of as learning to form neat stitches as fast as possible. Hence, in the earlier years of the period, it was unusual for girls to do anything but sew up what had been already cut out and pinned for them, and even when this attitude was modified in the case of older girls, the amount of 'fixing' to be done for the younger ones was great.

The major problem, however, which was left to the ladies (since it was one which the schoolmistress could not herself solve) was that of providing sufficient materials for the children to work. To buy enough calico or flannel was quite beyond the financial capacity of most committees - to provide needles, thread, and scissors was normally as much as they could do. In schools which relied upon the children's bringing sewing from home the situation was unsatisfactory. It was often

64. Bishop Auckland (Durham R.O.) G.27-2-65.

unsuitable, and too easily forgotten by children who did not want to do it; hence it was common practice to allow home needlework only once a week.<sup>65</sup> In some of the schools in which the children were given clothing, the girls made it; but this also was unsatisfactory, since much of the sewing involved was difficult; and, as it was normally distributed annually, there was always a flurry in the weeks preceding the prescribed date, when all other work had to be abandoned in order to get it finished. The result of this at St. Andrew's school, Holborn, for example, was that at the first inspection under the Revised Code, 'the girls passed an almost incredibly bad examination'.<sup>66</sup>

Scraps of material and even paper could be used for practice. In one impecunious school the girls seem to have spent most of their time doing patchwork, which of course, involves minute stitching of otherwise useless bits of material;<sup>67</sup> but it is not surprising that many ladies' committees went into business, buying materials, drawing up price lists and selling the finished articles.<sup>68</sup> The amounts

65. Minutes, 1857-8, pp. 266-7; 1860-61, p. 41; 1865-7, p. 164; 1867-8 pp. 337-8; 1869-70, p. 104. Individual examples - Orcap, 18.10.64; Rugby W. 19.2.69; Naunton, 13.11.67; New Jerusalem Heywood B. 8.9.68; St. Mark, Hulme, G. 8.9.64; St. Andrew, Derby (Derby Library) G. 21.2.65, 18.1.66; Long Eaton (Derbys. R. O.) I. 3.11.68; Pleasley Hill, 11.7.65; Reach, 23.6.64; Maidenhead, Ladies' M. B. 8.1.55; Hampstead Norris, 5.3.68; Hatcham (G. L. C. R. O.) G. 19.4.64; Merrymeet, 9.7.66; Morval. (Cornwall. R. O.) 27.3.67; Pendeen, 8.6.65; Truro G. 8.2.67; Hoddesden G. Rules.

66. St. Andrew, Holborn, L. B. 16.12.63; H. M. I. added that the needlework would be better if the girls did less. The resentment of an efficient teacher at the situation is clear in later entries in the log book (Ada Day, appointed 1866).

67. New Jerusalem, Heywood, G; cp. Dukinfield G. 12.6.66; Stoke Abbott, 21.2.66; Child's Wickham, 15.2.67.

68. Bullbrook, 8.3.69; St. Chad's Shrewsbury, Accounts. For a particularly elaborate example, see Tettenhall Charities Accounts, (Staffs. R. O.) Prices of Work.

involved were often considerable. In the Bayswater schools, for instance, in 1862, 326 articles were ordered, costing £36.3.10d.; in 1863, 648 articles of clothing were made and 250 pieces of household linen.<sup>69</sup> But if the girls worked without specific orders, committees were liable to be left with heavy bills and a mass of unsold sewing to be disposed of; if they waited for orders, there was often not enough for the girls to do. Sewing for the school or parish clothing club was a common solution; at St. Stephen's, Westminster, the girls made sets of childbed linen to be distributed as part of Miss. Burdett-Coutts's charities; but almost all schools relied upon ladies bringing an endless supply of underwear, handkerchiefs, towels, sheets, dusters and bags to be hemmed, and marking to be done for their own homes. As might be expected, this duty was evidently felt particularly strongly by the wives of persons and nonconformist ministers. Patronesses of higher rank were sometimes equally conscientious, although it may be guessed that their servants were the chief victims - it is hard, for instance, to believe that the Tollemache

<sup>69</sup> Bayswater, A.R. 1863, pp. 3-4. One enterprising vicar's wife killed several birds with one stone by pensioning off the former Dame with a hawker's licence to go round selling the articles which were not made to order (Minutes, 1857-8, p. 276).



family themselves wore the eight nightshirts ordered from Acton school in August, 1867.<sup>70</sup> The organisation at this school was exceptional. The sewing was good, so there were plenty of orders; needlework from the Hall was available to fill in any spare time; but for most ladies' committees the struggle to provide enough plain sewing was never-ending.

Moreover, sewing done for money demanded a certain competence of the needlewoman; and since most ladies were convinced that schoolmistresses had no idea of how to teach needlework in graduated steps,<sup>71</sup> the '50s saw the publication of a number of manuals intended to supply this deficiency.<sup>72</sup> These suggested the division of the children into classes for the learning of different stitches, with promotion dependent upon a girl's producing a successful sample of each - hence the title (The Sampler) of one of

70 Acton, 6.8.67. This school worked to order - making, for instance, in the first half of 1867, 36 pillow-cases, 42 towels, 1 grey and 11 white shifts, 3 bundles of baby linen, 6 nightgowns, 9 shirts, 6 flannels, 6 blue jackets; and 6 pillow-cases were marked. Mrs. Tollemache supplemented this with dusters, sheets, bags, handkerchiefs, the night shirts mentioned, and wool for knitting socks, which she then presented to the girls who knitted them.

71 Some cases occur of mistresses being sent to other schools specifically to learn their methods - E. Farleigh, 25.3.59, 14.4.59; Burton-in-Kendal, 7.12.68, 16.12.68.

72 I have been unable to trace all the books on sewing mentioned by contemporaries. Examples - Finchley Manual, IV, Plain Needlework, 1852; S.P.C.K. The Industrial Handbook, Part I, Needlework, Part 2, Knitting, 1853; Lady E. Finch, The Sampler, 2nd edition, 1855; Method for Teaching Plain Needlework, by a Lady, 2nd edition, 1862.

these books. They were full of suggestions as to economising material - one of them took as a motto, 'Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost'<sup>73</sup> - for making one yard of calico serve for 50 children, or for making baby's stays from strips one inch wide, hemmed by different children. They all included cutting out and fixing in the more advanced part of the course, thereby producing needlewomen who were able to do more than the mechanical sewing tasks expected by ladies of their servants; and the manuals provided a pattern for instruction in needlework which was gradually adopted during the late '50s and '60s.

It is, however, a curious fact that the task of humanising the teaching of sewing was far more the work of men than of women. It was the male managers of a school in Blackburn who laid down in 1844 that sewing should be interrupted by a reading lesson and exercise, that hymns should be sung and pieces repeated to while away the time. The pioneers of the notion that girls should cut out and make dresses for themselves were men like Dawes and John Armitstead; and it took a man (Glennie, the London diocesan inspector) to recognise the woes of the small girl learning to sew on communal

<sup>73</sup> S.P.C.K., loc.cit., p.iii. There is an early example of such a sampler in the Leeds Museum, from a British school, dated 1846.

materials:

'It works away, it may be, sedulously at its puckered production to-day, and looks forward to finishing tomorrow what, by a stretch of imagination, it has deemed might be turned into some article of apparel for its own doll...But tomorrow comes, and out of the school work-bag of heterogeneous odds and ends is pulled the precious relic, but not by any means necessarily to be put in the expectant hands of its former sempstress; chance will give some one else a turn at it, or it will be ruthlessly torn across in some new direction for the reasonable purpose of being sewn together again...At any rate it, and its relation to its former employer, are treated with utter contempt, and it becomes a matter of heartless speculation to the little work-woman, why she was ever employed on it at all'. 74

The truth was that most middle and upper-class women saw needlework as a basic skill as necessary to women as the writing of copper-plate or the adding of columns of figures to a clerk; to be learnt as systematically and as impersonally. This attitude probably accounts for the fact, surprising in view of the cost involved and the resistance to machine sewing which persisted in many schools well into the 20th century, that a few of them were prepared to introduce sewing machines for the most advanced girls in the '60s. 75

It also certainly explains the introduction of needlework as an examinable subject into diocesan and other prize schemes

74 N.S.Files, Blackburn, All Saints, 1844-5; for Dawes and Armitstead, below, chapter 7; Glennie, op.cit., pp.4-5.

75 Minutes, 1853-4, v.2, p.314; 1866-7, p.164; 1869-70, p.278; Greycoat, Ipswich, 3.3.69; S.I.C., v.18, p.576; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 1st Report, p.501.

and the willingness of ladies to act as examiners in this field.<sup>76</sup> Needlework was, perhaps, the only subject in which complaints of neglect by school managers were scarcely ever justified and it well illustrates the effects, good and bad, of constant supervision.

This chapter has considered the attitude of the majority of managers to school children and the curriculum; but since any age has a right to be judged by its original, as well as its conventional ideas, chapter 7 will be devoted to the work of the minority of innovators.

76 Examples - Minutes, 1856-7, p.822; 1859-60, pp.61-2; 1865-6, pp.200,240; 1867-8, p.104; 1868-9, p.157; Hereford, Report of Diocesan Examination, 1859, p.15; Report of the Salisbury Diocesan Prize Scheme, 1860, pp.9, 34-5; Report of Londonderry Schools, 1861; St. Andrew, Derby, G.28.1.67, 27.5.67; St. Peter, Derby, G.(Derby Library) 20.9.64; Pershore, G.(Worcs R.O.) 21-7-63., 18.1.66; Braywick, 13.9.67; Hentland, 15.4.69; West Bolden, 26.5.65.

CHAPTER 7.MANAGERS AND PUPILS II INNOVATION.

In 1856 a writer in the journal of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters, under the title 'Educational Hobbies', lamented over the number of novelties which had been foisted on the schools since 1839, each of them claiming to effect a moral transformation - music, as expounded by Hullah at Exeter Hall; 'roots' and etymology; 'industrial mechanics'; new methods - '...the "tripartite" system ruinous to the teacher's strength, the square classes in which it was orthodox to read yesterday, and the parallel desks in which it may be heterodox to teach tomorrow'; drawing; and, above all, 'Common Things'; concluding with sentiments which Lowe might have quoted in 1862;

'Since the time is short...let that which fascinated us be cast aside, for the less inviting task of securing such acquirements, as intelligent reading, good writing, and accurate arithmetic...What time may remain for more showy results, may be given indifferently to pneumatics or potichomanie.' 1.

The list was, in fact, incomplete. The author might have included industrial work and social and domestic economy, and had he been writing three or four years later would

1. The School and the Teacher, 1856, pp.106-110.

certainly have had reason to add physiology, and scientific botany. But this article may serve to illustrate a characteristic of elementary education in the 1840s and '50s which differentiated these years from previous periods. Perhaps at no time before the present day were there - to use modern jargon - so many bandwagons upon which the educationist was invited to climb. The Revised Code may be taken as marking the swing of the pendulum; but the swing was by no means complete by 1870; perhaps, indeed, never would have been completed had attention not been diverted from the devising of curricula for children already in school to the more mundane, but essential task of bringing into school those who were still outside.

Curriculum reform began before 1840. Some of the more ambitious monitorial schools started to teach geography, history, grammar and mathematics to their advanced pupils in the '30s; and, as Hugh Pollard and others have shown, continental travellers came back full of the more original ideas of Pestalozzi, de Fellenberg and Wehrli. During the Committee of Council's first three years of existence there were signs that it might take the lead in this field. The original intention of Russell had been that it should, like the Irish Board, publish text-books and books on method; several were, in fact, commissioned during its first twelve months and part of the grant was spent on sponsoring Hullah's

famous singing classes at Exeter Hall. Kay-Shuttleworth's zeal carried him further, into giving lectures on method himself - so far, indeed, as J.R.B. Johnson has shown, that his superiors recoiled from the unfavourable notice which this attracted; and the foundation of Battersea may therefore be regarded as marking his recognition that he had no chance of personally reforming school teaching in his public capacity.<sup>2</sup>

After this, the Department proper confined itself, so far as the curriculum was concerned, to the encouragement of innovation already begun privately. Only in those subjects which were the province of the Science and Art Department did public officials take the initiative, with a success which was striking but, it may be argued, unfortunate in the effects which it had upon content and teaching methods. In the '50s, Henry Cole succeeded in establishing a rigidly controlled scheme of mechanical drawing in many of the larger elementary schools (in the early '60s it is recorded in 68 of the schools used for this study). The extension of his methods to the sciences in the '60s increased the number of schools in which science was taught, but was also responsible for undermining the type of scientific

<sup>2</sup> See J.R.B. Johnson, *op.cit.*, pp.110-113.

teaching to be considered in this chapter.<sup>3</sup> The fact that his innovations were far longer lasting and more influential than those to be discussed below, provides a melancholy illustration of the limitations of progressive ideas which cannot easily be fitted into the framework of the establishment.

It would be impossible, without distortion, to describe the independent and often contradictory experiments of these years in a connected narrative; nor do they fall into any natural sequence, so that the order in which this chapter is written will necessarily be somewhat arbitrary. Only the pattern of development was consistent, a pattern which, in essentials, has always been that of educational experiment in this country - started by some enthusiastic individual (at this period almost invariably a manager or patron rather than a teacher); publicised by H.M. Inspectors; given some measure of official support if it caught the attention of the public; imitated to a varying extent, losing, in the

3. The work of the Science and Art Department, recently described in two theses (those of C. Duke and C.S. Macdonald, cited above), will not be further considered. Drawing appears to have been left almost entirely to the professionals; Charles Richson, of the Manchester and Salford Committee, was an exception - having published 'Progressive lessons in Elementary Writing' in 1848, he produced 'Elementary Freehand Drawing' in 1867. I have not been able to see this work, as the British Museum copy was destroyed in the war.



process, some of its virtue; especially when, as at this time, it involved concepts too difficult for the majority of teachers to grasp. But this point will emerge more clearly in the consideration of some of these innovations; and it seems logical to begin with what was chronologically the earliest - industrial education.

This term had several different connotations. It was often used for that part of pauper education which provided the child with a trade which would free society from the burden of his maintenance. 'Industrial school' was the name given to the most highly organised form of Ragged school, to which, after 1857, magistrates were empowered to commit potential, as distinct from actual, child criminals. It will be easily understood that these two uses of the term very much lessened the favour with which parents were disposed to regard the third form of industrial school, the immediate concern of this section. This was essentially an elementary school to which facilities were attached for practical work - farming, gardening, handicrafts, or domestic work; with the aim, as the promoters of one such school explained, of training children '...in the use of all their faculties - that they should be systematically taught, not only to know but to do well, morally and physically'. The concept originated with de Fellenberg and appeared in England<sup>4</sup>

4. N.S.Files, Finchley, 15-7-47; see Lady Byron's History of Industrial Schools, in E. Mayne, Life of Lady Byron, 1929, pp. 479-492.

in the '30s, the best known school of this time being that established by Lady Byron at Ealing Grove in 1834. This was originally intended for vagrants and, as such, influenced Kay-Shuttleworth when he was working for the Poor Law Commission; but as it developed, and as the number of industrial schools increased in the later '30s, children from a normal background were admitted. Kay-Shuttleworth took his admiration of them to the Council Office. The emphasis at Battersea upon gardening owed much to this influence and he used Tremeneere to report upon a group of industrial schools in 1843, in order to bring them into public notice.<sup>5</sup>

A few years later they acquired their most vocal and persistent advocate, Jelinger Symons, H.M. Inspector of Poor Law schools, an indefatigable speaker and pamphleteer, who also for a time edited the English Journal of Education.<sup>6</sup> It happened that his district contained one of the best industrial schools of the first type, the Quatt Farm School, run for the Bridgenorth Board of Guardians by Mr. Garland, an exceptionally able workhouse schoolmaster.<sup>7</sup>

5. F. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2; Minutes, 1842-3, pp. 539-573. Several of the schools described had been founded by connections of Lady Byron - her son-in-law, Lord Lovelace, her cousin, Charles Noel, her lawyer, Dr. Lushington.

6 According to his successor, not to its advantage - English Journal of Education, 1860, p. 141. Amongst his writings on the subject - School Economy, 1852, Part III; On the present aspect of education, 1856; English Journal of Education, 1853, pp. 371-4, 407-15; Society of Arts, St. Martin's Hall Lectures, 2nd edn. 1855, pp. 87-100; Hill, *ed.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-319.

7 Described in Minutes (Parochial Unions) 1847-8-9, pp. 281-9. A.N.S. organizing master declared after a visit that it should have a training department attached for village schoolmasters - S.C. (Criminal and Destitute Juveniles) 1853, q. 2987.

Symons, starting from the undoubted premise that irregular attendance showed that many parents set little store by existing schools, argued that this was due to an excessive emphasis upon words, rather than action; and, more questionably, that parents would value schools in proportion as they prepared children for their future occupations, as labourers, servants, and housewives. This argument became common form, especially amongst people with no first-hand experience of elementary school parents. Meanwhile, a subsidiary section of the Minutes of 1846 offered grants towards the building or renting of premises appropriate for industrial work, and a gratuity to the master, or - in rather vague terms - the mistress who taught domestic economy. Since almost all the applications during the next few years were from workhouse schools, a circular of 1850 called attention to the value of industrial instruction designed 'to fit the learner for doing his best in life, not to prescribe definitively his sphere in it', and repeated the offer of such grants to ordinary day schools.<sup>8</sup>

Official action, however, was only of marginal significance in the development of industrial schools. There were a number of foundations in the years immediately preceding and following 1850; two important ones on the out-

<sup>8</sup> Minutes, 1846, v.I, pp.12-13; 1850-I, v.I, pp.xxi-xxviii. See Ball, op.cit., pp.121-3.

skirts of London - Finchley and Highgate; a number in the West Midlands, and a scattering in other parts of the country; and with individual changes, the number remained fairly constant, being apparently little affected by the Revised Code.<sup>9</sup> Their success, in fact, depended almost entirely upon their possession of an interested, wealthy and powerful patron, who was in a position to provide buildings and equipment; find and pay an efficient teacher and the extra help he or she always needed; and of whom parents were sufficiently in awe for them to suppress the suspicions which, in spite of Symons, appear to have been almost universal - that their children were being treated as paupers. A much publicised girls' industrial school established in Norwich by one of the Martineaus foundered on this point.<sup>10</sup> In a few cases, a craft was taught - printing at Painswick and St. John's, Cheltenham, woodwork at Calne, the British school in Chesterfield, Hagley, Ockham and Painswick. In the '60s, the vicar of Stokesay, in Shropshire, himself taught carpentry and bookbinding in

9 The Reports of the Commission on the Employment of Children in Agriculture describe a number in the late '60s.

10 For Norwich, see S. Austin, *Two Letters on Girls' Schools*, 1857; *Minutes*, 1857-8, pp. 590-I; 1858-9, pp. 180-I; 1860-I, pp. 177-9; cp. *N.C.v.3*, p. 358 and a remark made by parents at Astbury, Ches. - 'their children sha'nt be turned into scrubs' (*Minutes*, 1857-8, p. 441).

the school workshop. At Acton, Cheshire, the boys learnt basketry and net-making as wet-weather occupations.<sup>11</sup> But in the overwhelming majority of cases their work was farming or gardening - the techniques of running an allotment or smallholding by what the Victorians called 'spade-husbandry'. Examples of schools with smallholdings attached were West Ashton (mentioned in chapter 6) and Highgate, both of which carried stock as well as growing crops; and Acton, where in 1851 the boys undertook for J.P.Norris, H.M.I., to puddle a tank under the manure heap and make a pump for it - he found it completed on his next visit.<sup>12</sup> Individual gardens and allotments, worked partly in and partly out of school hours were more common. The boys normally took responsibility for choosing and buying the seed, and keeping accounts. Annotated accounts ('Have grown no carrots this year; they did so badly last') including some from the Lyttelton school at Hagley were reproduced in inspectors' reports for 1850. The boys often undertook the marketing and normally either kept their profits or were paid for their work. This point was of importance, as several such schemes, in the absence of this incentive, were ruined by parents arguing

11 Painswick, A.R., 1855, p.4; 1856, p.5; 1857, p.20; P.R.O.Ed 9/12, p.33; B.F.S., A.R., 1853, p.65; N.C.v.5, p.279; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd. Report, pp.97, 281, 286-7; Minutes, 1853-4, v.2, p.509-10.

12 N.C.v.3, pp.456-9; Minutes, 1851-2, v.2, p.391; 1852-3, v.2, p.505 and later reports.

that the boys would be more usefully employed digging their fathers' gardens than the schools'.<sup>13</sup>

A further essential of a good industrial school was that indoor and outdoor work should be related, that, as Norris once said, the farm should be the school's laboratory. At the best schools, this happened; science was taught in relation to the farm work. This point may be illustrated from the catalogue of the Society of Arts' Educational Exhibition of 1854. Amongst the exhibits there were, from the agricultural school at Ipstones, in the hills of North Staffordshire, a collection of grasses, with a description of their agricultural value; a list of grasses and other plants found in the richest natural pasture, 'intended to show the absurdity of expecting good permanent pasture by sowing 2 or 3 grasses', and a table showing the amount of bone dust required to restore phosphates; while from Acton came a miscellaneous collection including garden netting, a map showing the geographical distribution of animals, baskets, pumps, a liquid manure cask, and three bottles, containing deodorized manures.<sup>14</sup> The books used

13 Minutes, 1848-50, v. I, pp. 159-63; 1850-51, v. 2, pp. 82-3, 205-6; 1851-2, v. 2, pp. 394-5; 1852-3, v. 2, pp. 102-3, 106-8, 461-3; 1853-4, v. 2, pp. 509-15, 608-13; 769; 1855-6, pp. 473-4, 484-494; 1856-7, pp. 284-7, 315-7, 437, 474-6, 563-6; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd Report, pp. 273, 275, 281, 286-7; Monthly Paper, 1857, pp. 229-231; H.W. Bellairs, Work, the Law of God, the Lot of Man, 1852, p. 17; St. Martin's Hall Lectures, pp. 91-2, 100.

14 Society of Arts, Catalogue of the Educational Exhibition, 1854, nos. 238, 248.

in such schools included some written for farmers, for example, Cuthbert Johnson's 'Agricultural Chemistry'. One of the manuals published by the Finchley schools, on Gardening, was popular; but the best was undoubtedly the Irish Board's 'Agricultural Class Book', a quite gripping narrative of the redemption, by Mr. Martin Doyle, 'a finished farmer', of the Doran family, who learn spade-husbandry and, at the end, triumphantly survive the famine on their own bread, butter and cabbage, and even put something in the Savings Bank'.<sup>15</sup>

One of the subsidiary conditions of the Dorans' voyage to prosperity was Polly Doran's attendance at Lady O'Leary's industrial school. This gave the writer an excuse for discoursing on domestic economy and bee - and poultry-keeping and, for our purposes, illustrates the normal form of girls' industrial education- cleaning, cooking, washing, and the traditional countrywoman's occupations of dairy work and poultry-keeping. These activities were very much tied up in the minds of patronesses with the problem of getting good servants; and the earliest schools giving a complete training in domestic work appear to have been servants' schools, established by various great ladies for a limited number of

15. C. Johnson, *Agricultural Chemistry for Young Farmers*, 1843; *Finchley Manual*, II, Gardening; Irish Commissioners, *Agricultural Class Book*, 1853.

girls between 13 or 14 and 17, to prepare them for the more highly paid forms of domestic service, and to find them places.<sup>16</sup> These employment prospects made the schools popular enough; but parental suspicions were often aroused when such training was extended to elementary schools in general. It is, indeed, clear from school records and text-books that many of the promoters had not made up their minds as to whether they were preparing girls for the specialised functions of maids in large households, or the duties of the model housewife in a cottage. The latter, however, gradually became predominant; and the Department, although it took little interest in the industrial training of male students, made a determined attempt, under the influence of Frederick Cook, H.M.I., to introduce domestic

16. e.g. Dawes, Observations on the Government Scheme, 1850, pp.57-9 (Southampton); Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd Report, p.68 (Savernake - Lady Aylesbury); p.281 (Calne - Lady Lansdowne); Report of Commissioner for Mines, 1846, p.50 (Walkden Moor - Lady Ellesmere); Minutes, 1856-7, p.437

(Hertingfordbury - Lady Cowper); 1860-61, p.54 (Escrick - Lady Wenlock) etc. The Tomkinson family at Acton ran an elaborate system of 'placing out' their elementary schoolgirls through the schoolmistress (Acton L.B.). A not very successful attempt at such a school in the centre of London may be studied in the records of St. Andrew, Holborn. It was run in conjunction with the elementary school, taking a limited number of older girls.



economy into the curriculum of women's training colleges. The success of this policy was only partial, except at Whitelands, where Angela Burdett-Coutts established a prize scheme in domestic economy and, more important, financed the provision of facilities for proper training.<sup>17</sup> Elsewhere, although theory was learnt for examination purposes, the practical work usually consisted of those chores which were left undone because the college could not afford enough servants.

Industrial schools for girls ultimately became more common than those for boys and belonged to one of two types, which may be exemplified by brief descriptions of two of the best known. John Armitstead, vicar and a principal landowner of Sandbach, established a girls' industrial school in the late '40s which was still flourishing in 1868. For laundry-work he built, at a cost of £240, an elaborate wash-house, drying and ironing room with boilers and heated clothes presses, in which the girls washed for the teachers, the church and themselves. The kitchens contained gas stoves, on which the girls cooked on a large scale, three times a week, for the sick, and the aged poor - 2,104 meat dinners in 1857 for example, and Christmas dinners for 26 aged persons. The scheme was worked

17. Minutes, 1850-51, v.I, pp.77-80; A.G.Burdett-Coutts, Prizes for Common Things, 2nd edition, 1856.

in conjunction with the parish's district visitors and, since Armitstead was a power in Sandbach, he was able to recover part of the cost from the Board of Guardians.<sup>18</sup>

Some, however, argued that equipment so lavish was no training for housekeeping in a cottage, and therefore attempted a regime as near as possible to that of a working-class household. Miss. F.Martineau's school in Norwich was of this type. She acquired two adjoining small houses and threw them into one, so that the girls were using the sort of kitchen, wash-house, pantry and cupboard space which they might expect in their own homes. They cleaned the two houses; washed for the mistress and the housekeeper and, in theory, cooked their own dinners. But Miss Martineau was less successful in dealing with parents than some other patronesses. The parents preferred to send cold dinners rather than pay the 10d a week which she charged for those cooked at school. They took every opportunity to ask for

18. Armitstead, Parochial Papers, II, pp.115-7; Minutes, 1851-2, v.2, pp.392-3; 1856-7, p.439-40; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd. Report, p.98. Armitstead wrote a pamphlet on Industrial Training for girls, but I have been unable to find a copy. The Finchley schools were similar - Finchley Manual I, pp.6,8; St. Philip, Hulme was modelled by the Birley family on Sandbach and cooked to order for the clergy and the M.O.H. of Manchester (Minutes, 1859-60, p.98-9); note also the interesting Industrial Kitchen opened in Cambridge Sq., London, to prepare food for the poor and provide training in cookery for girls from a group of National schools - Educational Paper, 1860, pp.53-4.

their daughters to be excused the industrial work; and the school had to close in 1860.<sup>19</sup> There were, however, enough successful schools of this sort to show that it was a possible way of working.<sup>20</sup>

It is obvious that domestic economy lent itself as much as did farm-work to a combination of theory and practice. A number of textbooks were produced, ranging from straightforward manuals of housewifery to ambitious surveys of the scientific principles behind cookery and sick-nursing. It may be doubted whether they were always realistic. If Miss Brewster, for example, was correct in stating that in an ordinary household, 1lb of steak broiled was enough only for one, whilst fried or boiled it would serve for two, then the Victorian poor were much better fed than we are usually given to understand. The most popular, and the best of these books was the 'Manual of Domestic Economy' by W.B. Tegetmeier, which ranged from discussions on what to look for in renting a house, to the dangers of Godfrey's Cordial. Tegetmeier was a man of parts, a pioneer of scientific beekeeping and one of the founders of the pigeon fancy in England, who made his living by teaching domestic economy at the Home and Colonial Society's training college.

19. See above, note.10.

20. See Miss Hope's pamphlet on Industrial Training, printed in N.C.v.5, pp.241-7; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd Report, p.97; Minutes, 1850-1, v.2, p.208; 1853-4, v.2, p.519-23; 1856-7, pp.437-40; 1867-8, p.127.

His book became a standard work, and was still being re-printed at the end of the century.<sup>21</sup>

Most of these manuals contain a good deal of scientific information, mainly on botany and physiology. Miss. Brewster, for instance, wrote a hair-raising account of the 'streams of animal putrescent matter..perpetually exhaling from each living animal', and a minute-by-minute description of the process of digestion.<sup>22</sup> Domestic economy, indeed, gave a powerful impetus to the demand for the teaching of physiology in schools. This had originated with the secularists, Andrew and George Combe, whose disciple, T.H. Bastard, established a curious school for girls in Dorset, with a curriculum based entirely upon physiology and social economy.<sup>23</sup> The subject had, indeed, an obvious contribution to make to healthy living, and the Department arranged for the publication of a set of physiological diagrams in 1855. It was encouraged both by the British and Foreign School Society and by high churchmen like the Lytteltons. A book by Mrs. Charles Bray, entitled 'Physiology for Common

21. Examples - Lessons on Industrial Education, by a Lady, 1849; Finchley Manuals, I, Cooking; III, Household Work; A. Burdett-Coutts, op.cit., pp.16-52; M.M. Brewster, Household Economy, 1858 (quotation, p.30); W.B. Tegetmeier, A Manual of Domestic Economy, 4th. edition, 1858. The latter reached its 14th edition in 1894. For Tegetmeier see E.W. Richardson, A Veteran Naturalist, 1916; the Home and Colonial Society dismissed him for marrying without permission the mistress of one of the model schools, but found they could not do without him and reinstated him.

22. Brewster, op.cit., pp.14, 23.

23. A. Combe, The Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health, 3rd edn. 1835; S.I.C.v.14, pp.163-5.

Schools, in 27 easy lessons', published in 1860, aroused a good deal of interest and was almost immediately translated into French; and there is some evidence that by the beginning of the '60s the teaching of physiology was becoming fairly frequent.<sup>24</sup>

Long before this, however, a new approach to scientific study by children had been developed by the most important of the reformers under discussion. Richard Dawes has already been frequently mentioned in this study. Indeed, it is difficult to compress an account of his achievements into a small space; if descriptions of his work at King's Somborne were not already in print it would probably be necessary to devote a whole chapter to him.<sup>25</sup> In the '50s he was the recognised national expert on elementary education. Lingen, for instance, tried to get his support in his struggle to prevent the extension of the capitation grant to mixed schools under mistresses. He was one of the

24. Minutes, 1855-6, pp. 600-1; B.F.S., Handbook, p. 82; N.C.v.5, p. 278; Mrs. Charles Bray, Physiology for Common Schools, 1860; Report of Factory Inspectors, 1861, I.p. 49; B.F.S., A.R., 1856, p. 50; note a complaint of questionable drawings of the Female figure in connection with physiology in schools - Monthly Paper, 1853, p. 95.

25. Before beginning work on this thesis, I wrote an article on Dawes, published in the Educational Review, November, 1964, pp. 59-68. There is an account of him in Stewart and McCann, The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880, 1967, pp. 124-35. Reference should be made to these in connection with this section.

three men (the other two being Kay-Shuttleworth and Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells) whom Moseley consulted when he had the idea of the Educational Conference of 1857; and when J.P.<sup>N</sup>orris thought of the registration scheme which he ultimately introduced into Staffordshire, he showed it first to Dawes for his approval.<sup>26</sup> Dawes's first pamphlets, 'Hints on an improved and self-paying system of national education...' and 'Suggestive hints towards improved secular instruction...' were only published on the insistence of H.M. Inspectors; but they almost immediately became standard works, recommended by both the Department and the Irish Board, and, after that, the public was interested in anything he had to say. Although he continued to work for educational reform for the rest of his life, he owed his reputation to the eight years between 1842 and 1850, when he created something rare in the history of mass education - a show school with nothing showy about it, which eighteen years after his departure was still working on the lines he had laid down.<sup>27</sup>

26. P.R.O. Ed. 9/12, pp. 311-2; 30/29, Box 19, Part I, 15.11.56, Box 23, Part 2, 9.4.56. For the Conference and the registration scheme, see chapter 10, below.

27. There is a complete list of his works in *Educational Review*, pp. 67-8. Moseley noted in 1847 an absence 'of those things intended to catch the eye... It is a village school; the better learning of the children, obvious in the intelligence of their looks, has not taken away their rusticity; a school crowded with sturdy, healthy, shy-looking, cottagers' children' (*Minutes*, 1847-8, v. I, p. 9); *S.I.C.*, v. 4, q. 7304.

The social aims of the King's Somborne school have already been mentioned. Their achievement depended upon the quality of the education provided,<sup>28</sup> so that farmers were willing to send their sons to school with labourers' children, and to pay more for the privilege of doing so, in order to obtain for them an education better than they could hope to find elsewhere. Dawes's view that a truly religious education must involve extensive teaching in secular subjects was common enough, as, it is hoped, has already been shown. The effusion of the Salisbury Wesleyans on that topic has been quoted. The evangelical committee of St Mary's, Islington, expressed similar views in more measured terms in 1848;

'Let us then throw ourselves into the movement and give it as far as our District is concerned a right direction. Let us strive to cast a healing salt into the stream of Education. Let us not expose our young poor to the Subtleties of Infidelity but let us teach them while they are under our care that the Kingdoms of Nature and of Grace are in the strictest harmony...'

28.. The evidence is from very varied quarters - e.g., 2 H.M.I.s, Allen (Minutes, 1844, v.2, pp.52-3, 101-7); Moseley (Minutes, 1847-8, v.I, pp.7-26 - later reprinted in pamphlet form); Bahan Zinke (op.cit., 1850, pp.44-9); the Congregational Board of Education (The Educator, v.I, p.24); Charles Nichols (Dawes's successor) who came 'with an uncomfortable sense of the undue measure of responsibility...imposed upon me and..dissatisfaction with the system and principles on which I had been given to understand they were founded...' but who, after a year, testified to 'the excellence of their constitution, principles, and government' - Minutes, 1851-2, v.I, pp.76-7.

Dawes would not have used such language but it exactly expresses his attitude and shows why he, and others, believed that the teaching of science was essential in the education of the poor. He was anxious that the more advanced boys should have the best possible scientific teaching and brought the future Professor Frankland over from Queenwood Agricultural College, where he was then working, to lecture at King's Somborne. The school contained a formidable collection of scientific apparatus, listed by Dawes for the information of other school promoters, but with a cautionary note:

'The list given is for the purpose of suggesting to others, things which have been found by experience highly useful; but the instruction is not in the instruments themselves, but in the use which is made of them'. 29

This characteristic caution illustrates Dawes's real claim to originality. Because he believed that science was the most efficient instrument for effecting the true purpose of education - that of making thinking human beings - he was led to make one of the earliest attempts - periodically repeated and always hailed as a new discovery - to base the teaching of the sciences, not upon predetermined systems, but upon the children's own experience of life:

29. St. Mary, Islington, 28.4.48; Hereford Times (Dawes's obituary) 16.3.67; Dawes, Suggestive Hints towards Improved Secular Instruction, 4th edn., 1850, pp. 185-6.



'The great aim of the schoolmaster ought to be, to make the children observant and reflective; to make them think and reason about the objects around them - the animal world, the vegetable world; to instruct them in the school of surrounding nature, and to bring their minds to bear upon the every-day work of life'.

All descriptions of King's Souborne, by Dawes and others, are full of instances of the way in which he led the children to discover scientific method by analysing and reflecting upon their own observation. A trivial example, taken from a passage in which he was emphasising the value of conversation, will illustrate the point. He had remarked upon the way in which country children could learn from discussing animals - 'all possible outward differences, a knowledge of which can be acquired by the eyes and by the hands (seeing and feeling) of the beasts and birds about them'. After an argument about the old problem of how animals rise, the children watched the animals on their way to and from school, making them stand up to see what happened (it must have been a Hack day for the local cows and sheep!) and came back with the answer. In the subsequent discussion, Dawes remarked that some people thought sheep lay on their left side rather than their right. The children organised a count of sheep lying down to test this.<sup>30</sup> By using the children's observation of their own surroundings, he based agricultural

30. Dawes, *Effective Primary Instruction...*, 1857, pp.6-7; *Suggestive Hints*, pp.2-3.

chemistry upon experience without the need for an industrial school. Geography and history arose on the same basis. Their fathers' tools led them to some of the principles of mechanics; their mothers' kitchens into some aspects of physics; the problems of living in an area of low wages and high poor rates into the social sciences. Even girls' needlework could serve a more general purpose;

'When a girl has cut out for herself the dress she has made, she has associated her labour, in a natural relation, with the exercise of her judgement; she has taken one step towards her emancipation from a state of pupilage, and gratified an instinct which associates the growing independence of her actions with her progress towards womanhood'. 31

Education, in other words, should be based upon observation and experience of the common things of the children's lives and surroundings. Through these, treated scientifically, they would discover the principles of logical and critical thinking which were essential for success in adult life, and, as Dawes saw it, for any genuine grasp of religious ideas.

The characteristics of King's Somborne which were most extensively imitated were the general ones of providing a good education to attract the middle class and charging fees graduated according to the parent's ability to pay, in

31. Minutes, 1847-8, v.I, p.15. Moseley's account, here quoted, is of particular interest as that of a highly intelligent observer who grasped Dawes's principles, more fully than most.

order to make the school self-supporting.<sup>32</sup> There is some evidence that Dawes's insistence upon the need for really good scientific teaching had a direct effect - upon the best of the industrial schools, for example. His friend and neighbour, Samuel Best, though less exclusively wedded to the sciences (Abbott's Ann, unlike King's Somborne, taught Latin and French) applied the same principles in his school and in the Hampshire and Wiltshire Adult Education Society. Dawes, as Dean of Hereford, naturally introduced scientific work into the schools with which he was concerned - the Bluccoat and Scudamore schools in Hereford, and the school at Ledbury; and he induced the Diocesan Board to stock an unusual amount of scientific apparatus in its depository. Miss. Burdett-Coutt's school at St. Stephen's, Westminster, was lavishly equipped with scientific apparatus; and the master's work was supplemented by weekly lessons from Mr. Barlow, of the Royal Institution.<sup>33</sup> Dawes's ideas may also have had some influence on experiments of the '50s in the field of technical education, chiefly associated with the name of Henry Moseley.

32. See below, pp. 361-2.

33. Dawes visited and approved Acton - Effective Primary Instruction, pp. 52-3; Evidence of S. Best, N.C., v. 5; S.I.C., v. 4; Hereford Times, 16.3.67; Hereford D.B., A.R. 1856 (advertisement); Society of Arts, Report of the Committee on Industrial Instruction, 1853, pp. 52, 90, 190.

Moseley was an admirer of Dawes, but his ideas were probably arrived at independently, since he had been responsible, as Professor of Natural Philosophy at King's College, London, for founding the study of applied science there, and, as an expert in the field of naval engineering, he served as a technical adviser to the Admiralty.<sup>34</sup> It was natural enough that with such a background he should be alive to the importance of the application of science to industry, but the arguments which he used to establish the need for scientific education show how close he was to Dawes:

'... if carried on in ignorance of such branches of science, they [trades] are carried on in ignorance of the principles on which they rest; and... whoever so carries them on, misses that opportunity for the improvement of his mind which is supplied by the daily habit of reasoning and understanding on what he is about...I allege, further, that, taken collectively, these trades cannot but suffer, in a commercial point of view, from an ignorance, on the part of those who carry them on, of the principles on which they depend.<sup>35</sup>'

In 1853, before he left the Inspectorate, he was invited to advise on the future of the moribund Bristol Diocesan school (he was a canon of Bristol Cathedral and was soon to accept a living in the nearby village of Olveston). He argued, for the reasons already quoted, that there was a

34. See Ball, *op.cit.*, pp.87-8,254; St. Martin's Hall Lectures, p.137.

35. H.Moseley, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6.

field amongst the more advanced pupils in elementary schools for instruction in the sciences relevant to the trades of Bristol - he originally suggested mechanics, chemistry, navigation and the sciences involved in the building trades. For this purpose, part of the school building might be converted into a laboratory and a lecture theatre. He investigated the possibility of grants, finding that there might be something from the Education Department, and that there certainly would be grants from the newly established Science and Art Department. The school was re-opened as a day and evening school on the lines suggested by Moseley, with graduated fees. His influence was sufficient to get some initial grants from the Education Department, but later it naturally came under the aegis of the Science and Art Department, and, with Moseley as manager, was highly successful throughout this period, producing, so he told the Schools Inquiry Commission, 'a quickening and an impregnation of the understandings of the boys which I have never myself seen anywhere before'. Other such schools were established, at Wandsworth and Newcastle, for example, but the particular success of Bristol was probably owing to the close connection (not originally anticipated by Moseley, but established by 1855) which it built up with the mining

industry of Somerset and South Wales. The mining department not only trained engineers, but did extra-mural work in the colliery districts.<sup>36</sup>

As has been seen, Dawes believed in the teaching of the social as well as the physical sciences. This accounts for his collaboration with William Ellis who, as the founder of the most famous of the secular schools, the Birkbeck Schools, might seem an odd associate for a dignitary of the established church. But, although Ellis is best known as a secularist, his first and strongest love seems to have been the teaching of social economy, and he was prepared to take that wherever it was allowed to go - to Buckingham Palace, or to the Tractarian stronghold of St. Mark's College, in both of which places he taught - '.....if once the public can be made to see', he wrote 'what Economical Science really is - how simple, how beautiful, how interesting, I might almost say how grand...what blessings would be secured, what suffering warded off, what heart-

36. Prospectus - Minutes, 1855-6, pp.40-1; grants, p.41; S.I.C. v.4, q.1923-4; Science and Art Department, 1st Report, pp.xxx, 404-10; 3rd Report, pp.xxiv-xxvi, 262-3; the vicar of Wandsworth was J.Booth of the Society of Arts. Since Moseley lived there when an H.M.I., and is known to have advised on other Wandsworth schools (Ball, op.cit., p.214) it is reasonable to assume some connection between his ideas and this school. For the connection of the Bristol school with mining, see a letter from Henry Mackworth (Mines Inspector) to Granville, P.R.O. 30/29, Box 19, Part 2, 8.1.58, and St. Martins Hall Lectures, p.139.

burnings and asperities softened down by a general familiarity with its leading principles...'.<sup>37</sup> The idea that social order would be secured if once the lower classes were made to understand economics was not new. As early as 1833, the S.P.C.K. published a school book entitled 'Easy Lessons on Money Matters' which, with the possible exception of the 'Agricultural Class Book' is the most effectively written of all the 19th. century text books which the present writer has met. This is not surprising, in view of the fact that the author was Richard Whateley; and it was presumably his influence, as Archbishop of Dublin, which ensured that the reading books of the Irish National Board should contain material intended to form the basis of lessons on social economy.<sup>38</sup> But Whateley took the view of orthodox right wing economists that the spending of the rich contributed to the prosperity of the poor, while in Ellis's opinion unproductive expenditure was always pernicious; consequently he regarded Whateley's book as an unsatisfactory basis for school work.<sup>39</sup> In 1846, therefore, he published, anonymously,

37. W. Ellis, Education as a Means of Preventing Destitution, 1851, pp. 131-2. For Ellis's career, see E. K. Blyth, Life of William Ellis, 2nd edition, 1892. There is a section on Ellis in Stewart and McCann, op. cit., pp. 326-41.

38. In both the 3rd. and 4th. Irish Books.

39. See particularly a lecture by Ellis on 'The morality of expenditure or of the disposal of wealth in general' in op. cit., 1851.

a text book entitled 'Outlines of Social Economy', offering it at reduced prices to National and British schools; and he approached both Battersea and Borough Road with an offer to teach social economy to the students. When both colleges declined, he started Saturday afternoon classes for schoolmasters and opened the first Birkbeck school in 1848, at least in part as a place in which he could personally try out the teaching of his favourite subject.

Although Ellis already had influential support - Lord Radnor was a patron of the Birkbeck schools, and with Dawes, and Barham Zincke, was amongst those who attended his lectures to adults - the rebuffs he received in 1846 seem to have made him almost pathologically convinced that everyone was hostile. When he subscribed two sums of £500 to Rogers' schools, he insisted that he should not be named in the subscription list; and in 1854, having written another text book to supersede the 'Outlines', he arranged that it should be published under Dawes's name as editor, since 'if such an Ogre as I am were known to be its author, the circulation of the work might be narrowed'.<sup>40</sup> In fact such precautions seem to have been rather unnecessary. Moseley had given him public praise as early as 1850. He

<sup>40</sup>Hadden, op.cit., pp.86-8; Blyth, op.cit., p.125; Dawes, ed. *Lessons on the Phenomena of Industrial Life, and the Conditions of Industrial Success*, 1854.



was already teaching in Rogers' schools; he was invited to lecture at the Educational Exhibition of 1854. Social economy was part of the curriculum, not only in the secular schools and St. Thomas, Charterhouse, but in such diverse institutions as the Borough Road schools, the London Jews' school, Lord Ellesmere's schools at Worsley and the Hagley National school.<sup>41</sup> The invitation to teach the royal children at Buckingham Palace might be regarded as one of Prince Albert's eccentricities; but Ellis was clearly established as a recognised authority by 1859, when Rogers arranged with Cole that he should be invited to deliver a series of lectures at South Kensington. Next year, Derwent Coleridge requested him to give a course at St. Mark's; and in 1861, the Report of the Newcastle Commission, complaining of the 'painful impression' made on the Commission by its neglect, urged more teaching of political economy in the colleges so that it might be properly taught in the schools.<sup>42</sup>

All the developments described in the last few paragraphs had Dawes's full approval; but in another field he was given as much reason to complain of his followers as Dewey was to have half a century<sup>u</sup> later. He had used the words 'common

41. St. Martin's Hall Lectures, pp.115-20; B.F.S. Handbook, p.82; Blyth op.cit., pp.109,119; N.C., v.5, p.278; Minutes, 1848-50, v.I, pp.15-16; v.2, pp.173-4.

42. W.Ellis, An Address to Teachers on the Importance of Imparting a Knowledge of Social Science to Children, 1859; English Journal of Education, 1859, pp.277-9 (article advocating Social Economy); N.C., v.I, pp.127-8.

things' as a convenient phrase to indicate his belief that school work should be based upon the common experiences of children. He was to see it, like such innocuous terms as 'centre of interest' or 'topic' in the 20th. century, elevated by zealous partizans into a subject in its own right. 'Common Things', in fact, became the educational craze of the middle '50s; a craze which dated from a well-meant attempt by Lord Ashburton, the head of the Baring family, and a close friend of Thomas Carlyle, to improve village schools in Southern England. At the end of 1853 he was the speaker at a post-examination gathering at Winchester Training College. In the course of his speech he urged upon the candidates and teachers who were listening to him the need to adopt Dawes's principles in their teaching:

'...to stimulate rather than impair the instinctive craving for knowledge; the vigour of the attention, the retentiveness of the memory, the practical character of the understanding...'

'What you have to teach is not merely to learn and repeat; what you have to teach is how to think and do. Life is not a thing to be known, life is itself an act.'

In order to encourage teachers to qualify themselves to work on Dawes's lines, he offered substantial prizes to schoolmasters and mistresses and to students in training, on examination, for the teaching of Common Things.<sup>43</sup>

43. Ashburton Prizes for the Teaching of Common Things, 2nd edition, 1854, pp. 20, 22. He offered prizes of £8 to 2 students one from Winchester, one from Salisbury, £15 and £7. to church schoolmasters in Hants. or Wilts., the same to mistresses; and £10. to a teacher in a non-Anglican school.

Brookfield, who gave one of the votes of thanks, remarked prophetically, 'I hazard the prediction that you will hear a great deal more of it; that "COMMON THINGS" will pass into a phrase of education...' and he was right. The Times reported Ashburton's speech and commented favourably on it; and, perhaps because of the association with prizes and examinations, it immediately caught public attention. The Educational Record (of the British and Foreign School Society) advised all teachers to study it, the Wesleyan Education Committee hastened to point out, perfectly correctly, that this was what the Glasgow System had aimed at all the time; and most of the educational periodicals commented upon it. When Miss. Burdett-Coutts established her prize scheme for domestic economy, she also described it as being for 'Common Things'. It became, in fact, in the words of one schoolmaster, 'the topic of the day'.<sup>44</sup>

Ashburton's ideas were unexceptionable, meriting, and receiving, Dawes's full support. At the Educational Exhibition of 1854 Dawes was invited to lecture on 'The

44. Ashburton Prizes, p.31; Educational Record, v.2, pp.209-11; W.E.C., A.R., 1855, pp.22-3; Burdett-Coutts, op.cit.; T. Crampton (Brentford Br.School) in Educational Expositor, 1855, p.156. Cp. Henry Fearon, Rector of Loughborough - 'Other approaches to the mind are useful as side entrances, but observation is the street door...' (The Importance of Teaching Common Things, 1856, pp.21-2); and Monthly Paper, 1856, pp.132-3, 160-1.

Teaching of Common Things'; he stated the case for it unanswerably, and made it all sound very easy. But the question papers for the Ashburton Prize examination of Easter, 1854, set by H.M. Inspectors Brookfield and Warburton, sufficiently reveal the dangers involved in taking a short cut to a new method of teaching.<sup>45</sup> Dawes could work as he did because he had behind him a first class degree and over twenty years of scientific study. Teachers who crammed during the three months between Christmas, 1853, and Easter 1854, and succeeded in answering these examination papers would have nothing but a mass of undigested information, which many of them, in fact, proceeded to disgorge upon their pupils. Frederick Temple sounded a warning note as early as 1855;

'The only objection indeed that can be made to this method of teaching is its excessive difficulty. To put together a few illustrations from daily life is easy enough. But he must be no common master of his art who will give a complete system of instruction in any subject with only such appliances'.

He predicted that it might in unskilled hands degenerate into a mere mass of unconnected facts, giving no possibility of transfer or of reasoning by analogy. Kennedy, in his report for 1855, expressed similar fears and events proved them right.<sup>46</sup> Some teachers simply began to call their object

45. Ashburton Prizes, pp. 33 et. seq.; Dawes, On the Teaching of Common Things, 1854.

46. English Journal of Education, 1855, pp. 34-9; Minutes, 1855-6, pp. 452-3.

lessons 'Common Things'.<sup>47</sup> Charles Baker, the master of the Yorkshire Deaf and Dumb Institute, who had in 1847 begun publication of a fearsome series of reading books entitled 'The Circle of Knowledge', dealing with every subject in the universe,<sup>48</sup> hastened to climb on the bandwagon with an open letter to Lord Ashburton pointing out that he would find it all in these readers; and stuff of this sort became for many teachers the staple material of Common Things. As Moses Angell, the able master of the London Jews' school, who taught both social economy and Common Things, and who really knew what he was doing, remarked, in surveying recent educational history:

'New books on subjects involving at least the principles of the physical sciences, had to be placed in the hands of men unacquainted with even the alphabet of science. But to teach the simplest propositions of philosophy requires a mastery over the advanced problems...The new class books were mere compendiums, a few pages to each of a dozen subjects; therefrom the boys were taught just what the book contained, nothing more; for the master knew no more, and his little means, had he the desire, did not permit him to have access to proper resources'.<sup>49</sup>

47.e.g.(In Leeds Museum- title page missing) First Steps to Knowledge, II, Common Things; cp. W.B. Tegetmeier, Information on Common Objects, (4th edn., 1858).

48.It was in 4 'gradations'. The 3rd., for example, started off with 12 lessons on the Body and its parts and ended with 9 on the Attributes of God; C. Baker "Common Things", A letter to Lord Ashburton, 1854.

49.N.C.v.5, p.56, Note the comments of 'Mr. Pepys his Diary', an occasionally funny pastiche in The School and the Teacher, 'She much afraid that they will not "pass" (for so she called it) in 'common thyngs,' what these be she scarce knew, and from what I see in ye blue book methinks some "common things" do wax mighty "uncommon", when would-be teachers take them in hand. But my wife reminding me of my friend the Dean and my Lord A-----of whom I must not speak ill.' (1855, p.195).

Inevitably, when the results became obvious, the craze waned; and it was probably recognition of the difficulties involved in the teaching of general science through experience that caused official circles to take an interest in work which had been going on for nearly twenty years in a village school in Suffolk. John Stevens Henslow, the Professor of Botany at Cambridge, who taught Darwin and sent him on the voyage of the *Beagle*, became rector of Hitcham in 1837, and for the rest of his life divided his time between Cambridge and his living.<sup>50</sup> He was a friend of Dawes and was the same sort of broad churchman. In Suffolk, he made the acquaintance of Barham Zincke (whose educational writings have been quoted above) and the Ipswich Quakers, headed by the local manufacturers, the Ransomes and with them founded the Ipswich Museum, which under his presidency became an active centre of adult education.<sup>51</sup> In Hitcham he set himself the usual clerical

50. See L. Jenyns, *Memoir of the Rev. J. S. Henslow*, 1862; N. Barlow, ed., *Darwin and Henslow*, 1967; D. Oliver, *Lessons on Elementary Botany*, based upon material left... by... Professor Henslow, 1864; *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1850, 1856. Henslow's work was described by Mitchell in 1858 - *Minutes*, 1858-9, pp. 70-1.

51. Dawes, *Common Things*, p. 10 (note); Zincke, *op. cit.*, 1852, pp. 217-222; the educational work of the Ransomes in their factory was described by Dawes in *'Mechanics' Institutes and Popular Education'*, 1856, pp. 39-40. These Quakers formed the Committee of Ipswich British School.

task of improving the village, starting off with exhibitions of curiosities and displays of fireworks on the rectory lawn, which at least attracted attention. The organisation of a cricket club and ploughing matches was normal procedure, as was the annual horticultural show, although not its special feature, Henslow's 'Marquee Museum' in which there were exhibitions and talks on a different subject each year. He lectured on agricultural chemistry to the farmers of the district and induced sixty-nine of them to take part in a series of experiments on manures; while at the same time he bore down their opposition to an allotment scheme intended to build up the labourers' self respect. He also organised village excursions. These began in a small way when he took forty members of the local Benefit Society to Ipswich, to see the museum, and the ironworks of his friends the Ransomes. From this he developed a pattern for excursions of up to 200 people, which he described in a series of letters to the 'Gardeners' Chronicle'. Henslow undertook the organisation, and raised a fund to cover part of the cost; but always charged for tickets (1/6d. in 1850) and circulated a balance sheet, with the intention that the labourer should be perfectly satisfied that he was getting more than his money's worth. There were no extras laid on for gentlemen and ladies. 'Whatever may savour too much

of the patron, and too little of the companion should be avoided'. In 1850, for example, he arranged an excursion train to Ipswich and organised his friends there to provide a warehouse in which the party ate breakfast. He hired a steamer, with flags and a band, to take them to Harwich ('Dread of the water was a predominant feeling, and some of the more faint-hearted staid at home from this cause, though longing to join us'). There they visited the arsenal, ate dinner in the grounds of a house on the cliffs (where more friends provided extras in the form of shrimps, ice-cream, nuts and ginger wine); then back to Ipswich. They missed their train; and Henslow's friends insisted upon giving them another meal. Henslow obviously enjoyed these outings as much as the villagers. His advice upon selecting a place different from normal surroundings, providing plenty of food, making previous arrangements and bearing in mind that it might probably rain all day could be read with advantage by all organisers of excursions.<sup>52</sup> In these and other ways, he provided what was in effect a programme of informal adult education for Hitcham. In the village school:

52. Gardeners' Chronicle, 1850, pp. 547; 596-7, 629, 661, 691-2.



THE PRINTED SCHEME FOR MONDAY LESSONS.  
VILLAGE SCHOOL BOTANY.

Children wishing to learn Botany will be placed in the Third Class, when they shall have learnt to spell correctly the following words :—

CLASS.	DIVISION.	SECTION.
(I. Exercise.)	(II. Exercise.)	(IV. Exercise.)
1. Dicotyledons.	1. Angiospermous.	1. Thalamifloral. 2. Calycifloral. 3. Corollifloral. (V. Exercise.) 4. Incomplete.
2. Monocotyledons.	2. Gymnospermous.	
3. Acotyledons.	(III. Exercise.)	
	1. Petaloid.	1. Superior. 2. Inferior.
	2. Glumaceous.	

Children in the Third Class, who have learnt how to fill in the first column of the Floral Schedule, and to spell correctly the following words, will be raised to the Second Class :—

Pistils and } of Ovary (with Ovules), Style, and Stigma.  
Carpels }  
Stamens, of Filament and Anther (with Pollen).  
Corolla, of Petals } or Perianth, of Leaves.  
Calyx, of Sepals }

Children of the Second Class who have learnt how to fill in the second column of the Floral Schedule, and to spell correctly the following words, will be raised to the First Class :—

C. Mono-di-, &c., to poly- phyllous, -sepalous, -petalous, -gynous.	V. C.	V. C.	V. C.
V. Mon-di-, &c., to poly- androus, -adelphous. Di-, tetra-, dynamous. Syngenesious.	0. An- A- 1. Mon- o- 2. Di- — 3. Tri- — 4. Tetr- a-	5. Pent- } 6. Hex- } 7. Hept- } a- 8. Oct- } 9. Enne- }	10. Dec- } 11. Endec- } 12. Dodec- } a- 20. Icos- } ∞. Poly- }

Children of the First Class will learn to fill in the third column of the Floral Schedule, and to spell correctly the following words :—

Hypogynous. Perigynous. Epigynous.  
Epipetalous. Gynandrous.

Monday Botanical Lessons at 3 P.M., at the School, to include,

- 1st.—Inspection of a few species, consecutively, in the order on the plant-list. Anything of interest in their structure or properties will then be noticed.
- 2nd.—Hard word exercises. Two or three words named one Monday are to be correctly spelt the next Monday.
- 3rd.—Specimens examined, and the parts of the flower laid in regular order upon the dissecting-boards. The Floral Schedule to be traced upon the slates, and filled up as far as possible. Marks to be allowed according to the following scale :—

	No.	COHESION, PROPORTION.	ADHESION (INSERTION).	CLASSIFICATION.
P.	1	a-, mono-, &c., gynous 2	Superior or Inferior 2	Class 1 Division 2 Section 3 Order 4 Genus 3 Species 2
C.	3			
St.	1	an-, mon-, &c., androus 2	Hypo-, &c., gynous 4	
f.	1	{ mon-, &c., adelphous 3 Di-, tetra-, dynamous 3	Epipetalous 4	
a.	1	Syngenesious 2	Gynandrous 3	
{ C. P.	1	a-, mono-, &c., petalous 2	Hypo-, &c., gynous 4	
{ C. S.	1	a-, mono-, &c., sepalous 2	{ Inferior or Super- rior. 2	
or P. L.	1	a-, mono-, &c., phyllous 2		

4th.—Questions respecting Root ; Stems and Buds ; Leaf and Stipules ; Inflorescence and Bracts ; Flower and Ovules ; Fruit ; Seed and Embryo.

*Regulations respecting Botanical Prizes and Excursions.*

Prizes awarded according to the joint number of marks obtained at Monday Lessons, from Schedule Labels filled in at home, and for species first found in flower during the season.

Botanical Excursions attended only by those who obtain a sufficient number of marks at Monday Lessons. Two Pic-nic Excursions during the summer, within the precincts of the parish, open to children in each of the three Classes. Other Excursions within the parish are open only to those of the Second and First Classes. An Excursion to a distance from the parish for those of the First Class only who obtain the requisite marks.

The First Class may attend (at the proper season) at the Rectory on Sundays, after Divine Service in the afternoon. Objects of Natural History, in the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms, will then be exhibited, and such accounts given of them as may tend to improve our means of better appreciating the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Creator.

A copy of the above scheme is given to every child, however young, who is ambitious of being classed as a volunteer Botanist.

*Example of a Floral Schedule filled up.*

				CL. Dicotyledons.
P.	1	Monogynous.	Superior.	Div. Angiospermous.
C.	2			
St.	6	Tetradynamous. Hexandrous.	Hypogynous.	Sec. Thalamifloral.
C. P.	4	Tetrapetalous.	Hypogynous.	Ord. Brassicanth.
C. S.	4	Tetrasepalous.	Inferior.	Gen. Wallflower.
HARRIET SEWELL, No. 7.				Sp. Common.

'...whilst, on the one hand, I am no advocate for imparting, merely for the sake of instruction, any knowledge which is unlikely to benefit those to whom it is given, I would never consent to abandon any form of teaching which is adapted to educate and improve those mental faculties which God has bestowed upon children expressly that they may be rendered useful to their progress in after life'.

In Hitcham school - in other respects an ordinary village school - such teaching was a programme in botany using methods identical with those by which Henslow taught Cambridge undergraduates - regular field work, supplemented by occasional excursions further afield, and, in the classroom, stern and exact scientific study, with few concessions to human weakness.<sup>53</sup> His Monday afternoon classes of 42 'volunteer Botanists', in three sections, were mainly feminine, since most of the boys left school at the age of seven, for farm work. The third section could only be entered by children who had memorised the thirteen hard words at the head of the scheme (see p. 302 ) and promotion depended on the surmounting of further hurdles. The scheme, of which a copy was given to every child who wished to enter the class, is self-explanatory, and sufficiently illustrates the uncompromisingly scientific approach demanded of, and obtained from, these village girls. Henslow was a good amateur carpenter and devised plant stands - he used 16, with 18 vials in each - for the schoolroom, filled by the

53. Oliver, op.cit., p.v; Jenyns, op.cit., p.126; Gardeners' Chronicle, 1856, pp.453,468-9,484-5,500,516-7,532,565-6,596,613,629, 676,724,740-1,772,836,853.

children with the specimens which they afterwards dissected, and accompanied by a separate list upon which the first bringer of a flower each season recorded the date and the details. He also constructed dissecting boards, divided into compartments, one of which was the property of each child in the class. These were used for work on Mondays and were carefully marked each Monday evening by Henslow<sup>54</sup>. In 1850 he drew up a plant list for the parish, which was used by the Botany class. This was revised over the next five years and reprinted in 1855 with over 50 additional plants, most of them contributed by the children. Henslow, proud of his school's achievement, sent copies to his friends; and his scholars thereby became unwitting contributors to the Darwinian theory. For Darwin found in the list 22 plants which grew in the Azores and were unlikely to have been introduced into Hitcham accidentally, and wrote to Henslow:

'Do you think the most able of your little girls would like to collect for me a packet of seeds of such azorean plants as grow near Hitcham, I paying, say 3d for each packet; it would put a few shillings into their pockets & would be an ENORMOUS advantage to me, for I grudge the time to collect the seeds, more especially, as I have to learn the plants!! The experiment seems to me worth trying; what do you think?'

Hitcham school cooperated. 'Your Botanical little girls are simply marvellous...' wrote Darwin, and, later in the year, 'I

54. For an example, see Gardeners' Chronicle, 1856, p.453.

am very much obliged for the seeds... I send a P.order for 10s for a douceur for your good little Botanists, & I am sure the girl who counted the Parsnip seeds deserves a perfect dowry'.<sup>55</sup>

Henslow's articles, in the Gardener's Chronicle for 1856, on his methods of work, were simply intended to appeal to like-minded enthusiasts, for he was no publicity seeker. They aroused interest, however, amongst people who were searching for a satisfactory basis for science teaching and he was asked to prepare for the Education Department a series of 'Illustrations to be employed in practical lessons on Botany'.<sup>56</sup> He also planned a book describing his methods but died before it was completed - it was published posthumously in 1864. It is often difficult to find proof of the influence of an innovator outside his immediate sphere, but it is known that Henslow's schemes were used at Marlborough College, and there is unusually clear evidence of direct influence in a group of schools

55. loc.cit., p.469; Barlow, op.cit., pp.177, 180, 182, 188.

56. I have not been able to find a copy, either in the British Museum or the D.E.S. library.

in Worcestershire, centred, as was usual in that part of the world, on the Lytteltons. A letter from the rector of Hagley to the Monthly Paper in 1865 described a meeting of the Worcestershire Field Club whose purpose was to discuss how to promote the teaching of natural history in elementary schools. He himself he said, taught geology at Hagley on Henslow's principles. The chance survival of log books from schools managed by two members of the Club (both clergy who owed their livings to Lyttelton patronage) provides further illustration. As if to prove that the method was appropriate in any area, they both come from a black part of the Black Country. At Lye, the boys were encouraged to spend their holidays collecting specimens of fossils, stones, leaves and flowers for study. At Cradley, the influence of Henslow is unmistakable. The vicar, J.H. Thompson, must have been something of an eccentric. He was a high churchman who insisted upon frequent church attendance; but he was continually forgetting to come to school to give Scripture lessons and when he remembered he was liable to talk about his travels to Rome and Naples rather than more orthodox subjects. But he was a passionate naturalist, who sent the children to the Geological Exhibition in Dudley in 1864 and established in the school the practice of making botanical collections which received compliments in every Inspector's Report. From 1865

onwards, he organised excursions exactly on the lines laid down by Henslow. They were always to places (most of them still refuges from the Black Country) in which botanising could be carried on - the Abberley valley, Hartlebury Common, Malvern, Pedmore Common, Aston Park. With the children of the top class he developed intensive work on mosses and lichens, and the log book is full of records of the absence of groups of children taken out by Thompson to collect mosses, which were afterwards studied in school.<sup>57</sup> If records were available for schools managed by other Field Club members, it would be interesting to see if they shared the Cradley enthusiasm.

All the innovations hitherto discussed involved some degree of acceptance of the idea that education should be based upon scientific observation and should be related to the children's daily experience. At least one successful experiment, however, rejected this concept entirely. Stephen Hawtrey, the headmaster's brother, was mathematics master at Eton; but his real interest was an elementary school to which he attempted to transfer what he considered

57. Jenyns, *op.cit.*, p.106; Monthly Paper 1865, pp.165-8; L.B.s. of Cradley, Lye. The excursions organised by Basingstoke Br. School in the '60s (above, p. 213 ) which always included parents, and a visit to some improving place - e.g. Netley Hospital, Portchester Castle, - may have owed something to Henslow.

best in the public school system, with such modifications as were necessary before it could serve working-class children. This was St. Mark's school, Windsor, which developed in about 1848 out of Hawtrey's habit of entertaining groups of choir boys to tea. He suggested that they might like to attend a day school, which opened with 19 pupils in a cottage converted by their combined efforts. Once it was open, with a master from St. Mark's College in charge, Hawtrey spent most of his spare time there. The number on roll soon rose to 50, and by the middle '60s had reached an average of 150. The school retained its musical connections, providing the Eton choristers and running a choir which sang madrigals and oratorios. Hawtrey introduced such public school practices as daily attendance at chapel (the local church), games and physical exercise, and frequent baths - at first a pond was converted into a bathing pool and every boy had to go in twice a week unless he brought a certificate from home saying that he had bathed; later, baths were provided. All the boys admitted had to undertake to stay until they were 14, and the school in fact provided a regular supply of pupil teachers for a wide area.

The curriculum was as close as possible an approximation to that of Eton. Hawtrey disliked natural history, geography

and common things, as taught by the average schoolmaster, whether in a National or a public school, although he admitted the value of such sciences as botany and geology, which developed observation. 'These are not mental cultivators... These are rather of the nature of seeds, which, when thrown into ground previously prepared, take root, grow, and bear fruit'. Language was the true cultivator. Hence the boys were introduced to good literature as soon as possible (Shakespeare and Scott in cheap editions) and began Latin at the age of 11. Mathematics was introduced as an additional mental discipline; as taught by Hawtrey it was intensely stimulating - as one boy said, 'like turning his brain inside out'; and this was the intention:

'...I believe it to be an essential element of right teaching, that boys should be set, as soon as they are prepared for it, something hard to work at; something that they will not be able to master without painstaking and intellectual effort. I think this is too much lost sight of in our National Schools'.

In Hawtrey's hands and those of the masters he selected, such teaching was successful; but probably his most interesting innovation was his reaction against regimentation. 'If I were to put my meaning in the shape of the old apothegm, I should say that the first requirement for a master is love; the second is love; and the third is love.' Hawtrey tried



to establish in St. Mark's, but on a gentler basis, the close relationship which existed between Eton boys and their tutors. H.M. Inspector once referred to Hawtreys' 'warm and almost paternal interest'; this was what he wanted to see in the teachers. Instead of circulating amongst the classes, each was permanently responsible for one group. The whole school - teachers and pupils - had breakfast together every day; and means were taken to demonstrate the teachers' respect for every individual. Instead of forming a crocodile, the boys went independently to church, each to his own place. The materials used in school were the property of individuals. 'Dr Keate used to say that a boy's bureau was his castle; so we say of the locker'.<sup>58</sup> During his vacations, Hawtreys took the boys on holiday, not on day excursions, but for a week at a time, as much to give them experience of living as a group as for the change of scene.<sup>59</sup>

Hawtreys' claim that the problems of giving a liberal education were identical at Eton and at St. Mark's,<sup>60</sup> and the lavishness of the conditions there (he pointed out that

58. See three works by S. Hawtreys - An Account of St. Mark's School, Windsor, 1859 (quotations, pp. 27, 39); St. Mark's School by the Seaside, 1861; A Narrative-Essay on a Liberal Education, 1868, (quotations, pp. 14, 18-19), and Minutes, 1850-1, v. 2, p. 25; 1852-3, v. 2, p. 19; 1853-4, v. 2, pp. 635, 648; 1859-60, p. 136.

59. Twice an Old Etonian who was a captain in the Navy invited them to spend a week on H.M.S. Pembroke; on another occasion Hawtreys took them to a village near Lowestoft.

60. He illustrated his Narrative-Essay with examples from both schools impartially.

the government demanded 80 cubic feet per child; he provided 400) meant that he always remained a rather isolated figure. But the value of his insistence on the civilising effect of informal individual contact between teachers and children was recognised on some quarters. The Highgate Industrial school introduced a 'family' system - regular invitations to tea from masters and managers - confessedly on the Hawtrey model. An interesting school described by its founder to the Schools Inquiry Commission has clear affinities with St. Marks'. Rev. F.V. Thornton, the rector of Callington, had established a National school in his previous parish in Hampshire, Chilton Condoover, which was, to use his own phrase, 'worked up' by himself and his curate, until he had 40 boarders. When he moved to Cornwall, he took the second master and half the boarders and began afresh in Callington. The school was mixed, with fees ranging from 1d or 2d a week to £10 a year, and was under inspection (the wealthier children being excluded from the returns). Latin was an main subject, begun by everyone at the age of 8; domestic economy was taught by taking the girls into the rectory for 4 to 8 weeks in their last year at school. Thornton and his curate were continually in the school and Thornton's own children attended, the boys until they went to public school, the girls throughout - the best proof, perhaps, of the quality of education he felt himself to be offering.<sup>61</sup>

61. N.C., v. 3, p. 375; S.I.C., v. 5, qq. 15, 534 et seq.

It is always much easier to describe the schools of educational reformers than to assess their real significance. We shall probably never know how many schools there were, like Hagley, Abbott's Ann and St. Thomas, Charterhouse, which, without themselves originating change, welcomed and developed the new ideas of the innovators. Certainly there were some - for example, St Stephen's, Westminster, the London Jews' school, the Manchester Secular school, New Jerusalem, Manchester, Banbury British school, the Bunbury Parochial school in Cheshire, Painswick National school in Gloucestershire, all of which can be shown to have deliberately adopted some of the ideas just discussed. In other cases we shall never know whether they had any effect at all. Miss Maria Salter teaching astronomy in Leamington British school; the master of Staveley National school, arranging for the boys to keep a natural history diary and lending them a microscope to examine their specimens; the master of St. John's, Cheetham, in Manchester, who took the children to the museum in the park to 'view the nests of birds and observe the variety of eggs'; the master of Teston National school, showing 'a few experiments to illustrate the workings of the common pump, diving bell, etc.'; the pupil teacher of St. Andrew's, Derby, who gave a lesson on setting a table and invited the best answerers to tea and bread and butter after school and who, giving the next lesson on scrubbing, let the children scrub, were all

touched by the spirit of innovation, but it is impossible to say whether they learnt it from other people or thought it out themselves.<sup>62</sup>

Moreover, although it would be misleading to say that this chapter only represents the tip of the iceberg, it certainly does not show the whole. Chance, and the willingness of managers to put pen to paper, have largely determined what knowledge we possess. Lady Byron's name ensured that her industrial school should be well known; much less has survived about the Ockham school run successfully by her friends the Lushingtons over a much longer period of time. Miss Martineau's British industrial school, which is well documented, was a failure; about the British industrial school founded by Mrs. Elizabeth Lee at Bridport, which was a success, almost nothing is known.<sup>63</sup>

It would clearly be desirable to know much more about the work of some of the individuals already mentioned in this study - Canon Fry, of Leicester, for example, or Mr. Marshall of St. John the Baptist, Manchester, Mrs. Charles Bray, who taught physiology, or Mr. Garland, the workhouse schoolmaster of Quatt. Occasionally we know no more than the name of someone who sounds as if he might be

62. Leamington, above, p. 256 ; Staveley, 18.3.63, 19.3.63; St. John, Cheetham, B. 4.8.65; Teston, 30.3.68; St Andrew, Derby G., 19.3.67, 20.3.67.

63. It was founded in 1856 and succeeded in getting written undertakings from the parents that the girls would attend regularly for a year (papers in Dorset R.O.). It was still flourishing in 1863 (B.F.S., A.R., 1863-4, p.54).

interesting - that 'Senor F.da Bezone' for example, who was paid by several managers in the West Midlands to teach gymnastics in their schools between 1865 and 1867.<sup>64</sup> Sometimes there is evidence of originality, clear, but so fragmentary that a connected statement of it can scarcely be made. Two examples of this will suffice, one early, one late. It is tantalising not to know more of Mrs. Hippisley Tuckfield's agricultural school, somewhere in Devonshire in the 1830s.<sup>65</sup> One division of boys was always in the garden; the rest sat around tables, working with their books in groups and each group elected a president to advise them and help them look things up. This, she said (and we may easily believe her), bewildered visitors who wanted to see a 'sort of clock-work machinery':

'...well-arranged rows of children, talking about animals, vegetables and minerals, screaming out lists of towns, rivers, and mountains: and religious visitors want strings of scripture texts...'

The log book of Olveston infants' school, in Henry Moseley's parish, dates only from 1867, when the persons who had hitherto run it, the Misses Weston, gave up their supervision and a certificated mistress was accordingly appointed. In an era when most infant schools provided a diet of the three Rs,

64. Ryton, 7.3.65; Wordsley, 31.8.65; 7-9-65; Powick, 24-9-66; Evesham Br.B., 29.5.67; G., 29.5.67, 28.8.67; Evesham N.B. 27.5.67.

65. Mrs. Hippisley Tuckfield, *op.cit.*, pp.126-134.

varied by marching, clapping, and object lessons on such well-worn themes as Reindeer, Hedgehog and Elephant<sup>66</sup> with, occasionally, an hour a week on 'Kindergarten', what is to be made of an infant school which sounds like a rather progressive school of the early 20th. century, with classes named after plants - Coronella, Myrtle, Mulberry, Bluebell, Daisy and Violet? H.M. Inspector had noted it in 1866 as a school of remarkable merit; the appointment of a qualified mistress did not immediately cause it to fall 'so much as might have been anticipated from the high position to which it had attained under Miss Weston's charge'; but the decline had set in and by 1869 it was less than mediocre. It would be interesting to know much more about the Westons and where their ideas came from.<sup>67</sup>

It would be a mistake to make any very large claims for the ideas described in this chapter, since they only affected a minority of schools and were mostly discarded, if not before, certainly after, 1870. Perhaps this is a normal characteristic of educational ideas, which usually seem to be forgotten and re-discovered in successive generations. But the people who

66. The subjects of three successive gallery lessons in March 1866, in Winchester Central I.

67. Olveston L.B.; Minutes, 1866-7, p.35. I have been unable to discover anything about the Misses Weston.

thought them out, at a time when it was still possible to argue that reading and a little writing was enough education for the poor, were obviously persons possessed of boldness and originality. It may seem absurd to suggest that they, rather than left-wing intellectuals or the great public school headmasters, represented what was best and most forward-looking in mid-Victorian education; but one contemporary certainly thought so. When Prince Albert was meditating upon the organisation of the school to be founded in memory of the Duke of Wellington, he invited papers from four educationists only - Dawes, Ellis, Moseley and Barham Zincke. Their suggestions, to judge from the comments of David Newsome, were exactly what might have been expected; and they were very much to the Prince's taste, since he asked the original candidates for the headmastership to write papers explaining how they would carry out these schemes - a rock upon which they all foundered; so he had to be content with Edward White Benson and an orthodox curriculum.<sup>68</sup> It is, of course, idle to speculate on what might have happened had he found the sort of headmaster he wanted; probably the College would have been less successful, but at least it would have

68. D. Newsome, *A History of Wellington College*, 1959 pp. 28-9, 45-7; Newsome mistakes Dawes for his predecessor in Hereford, Dean Merewether, who died in 1850.

been an interesting experiment!

So far, this thesis has considered the machinery of the voluntary system and the way it operated; and has called attention to some of its achievements. But the system, after all, was a failure, in the sense that it did not succeed in its aim of educating the whole of the working classes. The next four chapters will therefore examine the problems to which it could not provide an adequate solution - the financing of schools, the religious question and the problem of attendance in its different aspects.