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An Examination of the Role of Church and State
in the Development of Elementary Education
in
North Staffordshire
between 1870 and 1903.

Thesis submitted to the University of Keele
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
by
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Abstract.

The period from 1870 to 1903 is now becoming widely regarded as the 'heroic' era in the development of English education. Against a background of harsh social conditions, parental indifference (and in some cases, hostility) and an absence of an educational tradition, the philanthropists, administrators, teachers and other interested parties struggled to establish an educational system which has formed (for some, perhaps, too solidly) the basis for the developments of the present century. An examination in detail of the role of Church and State in North Staffordshire in this development has been undertaken to establish the extent to which the broad generalisations that have been made about the national situation are relevant in the regional context.

Chapter I is devoted to an outline of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in North Staffordshire in the second half of the nineteenth century. Important contrasts between urban and rural environments have been noted. The politico-religious background of the area is described in Chapters II and III. In Chapter IV is established the extent of the voluntary effort in the provision of elementary education in North Staffordshire before 1870 and the contribution of various sections of society is considered in some detail.

The main part of the work is concerned with the co-operation and conflict that existed between Church and State in the important formative years in North Staffordshire. Consideration is paid especially to school provision and administration. Curricular questions are discussed in Chapter VIII and matters of staffing, salaries and the preparation of student teachers are dealt with in Chapter IX. The important question of school attendance, a field in which significant successes were achieved, has merited separate attention in Chapter X.

The final years are explored in the concluding chapter. Attitudes towards the 1902 Education Act are examined, as are views on the working of the 1870 Act. The decline of the Voluntary system is seen in the light of the growing importance and widening enterprise of the school boards, the successes of which are illustrated in the important works achieved in the Potteries. Of the voluntary bodies, only the Roman Catholics maintained their position in terms of school provision. A final reference is made to some of the men and women by whose efforts the great foundations were laid.

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ABBREVIATIONS

P.P.	Parliamentary Papers.
L.J.R.O.	Lichfield Joint Record Office.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
S.R.O.	Staffordshire Record Office.
R.C.C.E.	Report of the Committee of Council on Education.
Cross Csn.	Royal Commission to Inquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts in England and Wales.
New.Csn.	Royal Commission to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England.
Taunton Csn.	Schools Inquiry Commission.
L.T.	Leek Times.
N.G.	Newcastle Guardian.
S.A.	Staffordshire Advertiser.
S.S.	Staffordshire Sentinel.
S.W.T.	Staffordshire Weekly Times.
S.B.C.	School Board Chronicle.
B.S.B.	Burslem School Board.
H.S.B.	Hanley School Board.
He.S.B.	Heathylee School Board.
M.S.B.	Mucklestone School Board.
S.S.B.	Stoke School Board.
Se.S.B.	Seighford School Board.
N.S.J.F.S.	North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.
N.S.R.	National Society Records.

PREFACE

"Parliament and the united voice of the country recognise that ignorance is the fruitful source of poverty and crime, and the Education Act is intended to extend the blessings of Education and thereby promote national prosperity, virtue and happiness....." (1)

So wrote the first Chairman of Hanley School Board just under one hundred years ago. In the intervening years, there has evolved in England and Wales a national system of education, representing a partnership between the religious denominations on the one hand and the public authorities on the other, which, to a greater or lesser degree, has been responsible for the promotion of the prosperity of this nation and the virtue and happiness of its people. Although, in the achievement of these noble objectives, the Churches have played a declining role, the denominational principle has withstood the test of time and survives until the present.

While the national picture has been described with admirable precision, attempts to assess the situation at a regional level have been less frequent. It is therefore the purpose of this work to investigate the role of Church and State in detail in the regional context, and to discover how far the broader generalisations are

1. H.S.B. minutes, June 21st, 1871.

relevant in the local situation. Though the study must represent a history of educational developments in North Staffordshire during the important formative period, an attempt to avoid a purely chronological account has been made. As far as possible the underlying current has been observed, and in the individual topics, the roles of Church and State have been constantly alluded to.

North Staffordshire has clearly a geographical reality, and the appellation has been applied widely to many organisations which have come into existence in this part of the country in the recent past. Examples, such as the North Staffordshire Chamber of Commerce, North Staffs. Cricket League, North Staffs. Miners' Federation, North Staffs. Railway Company, North Staffs. Baptist Association are but a few. The areas in which these organisations have operated are, however, not conterminous and the definition of the region has remained uncertain. The county boundaries have usually been accepted on three sides but the southern limits have been only vaguely established. For the purposes of this study, certain arbitrary lines have therefore had to be adopted. The complete Unions of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Wolstanton and Burslem, Stoke, Cheadle, Leek and Stone, as defined in 1903, have been included, together with those parts of the Unions of Ashbourne and Drayton which lay within the county of Stafford. It has been recognised that the southern parts of the Unions of Stone and Cheadle shared much in common

with mid-Staffordshire and the southern boundary must be regarded as having limited significance in differentiating areas of distinctive regional character. Nevertheless, North Staffordshire, with its microcosmic qualities, possesses a special significance. Varied as it is in its geography and economy, the region incorporates many of the facets of Midland England. A coalfield formed the basis for the economic and social development of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Surrounding the industrial heartland are agricultural areas of considerable variety, some only lightly touched by the industrial changes of the last century.

This diversity of environment is reflected in the distinctive individuality of the inhabitants, which, in the nineteenth century, was expressed in a strong religious particularity. North Staffordshire, a stronghold of Protestant Nonconformism, experienced the vigorous growth of two Methodist sects, the New Connexion and the Primitive. The Established Church possessing considerable strength particularly in the more prosperous agricultural districts in the southern parts of the area, and the Roman Catholics, numerically strengthened by a sizable influx from Ireland and supported by the Earls of Shrewsbury, exercised major influences. It is against this background that an attempt has been made to assess the role of Church and State in the development of elementary education in North Staffordshire between 1870 and 1903.

The principal primary sources which have been consulted include the various record books of the school boards and the log books of many of the schools of North Staffordshire. The records of the Education Department, and later the Board of Education, now at the Public Record Office, contain important material listed under Education Class 2 (Parish Files), 6 (Attendance Files), 7 (Preliminary Statements), 16 (L.E.A. Supply Files), 21 (School Files) and 103 (Building Grant Applications). Additional material was available in the manuscript records of the National Society; and for local material, an interesting source has been the recollections of senior citizens, who have patiently answered questions and have been prepared to tape-record their personal memories. Contemporary local and national newspapers and journals have also provided valuable source material.

My grateful thanks are tendered to the tutorial staff of the Department of Education of the University of Keele; to Mr. Kenneth Charlton, now Professor of Education in the University of Birmingham, for his valuable advice and challenging criticism during the planning stages; to Mr. David Bolam, for his purposeful encouragement in the middle stages, and particularly to Dr. Marjorie Cruickshank, who has with great patience endured the sometimes unenviable task of reading my manuscript. Her many helpful suggestions, especially in the method of presentation have, it is hoped, helped to produce a greater cogency

in the argument and reduce the not occasional tediousness of the style.

I should also like to thank the staffs of the many schools that I have visited in North Staffordshire in the course of the work. It is impossible to mention all the people who have written in reply to enquiries and requests for information but I must acknowledge the great assistance I have received from Mr. Stitt and his staff at the Staffordshire Record Office, from Mr. Greenslade and his colleagues who are working on the Victoria County History of Staffordshire, from the Librarians of the Department of Education and Science in London, of Hanley and Newcastle Public Libraries, of the University of Keele and of Madeley College of Education.

Special thanks are due to my former colleagues at Madeley College of Education for their help and encouragement. I am also grateful to Mrs. L. Watson and Mrs. K. Dodds for their services in typing the thesis with speed and precision and to Mr. A. Vickers and his staff at Keele University for the processing of the illustrations. Finally, I express my gratitude to my wife, not only for great patience and forbearance, but also for the practical assistance in carrying out many lengthy computations and in reading and checking the manuscript.

Chapter I. A Socio-Economic Survey of North Staffordshire in the
second half of the 19th century.

North Staffordshire in the second half of the nineteenth century was a region of diversified economic activity. Whilst agriculture was important over considerable areas, the occurrence of coal, iron ore and clay had led to the formation of important industrial concentrations especially in that part bordering the south western margins of the Pennine massif. The pottery industry was by 1870 highly concentrated in the townships which extended from Tunstall in the north, through Burslem, Hanley, Stoke and Fenton, to Longton in the south (Fig.1.). The industry developed a factory organisation slowly but by the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century the process was virtually complete.¹ Normally comprising workshops, not exceeding two storeys in height and arranged to form a hollow square, often with an impressive entrance and incorporating the characteristic forms of the bottle kiln, the pot banks of the mid-nineteenth century endowed the local landscape with a truly distinctive character.² The industry also tended to maintain a small

-
1. It is noteworthy that because of the large number of ancillary trades of limited scale, a 'domestic' element persisted in the pottery industry until very recently.
 2. Smith, D., Industrial Architecture in the Potteries. N.S.J.F.S. Vol. 5 (1965), p. 84.

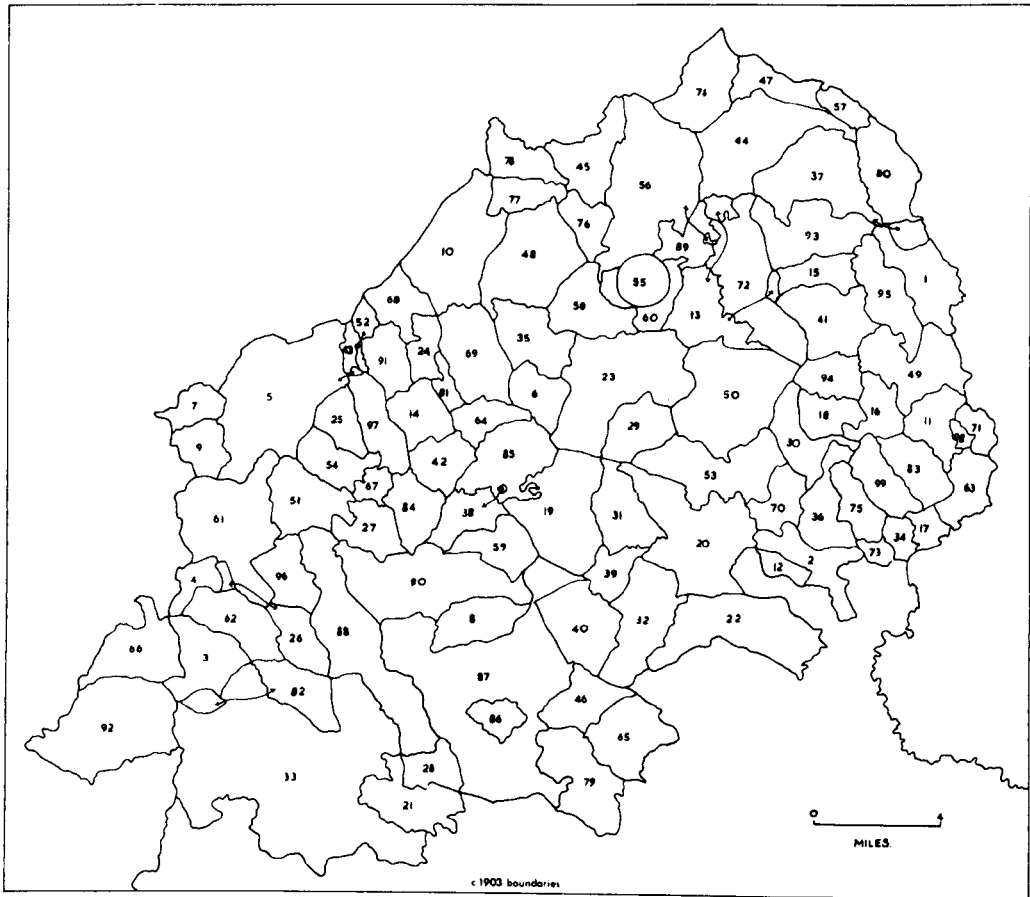


FIG. 1.

Parishes of North Staffordshire in 1903

(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 1.

N. STAFFORDSHIRE PARISHES 1902-3.

1. Alstonefield	34. Ellastone	67. Newcastle
2. Alton	35. Endon & Stanley	68. Newchapel
3. Ashley	36. Farley	69. Norton
4. Aston	37. Fawfieldhead	70. Oakmoor
5. Audley	38. Fenton	71. Okeover
6. Bagnall	39. Forsbrook	72. Onecote
7. Balterley	40. Fulford	73. Prestwood
8. Barlaston	41. Grindon	74. Quarnford
9. Betley	42. Hanley	75. Ramshorn
10. Biddulph	43. Hardings wood	76. Rudyard
11. Blore	44. Heathylee	77. Rushton James
12. Bradley	45. Heaton	78. Rushton Spencer
13. Bradnop	46. Hilderstone	79. Sandon
14. Burslem	47. Hollinsclough	80. Sheen
15. Butterson	48. Horton	81. Smallthorne
16. Calton	49. Ilam	82. Standon
17. Calwich	50. Ipstones	83. Stanton
18. Cauldon (Caldon)	51. Keele	84. Stoke
19. Caverswall	52. Kidsgrave	85. Stoke Rural
20. Cheagle	53. Kingsley	86. Stone
21. Chebsey	54. Knutton	87. Stone Rural
22. Checkley	55. Leek	88. Swynnerton
23. Cheddleton	56. Leekfrith	89. Tittesworth
24. Chell	57. Longnor	90. Trentham
25. Chesterton	58. Longsdon	91. Tunstall
26. Chorlton	59. Longton	92. Tyrley
27. Clayton	60. Lowe	93. Warslow & Elkstone
28. Cold Norton	61. Madeley	94. Waterfall
29. Consall	62. Maer	95. Wetton
30. Cotton	63. Mayfield	96. Whitmore
31. Dilhorne	64. Milton	97. Wolstanton
32. Draycott	65. Milwich	98. Woodhouse
33. Eccleshall	66. Mucklestone	99. Wootton

(Note that in the maps of North Staffordshire, the southern boundary is that which was in existence c. 1903. Unless c.1903 appears on the map, the Potteries conurbation is defined by c. 1880 boundaries).

scale. Unlike other manufacturing industries, the pottery industry did not exhibit in the nineteenth century a steady trend towards the formation of large combines in place of the family businesses and although the Ridgway family possessed by 1850 a controlling interest¹ in as many as four businesses and six factories, such arrangements were exceptional in North Staffordshire. This had important social implications in that the pottery owners remained closely identified² with the lives and even aspirations of their work folk.

An associated industry, the making of bricks and tiles, was often found in close proximity to the pottery manufactories but did assume particular importance in some areas where the making of pottery was non-existent, notably in the western parts of Wolstanton parish.

Although the iron industry of North Staffordshire could claim³ Roman origins, its spectacular expansion did not take place until the mid-nineteenth century, reaching a peak in 1870.⁴ As the development had been based very much upon the exploitation of the Blackband iron ores which have been found in rich abundance in the coalfield area of North Staffordshire, the introduction of steel-making based upon the

-
1. Jewitt, L., Ceramic Art. Vol. II (1877), p. 319.
 2. Pelling, H., Social Geography of British Elections (1962), p. 274.
 3. Charlton, J.M.T., Excavations of the Roman Site at Holditch. N.S.J.F.S. Vol. I (1961), p. 32.
 4. V.C.H. Staffs. Vol. II (1967), p. 130.

Bessemer process, for which these ores were not initially suitable, led to a gradual decline in the iron industry during the last years of the century. The iron industry tended to be concentrated in a number of clearly defined areas, especially in the north and west of the coal field in Wolstanton parish, at Kids Grove and at Silverdale, in the centre at Shelton, in the Hanley district and at Goldendale, Ravensdale, also in Wolstanton parish, and on the eastern side of the coalfield in the Norton and Biddulph areas. At least two of the works, Robert Heath's at Norton and the Earl Granville's at Shelton, had nationwide reputations for wrought iron products.

The coal industry was more widely spread than either the iron or the pottery industries and in consequence became the predominant activity of peripheral industrial areas such as Audley where it was reported "the parish abounds in mines of excellent coal and ironstone which give employment to a great number of the inhabitants, (1) (Leycett in the parish of Madeley) where the extensive works of the Crewe Coal and Iron Co., are situated," (2)

Chesterton and Knutton in Wolstanton parish and Biddulph, Norton and Caverswall.

The small, ancient borough of Newcastle stood apart from the great industrialisation which was so much a feature of the Potteries. The manufacture of hats, once the important staple trade of the town

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1. P.O. Directory. Staffs. (1872), p. 527.
 2. *ibid.* p. 672.

was by the 1870s very inconsiderable.¹ Newcastle had claims, like some other North Staffordshire towns to be an outlier of the great South Lancashire and east Cheshire textile region. Although declining in importance in 1870, silk and cotton manufactories were still significant. Other industries, reflecting the town's function as a market centre, included tanning, brewing, malting and agricultural implement making, but the scale was, on the whole, moderate.² A paper mill and a small iron and brass foundry also offered employment to the inhabitants of the borough but lack of industry was a basic handicap in the town's development during the nineteenth century.³

Leek, situated in the Staffordshire moorlands, was another important textile town. Silk was the dominating interest and the industrial development had been similar to that of the Cheshire towns of Macclesfield and Congleton. Situated as it was, the farming influence on the town was strong and Leek, as a result, exercised an important function as a market.

Cheadle, located on a small coalfield, was also a developing industrial centre. Apart from coal mining, which was important in a fairly wide area around the town, Cheadle also possessed textile

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1. P.O. Directory, Staffs. (1872), p. 679.
 2. The Schoolmaster, Feb. 9th, 1884.
 3. Bealey, F., et al., Constituency Politics - a study of Newcastle-under-Lyme (1965), p. 37.

factories concerned with the making of silk materials and tape.

John N. Philips Co., one of Cheadle's textile firms also had a large factory at Upper Tean in the parish of Checkley. The textile firms were considerable employers of young labour and it was recorded that one silk factory in the early 1870s employed some two hundred persons,¹ of whom the majority were youths and girls. The development of these industries and of the associated coal industry had been stimulated in the Cheadle area by the presence of the Caldon and Uttoxeter canals and the Churnet Valley railway,² but Cheadle itself had no link except by road with more distant markets until the railway³ arrived in 1901.

Stone, a market centre for the more prosperous southern agricultural areas, had in addition, some local industry of which shoe manufacturing was a principal activity, giving employment in 1872 to some 2,000 inhabitants.⁴ Other industries, such as tanning and milling emphasised the agricultural bias but Stone also produced some notable beer; and in possessing brick works confirmed the link with the Potteries.

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1. P.O. Directory. Staffs. (1872), p. 577.
 2. Dodd, E.M. & A.E., Froghall, Uttoxeter Canal. N.S.J.F.S. Vol. 3 (1963), p. 57.
 3. V.C.H. Staffs. Vol. II (1967), p. 85.
 4. P.O. Directory. Staffs. (1872), p. 739.

Economic development in North Staffordshire shared, in common with the rest of the country, the effects of the trade fluctuations¹ which characterized the period between 1870 and 1903. The period under examination falls within what has been questionably designated² the Great Depression. From a peak in 1873, a year before which a member of the Newcastle School Board could remark confidently that "no able bodied man in the borough need be without work for which he could get good wages"(3), a trough was reached in 1879, which was felt especially acutely in the agricultural sector. A writer to the Times could report:- "The year 1879 will long be remembered as the culmination of an agricultural disaster - unexampled during the present generation". (4)

Agriculture, in spite of the dismal prognostications of the protectionists after 1846, had enjoyed prosperity until the early '70s. There was fairly conclusive evidence from a variety of statistical sources that during the mid-nineteenth century the size of agricultural⁵ holdings in the country had been constantly increasing but by the 1870s

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1. Deane, P., and Cole, W., British Economic Growth 1688-1959 (1967), p.171.
 2. This description has been vigorously challenged by economic historians since the 1930s, vide Beales, H.L., The "Great Depression" in Industry and Trade. (Econ. Hist. Rev. 1st Series Vol 5. No. 1 (1934) pp 65ff.).
 3. S.B.C., Vol. VI (1872), p. 139.
 4. The Times January 1st, 1880. In the 1882 Royal Commission on Agriculture it was reported that in the West Midland counties the agricultural community had "suffered more heavily than at any former period within the memory of the generation". (P.P. 1882, Vol XIV, p.9.).
 5. Census Reports 1851, 1861. Agricultural Returns, 1867-1900, Royal Commission on Agriculture 1881-82. (P.P. 1882, Vol. XIV, pp. 57-58.).

the process had become less evident. In Staffordshire between 1870 and 1880 the percentage of holdings of over 100 acres had actually slightly declined and only increased marginally in the last years of the century.¹ Staffordshire, however, experienced with the rest of the country the marked swing from arable to grass farming.² The effect of these trends, especially the latter, was to reduce the prospects of employment for the agricultural worker. As these opportunities lessened, so each labourer, caught up in an economic system over which he had no influence, struggled to maximise his income by the expedient of putting every member of the family out to work whenever the chance presented itself. The Newcastle Commissioners had practically accepted this as an immutable rule.

-
- | | 1870 | 1880 |
|--|------|-------|
| 1. Staffordshire holdings over 100 acres | 13% | 12.9% |
| England holdings over 100 acres | 18% | 18% |
- (Sources: Agricultural Returns 1870 and 1880).
In the 1895 Report on Agricultural Holdings it is pointed out that although the 'over 100 acre' category of holding had increased in number, the larger farms, i.e. over 300 acres, were declining both in number and in average size. "The figures, so far as they go distinctly suggest that some part of the holdings formerly farmed in over 300 acre holdings are now found to be broken up and to fall into the next lower classes, while the holdings in these classes are also divided into somewhat smaller units". (Returns of Agricultural Holdings in G.B., 1895, p. xvi.).
2. Myers, J., Land Utilisation Report, Part 61. Staffordshire (1945), p. 585.

"The peremptory demands of the labour market," made necessary the employment of children at the age of ten or eleven; and "if the wages of the child's labour are necessary, either to keep the parents from the poor rates, or to relieve the pressure of severe and bitter poverty, it is far better that it should go to work at the earliest age at which it can bear the physical exertion than that it should remain at school." (1)

If there were minor resurgences between 1880 and the mid-1890s then these were not always of sufficient magnitude to have had an appreciable effect in North Staffordshire. H.M.I. Fowler, writing in 1886, found that the populations of the major industrial towns of North Staffordshire had not increased very much "owing in great measure to long continued depression in trade. In Burslem, for example, the population is now 28, 675 as against 28, 248 in 1882-3..... in Kidsgrove and Goldenhill a large proportion of the population is leaving the neighbourhood on account of the closing of some large ironworks."(2) Although the end of the century witnessed a considerable improvement, the conditions during the period were generally difficult and real hardship fell upon large sections of the working classes.³ For those in regular employment some satisfaction, however, may have been derived from the fact that prices were almost

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1. New. Csan., Vol. I (1861), p. 188.
 2. R.C.C.E. 1886-87, p. 285.
 3. Conditions seem to have reached a very acute stage in the years between 1884 and 1887. Such was the economic distress in Newcastle in the early months of 1880 that soup was being sent regularly to poor children in the schools. (S.B.C., Vol. XXIV (1886), p. 202).

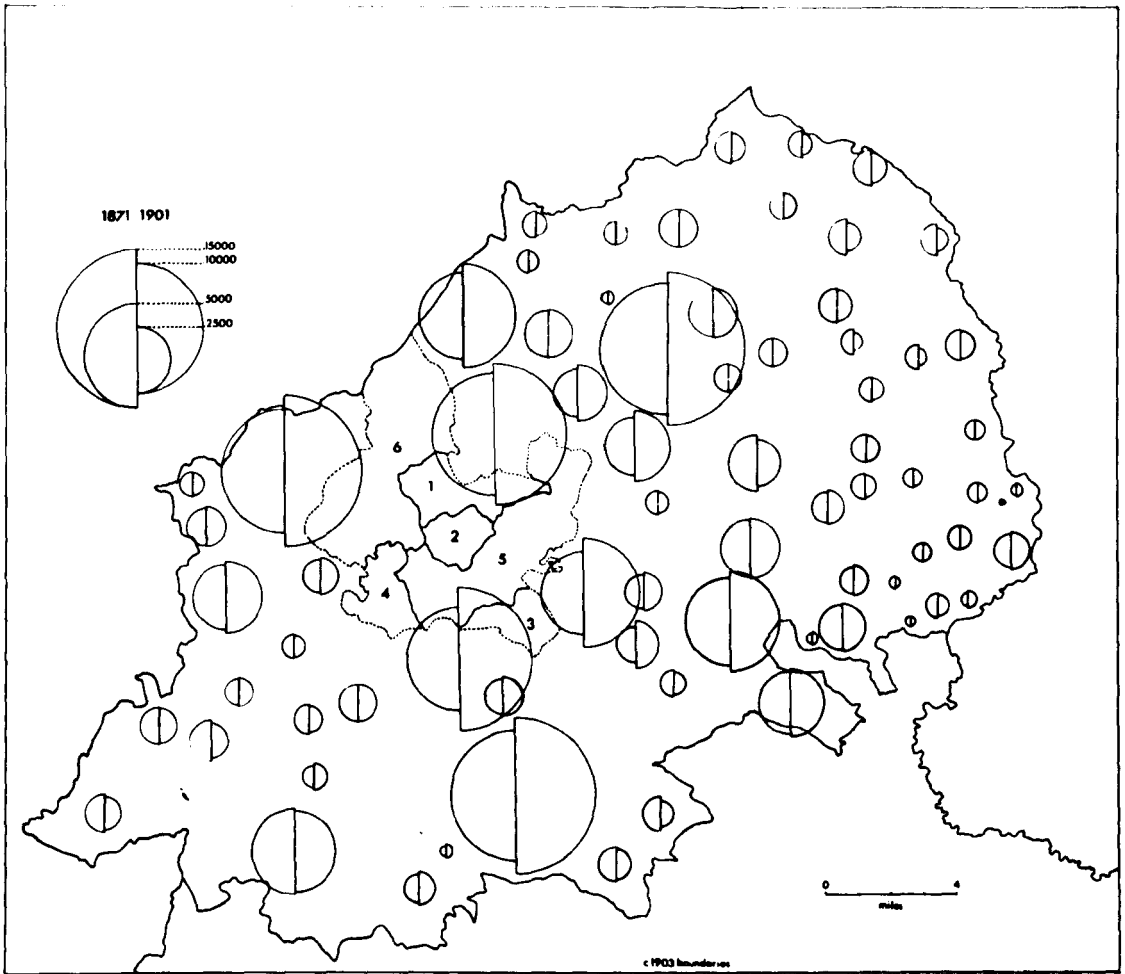


FIG. 2a

1. Burslem
2. Hanley
3. Longton
4. Newcastle
5. Stoke
6. Wolstanton School Board districts.

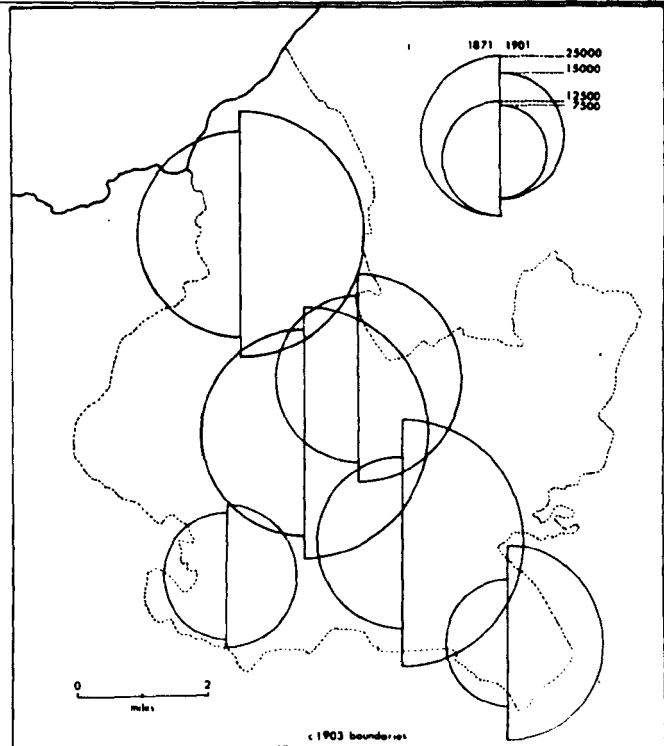


FIG. 2b.

Population Changes in N. Staffordshire, 1871-1901 (by parish)

continuously falling while at the same time output was rising and
1
real wages were advancing rapidly.

Whilst the rates of growth did fluctuate, North Staffordshire shared with other industrialised regions of Great Britain the great increase of population of the nineteenth century. This was expectedly most clearly marked in the Potteries and adjacent areas and in the outlying industrial parts notably in Leek and Cheadle but was not restricted to these areas (Figs.2a, 2b). Even within the purely agricultural districts there was a rise in population in the earlier part of the century but this was not maintained. This resulted from the inevitable drift of the countryman to the industrial centres. Rather than being attracted by the prospect of town life, the farm labourer left the country largely as a consequence of the changing pattern of land use resulting from the economic conditions which had encouraged an increase of pasturage and a subsequent diminution of the demand for agricultural labour.

Within the North Staffordshire area occurred the most sparsely populated parts of the whole county. The area, lying in the north-east and included principally in the Poor Law Unions of Leek and Ashbourne, is represented by the wild countryside of limestone and gritstone moorlands. Given over mainly to pastoral farming which had been carried on with difficulty in the more elevated parts of the

1. Rostow, W., British Economy in the Nineteenth Century, (1948), p.58.

gritstone but with greater ease in the valleys and on the limestone hills, the area was never able to support a dense population. The occurrence of minerals and other materials of industrial importance had, however, increased the density of population in certain areas of limited extent. The copper mines at Oakamoor in the Churnet valley accounted for the sizable population of the parishes in that part of North Staffordshire while the extensive limestone quarries of Caudon Low provided considerable employment for the inhabitants of that area. Outcrops of valuable coal on the margins and within the gritstone moorlands also provided the livelihoods for the increasing population of such parishes as Biddulph, Norton, Caverswall and, to a lesser extent, Dilhorne (Fig.1).

The southern and western parts of North Staffordshire, whilst also displaying decreases in population between 1871 and 1901, nevertheless offered greater possibilities to the farming communities. Less elevated, with lower rainfall and some variety of soils, these parts consistently enjoyed a greater agricultural prosperity and this is reflected in the population trends (Figs. 2a and 2b).

In North Staffordshire the growth of urban centres of regional importance was very much a nineteenth century phenomenon. Only Newcastle could boast long existing civic rights. For the

1. Newcastle received its first Charter in 1173.

Potteries townships their claims to urban recognition were relatively recent. Whilst Hanley¹ in 1811 had a population of just under 10,000 and Burslem nearly 9,000, the other townships were all below the 5,000 mark, with Tunstall, the smallest, having a population of just under 1,500. By 1861 the Census Registration Districts of Wolstanton and Stoke-on-Trent, which approximately covered the Potteries² possessed a population of over 125,000. Such a rapid growth of population naturally had far reaching repercussions upon the provision of social amenities, including particularly in this context, of schools.³

Part of this growth may be explained by the high rate of natural increase but another important factor was the large migration into the Potteries.⁴ Nearly 20% of the 1861 population had been born outside the county and of these, just under a quarter were born in contiguous Cheshire. Assuming that as many, although it is likely that it was more, may have been born in other parts of Staffordshire, then at least 25% of the population of the Potteries would be made up of recent immigrants. Whilst rural Staffordshire and the adjacent

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1. Hanley with Shelton.
 2. Wedgwood, J.C., Staffordshire Pottery and its history (1913), p.2.
 3. The sanitary problems of Hanley have been investigated elsewhere, vide Townley, W. Urban Administration and Health; a case study of Hanley in the mid-nineteenth century. Unpublished M.A. thesis (Keele University) (1969).
 4. It has been suggested that the immigrants were not greatly attracted by the pottery industry but more by commercial possibilities and the newer industries. (Townley, W., op. cit. p. 100)

counties supplied the bulk of the newcomers, significant contingents came from the northern counties, especially Lancashire, which also¹ probably added to the not inconsiderable Irish element. The Irish were particularly prominent in Newcastle Registration District where they made up over 5% of the population in 1861.² From such nearby counties as Flintshire, where lead mining was in a state of decline,³ came also a significant number of immigrants.

1. It was remarked in 1892 that "perhaps the most compact and numerous body of Irish, not merely in Staffordshire, but in the whole of the Midlands, are to be found in the cluster of North Staffordshire towns and villages known as "The Potteries"..... Our people here marry more among themselves and are more homogeneous than elsewhere in the Midlands; in fact they are more like you find in Lancashire towns, resembling them also in their zeal for the national cause. They do not put the young people to trade as often as they might. There are many girls of Irish parentage among the cleverest at various branches of pottery production but, too often, instead of boys being put to this or some other trade, they are sent to work at the coal-pits, probably because they can, while still young, earn more in this way than at anything else. You find it the same in many other places. This, with the difficulty which exists in some places of getting trades to put the young people to, is why the Irish so largely swell the ranks of unskilled labour in Great Britain". (Denvir, J., The Irish in Britain (1892), p.426).
2. Census Report, 1861. Birth places of the People, p. 524. Newcastle Registration District comprised the borough and a considerable area extending from the west of the Potteries to the Cheshire border. It included a significant number of mining communities.
3. Redford, A., Labour Migration in England 1800-1850 (1926), p.58.

As has been indicated, the increasing population was largely¹ accommodated in urban development on the margins of the old towns. Much of the housing was of indifferent quality and the immigrants, coming often from the country, found the environment alien and hostile and only slowly adjusted to the new rhythms. Evidence of this migration is presented in the various Census Reports of the period. The decrease in the population in the parishes of Heaton and Rushton Spencer in 1861 was ascribed to the migration of labourers to² localities where higher wages could be obtained. The reduction in the population of Draycott-in-the-Moors was attributed to migration³ owing to the introduction of machinery for agricultural purposes.

The problems of the immigrant were clearly observed in Longton in the early 1840s: "I believe, however, that it may be said of them that many of them are strangers, having come from Wales, Lancashire and other mining districts, removed, therefore from the salutary restraints of their own houses and neighbourhoods and presumably, from the fact of their having left their homes, not always the men whom their original employers were most anxious to retain. They have also come to a place where from the rapidity of the growth of population they are subject to few or no restraining influences." (4)

The congestion arising from the compactness of the settlements largely resulted from the inability of employees to live very far away

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1. Moisley, H., The Potteries Coalfield - a Regional Analysis. Unpublished M.Sc. thesis (Leeds University,)(1950), p. 119.
 2. 1861 Census Report. Vol.I, p. 465.
 3. *ibid*, p. 464.
 4. Report on the State of Mining Pop. in part of Scotland and Staffordshire, P.P. 1844, Vol. XVI, p. 65.

from the factories. As has been pointed out, even after the introduction of trams it was necessary for the bulk of the people connected with the manufacture of earthenware to live within a mile¹ or so of their place of work. The advent of the railway had, however, permitted the managerial classes to move further from the Potteries. Hamlets and villages such as Penkhull and Wolstanton, standing on the higher ground to the west of the Pottery towns and thus affording more agreeable prospects for better class residential development became less fashionable as more distant locations could be reached relatively easily by new means of communication. The increased population of Barlaston in 1871 was attributed to "its² salubrious situation and the facilities for railway communications," and in the case of Alsager, just over the border in neighbouring Cheshire and on the Stoke-Crewe line, the erection of "villa residences by master potters from Staffordshire districts" was recorded.⁽³⁾

In the other industrial districts of North Staffordshire conditions were similar but certainly not identical. Differences in scale alone guaranteed that the effects of industrialization would be variable. Isolated mines and quarries employing relatively smaller numbers ensured that the works would be accommodated in villages rather than in towns and where social cohesion could be more satisfactorily sustained.

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1. Moisley, H., op. cit., p. 122.
 2. 1871 Census Report. Vol. II, p. 300
 3. ibid., p. 390.

In Leek, the main industrial town of the moorlands, the silk industry in the nineteenth century only slowly became concentrated in factories and the change hardly gained real momentum until the last twenty-five years of the century. In 1861 it was still very much a "garret" industry and many of the workers were employed outside factories. In 1866 this was confirmed by a manufacturer of silk sewing thread, a branch of the industry which predominated at Leek. At that time much of the work was being undertaken at home by out-twisters. There were about 300 of them in the town and each would employ at least five other persons, including children between the ages of nine and sixteen.¹ In 1870 the number of workshops in Leek was 286,² of which about forty could be ranked as factories. Whilst the increase in the population of Leek was directly attributed in 1871 to a rise in the number of persons employed in silk manufacturing,³ the process of industrialization had had a less injurious effect upon the environment than it had had in the Potteries. This may be borne out by the fact that many of the silk masters continued to reside in the town during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

It is evident from this brief introduction that North Staffordshire in spite of its relatively limited extent, represents an area of

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1. 5th Rep. Com. Child Employment, quoted V.C.H. Staffs. Vol. II (1967), p. 211.
 2. Rep. Fact. Insp. 1870, P.O. Directory. Staffs. (1868), quoted V.C.H. Staffs. Vol. II (1967), p. 211.
 3. 1871 Census Report. Vol. II, p. 302.

marked socio-economic diversity. It is in this setting that it is proposed to examine the development of an elementary educational system, the general form of which has persisted until the present moment. However, before embarking upon this task, it is necessary to explore in a little detail the political and religious background as it existed in the second half of the last century.

Chapter II. Local and National Politics in North Staffordshire
between 1870 and 1903.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The proliferation of ad hoc bodies, which was so much a feature of the nineteenth century development of local government, ensured that in the 1870s public spirited men of adequate means would have ample opportunity to exercise a considerable influence in the urban and rural areas of North Staffordshire. Rate-payers could find their way to becoming overseers and lighting inspectors and members of Burial and Highway Boards. With slightly greater material resources, they could aspire to the membership of Town Councils, Boards of Guardians and Local Boards of Health.¹ The average ratepayer, however, might have experienced some difficulty in easily identifying the exact areas for which each body was directly responsible. As further bodies came into existence little effort had been made to guarantee that their boundaries were conterminous. The parish, which was the basic element in administration had been formed without reference to county limits and, in consequence, the Poor Law Unions, being mere aggregations of parishes, frequently cut across

1. The qualifications of candidates for the various ad hoc bodies are tabulated in a number of publications including Redlich, J. et al., *The History of Local Government in England* (1958), p.201.

¹
counties. This complexity was further aggravated by the municipal boroughs. These could also be in more than one county and did not usually correspond to Poor Law Unions. Confusion was compounded by local commissions and boards of all kinds, brought into existence by private Acts and operating in districts carved out with little reference to considerations of general convenience.²

The area under consideration comprised, before the Local Government Act of 1894, six complete Poor Law Unions, Newcastle, Stone, Wolstanton and Burslem, Stoke-upon-Trent, Leek and Cheadle, and also those parts of the Unions of Drayton, Congleton and Ashbourne which

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1. Whilst the actual boundaries of the Poor Law Unions led to complications, they were based on a sound geographical principle which was to associate rural territories with urban centres. The parishes were grouped into unions with a market town as a focus and including those surrounding parishes whose inhabitants were accustomed to use the same market. The Poor Law Commissioners chose the town "where the medical man resided, where the Bench of Magistrates was assembling, and generally speaking the town that supplied the general wants of the district. The principal thing was convenient access to the place where the poor persons were required to attend the Board of Guardians to state their case, where the doctor lived who would supply them with medicine, and where they generally got their supplies from." Evidence given to the Royal Sanitary Commission 1870 by R. Weale; quoted by Smailes, A., The Geography of Towns (1953), p. 155.
 2. It has been suggested that this "cumbersome network of separate districts for different services was developed" as a result of "an unwillingness completely to dispossess the old government of the county in favour of a general elective body". Kitson Clark, G., The Making of Victorian England (1965), p. 222.

fell within the county of Staffordshire. Without examining all the curious anomalies, it seems sufficient to quote some examples of the complications that existed.

Burslem, incorporated in 1878, included only the western portion of the parish under the administration of the Town Council. The other part, Milton, was outside the control of ^{the} Town Council but within the Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union. Longton Borough, as a result of boundary extensions in 1883 and 1884, found itself in three Poor Law Unions, namely Stone, Cheadle and Stoke-upon-Trent. Leek, which had been administered by its twenty-four Improvement Commissioners since 1855, had a boundary defined by the circumference of a circle drawn with a radius of 1500 yards centred on the gas lamp post in the centre of the market place and thus incorporated parts of four parishes, Leek and Lowe, Rudyard, Leekfrith and Tittesworth. Audley included Kidsgrove for parochial purposes but not for local government and, as it will be seen, this had unfortunate repercussions for the promoters of school attendance.

The widely varying extent of the three basic units, the County, the Poor Law Union and the parish ensured that there would be differences in the class of participants at each level. Writing in 1882, G.C. Brodrick classified local authority areas according to their extent

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1. It is believed that Leek was the only town in England shaped as a perfect circle. The boundary continued to be used until 1934. (One Hundred Years of Local Government - Leek U.D.C. 1855-1955 (1955), p.7.).

and consequent effects upon the possibility of different classes of the population attending meetings.

*Thus the counties which had an average radius from centre to boundary of 18 miles were pre-eminently the sphere of the 'carriage folk' - the county nobility and gentry, who had both time and method of conveyance for the journey. The union, with an average radius of $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from market town to boundary, was the field for smaller gentry and farmers, who went to the weekly market. But only the parish, with a radius of a mile, could be governed by a vestry which it was possible for the ordinary labourer to attend, because it was possible for him to get to the place of meeting after his day's work". (1)

The following consideration of local government in North Staffordshire at its various levels in the period between 1870 and 1903 would seem to confirm such generalisations.

1. Local Government in rural North Staffordshire.

By the 1870s the major landowners had ceased to take a leading part in local government. As has been observed in the case of Newcastle, they left service on the Board of Guardians to ministers of religion, usually of the Anglican persuasion, and the more prosperous farmers.² The participation of the Twemlows in Newcastle, Basil Fitzherbert in Stone and Charles Bill and Sir Morton Manningham Buller at Cheadle tended to be exceptional.

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1. Brodrick, G., 'Local Government in England' in Local Government and Local Taxation. (1882), also Select Committee on Parish Union and County Boundaries (1873), evidence of Dr. W. Farr, pp. 75-76, quoted by Lipman, V., Local Government Areas 1834-1945, (1949), pp. 159-160.
 2. Bealey, F., et al., op. cit., p. 24.

The presence of the towns within the Poor Law Unions did, however, inject an urban influence to counterbalance the predominance of the country interest. Not only did they provide tradesmen and professional persons but also, in the case of Leek, a considerable number of silk manufacturers. Stone's superior residential function which was encouraged by its proximity to the growing Pottery town of Longton ensured that a number of china and earthenware manufacturers would find places on the Stone Board of Guardians. The industrial areas within the Newcastle Poor Law Union also made certain that a small¹ manufacturing interest would be present on that Board of Guardians.

The annual elections for the Boards of Guardians normally aroused little excitement. In the rural parishes contests seldom occurred but even when they did take place, which was usually in the towns, the enthusiasm was limited. The local governmental reform² effected in 1894 did little to promote greater interest. Though the Guardians' restricted franchise had been replaced by a wide ratepayers' vote, there still persisted the same lack of vital political activity. "The election of seven guardians to represent the urban district of Newcastle upon the New Board took place on Monday the proceedings being very tame". (3)

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1. For comments on the general composition of Boards of Guardians vide Webb, S and B., English Poor Law History, Part II. Vol. I. (1929), pp. 228ff.
 2. 56 and 57 Vict. cap. 73.
 3. S.A. Dec. 22nd, 1894.

Nor did the advent of the Rural District Council appear to stimulate much further interest if the number of contested elections is any guide. In the first elections for the Stone Rural District Council only two parishes of a total of ten were contested. In that part of the Ashbourne Union which was situated in Staffordshire, a contest occurred in 1894 in only one of the fifteen parishes. The situation in the same year was marginally more encouraging in Cheadle Rural District where contests took place in seven of the nineteen parishes.

The introduction of Parish Councils, by which it was hoped to reach the grass roots, also failed to create widespread interest. The first Stone Union Parish Council elections produced only two contests out of a possible nine. Over half the parish councillors returned were farmers and although the franchise was wider, only 7% of the councillors appear to have been representatives of the working classes. Landowners and manufacturers made up 17% of the representation and the remainder were professional men, traders and publicans.¹ It is noteworthy that, while many of the principal landowners were not prepared to serve on the Board of Guardians and the Rural District Council, they were more willing to take a place on the Parish Council. In this connection it is recorded that Sir William Vavasour, an eminent member of the county's gentry, was

1. S.A., Dec. 22nd, 1894.

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elected Chairman of Drayton Parish Council in December 1894.

In contrast, in other parts of the county more interest was evident. The apparently greater commitment of the inhabitants of the Cheadle Union is reflected in the fact that, in the 1894 Parish Council elections, contests occurred in seven parishes out of a possible sixteen, with 209 candidates fighting for 115 seats. In the parishes where contests took place, evidence suggests that the great farming dominance, which was such a feature of the Stone Union Parish Councils, was less obvious. In fact only just over a quarter of those returned in six of the seven contests were farmers.² Such varied participants further indicate the considerable diversity in the economy of this part of North Staffordshire and contrasts markedly with the predominantly agricultural character of much of the Stone Union.

Whilst there is evidence of greater personal involvement in local government in the Cheadle area, the contests themselves appear to have aroused little interest. It is reported that in the town of Cheadle where contests took place for Rural District and Parish Councils, the election "was elsewhere..... (had) little or no excitement." (3)

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1. S.A., Dec. 22nd, 1894.
 2. Information for the seventh contest was not available. (ibid).
 3. S.A., Dec. 22nd, 1894.

Interest showed no upsurge in the declining years of the century and the commentator was prompted to write in 1898 that "from a perusal of the reports (of the Parish Council Unions) it would appear that contests are fewer than ever this year and candidates generally have not thought it expedient, doubtless in the interests of economy to demand a poll after the customary show of hands". (1)

And commenting on the election at Whitmore in Newcastle Union, he could report: "The Council is the same as last year. No interest whatever was taken in the proceedings and the meeting was very small. Every year seems to show more clearly the utter uselessness of the Parish Council Act in small parishes." (2)

In the 1901 election for Parish Councils in North Staffordshire, contests occurred in only two parishes, namely Ashley and Kingsley.

2. Local Government in the Urban districts outside the Potteries.

Of the urban districts outside the Potteries, only Leek had gained any autonomy before 1870. Of the rest, Audley was the first to gain its own Board of Health in 1873 when, in the face of the threat of higher rates, the local ratepayers made a successful³ petition.

Stone gained its autonomy in 1878 after a campaign which had

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1. S.A., March 15th, 1898.
 2. *ibid.*
 3. S.W.T. March 1st, March 29th, April 5th, 1873.

continued for some five years. In 1873 it had been recorded that "considerable local excitement has been caused by the annual election of Guardians for the parish, which for many years past has been a very quiet affair. The attempt that is now being made to introduce the Local Government Act (1) had caused considerable opposition in the town, with a determination to oust from office those Guardians who were in its favour." (2)

The result of the 1873 election had been a defeat for the party of reform which had supported the adoption of the provisions of the Act.

The first elections for the Stone Board of Health in 1878, however, resulted in a narrow victory for what was termed the Party of Progress. The limited electorate returned a body which included³ only one man who might have been of the working class.

Biddulph obtained its Local Board of Health in March 1882.

Unless there was some issue of special local importance, little interest was evinced in the Board elections. In part this was a result of the limited number of persons who could qualify as candidates and in consequence it was expected that the Local Government Act of 1894, which made all ratepayers eligible as candidates would help to stimulate new interest in local elections.

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1. 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 98. This Act supplemented and amended the Public Health Act of 1848 (11 and 12 Vict., cap. 63).
 2. S.A., April 12th, 1873.
 3. S.A., Dec. 22nd, 1894. "The election of twenty-four members to the new (Funstall) Council on Monday excited considerable interest, some rather caustic literature being circulated and a political bearing being given to the contest by the nomination of sixteen candidates including two Labour Party men, by the Liberal Association". *ibid.*

At Audley a party flavour was given to the first election of the newly created Urban District Council where eight of nine Labour¹ candidates were successful. In the Leek election fifty-three candidates sought twenty-four seats and 2,359 electors voted out of some 3,600.² Two of seven candidates supported by the Leek³ Progressive Labour Federation were successful in the election.

Whilst political involvement was considerable in some areas, the experience in Biddulph, where "little or no canvassing was done in the district and very little excitement existed"⁽⁴⁾ provides a contrast. In this case the local ironmaster, Robert Heath, was elected to a Council which was dominated numerically by farmers.

As elsewhere a decline in the general interest in Urban District elections is demonstrated by the reduction of the number of candidates and the number of votes which were cast. Even Leek with some tradition of political activity could only muster fourteen candidates⁵ for eight vacancies in 1897⁶ and twelve candidates for nine seats in 1901. In Stone eight candidates campaigned for five vacancies in 1897⁷ and only 320 voters out of about 1,200 polled.

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1. S.A., Dec. 22nd, 1894.
 2. *ibid.*
 3. *ibid.*
 4. *ibid.*
 5. *ibid.*, March, 27th, 1897.
 6. *ibid.*, March, 30th, 1901.
 7. *ibid.*, March 27th, 1897.

3. Local Government in the Potteries and Newcastle-under-Lyme.

Whilst it seems reasonable to assume that activity in local politics was more intense in the Pottery towns and Newcastle than in the surrounding areas of North Staffordshire, there was also a comparable decline of interest if the number of contested elections is any index. In the annual elections in 1874 there was an average of 4.7 candidates for each ward, in 1880 3.0 candidates, in 1900 only 1.9 candidates. In 1874 ten out of a total of eleven wards were contested as compared with only twelve out of twenty-six wards in 1900. It is true that there were periods of particular interest, such as that recorded at the first election of Stoke Town Council after Incorporation in 1874 when sixty-seven candidates contested¹ eighteen seats.

More common were the reactions illustrated in the following reports:
"Never since the incorporation of the town (Longton) has so quiet an election taken place as that of yesterday (November 1st, 1880). A few cabs were to be seen in various directions fetching lazy voters, who perhaps were determined to have for once a ride at somebody else's expense, but beyond that, a stranger would not have known that anything out of the common was taking place." (2)

Also in 1880..... "The municipal election yesterday passed off in a very quiet manner, the appearance (of Hanley) throughout the day scarcely betokening the occasion of an election of councillors." (3)

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1. S.W.T., March 7th, 1874.
 2. S.S., November 2nd, 1880.
 3. ibid.

The situation was hardly different in 1900. "The November Elections at Longton generally pass over with almost painful quietness." (1)

"The one contest in Burslem is in no way likely to be productive of the slightest excitement..... Mr. Mason (a defeated candidate) said he thought he had done extremely well to have polled 600 votes without having had a single meeting and without a committee." (2)

An investigation of the membership of these Councils reveals certain differences which existed in the social class and occupational structures of the townships. Newcastle's lack of industry is illustrated by the dependence for its civic leaders upon members of the retail distribution trade and upon those engaged in small business operations.³ The Pottery towns, on the other hand, were able to rely to an important extent upon the services of a considerable number of manufacturers, engaged principally in the china and earthenware industries. Longton was also able to benefit from the willingness of Cromartie, fourth Duke of Sutherland,⁴ to sit on the Council although the participation of major landowners was in the main unusual.

'Independent politics' was the characteristic of local government in North Staffordshire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as it had been before 1875. The members of the various

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1. S.S., Oct. 17th, 1900
 2. S.S., Nov. 2nd, 1900.
 3. Bealey, F., et al., op. cit., p. 39.
 4. He was Mayor of Longton in 1895.

bodies did not owe their seats to the support of any national political party. There were, therefore, strictly no Conservative or Liberal members of the Councils and no Conservative or Liberal local government policies. Local issues normally cut across the traditional line of national party politics and examinations reveal that it was not uncommon to find professed Liberals and Conservatives uniting on issues against other Liberals and Conservatives. There was, however, as will be seen, at least one issue of national and local significance that could be predicted to divide along the traditional fissures at the local level and this was, of course, education.

NATIONAL POLITICS

Until 1885 the area of North Staffordshire under consideration fell, for national political purposes, within four constituencies, two urban, Newcastle and Stoke, and two predominantly rural, North and West Staffordshire. In the case of the last named, much of the constituency lay beyond the southern boundary of North Staffordshire. Pre-1885.

The Newcastle constituency, which included only the borough until 1885, had two seats and, except for a short period between 1878 and 1880 when a swing towards Liberalism enabled a second Liberal to be returned at a by-election, elected a Conservative and a Liberal at every contest.

Stoke constituency which incorporated much of the identical area of the Potteries was represented by two Liberals between 1868 and 1874. The election in 1874 saw the return of a Liberal and the local ironmaster Robert Heath as a Conservative member in a four-cornered fight which included another Liberal and a Working-man's candidate. A by-election, caused by the resignation of the Liberal member later in 1874, led to the somewhat sensational election of an Independent, Dr. Edward Kenealy, whose fame had been spread by his unsuccessful defence of the Tichborne claimant.¹ The Liberals recaptured both seats in 1880 with the return of William Woodall and Henry Broadhurst.²

The North Staffordshire constituency, which was of extremely diverse character, returned without a contest in 1868 two important local landowners, Sir E.M. Buller and the Rt. Hon. C.B. Adderley as Liberal and Conservative members respectively. The Conservatives took both seats without a contest in 1874. The only contest which did take place in the period occurred in 1880 and resulted in the return of a Liberal and a Conservative in a three-cornered fight in which the third candidate was a Conservative.

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1. The official Liberal candidate had fought the constituency as the Working-man's candidate in the general election of the same year.
 2. For a personal account of the election vide. Broadhurst, H., Henry Broadhurst M.P. (1901), Chapter VI.

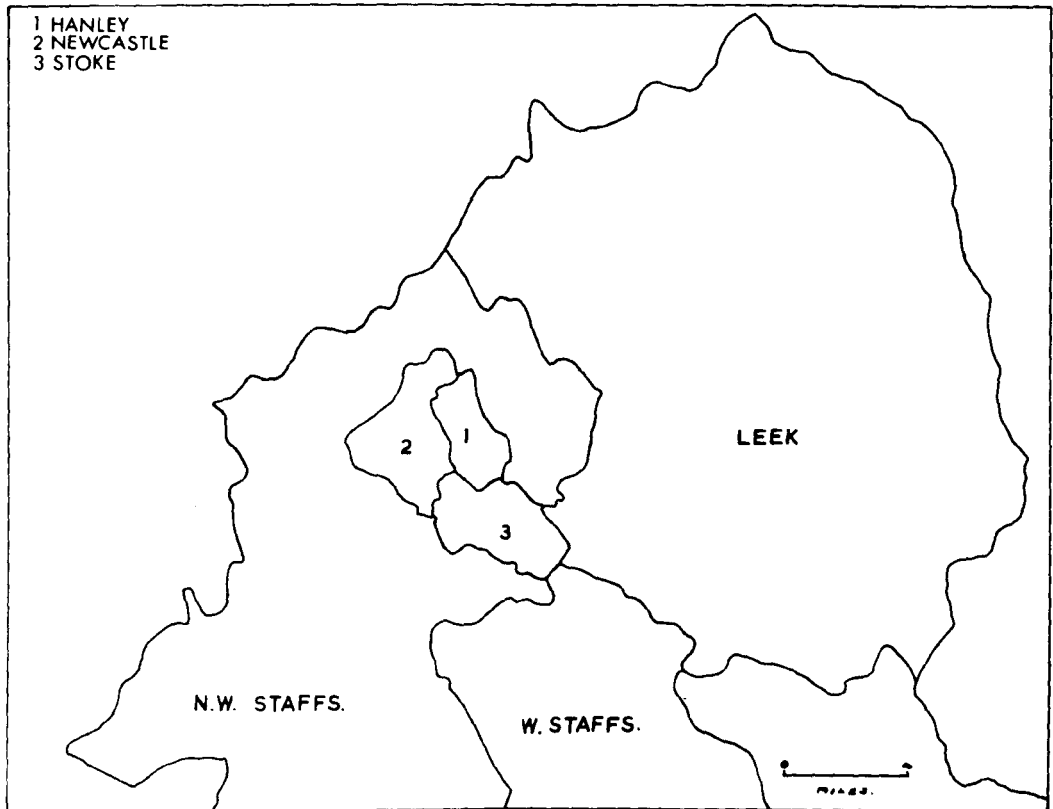


FIG. 3.

N. Staffordshire Parliamentary Divisions 1885-1910

The West Staffordshire constituency, which included much of the Stone Union, remained steadfastly Conservative throughout the period 1868-1885. Although it was to a limited extent industrialised, the constituency was predominantly agricultural in which there was always a considerable arable element that favoured an established pattern of village life and little ¹ nonconformity.

Post 1885.

Under the Redistribution Act of 1885,² these four two-members constituencies were reconstituted to form six single-member constituencies. (Fig. 3). In the process the most significant change of character occurred in Newcastle. The new constituency, unlike the earlier one, incorporated a notable amount of industrialisation which had formerly been part of the North Staffordshire constituency.

The period 1885-1900 saw a gradual but significant decline in the fortunes of the Liberal party in North Staffordshire. From a high water mark in 1885 when all six constituencies returned Liberal M.P.s the party reached its nadir in 1900, the year in which the Unionists won all the seats (Fig. 4). The three predominantly urban constituencies of Hanley, Newcastle and Stoke were, in the long term, safely Liberal but there were aberrations during the period.

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1. Pelling, H., op. cit., p. 195.
 2. 48 and 49 Vict., cap. 23. 7th Schedule.

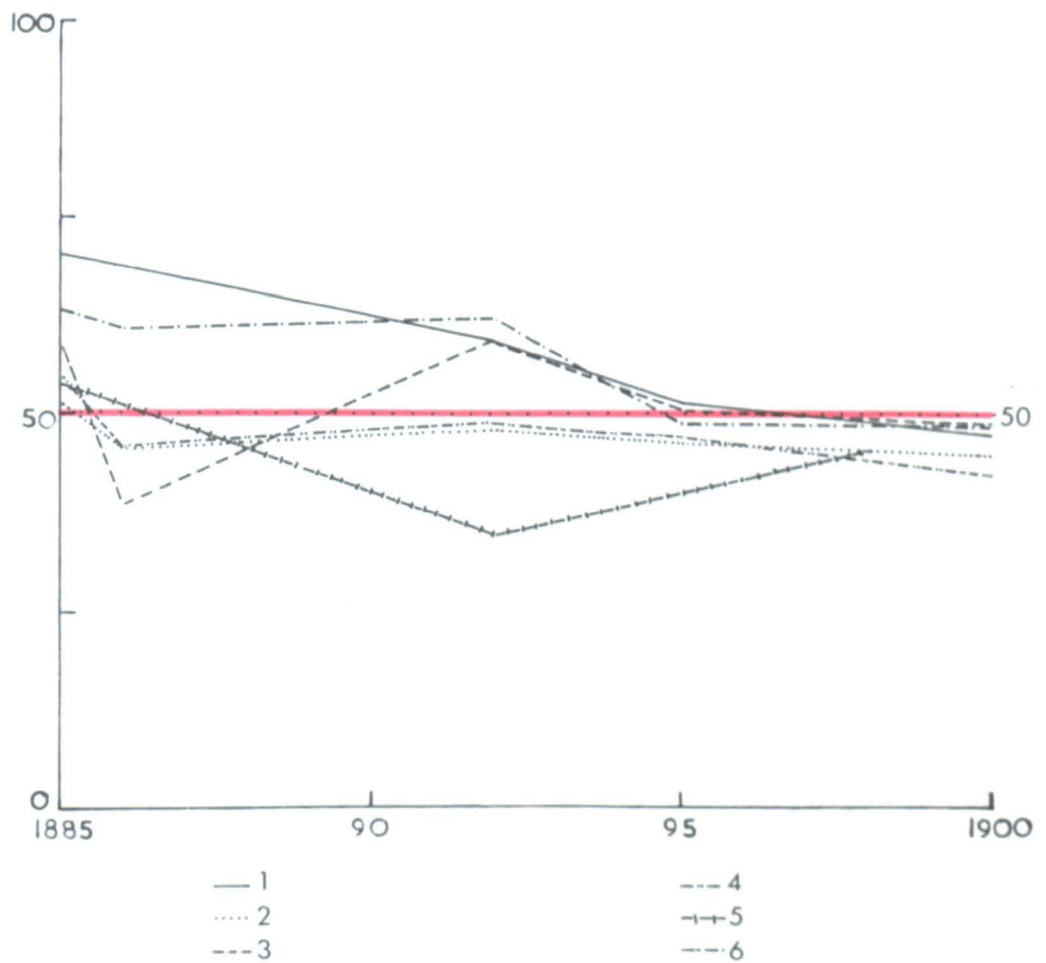


FIG. 4.

The Decline of the Fortunes of the Liberal Party in N. Staffordshire.
1885-1900.

1. Hanley
2. Leek
3. Newcastle

4. N.W. Staffordshire
5. W. Staffordshire
6. Stoke

Newcastle elected a Unionist in 1886 following the split over Home Rule but returned to its former allegiance in 1892, only to be recaptured by the Unionists in 1900.

Stoke perhaps reflecting the strength of a middle class vote in parts of the constituency, fell to the Unionists in 1895 while Hanley held out until 1900.

In the three areally larger constituencies, where there existed considerable agricultural populations, the Unionists wrested control from the Liberals in 1886. In character West Staffordshire was the most rural and was traditionally a Conservative seat but both Leek and North-west Staffordshire possessed a mixed electorate and remained very much marginal constituencies during this period.

The period under consideration was characterized by a marked lack of enthusiasm for local government although there was a temporary upsurge of interest following the passing of the 1894 Act. In the towns the local manufacturers, leading trades-people and a sprinkling of the professional classes tended to dominate. The local gentry, with some notable exceptions including the Leveson-Gowers, Fitzherberts and Twemlows, stood aside. In the country districts, the farming element was well represented although variety was added by the occasional involvement of a clergyman, some professional men and local manufacturers.

The field of parliamentary politics clearly provided greater attractions to the territorial magnates and local gentry and this may be adduced from the fact that a high proportion of the local M.P.s of the period were drawn from the county and contiguous areas. The urban manufacturing districts maintained a vigorous tradition of Liberalism. The further democratisation following the reform of the franchise in 1884 consolidated these Liberal tendencies but the confirmation of a working-class vote combined with certain elements in the Liberal Party's policy in the 1890s led to the movement of many middle-class Liberals into the Unionist camp. At the same time disaffected working-class elements were turning to support the new Independent Labour Party. These factors would, in fact explain the considerable success enjoyed by the Unionist party in the last decade of the century.

Whilst many of the more important local figures who achieved some sort of success in national politics might eschew the somewhat mundane aspects of nineteenth century local government, it will be seen that few were inclined to ignore the challenging field of educational administration and many such men played very energetic roles especially in the early years following the passage of the 1870 Education Act.

Chapter III. Religion in North Staffordshire in the second half
of the nineteenth century.

The eighteenth century religious revival associated as it was with the rise of Methodism aroused an awakening of concern in the Anglican church in North Staffordshire. The need for new churches was recognised especially in the rapidly expanding industrial areas, and the early years of the nineteenth century marked an outstanding period of church building. In 1843 it was remarked that the churches and chapels of the establishment in the Potteries had lately multiplied nearly three-fold and were still increasing.¹ During his episcopacy from 1843 to 1867, Bishop Lonsdale consecrated over 150 new churches in the Lichfield diocese at an average of one every eight weeks.²

By 1851 the Anglican church had in the northern part of the county 106 places of worship providing nearly 50,000 sittings.³ Energy continued to be expended following the 1851 Census so that by 1890, of the 123 parish churches in the Archdeaconry of Stoke,

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1. Ward, J., The Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent, (1843), p. 37.
 2. Denison, E., The Life of Lonsdale (1868), p. 136.
 3. In this case the north of the county comprises the Electoral Registration Districts of Stone, Newcastle, Wolstanton, Stoke, Leek and Cheadle. For figures vide Census of G.B. 1851. Religious Worship - England and Wales, Report and Tables (1853), p. cclxxvii.

thirty-four had been consecrated after 1840.¹ While the initiative can be properly attributed to a line of outstanding bishops, the work was supported by a number of very capable parish clergy of whom Sir Lovelace Stamer, Rector of Stoke-upon-Trent from 1858 until 1888,² might be singled out as the most distinguished example.³

The 1851 Census, however, did reveal that in spite of its achievement in North Staffordshire during the first part of the nineteenth century, the Church was not in a position to slacken its efforts. In the Parliamentary Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent which incorporated the townships of Tunstall, Burslem, Hanley, Stoke, Fenton, Longton and the districts of Dresden and East Vale, Anglican worshippers on the day of the Census, Mid-lent Sunday, 30th March, 1851, were comparatively few and were outnumbered by the Nonconformists.³ The returns indicate that in an urban environment the Nonconformists were very effectively challenging the Established Church. In the larger towns of North Staffordshire, the Nonconformists were performing essential and much needed work for which in many ways the structure

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1. Hutchinson, S., *The Archdeaconry of Stoke-upon-Trent* (1893), pp. 149-154.
 2. How, F., *A Memoir of Bishop Sir Lovelace Tomlinson Stamer* (1910), pp. 63 & 184.
 3. *Census of Great Britain 1851. Religious Worship - England and Wales, Report and Tables* (1853), p. cclxix.

and organisation of the Church of England were not well suited.¹

The growth of Methodism in North Staffordshire was rapid. Wesley had first visited the Potteries in 1760 and as a direct result,² a Methodist society was established in Burslem. The Methodists gathered strength there quickly and Wesley returned on several occasions, his last visit being in 1790 only a year before his death.³ Although Burslem remained the centre of the movement in the Potteries, the sect spread strongly through Tunstall and Hanley. Methodism continued to develop momentum but differences of opinion, especially respecting the proper constitution of the movement, resulted in a number of very significant secessions. The Methodist New Connexion grew from a splinter group in the Hanley movement at the end of the eighteenth century while the Primitive Methodists owe their existence largely to the activities of two Staffordshire worthies, Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, who had been expelled from the parent society in 1808 for reviving the practice of field preaching, which had been a distinctive feature of Methodism in its early days. By these techniques, Bourne and his followers were able to reach large sections of the

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1. This is discussed in some detail by K. Inglis in *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (1963), Chapter I.
 2. Wedgwood, H., *Staffordshire, Up and Down the County*. Vol. 2 (1881), pp. 27-8.
 3. Goldstraw, H., *Rise and Development of Education in the Staffordshire Potteries*. Unpublished M.Ed. thesis (Manchester University) (1935), p. 86.
 4. Ward, J., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

working-classes which had hitherto not been accessible through the more usual agencies.¹ The body grew quickly, drawing its major support in its early days from the lower working-classes to whom its appeal was immediate and relevant.²

By the mid-nineteenth century the Methodists in the Potteries had nearly outstripped all the other denominations added together. In the Stoke Parliamentary constituency Wesleyans could claim thirty-five places of worship with just under 18,000 sittings while the rest had thirty-eight churches and chapels with just under 23,000 sittings.³

Of the other dissenting bodies, only the Congregationalists or Independents achieved fairly widespread significance in North Staffordshire during the nineteenth century. In the major urban parts they had built their first chapel in Newcastle in 1781.⁴ Hanley possessed a Congregational chapel in 1784 and this was subsequently replaced by a larger, more imposing building known as the Tabernacle.⁵ Within the Potteries further Independent churches were established in the early years of the nineteenth century in Hanley, Longton and

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1. Wilkinson, J., *Hugh Bourne 1772-1852* (1952), p. 32.
 2. Ward., J., *op cit*, p. 36. cf. Webb, S., *Story of the Durham Miners* (1921), p. 21-24.
 3. *Census of G.B. 1851 Relig. Worship - England and Wales, Report and Tables* (1853), p. cclxix.
 4. Matthews, A., *The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire* (1924), p. 165.
 5. Matthews, A., *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹
Burslem. In other parts of North Staffordshire outside the Potteries, the Congregationalists tended to concentrate their early efforts in the towns. A Congregational church had been set up as early as 1695 in Leek, while further churches were initiated in Stone in 1786 and in Cheadle in 1799.²

The increasing influx of the Irish into the industrial centres of North-west England placed upon the Roman Catholic church an increasing responsibility, acceptance of which was reflected in the growing number of places of worship for Catholics within the Potteries. Whilst the church at Cobridge was of early establishment, developments in Hanley, Longton and other parts of the Potteries and Newcastle were of nineteenth century origin. In the country areas of North Staffordshire, the Catholics had a champion in John, Earl of Shrewsbury, under whose patronage important Pugin church building took place at Alton in 1840,³ at Cheadle in 1846⁴ and at Cotton in 1848.⁵ Other areas of growing Catholic influence included Stone, Caverswall and Swynnerton. There was a house of the Passionists at Aston near Stone which had been started in 1842 and the Dominicans had a convent in Stone as well as one in Stoke.

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1. Matthews, A., op. cit, p. 174.
 2. ibid., p. 165.
 3. Kelly's Directory, 1892, p. 21. Boase, T., English Art 1800-1870 (1959), p. 231.
 4. Lord Shrewsbury's New Church of St. Giles in Staffordshire (1846) p. 13.
 5. Roberts, F., The Church and Parish of St. Wilfrid's, Cotton (1958), p. 11.

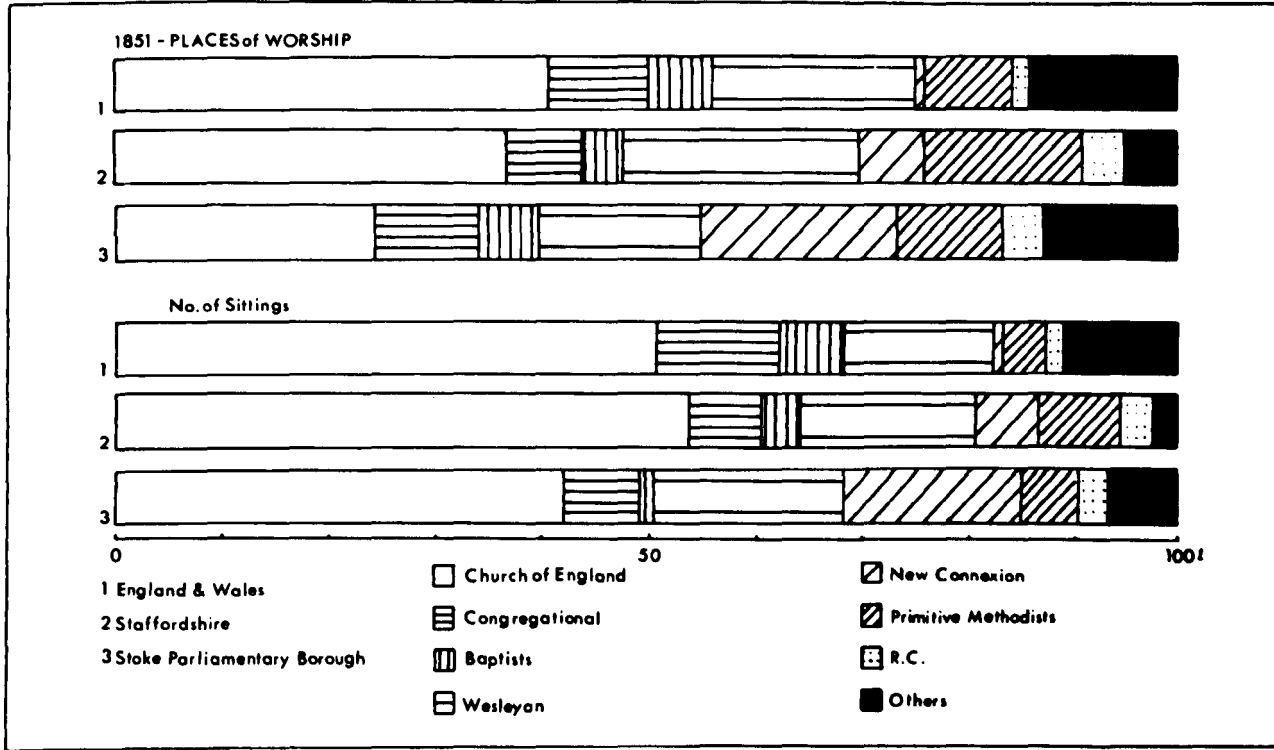


FIG. 5.

Denominational Strength 1851

(Source: 1851 Religious Census Returns)

As has already been indicated, the 1851 Census affords a valuable source of statistical material concerning the relative strengths of the denominations in the mid-nineteenth century (Fig.5). In England and Wales just over 40% of the places of worship were being provided by the Established Church and this made up nearly 52% of the number of sittings. The Methodists represented the most important Nonconformist body with over 30% of the nation's places of worship and over 20% of the total sittings. Of the various branches of the Methodist movement, the Original Connexion was the strongest accounting for 19% of the places of worship and just under 15% of the sittings. The Primitive Methodists, the second most important, had about 8% of the places of worship and just under 4% of the total sittings. Congregationalists (6% places of worship : 10.5% sittings) and the Baptists (6% : 6%) were the other major dissenting bodies. The Roman Catholics with just under 2% of the places of worship and total sittings represented an important minority group.

The position in Staffordshire reveals some variations upon the national picture. The Anglican church, although showing a relatively lower proportion of the places of worship (36.7%) had a greater share of the total sittings (53.9%). Whilst both the Independents and the Baptists were less prominent locally (Congregationalists 7.3% : 6.9% and Baptists 4.0% : 3.8%), the

Methodists had a greater significance. In the county as a whole the Original Connexion remained the most important with 22.1% of the places of worship and 16.8% of the sittings but the Primitive Methodists and those of the New Connexion could also claim major support in Staffordshire and both had strength above the national average.¹ With nearly 4% of the places of worship and over 3% of the sittings, the Roman Catholics in Staffordshire could also boast of a better position than the national average.

In the expanding industrial complex of North Staffordshire, represented by the Stoke Parliamentary Borough, the position again confirmed local variations. The Anglicans were able to provide only just under one quarter of the places of worship which did, however, account for just over 40% of the sittings. In consequence of the somewhat diminished status of the Church of England, the Nonconformists assumed an enhanced significance. In this particular area, at the time, the Wesleyan New Connexion was marginally more significant than the Original Connexion in terms of number of places² of worship but provided slightly fewer sittings. The Primitive Methodists, whose strength was especially in the poorer peripheral areas

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1. Primitive Methodists 14.8% of the places of worship and 7.5% of the sittings. Wesleyan New Connexion 6.2% of the places of worship and 5.9% of the sittings.
 2. Wesleyan New Connexion 17.8% of places of worship: 17.1% of sittings. Original Connexion 16.4% : 17.9%.

of the industrial complex, were less important in the townships with only just under 10% of the places of worship and nearly 5% of the number of sittings. Both the Congregationalists and Baptists were above the county average while the Roman Catholics, with 4.1% of the number of places of worship and 2.8% of the total sittings were in line with the average county position.

Further examination of the 1851 Returns according to the North Staffordshire Census Registration Districts serves to underline the differences in the relative importance of the denominations in urban and rural areas (Fig. 6.). The Stone district, which broadly corresponded to the area of the Stone Union, exemplifies the dominance¹ of the Anglican church in that part of rural North Staffordshire. Nearly 80% of the sittings were to be found in establishments associated with the Church of England. The Nonconformists were relatively weakly represented in this part of the county with only just over 16% of the total number of sittings. The Roman Catholics claimed just under 4%. The Anglican church also provided just over half of the

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1. How far the strength of the Anglican church in the Stone district may be attributed to the dominance of the agricultural economy is debatable. It has, however, been emphasized that during the seventeenth century when a dual economy of pastoralist/craftsman was becoming general in most of the county, the central parts of Staffordshire, of which the Stone Union formed a northern extension, remained exclusively agricultural (Thirsk, J., *Horn and Thorn in Staffordshire*. N.S.J.F.S. Vol. 9 (1969), p.8).

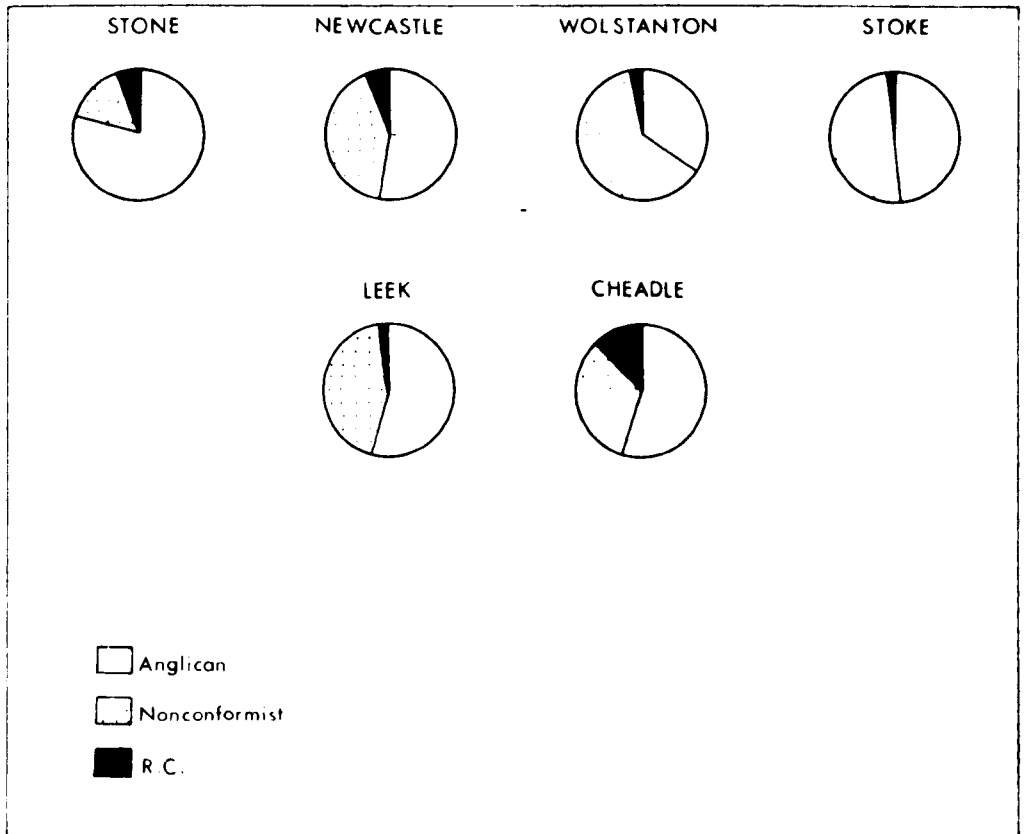


FIG. 6.

Denominational Provision in N. Staffordshire 1851. (by Census Registration District)

(Source: 1851 Religious Census Returns)

total sittings in the other Registration Districts in which there¹ were considerable agricultural areas but in the major industrial districts, represented by the Registration Districts of Wolstanton and Stoke, the contribution of the Established Church amounted respectively to 33.8% and 47.4% of the total sittings. The particularly low performance in the Wolstanton area emphasized the Anglicans' weaknesses in the newer, rapidly developing industrial districts which surrounded the older established pottery centres.

The valuable influence of the patronage of the Shrewsbury family is confirmed in the considerable strength of the Roman Catholics in the Cheadle Registration District where they had over 12% of the total number of sittings.

The denominations, whilst expending tremendous energies in their building programmes, were rarely succeeding in filling the buildings² when they had been completed. The 1851 Census returns for the principal North Staffordshire Registration Districts would seem to confirm this assertion. Using the figures for the meeting which

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1. Newcastle - 52.6% ; Leek 53.8%; Cheadle 54.9%.
 2. Chadwick, O., The Victorian Church, Part I. (1966), p. 332.

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was best attended during the day of the Census, it is revealed that not only were the Churches as a whole failing to provide sufficient accommodation but also the existing places of worship were not being completely filled (Fig.7.). Only in the Cheadle district were there enough places for over three-quarters of the population to be accommodated at a single meeting. In the industrial areas of Wolstanton and Stoke the figure was less than half. The Roman Catholics were the most successful of the denominations in filling their churches with attendance exceeding number of sittings in both the Stone and Wolstanton districts and everywhere else taking up at least 70% of the sittings. The Anglican church was least successful with its best showing in the Stone district where it managed to fill just 45% of its sittings at the principal meeting. The Nonconformists performance varied from 40% in the Stone district to just under 70% in Newcastle.

The reasons for the apparent inability to reach large sections
of the population have been examined at considerable length.

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1. This method under-estimates the attendance since not all the church-goers will be present at the principal meeting. On the other hand if the total for the three meetings is aggregated the figure is likely to be too large since many of the church-goers, especially Nonconformists, will have attended more than once. This problem is discussed by Inglis, K., op. cit., *idem.*, *Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851* (Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. XI (1960), pp 79-80).
 2. Chadwick, O., op. cit., Inglis, K., op. cit., Elliott-Binns, L., *Religion in the Victorian Era* (1946), and Bowen, D., *The Ideas of the Victorian Church* (1968).

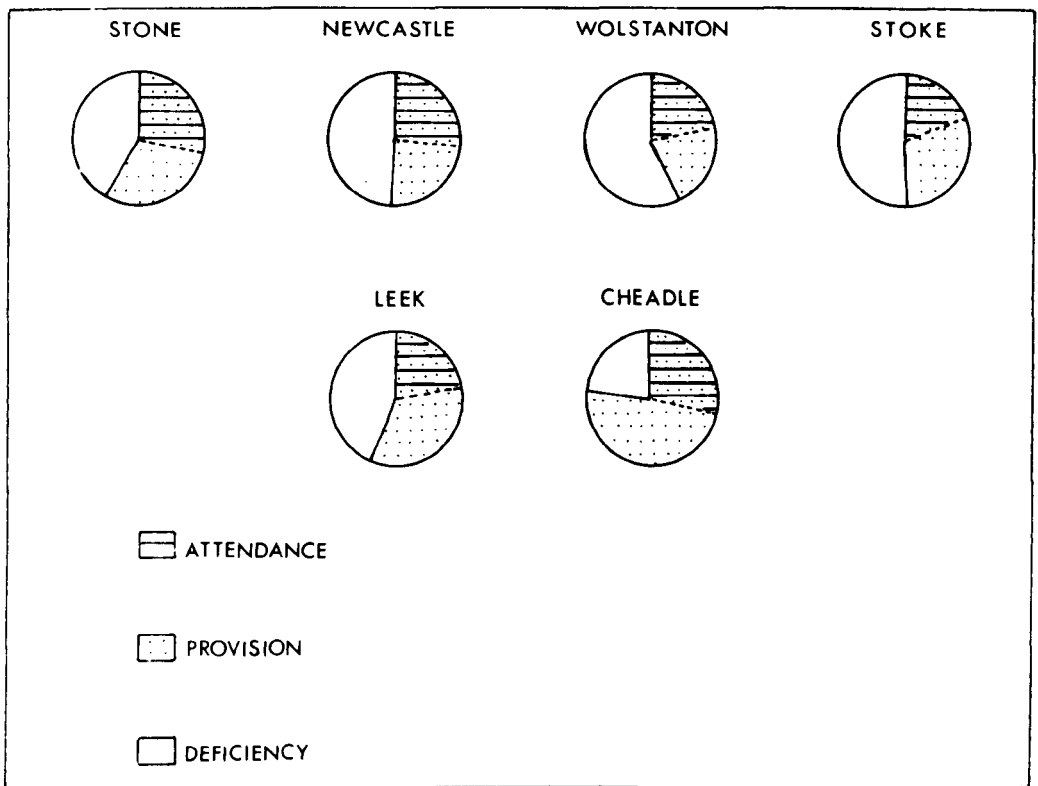


FIG. 7.

Church and Chapel Attendance and Provision by number of sittings in N. Staffordshire, mid-Lent Sunday 1851. (By Census Registration District).

(Source: 1851 Religious Census Returns).

Edward Miall, writing at the end of the 1840s, listed some major factors which handicapped the denominations in their efforts to reach the lower orders of the population. These included the social distinctions made within the churches, their worship of respectability and contempt for the poor, the lack of sympathy shown by ministers of religion of every denomination with the privations and needs of the working classes, and 'the aristocratic character of religious institutions'.¹ In this connection when discussing the significance of clothes, it has been suggested that many working men and women would not go to church because they had nothing to wear.² Mayhew found among poor Londoners a feeling that going to worship was an activity appropriate only among classes higher than their own.³ Some Anglicans, particularly in northern England, talked about the inequity of private pews.⁴

In addition there existed a positive anti-clerical movement in part associated with the growth of Chartism and also with a wide secular movement linked with the pervasive influence of a rational philosophy. The effect of the movement upon the lower orders of

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1. Miall, E., *The British Churches in relation to the British people* (1849), quoted by Inglis, K., *op. cit.*, p. 19.
 2. Chadwick, O., *op. cit.*, p. 333.
 3. Mayhew, H., *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851), quoted by Inglis, K., *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.
 4. Chadwick, O., *op. cit.*, p. 333.

society is highly debatable but it is clear that contemporary middle-class opinion was inclined to treat the many examples of anti-clerical pamphlets circulating amongst the working-classes as being generally¹ harmful.

Of major significance was the great upheaval of population resulting from the great surge of industrialisation in the nineteenth century. This led inevitably to the characteristic rootlessness of large sections of the working classes in the urban areas which resulted in the loss of the church-going habit. Inglis quotes the example of the father of Joseph Arch, the nineteenth century union leader of the agricultural workers. "I suppose he kept on going (to church) because he had been brought up to it. To church he had always been accustomed to go, so to church he went. And there were other working men like him in that." (2)

If, as Inglis suggests, that man had moved into a larger industrial

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1. 'In a second collection of all the small and low priced periodicals (1d & 1½d each) circulating in the towns of Wednesbury and Bilston, I found that of the total number (15) seven were written in a good spirit, though containing portions of very inferior novels and tales (published in fragments after the manner of the French feuilletons), which would be more likely to lower the taste and injure the morals of the young man, than to convey any sound instruction. Eight were written in a spirit of hostility either to the institutions or the religion of the country, or both, five of them are organs of Chartism, approach very near it and appear to have more in view the dissemination of infidelity and the discussion of doctrines of Socialism, which is spoken of with approbation. I am informed that all those publications of the latter class (anarchial, socialist and infidel) have a considerable and increasing sale in these districts;' so wrote the Commissioner appointed to enquire into the State of the Population of the mining districts of South Staffordshire in 1850 (P.P. 1850, Vol. XXIII, p. 598).
 2. Arch, J., Joseph Arch, the story of his life, told by himself (1898), quoted by Inglis, K., op. cit., p. 4.

town the chances were against his keeping up the practice. The same writer further quotes W.D. Maclagan, Bishop of Lichfield from 1878 to 1891, who reflected upon the migration into towns. "It is easy to see how the artisan and labourer fresh from the country villages where, at least, they might find room, and often sought it, in the House of God, should gradually lose the habit of worship and devotion, where there was neither place for them to worship nor pastor to lead them in the ways of God." (1)

Lack of religious devotion amongst the urban working classes is frequently referred to in the 'grant' applications which were made to the Education Department in the middle years of the nineteenth century. "The families of the labouring population within the area (of Longton) from which the children will daily attend the proposed school are members of the Church of England and various other denominations, the proportions cannot possibly be ascertained, very many having no religious opinions whatever." (2)

A similar request for a grant for St. Mary's National school in Tunstall in 1863 included the comment "and too many attend no place to worship".³

The 1851 Census did much to stimulate further denominational activity in England and Wales and this is exhibited in the continuing building of churches, chapels, missions and voluntary schools. In the Stoke Parliamentary Borough the number of Anglican churches increased from eighteen in 1851 to twenty-seven in 1872. The number of sittings

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1. Inglis, K., op. cit., p. 4.
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 103/107/405. An application for a building grant for Longton National school in 1865.
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 103/101/67.

rose in the same period from 17,000 to nearly 22,000. The Methodists increased their chapels from thirty-five to fifty-two and the number of sittings from nearly 13,500 to nearly 20,000. In the same period the Roman Catholics more modestly increased their places of worship from three to five with an increase of sittings from just over 1,100¹ to 2,350.

The 1882 Returns by Census Registration District show that in North Staffordshire the Anglican church building programme had slowed considerably. In fact there existed fewer churches in 1882 than in 1851 although, as the returns do not show the numbers of sittings, it is not possible to comment on relative accommodation. For the Nonconformists, on the other hand, the second half of the nineteenth century was a golden period of chapel building, especially in the urban areas, where, for example, in the Wolstanton and Stoke Census Districts, the Methodists had increased their chapels from fifty-one² in 1851 to eighty in 1882. The withdrawal of many Nonconformist bodies from the responsibilities of school-building in the period after 1870 may well have released funds for chapel construction. In the rural areas, reflecting conditions of static or declining population,

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1. For 1872 figures vide S.S., October 20th, 1872.
 2. P.P. 1882 Vol.L. pp. 21-399. From 1800 to 1900 the Nonconformists increased their number of places of worship in the Potteries from eight to seventy-two while the Church of England advanced from four to thirty-three (S.S., Jan. 5th, 1901).

the number of places of worship had remained fairly constant.

The period under consideration may thus be recognised as one of intense activity in a situation of such change that the denominations were finding themselves under constant pressure not only to improve but even to maintain their position. Whilst the middle class support of religion was strong, a great part of the working classes, particularly in the towns was hardly being touched. In many respects the 1851 Census returns and other official nineteenth century religious reports present a dismal picture of churches and chapels in many cases only half-filled, and particularly in the case of the Anglican church, staffed by men who often seemed out of touch or at least unable to come to terms with the developing and challenging situation. It is therefore in this context that must be seen the role of the denominations in North Staffordshire in the development of elementary education in the nineteenth century before 1870.

Chapter IV. The Voluntary Effort and the Provision of Elementary
Education in the mid-19th century.

The provision of elementary education in the mid-nineteenth century may be examined under two headings. There was what became known as public elementary education, provided principally by the religious denominations and the educational societies, which since 1833 had been supported increasingly by the central government through a system of grants, at first only for building, but subsequently for teaching efficiency. In addition there was private elementary education which included everything else from flourishing well-endowed independent schools with near-grammar school ambitions to little dame-schools presided over by the aged and the barely literate. A comprehensive picture of the extent of these two systems in North Staffordshire is afforded by the 1851 Education Census Report, compiled and elegantly presented by Horace Mann. It revealed in the six principal Census Registration districts of North Staffordshire (Cheadle, Leek, Newcastle, Stoke, Stone and Wolstanton) that, of the 419 schools of all kinds, no less than 66.5% were classified as private. In terms of attendance, however, the private sector accommodated only 33% of the scholars. Whilst some were providing sound education in good buildings, many were

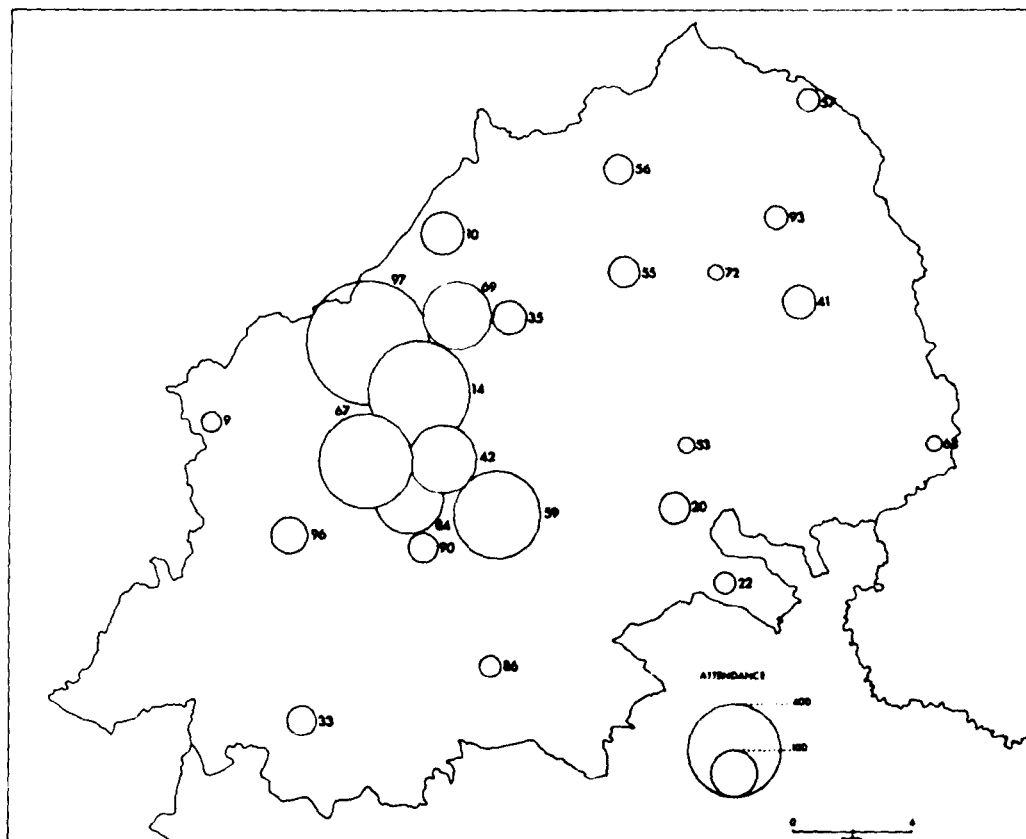


FIG. 8.

Private Adventure Schools in N. Staffordshire, 1871 (by parish)

(Source: Inspection of Returns 1870-71)

small and of indifferent quality, offering but the barest rudiments. The majority of such schools were to be found in the urban areas but evidence would suggest that a significant number existed in rural locations, and that in some parishes they were providing the only means of formal education (Fig. 8.).

In spite of their somewhat dubious character, there was substantial support for these schools. The reasons appear from the contemporary view point, to have been connected with certain class aspirations.

"Notwithstanding the inefficiency of many of the private schools," so reported the Newcastle Commissioners, "they appear to maintain their ground against the public school, on account of the preference which exists for them in the minds of the parents." (2)

H.M.I. Norris had reflected in 1851 when referring to Whitchurch in

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1. A vivid description of perhaps the better type of education provided in dame-schools in the Potteries is given by Rev. Charles Shaw. (S.S. April 1st, 1903). "The school was the only room in the ground floor of her little cottage. It was about four yards square, with a winding, narrow staircase leading to the one bedroom above. The furniture was very scant, consisting of a small table, two chairs and two or three little forms about eight inches high for the children to sit upon..... The course of education given by the old lady was very simple, and graded with almost scientific precision. There was an alphabet, with rude pictures for the beginners..... Betty's next stage, after the alphabet, was the reading-made-easy book, with black letters, making words in two, three or four letters... The next stage was spelling, and reading of the Bible.... Though she never taught writing, her scholars were generally noted for their ability to read while young. I know I could read my Bible with remarkable ease when I left her school, when seven years old. (An Old Potter, When I was a child (1903), pp. 1-3).
 2. New Csn. Vol. I. (1861), p.95.

adjoining Shropshire that "parents would set a more just value upon the schooling if the payments were raised; at present they pay only 1d a week and consequently look upon school as a charity school" (1) especially in view of

the fact that at four private schools in the town the fees were fifteen shillings to one pound per quarter and at six dames-schools² children were expected to pay twopence a week. The same inspector

reported in that year in Burslem "the dames-schools may be reckoned at two in each street, in some even three, so that our returns, if on detail would be some sixty schools. It is with some as a matter of pride to send their children to private schools. The quality of the teachers is of all degrees, from the well-instructed young woman down³ to the old dame who shakes a stick in her withered hand."

This attitude was not confined to the urban areas for the head teacher of Croxton National school in the rural parish of Eccleshall recorded in 1871 "one great difficulty with which the Managers have to contend is the absurd notion which prevails in this parish that as soon as children begin to show some proficiency in the school they should be taken away and sent to a certain private adventure school in the neighbourhood "to be finished"....."(4)

Whilst it was conceded that some of the schools had competent teachers,

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1. R.C.C.E. 1851-52, p. 421.
 2. *ibid.*, p. 382. (This example has been quoted by Dodd, J., Rural Education in Shropshire in the nineteenth century. Unpublished M.A. thesis (Birmingham University) (1958).
 3. *ibid.*, p. 381.
 4. Croxton Nat. School log book, March 17th, 1871.

the serious deficiency was in accommodation. "The children of many of them (were) schooled in the front or back room of the house, with but little ventilation and no play-ground whatever." (1)

There is additional evidence to demonstrate that free or cheap education, although obviously needed, was not highly esteemed. At Dilhorne

Endowed Boys' school it was revealed in 1853 that "the foundationers are free and are reported to be most irregular. It could be well if continued irregularity forfeited their privilege of free education." (2)

The Newcastle Commissioners reported that "the majority of these private schools are of very mushroom growth, by far the larger proportion of the existing ones having sprung up since the Census of 1851." (3)

Mann had similarly discovered that over half the private schools existing in 1851 had been established in the previous ten years. This fact did not prove, as Mann was at pains to emphasize, that there had been any rapid acceleration in the rate of provision since "the frequent changes, to which these are subject, of proprietors and residences, make it certain that the great majority of those established in the last ten years are merely substituted for others which existed under other masters and other places." (4)

The reasons for the ease with which such schools could be established

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1. S.B.C., Vol. IX (1873), p. 134.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1853-54, p. 460.
 3. New. Csn., Vol. I (1861), p. 94.
 4. Census on Education 1851 (1853), p. xx.

were clearly stated in the Newcastle Report. "When other occupations fail, even for a time a private school can be opened, with no capital beyond the cost of a ticket in the window. Any room, however small and close, serves for the purpose; the children sit on the floor and bring what books they please, whilst the closeness of the room renders fuel superfluous, and even keeps the children quiet by its narcotic effects. If the fees do not pay the rent, the school is dispersed or taken by the next tenant." (1)

Of the 140 schools designated by Mann as Public Day schools which were located in the six Census Registration districts, sixty-eight were associated with the Church of England, nearly half of which were² in direct union with the National Society. The importance of the Anglican church in the mid-nineteenth century is underlined by the fact that of the North Staffordshire schools which had been initiated before 1850 and were in receipt of an Annual Parliamentary grant in 1870 (and they may be assumed to be amongst the most efficient) just over 80% were associated with the Church of England. The Newcastle Commission Report, in disclosing the relative financial involvement of the various

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1. New Csn., Vol. I. (1861), p. 94.
 2. The Church-School Inquiry of 1846-47 had revealed higher figures both for the numbers of schools and scholars in attendance than those shown in the 1851 Education Census. Mann explained that the differences arose partly as a result of the different modes of compilation adopted - the National Society's statistics reckoning a school for boys and a school for girls to be two schools, although in one building, whereas in the Census tables they have only been counted as one. So, too, as to scholars - the Society's inquiry included Children in Church dame-schools, whereas such in the Census tables are referred to as private schools. (Census on Education 1851 (1853), p. lv.).

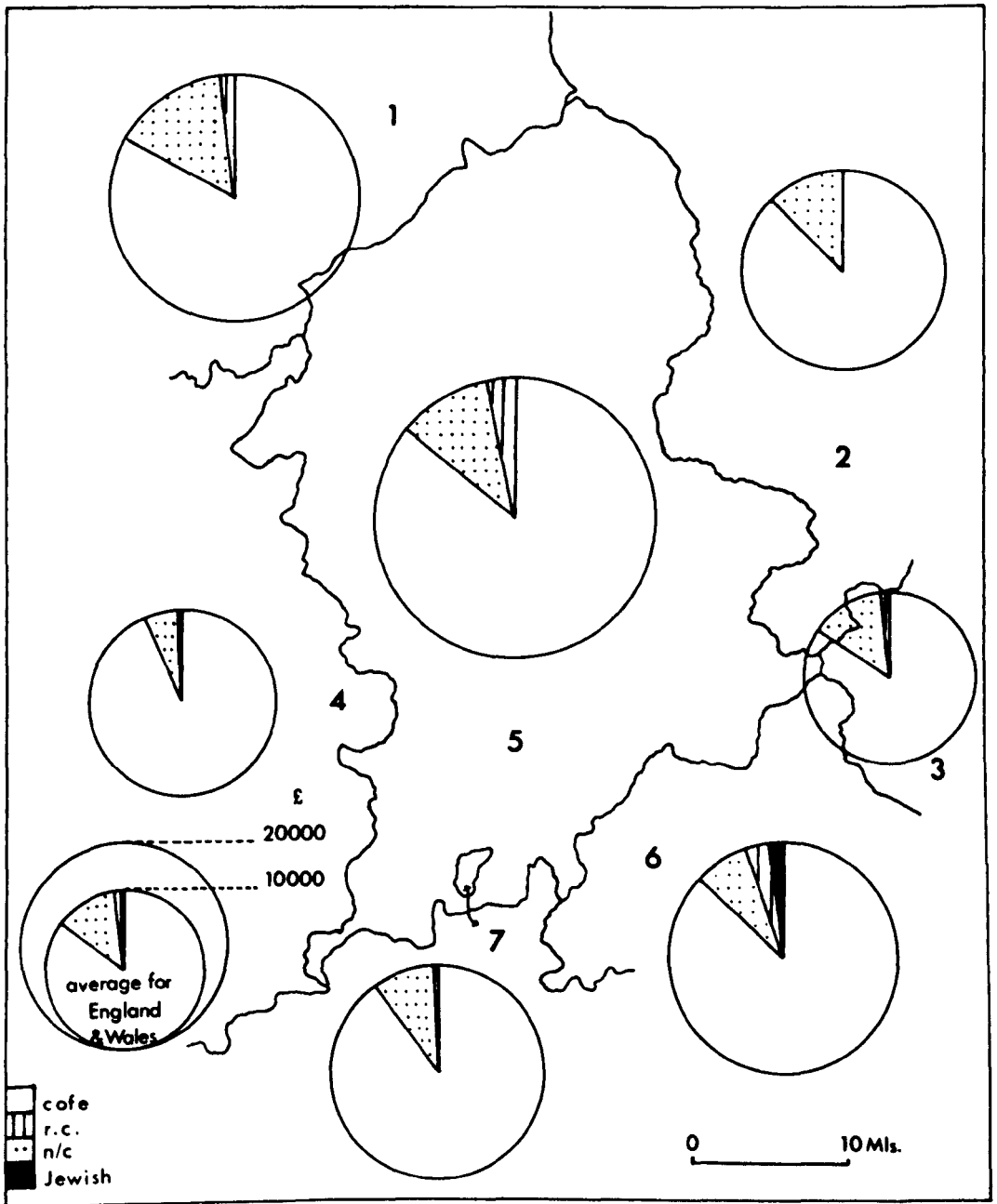


FIG. 9.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 9.

Income, exclusive of Government aid, of Public week-day schools belonging to the Principal Religious denominations in Staffordshire and adjacent counties in 1858.

(Source: Newcastle Commission Report 1861)

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| 1. Cheshire | 4. Shropshire |
| 2. Derbyshire | 5. Staffordshire |
| 3. Leicestershire | 6. Warwickshire |
| 7. Worcestershire | |

denominations in the provision of elementary education, also serves to confirm the predominance of the Anglican Church (Fig. 9.).

The Protestant dissenters' much smaller contribution, 13.5% of the Public Day schools in the six districts, which in part reflects the relatively late origin of separate denominational action¹, was concentrated largely in the urban areas and the incidence of such schools was rare in the truly rural parts of the north of the county. The Roman Catholics similarly confined their main efforts to the urban areas where their numbers had been swollen by the immigration of the Irish. In addition there did occur strong pockets of support in a number of rural localities and these had encouraged the development of distinctive educational facilities.²

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1. Education Census Report, 1851, p. lvii.
 2. The Anglican supporters suffered considerable anxiety on account of the Catholic initiative. In an application for a National Society grant in 1846, the Vicar of Alton was moved to write, "I believe you are acquainted with our position here in reference to the Earl of Shrewsbury and his system of obtaining converts to the Church of Rome. When I established the National school at Alton, it only included the lower part of the parish. I always intended when I could see my way clear to establish a similar school in the Township of Cotton, only I did not like to engage in too much at once, though there was a great necessity for the school in that quarter. A new difficulty has now arisen which renders some immediate proceedings absolutely necessary. Lord Shrewsbury has lately very much increased his influence at Cotton by the purchase of a large property from the Gilbert family....He has placed in (Cotton) Hall a community of Monks under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Faber, formerly Rector of Elton, Huntingdonshire and who went over to the Church of Rome last year with Mr. Newman and his party. These Monks are now scouring the county in all directions to make converts.... At present there is no effective resistance and all this has come on us rather suddenly. They consider Cauldon Low as their own ground. The poor people are very desirous to have their children educated and will accept of instruction of any form, but they would initially prefer the Church of England to Rome, if they had the same advantages.....(N.S.R. Cauldon Low Nat. School).

The apparent domination of the Anglican church in the province of elementary education exhibited in the returns published in the 1851 Census, posed an interesting question concerning the education of the

children of Dissenting parents. Mann pointed out that "at first sight it appears inevitable that in course of time the mass of the population, educated of necessity in Church of England schools must gradually return to that community; but in opposition to this natural anticipation, is the curious fact that - while for many years past at least four-fifths of all the children who have passed through public schools must have been instructed in the schools of the Church of England - concurrently with this a very considerable augmentation has (according to the tables of Religious Worship) been proceeding in the number of Dissenters; so that now they number very nearly half the total population. This appears to prove, that either the education given by the Church has been administered on very tolerant and liberal principles, or else the sectarian and doctrinal instruction of the day school is extremely ineffective in comparison with the religious influences which the scholar meets elsewhere." (1)

Mann's conclusions, however, did little to allay the suspicions of many Nonconformists.

The institution and maintenance of most public day schools in the mid-nineteenth century were very much a combined operation, usually involving local churches or chapels, landowners and manufacturers. In many respects the rural areas were at some advantage over the towns. The established patterns of living in which the responsibilities of squire and parson were often distinctly delineated did much to ensure

1. Census on Education 1851 (1853), p. liv.

that at least the needs of the community would be recognised, if not satisfied. The provision of a village school would evidently be a matter of some importance and its effects would be readily appreciated. In the towns, especially those blighted by industrialisation, the traditional community experience was, however, no longer apparent. In the rapidly expanding industrial centres, the large influxes of people from the country and elsewhere had quickly destroyed any real feelings of community. The same ties and loyalties no longer persisted and although there were signs of growing middle-class affluence, the members of this class were not likely to accept readily the financial burdens involved in providing educational facilities for their less fortunate brothers. An instance of this indifference is found in the 1853-54 report on Etruria National school, located in the heart of a growing industrial district of the Potteries. "A National school in so wealthy a district should not suffer so much as the school does from want of funds." (1)

Nevertheless the efforts of the clergy, supported by some industrialists,

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1. R.C.C.E., 1853-54. Tabulated Reports, p. 502.
Where local wealthy people did fail to respond to the entreaties to provide money, the displeasure of the local incumbent could be exposed in a fashion similar to that of the Vicar of Burslem who in his building grant application pointed out that besides the labouring population there was in the Parish "one old miser worth £200,000....." (P.R.O. Ed. 103/82/583).

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did bear fruits in many uncongenial and unpromising environments.

In the Potteries there were many ministers of all denominations who played a leading role in the establishment of public day elementary schools, but outstanding amongst them was, as has already been noted, the Rector of Stoke, Sir Lovelace Stamer. With only one exception,
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all the schools in Stoke were initiated by him. "So successful was Sir Lovelace that the Wesleyans gave their school up and all the children in the place who went to school at all (before 1870) attended the Church schools only." (3)

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1. The scale of these commitments is revealed in the case of Rev. Charles Wilbraham, Vicar of Audley from 1844 to 1873. He was responsible for the running of the Church schools in that parish and in consequence was having to find regularly from his own resources between £75 and £250 per annum (Parish Diary of Rev. C.P. Wilbraham 1844-1873). (His own resources were likely to be considerable as he was a member of a prominent Cheshire family and a personal friend of Mr. Gladstone. (Robson, D., Some Aspects of Education in Cheshire in the Eighteenth Century (1966), pp. 148-9)). Further evidence that such support was not exceptional is provided by the case of the Vicar of Mowcop who wrote to the Education Department in 1888 pointing out that in the event of no grant being available, he would have to sustain the loss of £100 per year out of his annual income as a vicar of £160. He did not care to point out to the Education Department that he had recently married a woman of considerable means and was no longer dependent upon his vicar's income. (P.R.O. Ed. 2/400).
 2. How, F., op. cit., p. 104.
 3. ibid., p. 97. Stamer's method of improving attendance may not, however, commend itself to present-day commentators. In a printed hand bill addressed to the inhabitants of the Boothen district of Stoke in 1861, he admonished, "Be sure that the blessings having been brought so near to you, you neglect them at your peril. In the great day of account you can never say that you had not a school at hand for the education of your children." (How, F., op. cit., p. 96).

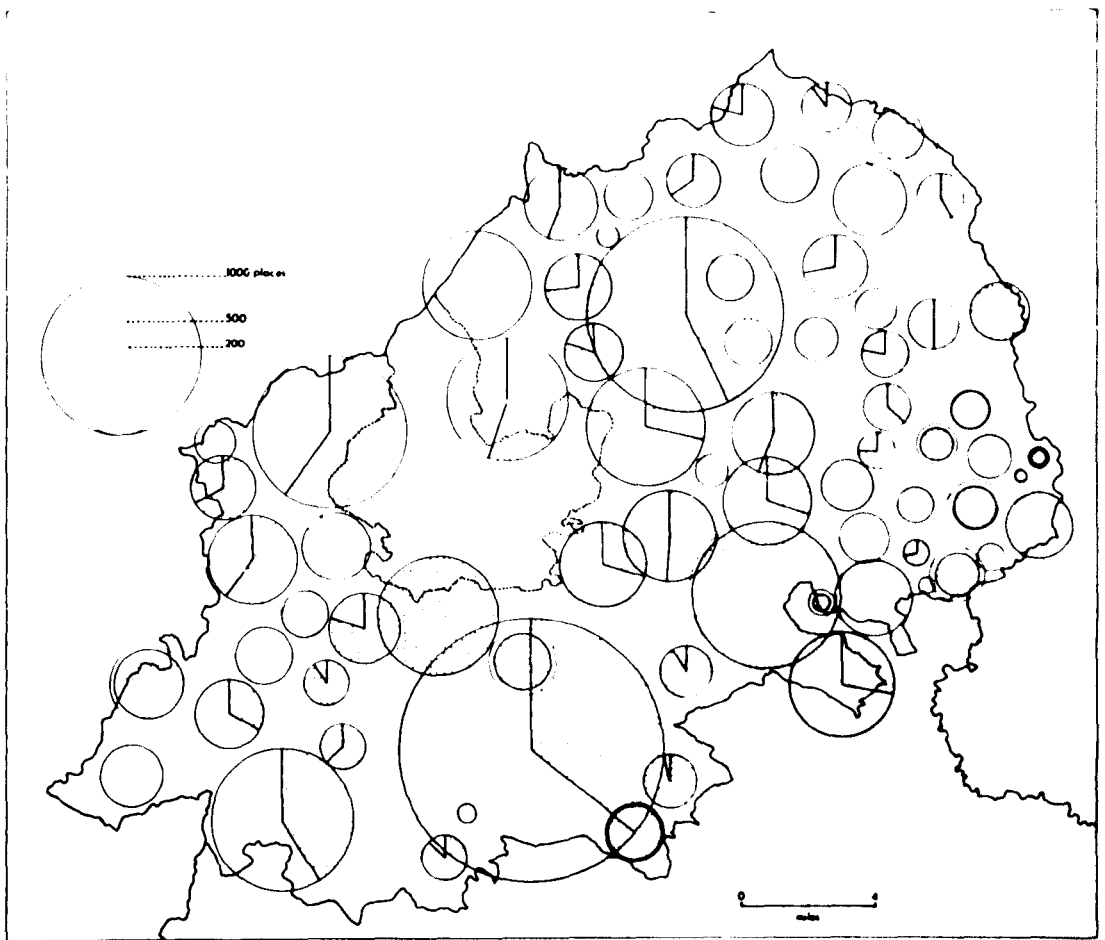
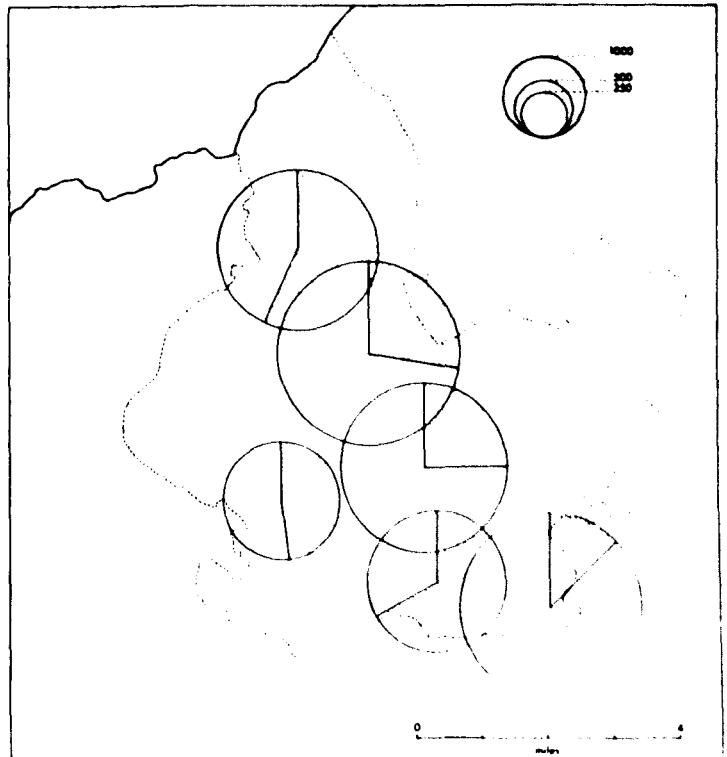


FIG. 10a.



(Key over page)

FIG. 10b.

KEY to FIGS. 10a, 10b.

'Gaps' and 'Surpluses' in N. Staffordshire Elementary Education in 1846-7.

(The shaded part is that proportion of the total number of places required, which was at the time being provided in Church of England elementary schools. Where the number of places exceeded the notional requirements, a second circle surrounding the shaded circle and showing the extent of the surplus is included).

Note that the estimate for the population of Longton is probably too large on this map.

(Source: Returns of the Church-School Inquiry 1846-47).

The contrast in provision between urban and rural localities is emphasised in the statistical returns of the 1851 Education Census. These figures reveal that in Stoke and Wolstanton Census Registration districts, the provision, based upon the estimated needs of a fifth¹ of the population, satisfied about half of the total requirements, whereas in the predominantly agricultural areas of Stone and Cheadle the figures were 75% and just under 88% respectively. An attempt to plot the progress of the voluntary effort in the middle years of the century has been made by comparing the situation as revealed by the returns of the Church School Inquiry of 1846-47 with that as illustrated² by the Education Department's Inspection of Returns for 1870-71. The first maps (Figs. 10a and b) are less comprehensive since they are based only upon the returns of schools associated with the Established Church but, as has been indicated, these do represent a high proportion³ of the efficient public day schools and make a relatively satisfactory

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1. Stoke 52%; Wolstanton 47.9%. One fifth of the population was a customary proportion adopted for statistical purposes in the nineteenth century, vide Inspection of Returns, 1870-71. (P.R.O. Ed. 2, 16, 21).
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 2. 16. 21.
 3. Of the schools supported by religious bodies in Staffordshire listed in the 1851 Census returns, 72% were associated with the Church of England and were providing places for just under 75% of the scholars.

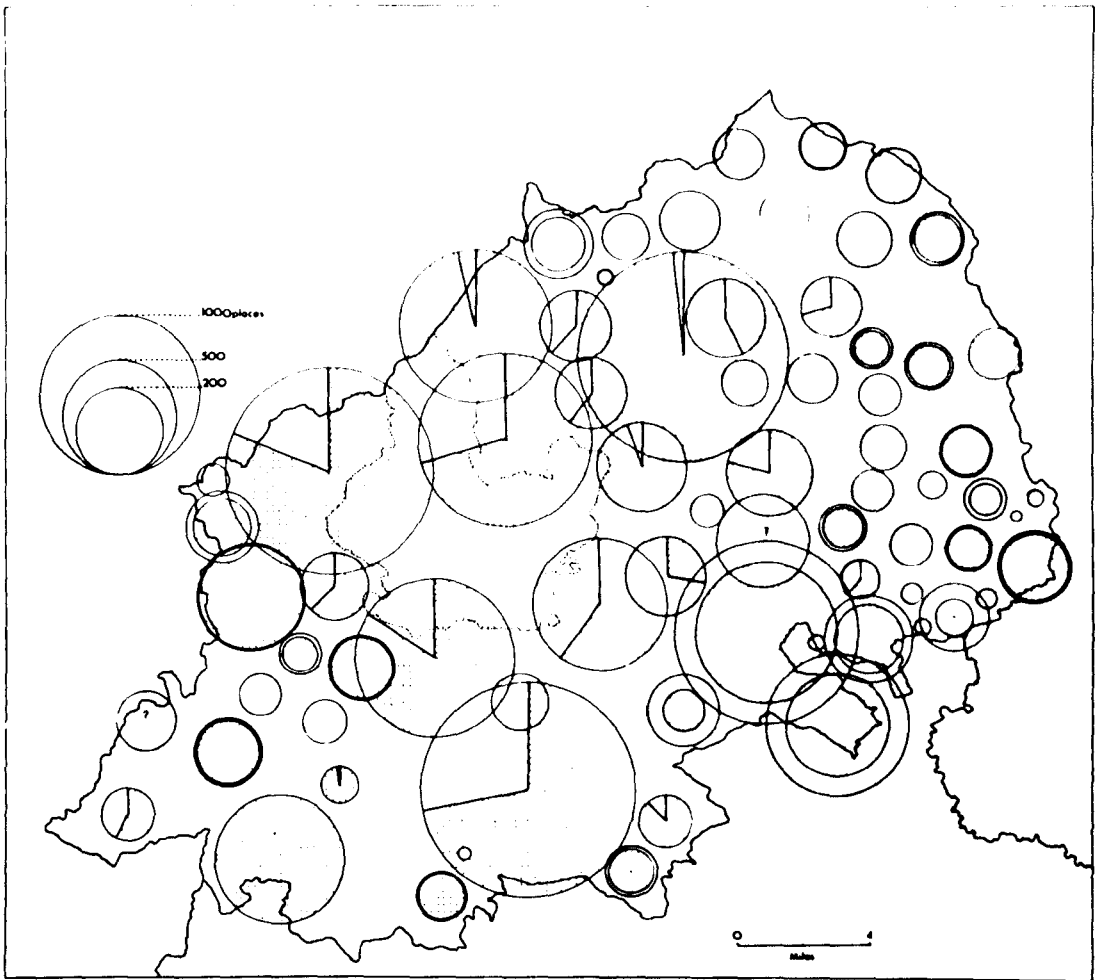


FIG. 11a.

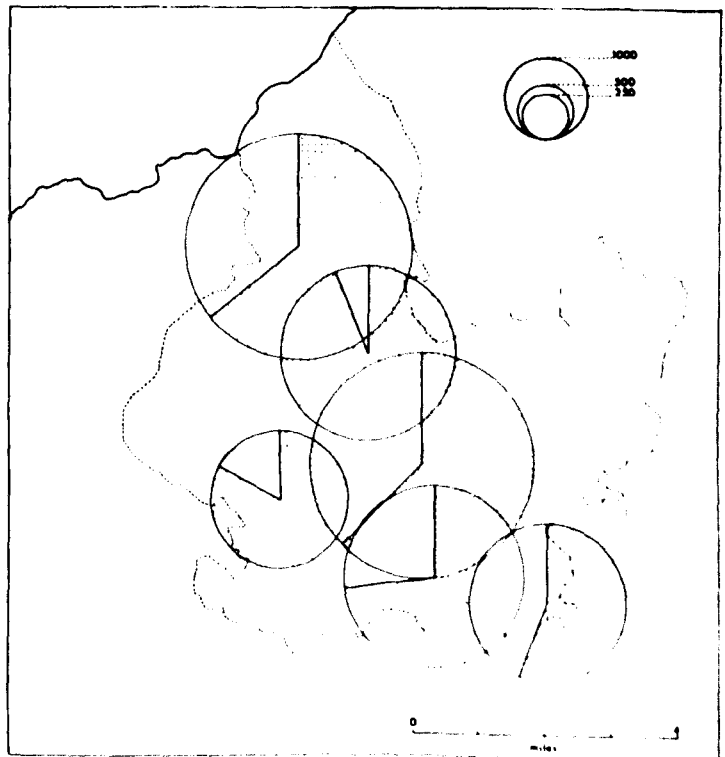


FIG. 11b.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIGS. 11a, 11b.

'Gaps' and 'Surpluses' in N. Staffordshire Elementary Education in 1870-71.

(The shaded part is that proportion of the total number of places required, which was at the time being provided in 'efficient' public elementary schools. Where the number of places exceeded the notional requirements, a second circle surrounding the shaded circle and showing the extent of the surplus is included).

(Source: Inspection of Returns 1870-71).

basis for comparison with the 1870-71 returns.¹

The 1846-47 Returns revealed that very few districts in North Staffordshire had sufficient places. Of the parishes that did appear to satisfy the needs, Cheadle is noteworthy. In a small number of cases, principally in the north-eastern districts, parishes with an excess of places were surrounded by parishes with no provision and it may be supposed that these deficient parishes were taking advantage of the liberality of their neighbours. The situation is confirmed in the 1870-71 returns (Figs. 11a and b). In a number of parishes there were, in the face of increasing population, signs of notable progress between 1846 and 1871. Leek, Biddulph, Audley and Stone, of the townships, exhibited distinct improvements. The Pottery towns on the other hand reveal signs of a deteriorating situation. The 1846-47 returns show Stoke as the most generously provided and this emphasises the strength of the Anglican church in that part of

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1. The total number of non-Anglican public elementary schools in North Staffordshire in 1846-47 was only sixteen, four of which were Wesleyan, one Primitive Methodist, one Congregational, three British and seven Roman Catholics.

the industrialised area.¹ Since all schools are included, the 1870-71 returns present a more comprehensive picture of the situation. Burslem's position was the most satisfactory although the reasons for this are not clear.² The largest deficiencies were in Hanley, Longton and Wolstanton.

The North Staffordshire schools, whilst insufficient for the theoretical need, were not, however, being fully utilised. This view is confirmed by the returns which were received by Hanley School Board from the managers of schools in the borough. These showed there existed a considerable amount of unused school accommodation during the early part of 1871. The returns also revealed "that a large number of children (were) not receiving any instruction whatever in Day schools, that they (were) either kept at home or allowed to run about the streets." (3)

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1. The relatively satisfactory state of education in Stoke is further substantiated by the First Report of the Children's Employment Commission in 1862 (P.P. (1863), Vol. XVIII, pp. 123ff.) in which it was shown that 62.7% of the Stoke children examined could read as compared with 56.4% of those examined in Hanley, Shelton and Etruria and only 36.2% of those tested in Fenton and Longton. (ibid. p. 102). Attention was drawn especially to the backward state of education in Longton where, it was pointed out, "of the five parochial schools, not one is under inspection.... Longton, it was supposed, was the only town in England where, with a population of 15,000 or 16,000 there (was) not one parochial school availing itself of the aid offered by the Committee of Council on Education." (ibid. p. 121).
 2. Evidence of a possible general concern with the broader provision of educational facilities in Burslem in the middle years of the nineteenth century is reflected in the early adoption of the Free Libraries Act. *Infra* p.100.
 3. H.S.B. Minutes. June, 21st, 1871.

Many of the schools languished for lack of support. H.M.I. Bonner when describing his district which included part of North Staffordshire, remarked in 1861:

"At present, at all events, the liberality of subscribers, even though in some cases it is scant, is yet far in excess of the eagerness of parents to avail themselves of it. 45% of the accommodation provided in my district is still unoccupied, and I feel certain that if the managers generally were sure of due attendance, which implies a large amount of income both in school pence and grant, complaints of inability to provide requisite funds for a certificated teacher would cease at once; in other words, I believe that compulsory attendance would make compulsory rating needless. It is irregularity of attendance which is the sore point in our schools; which frustrates the efforts of energetic teachers; and deters managers from engaging in what may turn out to be useless expenditure." (1)

Indeed some schools were forced to close almost as soon as they had been opened. It was recorded, for example, that Biddulph Moor Mixed School had been temporarily closed in 1853-54 having only been² completed with a grant of £155 in the spring of the previous year.

Mann had already emphasised in his report that deficiency of accommodation was unlikely to be the main cause for the absence of education among large sections of the population. "There seems no room for doubt that in a multitude of cases where great numbers of children live from day to day without instruction, they have actually in the very midst of them an ample school provision, - many buildings being occupied by barely half the number of scholars who might daily assemble in them. In the face of such

1. R.C.C.E., 1867-8, pp. 130-1.

2. *ibid.* Tabulated Report 1853-54, p. 492.

neglect of present opportunities of education, it can scarcely be maintained, perhaps, that an inadequate amount of room is a potent reason why ¹ so many children are continually absent from school."

H.M.I. Fraser, in his 1867 report on the district which included the Potteries, showed that "on an average the children do not attend school much more than about one-third of their time. This irregularity is due partly to the necessary demands of labour, partly to indifference on the part of the parents, combined with ignorance of the beneficial results of education for their children and partly to the wilfulness and caprice of the children themselves. The last point is a very important feature in consideration of the subject, as a very little experience proves that the children at present have practically almost entire control over their schooling. They go and stay away almost as they please." (2)

The economic difficulties of the nineteenth century cannot, however, be ignored as powerful influences in determining the attitudes of parents towards education. The immediate value of their children's labour far outweighed the distant and nebulous objectives that might be attained from an extended period of elementary education. Until parents could be placed in a position where they might appreciate the economic advantages that might accrue from an extended period of schooling, measures for compulsory attendance and the introduction of free education were unlikely to be totally effective in achieving the

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1. Census on Education 1851 (1853), p. xxix.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1867-68, p. 144.

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desired results.

Examples of 'early-leaving' are numerous and not confined to any particular environment. It was a feature of the mining districts of North Staffordshire as is exemplified in the following extract referring to Mowcop Mixed school, dated 1853-54. "Most of the boys leave at nine or ten to go down the coalpits." (2)

Similarly in Leek, "the system of silk twisting in private factories (caused) the children to leave at an unusually early age in the town." (3)

In the country districts of the county it was found that "regular labourers (were) anxious that their children should earn something as soon as possible and though there (was) little demand by the farmers for the occasional labour of children, yet a good many boys (were) taken away from school altogether at eleven and occasionally at a younger age to go with the horses." (4)

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1. A significant change of attitude was to occur through the course of the second half of the century. Whereas it had been tacitly accepted during the mid-years of the century that it was necessary for children to start work at an early age, by the end of the century opinion was inclined to assess this as a matter of greed rather than need. From one of the several polemics the following extract published in 1905 is illustrative.... "From the children thus ill-housed, underfed and ill-clothed, a maximum of effort is extracted by paternal greed... in too many cases the selfish fathers give their families the choice between slavery and starvation." (Sherrard, R., *The Child Slaves of Britain* (1905), p. 121. vide. Black, C., *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage* (1907), Alden, M., *Child life and labour* (1908), Keeling, F., *Child Labour in the United Kingdom* (1914).
 2. R.C.C.E. Tabulated Reports, 1853-54, p. 503.
 3. *ibid.*, p. 504.
 4. Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture. 2nd Report 1868-69. (P.P.1868-69. Vol. XIII, p. 87).

Although the overall picture was not encouraging, the situation¹ in the Potteries was significantly worse than in the rural parts. In 1862 it was reported that in the country districts of North Staffordshire the percentage of children over twelve in schools was seventeen which was five times what it was in the Potteries. While H.M.I. Sandford found that 43% left school before they were ten in the rural areas, in the Potteries the percentage was seventy-five. As a footnote he added, "in the country districts, too, older lads of ten come to school in the winter." (2)

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1. The conditions of employment for children in the pottery industry were particularly disagreeable. Children worked in a temperature of from 100 to 130, carrying pieces weighing three pounds and each child carrying two pieces at a time. "The calculation is that the child will carry per day some thousands of pounds of weight." In 1844, when this description was recorded, "work might be continued thirteen, even seventeen or eighteen hours consecutively." (Black, C., op. cit. p. 114).
 2. P.P. 1863. Vol. XVIII, p. 121. There is little doubt that the period of schooling in the Potteries was brief. Of 184 children presented for annual examination in 1868 at Tunstall Wesleyan school, only twelve (6.5%) had attended that school for over five years. In the same year at the Bethesda boys' school in Hanley, of 111 children similarly presented, only four (3.6%) had been in attendance for over five years. In addition attainment was low. In 1868 at the Bethesda school, only thirty-two (29%) were presented in the 4th Standard or above, while at Tunstall Wesleyan the number was thirty-eight (20.7%). (Tunstall Wesleyan school log book, Bethesda Boys' school log book). As far as the length of the period in school is concerned, it should be remembered that many children were starting school at the age of three, if not earlier. Whilst it seems that attainment was low, it is clear that an increasing number of children were able to read and write. Although recent publications have suggested that writing ability was less common than reading (Webb, R., *The British working class reader*, (1955); idem, *"Working-class readers in Early Victorian England"*. *English Historical Review*, Vol. LXV (1950); Williams R., *The Long Revolution* (1961)), investigations into the growth of literacy based on the signing of marriage registers in Audley show that in this mixed parish of mining and farming some success had been achieved in reducing the level of an alphabetism (the inability to write the letters of the alphabet), between 1754 and 1840, (Speake, R. *Literacy in the 18th and 19th centuries*, Unpublished Report, 1969).

The progress of the voluntary effort rested markedly upon the support of the North Staffordshire landowners. The county had a strong aristocratic tradition with a large number of important landowners. In the 1870s nearly one-third of its land (excluding waste) was held in estates exceeding 10,000 acres, a proportion considerably¹ above the national average of 24%. Only two seats of the great families were situated in the northern part of the county. The Leveson-Gowers, the Dukes of Sutherland, one of the most affluent and certainly the greatest landowners of the mid-nineteenth century, had their seat at Trentham on the southern margins of the Potteries, while the Earls of Shrewsbury dwelt at Alton.² Of the other major territorial magnates, only the Harpur-Crewes, owning substantial tracts of the moorlands adjoining the Derbyshire border, and the Fenton-Bougheys with considerable holdings in the Potteries had extensive interests in the northern parts of the county,

The representatives of what has been termed 'the greater gentry'³ were less numerous in the county. Members of this category, except

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1. Thompson, F., *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (1963), p. 32.
 2. Sanford, J., et. al., *The Great Governing Families of England*, Vol. I. (1865), pp. 265 and 274.
 3. Thompson, F., *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹
in certain cases had between 3,000 and 10,000 acres and the principal representatives of the group in North Staffordshire included Lord Crewe, the Earl of Macclesfield, the Earl of Harrowby, Sir Edward Vavasour, Henry Davenport, Basil Fitzherbert and Walter Sneyd. It has been argued that of the landowners, it was the class of 'greater gentry' rather than the major territorial magnates that exhibited the most concern for the advancement of elementary education.²

Whilst it might be very true of agricultural counties, evidence does suggest, however, that blame for the relatively poor showing of Staffordshire in its educational provision³ cannot be attributed in any large measure to the principal landowners in the northern part of the county. Although it is evidently impossible to prove that more members of the 'greater gentry' would have augmented the provision, the facts do demonstrate the willingness of many landowners, including the squirearchy (1,000 - 3,000 acres),⁴ to initiate, often admittedly as a result of the prompting of the local incumbent, and support

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1. Bateman, J., *The Great Landowners of England & Wales* (1883), p.509.
 2. Hurt, J., *Landowners, Farmers & Clergy and the Financing of Rural Education before 1870. Journal of Educational Administration & History*, Vol. I. No. I. (1968), pp. 6-13.
 3. *New. Csn.*, Vol. I (1861), p. 595. *Census on Education 1851 (1853)*, p. xxxviii. Table 6.
 4. Thompson, F., *op. cit.*, p. 112.

educational activity.¹ In a negative way the importance of the landowner is emphasised by the numerous comments on the adverse effects of absentee landowners. The following remarks, by way of illustration, are extracted from a building grant application dated 1866:
"The principal landowners do not reside in the Parish (of Chebsey) and therefore it cannot be expected that they will give so liberally as if they did." (2)

It is also evident that without making contributions which would have been above what might have normally been expected, these efforts would not be sufficient to cope with the rapidly increasing population of the industrial areas.³ There the problems were very different both in kind and scale from those encountered in the predominantly agricultural counties where the provision appears to have been so much better.

Of the North Staffordshire landowners, the Leveson-Gowers were particularly active in promoting the education of the working classes in the southern parts of the Potteries and the adjoining rural districts.

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1. Kitson Clark, G., op. cit., p. 223.
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 103/106/449.
 3. It was estimated in the late 1850s that in one of the richest agricultural districts of England the total contribution of the landowning class was slightly less than the product of a $\frac{1}{4}\%$ levy on the income they derived from their land. (New. Csan., Vol. II. (1861), p. 74).

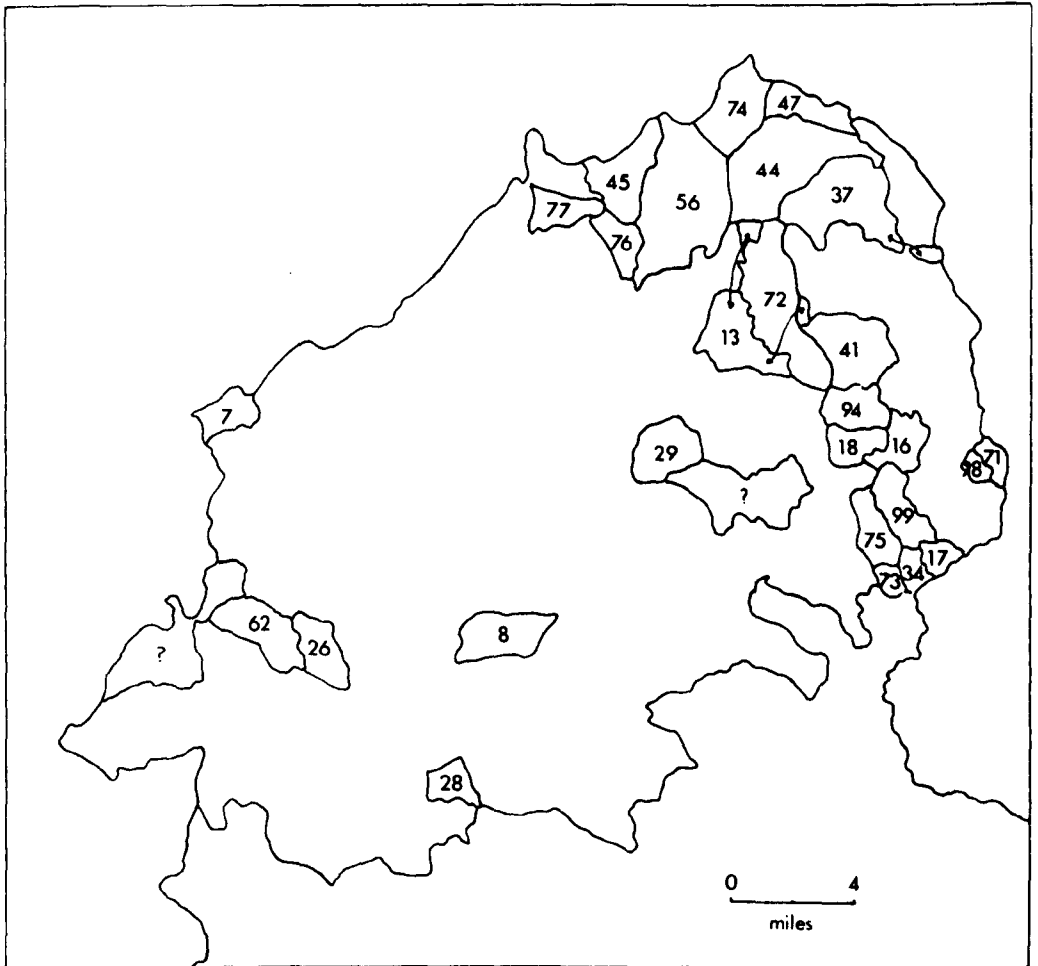


FIG. 12.

N. Staffordshire parishes without 'efficient' schools in 1871.
(No returns exist for Mucklestone and Kingsley. It is, however,
likely that an 'efficient' school did exist in Kingsley in 1871).

(Source: Inspection of Returns 1870-71).

The Harpur-Crewes were busy in the Moorlands,¹ an area which was relatively poorly endowed (Fig. 12) and it is not surprising therefore to discover that the full extent of their responsibilities was not appreciated until the family was faced with the likelihood of having to pay rates to a number of projected school boards.² The Shrewsbury family diligently supported the Catholic cause in the county and were responsible for the establishment of schools in the vicinity of Alton.³ Other important contributions were made by such persons of national significance as the Earl of Harrowby, Charles Adderley, later Lord Norton, and Lord Crewe. Also should be mentioned the support received from North Staffordshire Members of Parliament, including particularly, Charles Bill and Sir Smith Child.⁴

In the urban areas the role of the landowner was taken over by the manufacturer and there are examples of schools established in North Staffordshire in consequence of the initiative of an industrial

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1. The family was also active in neighbouring Derbyshire (Johnson, M., Derbyshire Village Schools in the nineteenth century (1970), p.26).
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 21/15729, 15825.
 3. The Roman Catholics lost this patronage when the 17th Earl died in 1856. After a law suit, the title and estates passed to the Protestant Earl Talbot of Ingestre. It is subsequently recorded that the family offered a site for a National school in Alton in 1894. (P.R.O. Ed. 21/15586).
 4. Charles Bill was Tory M.P. for the Leek division from 1892 until 1906. Sir Smith Child, a most generous benefactor was Tory M.P. for West Staffordshire from 1868 to 1874, having represented North Staffordshire from 1851 until 1859.

concern. For the school at Mayfield, money was made available by¹
the local cotton mill owner. At Oakamoor, near Cheadle, a British²
school was supported by the copper firm of Thomas Bolton and Sons.³
In the Potteries, manufacturers such as the Wedgwoods, Ridgways⁴
and Minton⁵ founded voluntary elementary schools. The Berry Hill⁶
Colliery and Iron works supported a school in Stoke and Messrs.
Stirrup and Pye, also colliery proprietors, were associated with the⁷
Wesleyan school at Adderley Green, near Caversham. The Midland
Coal, Coke and Iron company, in which the Heathcote family had an
important interest, was the owner of Alsagers Bank school in the⁸
Audley district. In addition textile interests were linked with
educational developments in Leek and several silk masters aided the

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 103/23/27.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 7/109.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 7/113.
 4. P.R.O.Ed. 7/112.
 5. In his evidence to the Select Committee on the State of Children employed in Manufactories in 1816, Josiah Wedgwood pointed out that he had "a day school able to contain fifty children, and (had) employed a master, whom (he) paid a salary for the purpose of teaching children, not gratuitously but with a very small payment on the part of the children." (Vol. III (1816), p. 62).
 6. P.R.O.Ed. 7/113.
 7. Ibid.
 8. P.R.O.Ed. 7/108.

extension of education in that town.¹ It is difficult to ascertain how far these activities necessarily reflect a true altruism since they may have been prompted by an appreciation of the value of a literate labour force or by a response to a legal obligation rather than by a recognition of a genuine need.² Indeed compliance with the requirements of increasing factory legislation may have been a notable factor in inspiring such apparent philanthropy.

In this particular context the important element is that the support of the landowners and the industrialists was mainly for schools associated with the Established Church. It was this which, to a significant degree, ensured the dominance of the Anglican church in matters of the provision of elementary education in North Staffordshire in the period immediately prior to the passing of the 1870 Act and formed the basis of the voluntary system that developed in the northern parts of the county in the final thirty years of the nineteenth century.

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1. P.R.O. Ed. 7/113. An important subscription to Cauldon Low National school was received from the Trent and Mersey Navigation Company in 1846. (N.S.R. Cauldon Low Nat. School).
 2. Benson, J., The Motives of 19th Century Colliery Owners in Promoting Day Schools. (Journal of Educational Administration and History, Vol. III, No. 1. (1970), pp. 15-17).

Chapter V. Denominational Influences and School Provision between
1870 and 1903.

In terms of the provision of school accommodation the years immediately following the passage of the 1870 Education Act were essentially concerned with the urgent need to "fill the gaps". Such was the energy of the religious bodies during the six months' period of grace allowed to the denominations, that the Education Department received over 3,000 applications for building grants between August and December 1870.¹ The prodigious efforts of the National Society resulted in a dramatic rise in the number of the Society's institutions which received building grants in the years between 1871 and 1875 (Fig.13). In North Staffordshire, the same enterprise was exhibited. Not only were at least fourteen new voluntary schools established between 1870 and 1875 but also, as a result of appropriate improvements principally in school buildings and teaching staff, the proportion of existing schools in receipt of an Annual Parliamentary Grant increased markedly. In Leek Union, with its relatively sizable rural population, the proportion of the voluntary schools in existence in 1870 which were in receipt of an Annual Parliamentary Grant rose from eleven in that

1. R.C.C.E., 1870-71, p.xix.

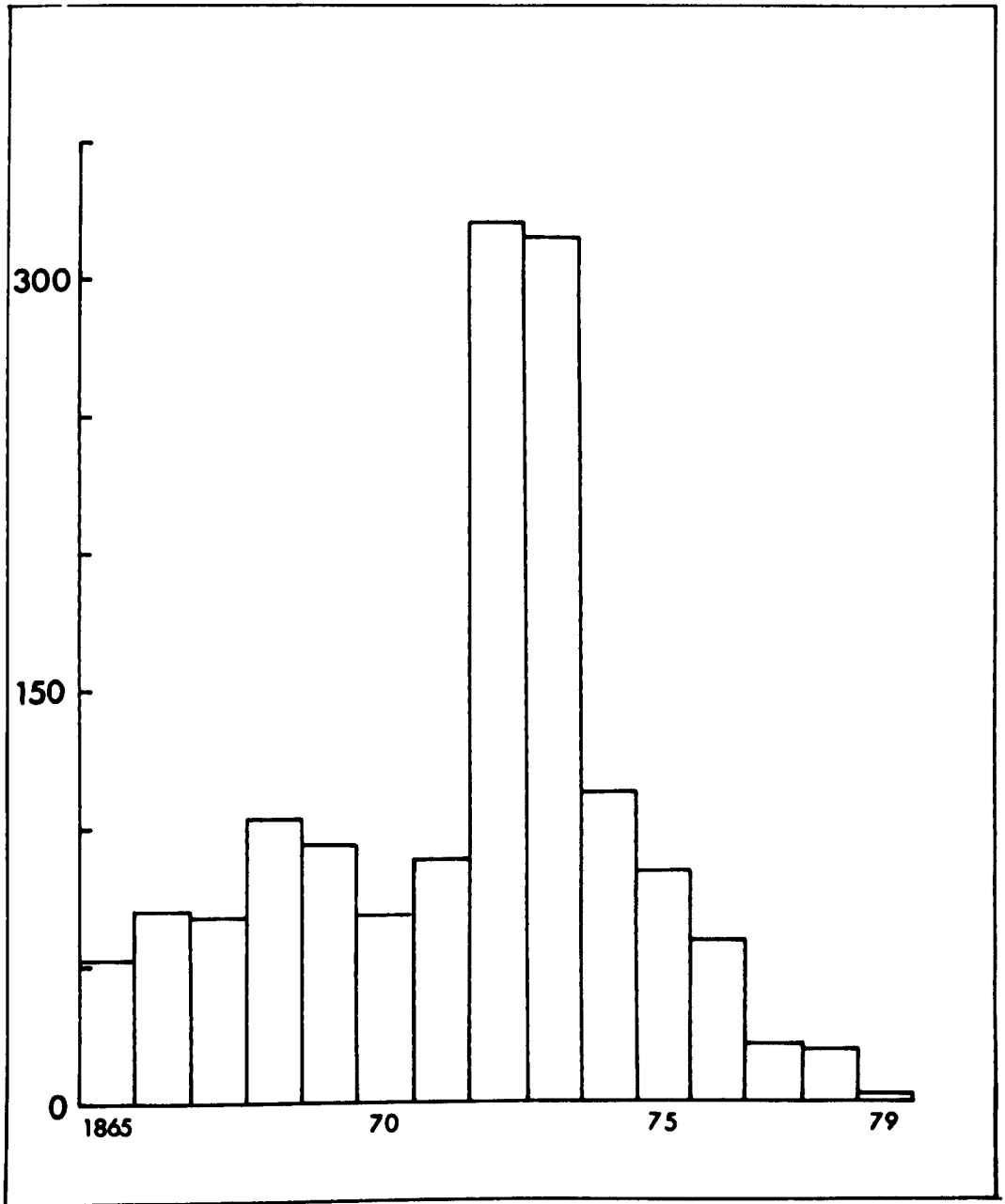


FIG. 13.

National Society Institutions aided by Parliamentary Building grants,
1865-1879.

(Source: R.C.C.E. 1865 - 1879.)

year to twenty-two by 1875. A similar improvement took place in Stone Union where the number increased from ten to eighteen in the same¹ period. These figures do, however, contrast sharply with Stoke parish where, under the vigorous leadership of Rector Stamer, all the voluntary schools, with the exception of two Roman Catholic foundations, were in receipt of a grant in 1870.

In the rural districts the initiative was mainly Anglican but in the market towns this effort was supported by the work of the Wesleyans. Within the Potteries the acute nature of the problem tended to reduce the significance of the exertions of the supporters of the voluntary schools and there was evidently a feeling of resignation to the advent of the School Board. The greatest activity was within Wolstanton parish where the Nonconformists, again principally the Wesleyans including the Primitive Methodists, made a determined effort. The same zeal, on a more restricted scale, was also demonstrated by the Original Connexion in other parts of the Potteries, so confirming the ambivalent attitude of the Wesleyan towards the growing involvement² of the State in the field of elementary education.

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1. Similar improvements were witnessed throughout rural England. Evidence had been provided to demonstrate advances in rural Devonshire. (Sellman, R., *Devon Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century*, (1967), p. 41).
 2. Cruickshank, M., *Church and State in English Education*, (1963), p. 55.

The educational shortcomings of the Potteries were of such a magnitude that there was a widespread recognition of the fact that the standards demanded by the 1870 Act could only be achieved through the operation of school boards. Moves to initiate the formation of a school board were first made in Hanley¹ when a decision was taken by the Town Council on November 9th, 1870 to petition for a board under section 12.² The principal motive in calling for the establishment of a board was to obtain powers to enforce compulsory attendance. As Councillor Ridgway emphasised in support of the motion, this section was to be taken "upon the basis that a very considerable number of children were not attending any school at all and unless they applied for a school board they had no power to compel the children to attend school..... There might be plenty of space for all the children of the town, but if it was not made use of it would be no good to say they had it." (3)

Another Hanley leader, Alderman Roden, asserted "that it was quite true that a great deal had been done by voluntary effort to promote education in the district but at the same time there was a large number of children who never attended school and never would unless compelled and would not be compelled except by a school board." (4)

A meeting of the clergy and the laity of the borough of Hanley, subsequently gave its unqualified support to the decision taken by the Council, but urged that the question of raising funds for building schools

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1. P.R.O. Ed. 16/272.
 2. 33 and 34 Vict, cap. 75. sec. 12.
 3. S.W.T., November 12th, 1870.
 4. *ibid.*

should be best settled by denominational effort.¹ The voluntary school supporters were not prepared to abandon their position and such a resolution drew considerable support from the uncommitted sections whose only aim was to avoid the financial burden that would arise as a result of the provision of elementary education by a school board.

Despite strenuous efforts to avoid the necessity of a costly election no compromise on representation could be achieved and the contest took place on December 19th.² The election, in which nearly 75% of the electorate participated, was a resounding personal triumph for Frederick Wragge, a Liberal Churchman, who polled over twice as many votes as his nearest rival.³ For the Moderate party generally it was also a successful result since its four candidates were elected. Only one candidate claiming the support of the working men of the borough had been successful and the balance between the Nonconformists and the Anglicans was held by the Roman Catholic representative. The National

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1. S.W.T., November 19th, 1870.
 2. At a public meeting held on December 1st, it had been agreed to put forward the names of nine men representing the major sections of interest. The list, however, did not include a Roman Catholic and it is possible that for this reason no compromise was reached. The Staffs. Weekly Times mounted a vigorous campaign for the inclusion of a sizable working class element and dignified its agitation by quoting at length a speech made in support of working class representation by John Stuart Mill at a meeting of the Representative Reform Association in October 1870. (S.W.T., October 29th, 1870).
 3. For the sake of consistent nomenclature, the terms Moderate and Progressive have been used rather than Anglican and Nonconformist.

Educational League had the satisfaction of gaining two representatives,
¹
Thomas Pidduck and William Wood.

At Longton, an application for the formation of a board was made
²
on December 3rd, 1870 following the unanimous decision of the Town
³
Council on December 1st. Councillor Farmer, on proposing the motion,
stated "they were required to have sufficient school accommodation and
if they did not provide that the Department would provide it for
them. It was very undesirable for the Council as the
representatives of the people to allow the government to step
in and do what they were required to do for themselves. One of
the reasons why they required a School Board was they had
sufficient accommodation but no power to fill it. They had
enough for 4,000 (4) the number as requiring education in the
town. The schools were only partially occupied and some not at
all. They were educating near 2,000 children and about half
the number requiring education and as they could not get those
children to school who did not attend now without compulsion,
he did not see any alternative to the adoption of the Act." (5)

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1. P.R.O. Ed., 21/16157. Clews's assertion that the first Hanley School Board had a majority of anti-church members, a state of affairs which continued throughout the Board's existence, is misleading. Whilst it is true the number of Anglicans was never sufficient to provide an overall majority, the Moderate party, which included Roman Catholics and Wesleyans, could claim victory in a number of elections (Fig.48). (Clews., S., Education and the Federation Question in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1888-1910. Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, (Manchester University), (1967), p. 28.)
 2. P.R.O. Ed., 16/272.
 3. *ibid.* Elsewhere stated as November 26th (Report of the Work of the Longton School Board, 1871-1892 (1892), p.3.).
 4. This figure was considerably higher than 2,070 which was H.M.I.'s estimate of efficient accommodation in Longton (P.R.O. Ed. 16/272).
 5. S.W.T., December 3rd, 1870.

The first election took place on January 30th, 1871, proceedings having been slightly held up by the fact that the Education Department had by mistake ordered the board to consist of only five members, the complement usually reserved for rural parishes. This decision was rescinded on January 11th, 1871 and the number was changed more¹ appropriately to nine. From the press reports, the proceedings

appear to have been lively with some open conflict during the evening polling which continued until 8 o'clock. Of a total of 3,025 voters,² 83% actually polled. "There seemed to be school board mania, to the

upset of sober business thoughts. The election was upon the tongue of tradesmen and factory girls and boys; in fact, business seemed to be paralysed and even the war news on the day - though of the greatest moment - was not sufficiently strong to pale the School Board excitement. On such a day the Longton burgesses could only give a passing thought to the surrender of Paris, the anticipated,³ and hoped-for close of the ghastly war-drama on the continent."

The Moderate Party, as at Hanley, gained four seats and the Roman Catholics, one, thus giving the denominationalists a majority. Two candidates claiming to represent the working class were also successful.

Although its deficiencies were less excessive than those in other parts of the Potteries, Newcastle was also caught up in the enthusiasm for school board matters. A decision to apply for a School Board was

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1. S.S., January 14th, 1871.
 2. Clews, S., op. cit. p. 28. Before the introduction of the secret ballot, the cumulative vote, a sharply criticized aspect of the School Board system, probably worked more satisfactorily since the state of the poll was issued during the course of the election and this naturally served as a guide to a more effective distribution of votes.
 3. S.S., February 4th, 1871.

taken by the Town Council whilst it was in session as the Local Board of Health. Such a devious strategy was forcefully criticized by the opponents of the system but this had little effect.¹ It was argued as elsewhere that the existence of a school board would do much to improve the school attendance.

"If the Council decided to have a School Board, it would be the duty of that Board to provide an education for the poor children who were so often seen running wild about the streets and this would have a tendency to lessen crime. (2) The Board would only have to pay for the education of those children whose parents were really unable to do so, and he did not think they would have to lay a rate for that." (3)

The Town Clerk pointed out that he was not certain that the penal clauses of the Act would be sufficiently severe to compel the attendance of what he referred to as the "Street Arabs." "The Act of Parliament in his opinion, was a complete abortion for it only provided a penalty of five shillings including costs for non-attendance at school and the court fees alone would be more than that sum." (4)

The situation in Newcastle was complicated by the fact that there existed considerable educational endowments which were currently under the examination of the Endowed Schools Commissioners. It was anticipated

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1. S.W.T., February 11th, 1871.
 2. Contrary views had been expressed about the likely benefits of education for the poorest classes. Henry Mayhew had written scathingly in 1850 of Ragged Schools as training institutions for criminals. (Rubinstein, D., School Attendance in London 1870-1904: a Social History (1969), p.8.).
 3. S.W.T., January 7th, 1871.
 4. Ibid.

that some of the money would be available for the purpose of elementary education but the exact amount could only be surmised.¹ For this reason it was by no means a simple task to estimate the cost of school board education for Newcastle. As a consequence there was a strong body of opinion in favour of deferring action.² The Progressives, however, carried the day and the first school board election took place on February 21st, 1871. The result followed the pattern established at Hanley and Longton with the return of four Churchmen, one Roman Catholic and four Nonconformists. Of the Protestant dissenters, one also claimed to be a working man.

The last township within the Potteries to set up a school board in the first phase was Stoke. Unlike the compact school board districts so far discussed, the extent of Stoke district was large and awkward, stretching from Clayton in the west to Bagnall in the east and incorporating the townships of Stoke and Fenton, (Fig. 14). The potential problems of administering education in such an area had been appreciated at an early moment by Sir Lovelace Stamer, who had written to the local M.P.s suggesting that it would have been well if a clause

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1. The scheme for the management of the Newcastle Endowed schools was approved in March, 1872.
 2. It is significant that the question concerning the size of the rate was raised by Councillor Hyslop, a Liberal Nonconformist, who was a leading member of the Newcastle "Economisers", so called by Professor Frank Bealey, who were against rate increases and general council interference. (Bealey, F., *Municipal Politics in Newcastle-under-Lyme*, 1872-1914. N.S.J.F.S. (1965), pp. 68-69).

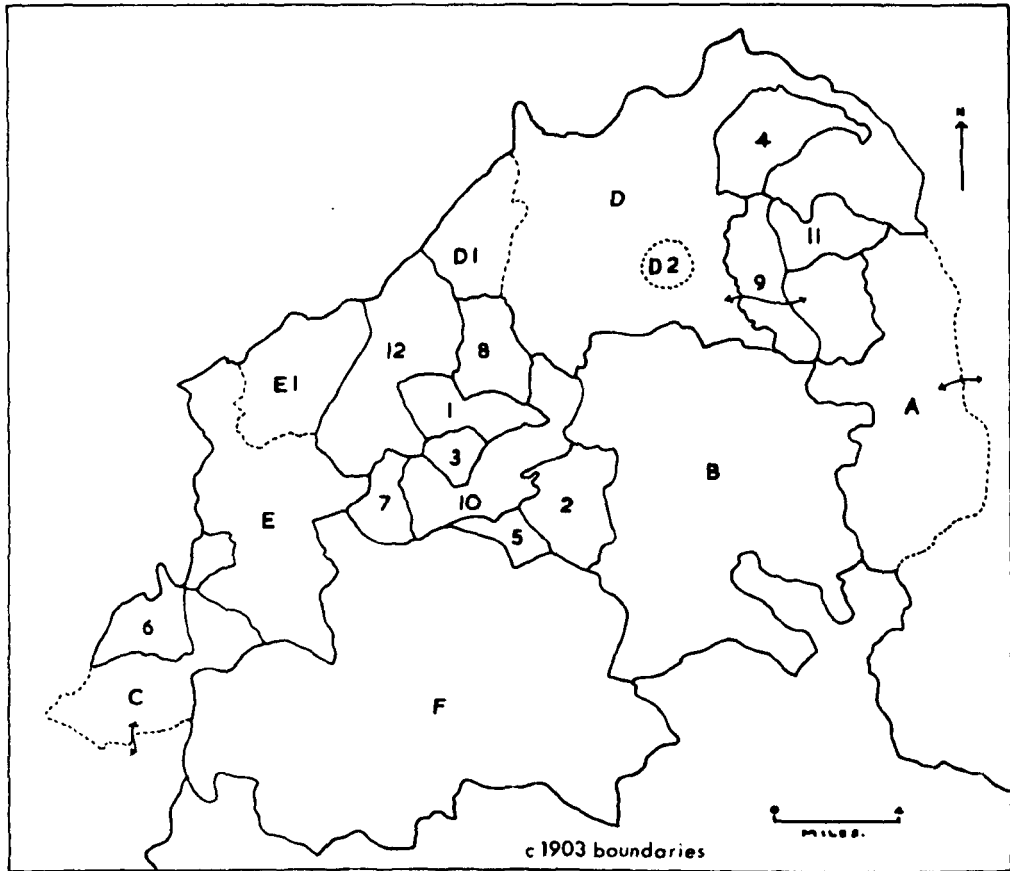


FIG. 14.

North Staffordshire Educational Administrative Districts, 1903.

SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICTS: 1. Burslem, 2. Caverswall, 3. Hanley, 4. Heathcote, 5. Longton, 6. Mucklestone, 7. Newcastle-under-Lyme, 8. Norton-in-the Moors, 9. Onecote, 10. Stoke-upon-Trent, 11. Warslow and Elkstones, 12. Wolstanton.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEE DISTRICTS:
 A. Ashbourne, part of, in N. Staffs.,
 B. Cheadle, C. Drayton, part of in N. Staffs.,
 D. Leek, D1. Biddulph, D2. Leek (urban)
 E. Newcastle, E1. Audley, F. Stone.

had been introduced in the Education Bill giving the Education Department the same power to divide such unwieldy parishes, as they had with respect to the annexation of small districts.¹

The Anglicans made little effort to resist the formation of the board. They recognised the necessity of participating if they were to maintain the strong control which had been gained since the arrival of Sir Lovelace Stamer.² One reason put forward in favour of a board for Stoke was that it would bring the parish as a whole under the School Board system.³

"Two thirds of the parish were already under the action of a school board.... One reason why they at Stoke should take action was, so that all parts of the parish might confer together, and agree upon some uniform system as to compulsory attendance at school throughout the populous district." (4)

Hopes of avoiding an election were frustrated by the Nonconformists,⁵ whose action was strongly criticized by the Rector of Stoke. As a result the Moderate party nominated six candidates, "considering that they were entitled to two thirds of the Board in view of the fact that the whole of the educational accommodation of Stoke was provided by the Church, and its supporters had done nine-tenths of the work." (6)

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1. S.S., February 18th, 1871.
 2. Clews, S., The School Boards of Stoke-upon-Trent and Burslem, 1870-1903. Unpublished M.A. thesis (Sheffield University), (1962), p.29.
 3. Longton and Hanley were boroughs within the parish of Stoke.
 4. S.S., February 18th, 1871.
 5. S.A., March 4th, 1871.
 6. *ibid.*

The confidence of the Moderates was well-founded. Their capture of five seats at the election of March 20th ensured that in one School Board district in North Staffordshire the Moderates would have a majority without the necessity of relying upon the support of the Roman Catholic representative (Fig.48).

In the remaining districts which incorporated major portions of the Potteries, namely Burslem and Wolstanton, action was less prompt. Deficiencies in accommodation had been established in the Inspection¹ of Returns. The problem was more acute in Wolstanton than in Burslem (Fig. 11b). Considerable speculation has already taken place upon the reasons for Burslem's not following the example of the adjoining district² of Hanley. It has been suggested that there were two reasons for the lack of action, firstly that the different voluntary bodies were either too strong individually or too much at variance with each other to agree about the composition of a school board without outside compulsion; and secondly that Burslem relied upon and exploited child labour and therefore³ did not wish to be impeded by a school board's by-laws in school attendance. There is little evidence to support the proposition that the denominations

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1. P.R.O. Ed. 16/269, 16/272.
 2. Clews, S., op. cit., pp. 41-42; Goldschmidt, L., Four Centuries of Education in the Staffordshire Potteries and Newcastle. Unpublished M.A. thesis (Birmingham University), (1948), p. 108.
 3. Goldschmidt, L., op. cit., p. 108.

were at any greater variance in Burslem than in any other part of the Potteries. On the other hand, while direct evidence to confirm Burslem's greater need of child labour than the other Pottery towns is hard to discover, it may well have been true. Certainly the standards of exemption subsequently determined by the Burslem School Board were lower than for other Pottery boards and the use of considerable numbers of half-timers well into ^{the} 1880s would suggest that Burslem may have placed a greater reliance upon juvenile labour than did other parts. ¹

The evidence that is available would seem to support other reasons for the lack of activity. Since the bulk of the efficient education in the township was provided by the Anglicans, the Nonconformists, by demanding a Board in which they would undoubtedly have had control, would have found themselves in the invidious position of either having to establish an expensive board school system or having to compel and pay for children to attend the schools of the Established Church. To follow the first path would have alienated the uncommitted and to adopt the second policy would have been anathema. For the Dissenters, therefore, immediate action was surely injudicious. The Anglicans were also unlikely to take the initiative in view of the probability of bringing into existence a body strongly out of sympathy with their position.

1. The Schoolmaster, February 2nd, 1884.

A part of this explanation is confirmed by the statement of the leading Burslem Liberal of that period, William Woodall,¹ at a meeting convened by the local committee of the National Educational League in May, 1872.

"It had often been asked how it was that in Burslem there was no School Board. It would be remembered that the town had adopted the Free Libraries Act with unanimity and heartiness which led Earl Granville to say that he was proud of being a ratepayer of Burslem, and therefore it was not to be supposed that a fear of a rate had deterred the inhabitants from having a School Board. It was no doubt to be attributed to a feeling of dissatisfaction with many of the provisions of the Act and a desire that the objectionable features should with all possible expedition, be removed by Parliament..... The Act gave School Boards the power to hand over the ratepayers' money to denominational schools, to be used without any restraint at all on the part of School Boards. A School Board composed of discreet men might decline to exercise power but practically power had been given to partizan Boards to defeat the entire purposes of Parliament in dealing with the question." (2)

The Liberals, therefore, did not act in Burslem because they might have found themselves in a position of supporting, through the operation of the 25th Clause,³ a system of denominational schools. They decided

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1. William Woodall, M.P. for the Stoke division from 1880 to 1885 and for Hanley from 1885 until 1900, was a minister in the 1886 and 1892 Liberal governments.
 2. S.A., May 11th, 1872.
 3. 33 & 34 Vict., Cap. 75, sec. 25. The School Board may, if they think fit, from time to time for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the school fees payable at any public elementary school by any child resident in their district whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same; but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent; and such payment shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

to wait and see. Furthermore, an anonymous letter appearing in the local press suggests that the absence of corporate powers may have

¹
also contributed to the lack of non-party initiatives.

"Can you give me any information whether steps are being taken in Stoke to carry out the provisions of the Education Act by electing a School Board? Hanley has already made a satisfactory start, Longton and Newcastle have also followed in its footsteps, while as yet Burslem and Stoke lag in the rear. I am loth to think that the backwardness is owing to any lukewarmness or opposition to the Act in either district, but I believe it is almost entirely due to the want of those corporate powers possessed by the first named towns." (2)

In the absence of a Town Council, the Clerk to the Guardians acted as the summoning officer if a requisition of fifty ratepayers was presented for a meeting to be held to consider the steps to be
³
taken under the Act. In the case of Burslem no requisition was made in 1871.

For Poor Law purposes, Burslem was linked with Wolstanton and in that parish a requisition was received in the early part of 1871. Wolstanton, like Stoke, was a large straggling parish including the Potteries township of Tunstall and a considerable number of settlements closely associated with coal mining and iron smelting such as Kidsgrave, Chesterton, Silverdale and Knutton. There was also the old village of Wolstanton. It is therefore not surprising that there existed considerable divergences of opinion which militated against any decisive

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1. The Charter of Incorporation was granted to Burslem in June 1878.
 2. S.W.T., January 14th, 1871.
 3. 33 & 34 Vict. Cap. 75. Orders relating to the Election of School Boards in Parishes, no. 1.

action. At a public meeting of ratepayers on February 28th, 1871, the motion in favour of a school board was put by the Vicar of Kidsgrove, Rev. F.Wade, an active promoter of church education in the parish. Once more the principal argument was the need for the powers of compulsion but in spite of his persuasiveness, the feeling of the meeting was almost unanimously against the proposal. In the debate several Anglican ministers spoke forcibly against the formation of a board basing their arguments mainly on the "wait and see" principle.¹ The difficulties were summed up clearly, if not concisely, in the following letter of Rev. Thomas Jeffcock, Vicar of Wolstanton.

"Directly we begin to talk about a board for so extensive a parish as this, the point of the Act comes out. From Silverdale to Mowcop is, I suppose, by the nearest road about nine miles, from Apedale furnaces to Black Bull is six or seven. This area, comprising a population of some 35,000 is not by the Education Act divided into electoral wards, but will have to vote promiscuously for the different candidates..... For my own part I should prefer to wait, and see how the other boards get on with their compulsion difficulties and specially to wait and see if some modifications of the area of voting and rating and school management in such heterogeneous and unwieldy parishes as this may not be adopted by Parliament rather than at once saddle ourselves with what we cannot afterwards get rid of....." (2)

Outside the Potteries the School Board movement made less headway during these first years. In some of the parishes adjoining the Potteries, attempts were made but the supporters of the voluntary principle appear to have repulsed the secularists successfully. At a

1. S.S., March 4th, 1871.
2. S.W.T., February 25th, 1871.

meeting held in Audley in April 1871 it was decided not to form a school board as it was considered too costly. The Chairman of the meeting, Rev. M. MacHutchin, Vicar of Talke, declared that it had been his opinion that a School Board should be instituted in the parish but that he believed "it was a question for the working men themselves to decide and if they thought their children would be better educated under a school board than they were (at that time, then) they were quite right in voting for a School Board." (1)

MacHutchin's own position was ambivalent for at an earlier meeting in December 1870, he had spoken against the formation of a board. He preferred to wait and see "how others who had adopted the Act went on, saying that the Primitive Methodists as a body were in favour of School Boards..... because their school pence and subscriptions were not forth-coming and therefore they would be glad for a good school to be built for them by other people." 2

Subsequent attempts to form a school board in 1881 also proved abortive but certainly through the 1870s the position was uncertain. Rev. John Pauli, Vicar of Audley, writing to the National Society for a grant in December 1874, emphasized the danger that might arise if the money was not available. "The Ratepayers in this district are ready almost without exception, to help towards the Fund in order to avoid a School Board. The District is poor and without help from other sources we shall be unable to accomplish this work." (3)

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1. S.S., April 8th, 1871.
 2. S.W.T., December 17th, 1870. The poor relationships between the Primitive Methodists and the Anglicans have been noted in other parts of the country. (Morris G., Primitive Methodism in Nottinghamshire 1815-1932. Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire (1968), p.100).
 3. N.S.R., Halmerend National School.

The school for which this grant was intended was opened in 1876 when the people of Audley and district were complimented "on the indefatigable efforts in providing for themselves the necessary accommodation for the education of their children without the aid of that expensive organ, the School Board." (1)

There was undoubtedly a powerful body of opposition against the formation of a board in Audley which was very effectively supported by the mining interests, principally represented by the Heathcote family. This was demonstrated by the fact that during the 1881 episode which has just been mentioned the Heathcote family led the resistance.²

At Trentham a decision against the formation of a school board was taken following a resolution carried in favour of such an institution at a parishioners' meeting in March 1871. A poll of the parish had been demanded and the result was against the motion.³

In support of the formation of a school board in the rural parish of Horton, it was argued that by such a device the expense of education would be more equitably spread. On the other hand it was contended that the inauguration of a board would mean more expensive education. It was finally decided "that efforts (should) be made to raise a rate of £120 (from voluntary subscriptions) as (it was believed) the rest (could) be procured by a grant from Government and other sources." (4)

In the rural parish of Mucklestone, a meeting of ratepayers met in November 1870 to discuss what action should be taken with regard to

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1. S.W.T., March 25th, 1876.
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 2/395.
 3. S.S., April, 8th, 1871.
 4. L.T., November 19th, 1870.

the 1870 Education Act. Since it was felt that there existed sufficient¹ accommodation, the voluntary principle was adopted unanimously.

In other parts of North Staffordshire the voluntary effort was evidently being supported strenuously with the avowed intention of avoiding the necessity for a school board. A case in point was Leek, where at the opening of the new buildings for St. Luke's National School in February 1871, the local Anglican minister pointed out this had been the "best answer that could be given to the party who wished for the establishment of a school board. The advocates for the school board, he termed, the attacking party, and one of their main objects, he said, was to do away with the teachings of creed and catechism of the Church of England. He warned his audience to beware of them, and never permit them to get a footing in Leek." (2)

The advocates of School Boards were not, however, restricted to the "enemies" of the Established Church. Important agents in the movement were H.M. Inspectors, who recognised in the formation of a board the distinct possibility of expediting the provision of additional efficient accommodation. In those parts in the north-east of the county where there existed marked deficiencies of accommodation, H.M. Inspectors during the 1870s considered the possibility of a school board for a united district comprising the Rushtons, Heathylee, Heaton and Leekfrith.³ Other plans included a tentative union of Longnor, Hollinsclough and⁴ Quarnford but as efforts to supply school places were made in some of

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1. Newport and Market Drayton Advertiser, November 26th, 1870.
 2. S.S., February 25th, 1871.
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 21/15875.
 4. P.R.O. Ed. 21/15823.

these parishes no union was enforced. Ultimately the parishes in this part of North Staffordshire which were compelled to set up school boards as a result of alleged deficiencies, were Warslow and Elkstones¹ and Heathylee² in 1875 and 1880 respectively. Proposals for other parishes in North Staffordshire included the union of Swynnerton and Cold Norton. This was not pursued, however, when the ratepayers of Cold Norton showed that they were subscribing to a school in the³ neighbouring parish of Chebsey.

Without compulsion school boards were established in Mucklestone⁴ in 1875 and Onecote⁵ in 1878. In each case voluntary support had become inadequate and applications for a board were made under the terms of section 12(2) of the 1870 Act.⁶ Church influence was strong in both parishes and the local incumbents played important roles in the work of

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 2/406.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 2/399. 21/15761.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 2/404.
 4. An interesting earlier attempt to form a united district with Woore parish in adjacent Shropshire had failed. P.R.O.Ed. 2/402.
 5. P.R.O.Ed. 2/402.
 6. "In the following case where the Education Department are satisfied that the managers of any elementary school in any school district are unable or unwilling any longer to maintain such school, and that if the school is discontinued the amount of public school accommodation for such district will be insufficient, the Education Department, if they think fit, without making the inquiry or publishing the notices required by this Act before the formation of a school board, but after such inquiry public or other, and such notice as the Education Department think sufficient, cause a school board to be formed for such district, and send a requisition to such school board in the same manner in all respects as if they had published a final notice...". (33 & 34 Vict. cap. 75. sec.12(2)).

the two boards. Indeed in such areas in North Staffordshire as elsewhere, it seemed that school boards were scarcely more than Church school¹ management committees enjoying rate support.

In the Potteries and adjoining areas the pressing need for further accommodation led to the compulsory formation of school boards at² Wolstanton and³ Burslem in 1874, Caverswall in 1875⁴ and Norton-in-the-Moors in 1876.⁵ The situation in Wolstanton and Burslem did not improve appreciably after 1871 and deficiencies continued to persist. Indeed, as was strongly pointed out in the case of Burslem, "the three years' grace which the friends of denomination schools may have said to have had, (had) only resulted in their enlarging to the extent of less than 10% of the deficiency." (6)

There appeared little likelihood that the voluntary agencies would be able to satisfy the requirements of these populous districts and compulsory powers were invoked by the Education Department.

Thus by the end of 1876 elementary education throughout the Potteries, Newcastle and the adjacent industrial parishes of Norton and Caverswall was under the aegis of school boards. In the rural areas the movement was less successful and school boards took root in only four

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1. Sellman, R., op. cit., p. 57.
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 16/269.
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 16/272.
 4. P.R.O. Ed. 2/397.
 5. P.R.O. Ed. 2/402.
 6. S.S., December 20th, 1873.

parishes (Fig. 14.). Elsewhere the efforts of the supporters of the voluntary schools had been sufficient to forestall further encroachment. Attempts were made at various intervals to establish school boards in Biddulph,¹ Eccleshall,² Endon,³ and Stone⁴ but the opponents of rate-aided education were powerful enough to prevent such initiatives from reaching a successful outcome. At their greatest extent after 1880 the boards covered nearly 19% of North Staffordshire and in 1881 accounted for just under 69% of the population. As a result of the continuing urban growth, 78% of the people of North Staffordshire lived in school board districts⁵ by 1901.

In distribution the boards tended to be linked in groups, almost as if they were some form of contagion! Similar patterns have been observed in the East Riding of Yorkshire⁶ and Surrey.⁷ Had the

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1. In January 1876. (S.S., January 22nd 1876).
 2. In October 1878, (P.R.O. Ed. 2/398).
 3. In June 1875. (S.S., July 3rd, 1875), The unsatisfactory situation in the parish persisted into the 1880s (S.B.C., Vol. XXVII, (1882), p.533).
 4. In January 1873, (P.R.O. Ed. 2/404).
 5. Although the school board movement made little impression upon Leek, it is interesting to note that as early as 1875 a Municipal Education Committee had come into existence in the town. After 1891 this committee acted as Leek's Technical Instruction Committee. (Annual Reports of the Nicholson Institute, Leek, 1902-1907, p.8.).
 6. Bamford, T., The Evolution of Rural Education, 1850-1964. (Three Studies of the East Riding of Yorkshire), (1965), p.25.
 7. Dewey, J., The Organisation and Administration of Elementary Education by the School Boards of Three Districts of Surrey (Mitcham, Woking & Betchworth) between 1870 and 1903. Unpublished M.A. thesis (London University) (1964), p. 202.

recommendation of the Cross Commission to unite rural school boards¹ been implemented, it would have been facilitated by such groupings.

In the provision of accommodation the voluntary bodies in the early 1870s viewed the prospect of the impending contest in varying ways. The Anglicans, in the main, were determined to maintain as many of their schools as possible. In certain school board areas, however, they were prepared to transfer schools in the very poor districts where their resources were often meagre and their commitment to the undeserving poor limited.² Such a policy naturally led to a hierarchy in which the voluntary schools, charging higher fees and situated in more salubrious districts, enjoyed a favoured status. The Vicar of Audley was able to write in 1871, "We hope that by means of School Boards, every parent will, ere long, be compelled to educate his children. Whilst we continue our existing schools (under Government Inspection) for the superior class of scholars, steps will be taken for the benefit of neglected children....." (3)

Wesleyan schools enjoyed a similarly exalted position in the regard of many parents. By charging high fees, they often achieved a reputation of social exclusiveness.⁴

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1. Cross Csn., Final Report 1888, p. 204.
 2. Hanley C.E. Ragged school was one of the first schools to be taken over by Hanley School Board. As has been clearly pointed out, this indicated no general willingness in the Church to transfer any but the most unsatisfactory schools. (Sturt, M., The Education of the People (1967), p. 319).
 3. Printed report on Audley C.E.schools 1871 - contained in the Parochial Diary now in the possession of the present vicar of that parish.
 4. Hanley Wesleyan school was providing Higher-grade education in the late 1880s for which it was charging the maximum fee of ninepence per week. (S.S., December 1st, 1891).

Although the denominationalists worked vigorously in the 1870s their efforts declined in the following decades in the face of rising costs and diminishing income. Many of the traditional supporters of the voluntary effort discontinued their active patronage with the advent of the school boards. A letter from the master of Wellington National school in Hanley which accompanied an application for a grant from the National Society is illustrative:

".....I have worked in these schools since January 1st 1866 and to me it is indeed a woful (sic) thing to have to send children from beneath the wings of our good old National Church, to fill either Dissenters' or still more godless Board schools.

One gentleman, Geo. Meakin, Esq., a member of a large manufacturing firm, which since the establishment of School Boards had firmly closed its purse against anything like enlargement or building of Day schools, has, I am happy to say been induced by the urgency of my case, to relax its rule and he has kindly promised me 1/5th of the whole cost...." (1)

Others, finding the financial demands excessive, were found to place limits upon their involvement. "I (John Shaw, agent) yesterday had an interview with Sir John Crewe and discussed the matter with him and Sir John regrets with me that he is quite unable to undertake any further school building in North Staffordshire at present." (2)

The loss of local financial support became more difficult to bear in the last decade of the century since education was depending increasingly upon moneys derived from local funds. In the 1870

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1. N.S.R., Wellington National school.
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 2/399.

education debates, it had been estimated that school costs would be met in approximately equal parts from school fees, from Treasury grants and from local subscription.¹ By the end of the century, however, the apportionment of the burden of school costs had changed very appreciably. With the introduction of the fee grant in 1891, moneys from the Treasury should have accounted, under Forster's scheme, for two-thirds of the total cost, leaving the schools to find the remaining third from local sources. But the position was very different. Returns for 1898 show that instead of the anticipated third, nearly 57% of the income of Board schools in England was being derived from local rates.²

It is therefore understandable that the defenders of the voluntary schools should have welcomed the support, albeit inadequate, which was afforded by the Voluntary Schools Act,³ passed by the Conservative government in 1897, when the denominations' plight was reaching an acute stage.

-
1. Parl. Debates 3rd Series, Vol. 202. COL. 280. In the debate it was recognised that the income from voluntary sources would need to be supplemented and it was anticipated that a half of the anticipated third might have to be found by the Treasury.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1898-9. p. xxxiii.
 3. 60 Vict. Cap. 5.

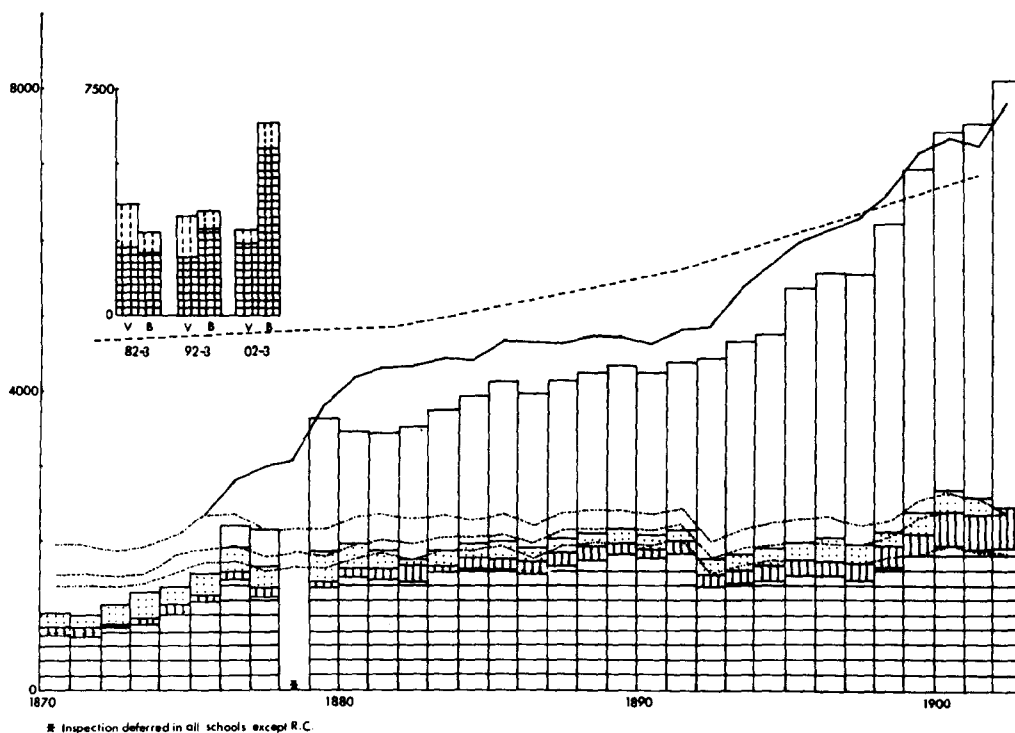


FIG. 15.

Burslem School Board district schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.
(Key over page)





(Sources: R.C.C.E. 1870-1895, Lists of Schools in Receipt of Parliamentary Grants, 1896-1903, Official Census Returns, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901.)

KEY to FIGS. 15 to 22c inclusive.



- ..-.-.-.. Average attendance in Anglican schools in receipt of Annual Parliamentary Grants.
- Average attendance in Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in receipt of A.P.G.s.
- .--.-.- Average attendance in Nonconformist, Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in receipt of A.P.G.s.
- Average attendance in Board, Nonconformist, Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in receipt of A.P.G.s.
- No. of places required as estimated by the method adopted for the Educational Census, 1870-71, (viz. one-fifth of six-sevenths of the total population of the district).

(Note that this line is not included on the graphs for the Longton and Stone districts because boundary changes make satisfactory comparisons difficult.).

The bar graph indicates the amount of the Annual Parliamentary Grant (value in £s.) received by schools according to association.

- | | |
|---|---|
|  C.E. Nat., Parochial. |  R.C. |
|  Nonconformist & British |  Board |

The inset graph shows the relationship between total available accommodation and the average attendance.

- | | |
|---|---|
|  | Accommodation required to satisfy needs of those in 'average attendance'. |
|  | Surplus accommodation. |

V. in Voluntary schools. B. in Board schools.

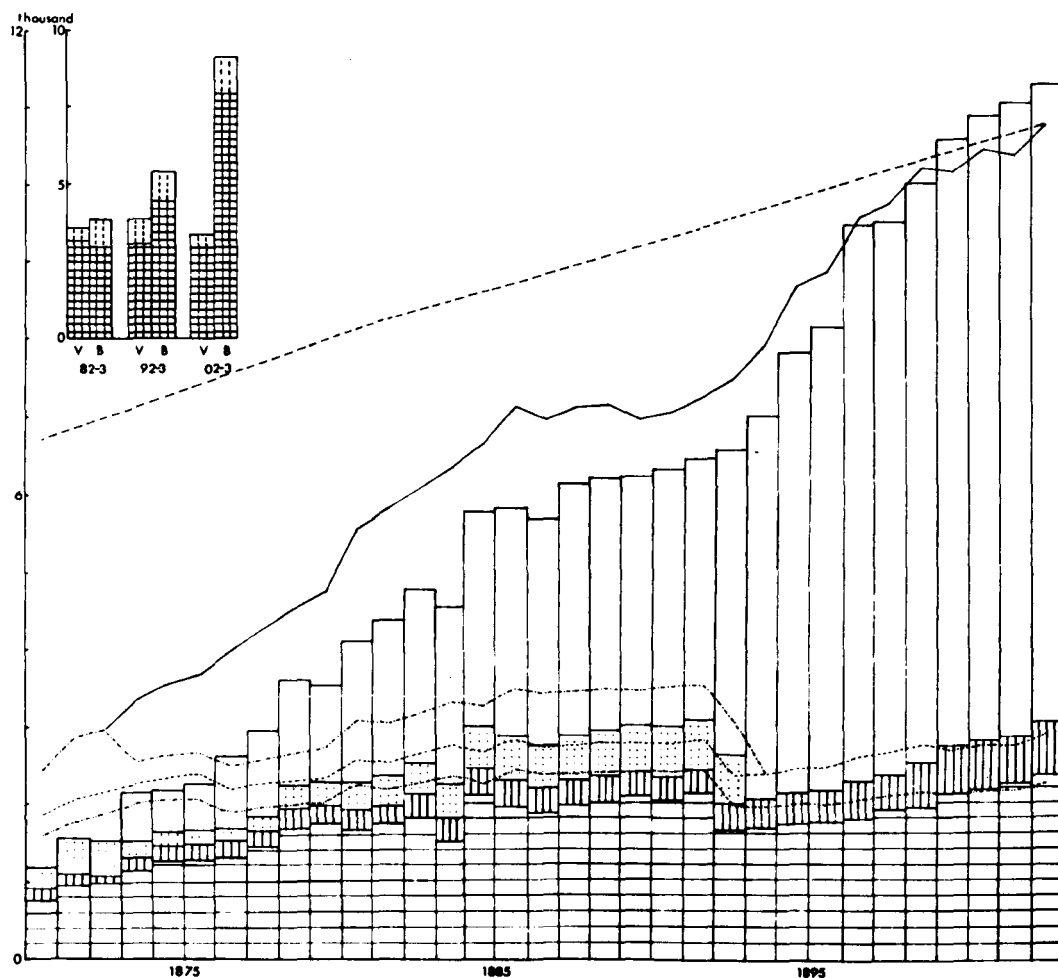


FIG. 16.

Hanley School Board district schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

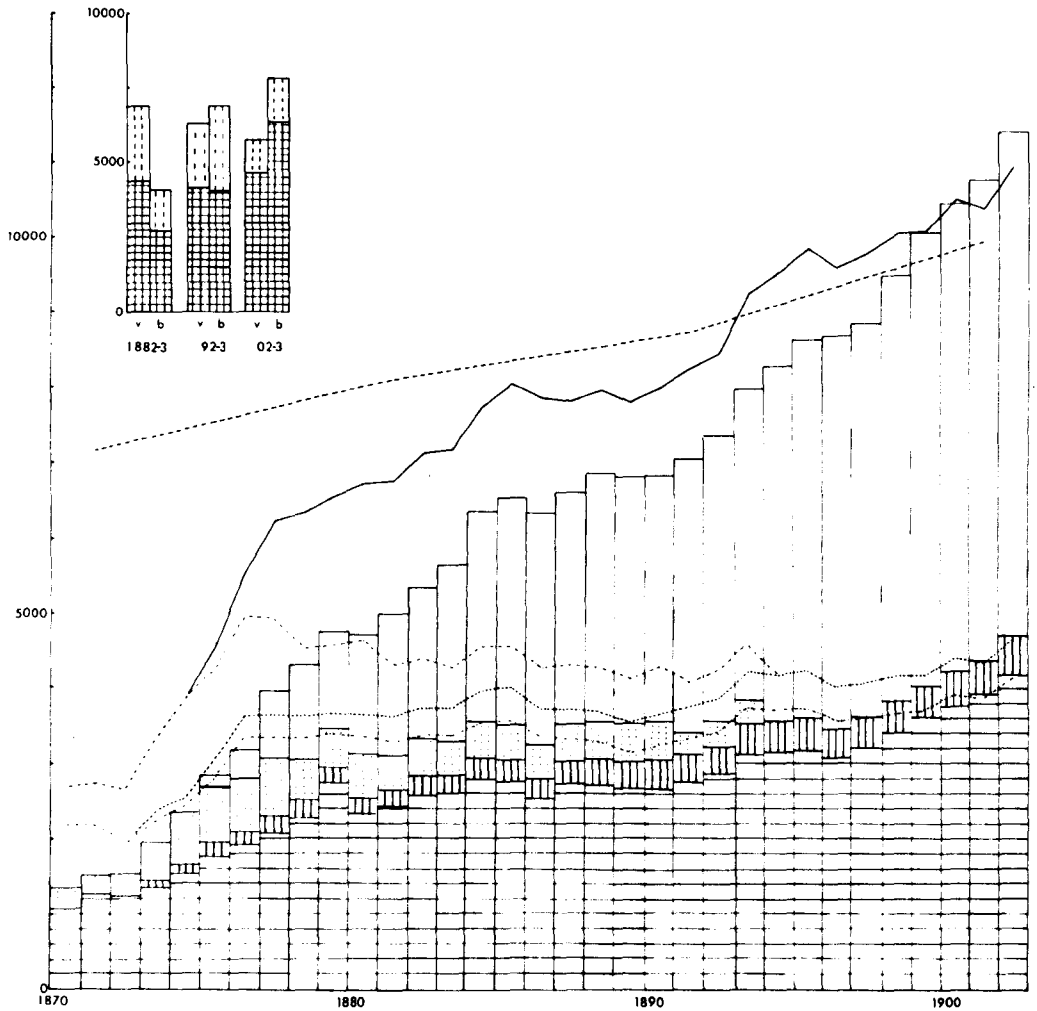


FIG. 17.

Wolstanton School Board district schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

In the face of what had been a deteriorating situation, the Nonconformists, reconciled by the non-sectarian policies adopted by the more important school boards in North Staffordshire, gave way to the public system where it existed. The Anglicans and the Roman Catholics, on the other hand, strenuously defended their positions, but it is noteworthy that in the whole of the northern parts of the county, only three new Anglican and two Roman Catholic schools were opened after 1879. While the Roman Catholics did not surrender any schools during the period under consideration, the Anglicans gave up the control of or closed nineteen of their schools. In the same time the North Staffordshire School Boards were responsible for the¹ establishment of nearly thirty schools.

The significance of the board school provision was most obvious in the urban areas, particularly in Burslem, Hanley and Wolstanton (Figs. 15, 16, 17). Here voluntary effort produced no appreciable improvement in the overall position and total accommodation in denominational schools declined between 1882 and 1903. In Longton, Newcastle and particularly Stoke, voluntary endeavour was better sustained with increases in places between 1882 and 1903 (Figs. 18, 19a, 20). In the rural areas where the size of population remained constant or in some cases was decreasing, the pressures were less severe and the voluntary bodies satisfied the major requirements. In the unions

1. Vide Appendix 6.

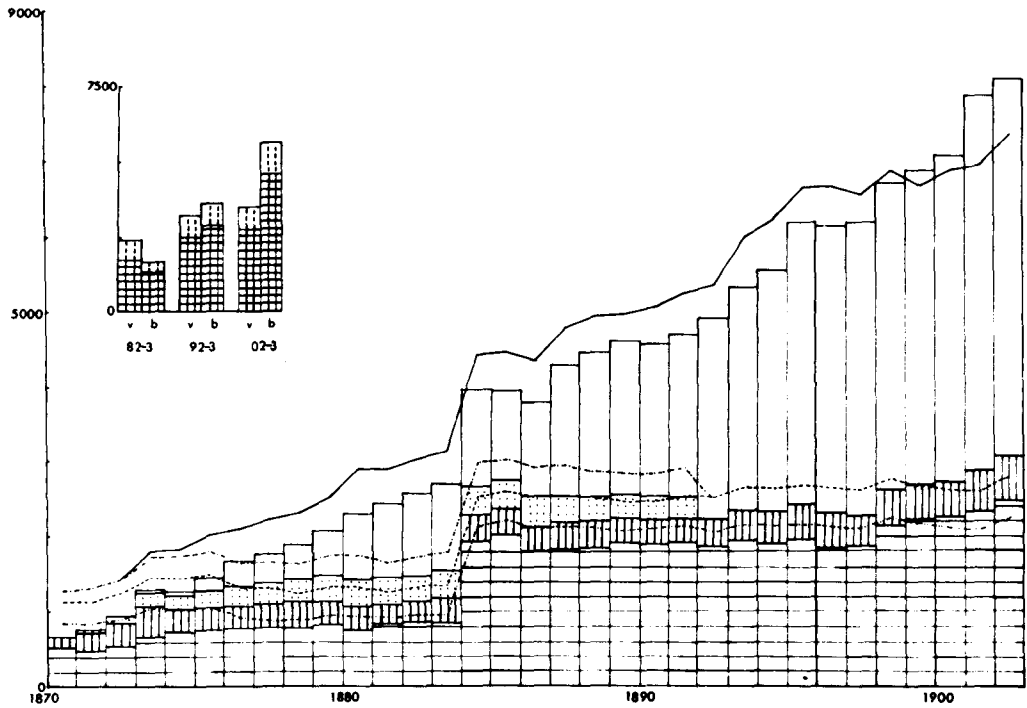


FIG. 18.

Longton School Board district schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

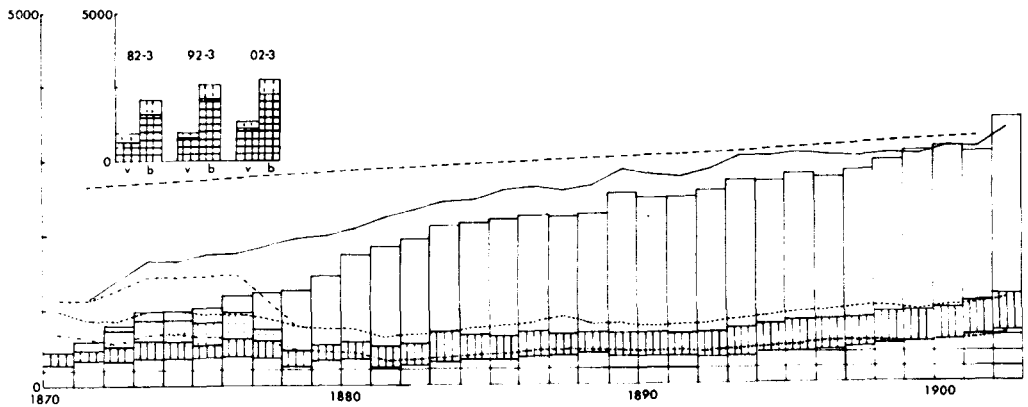


FIG. 19a.

Newcastle School Board district schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

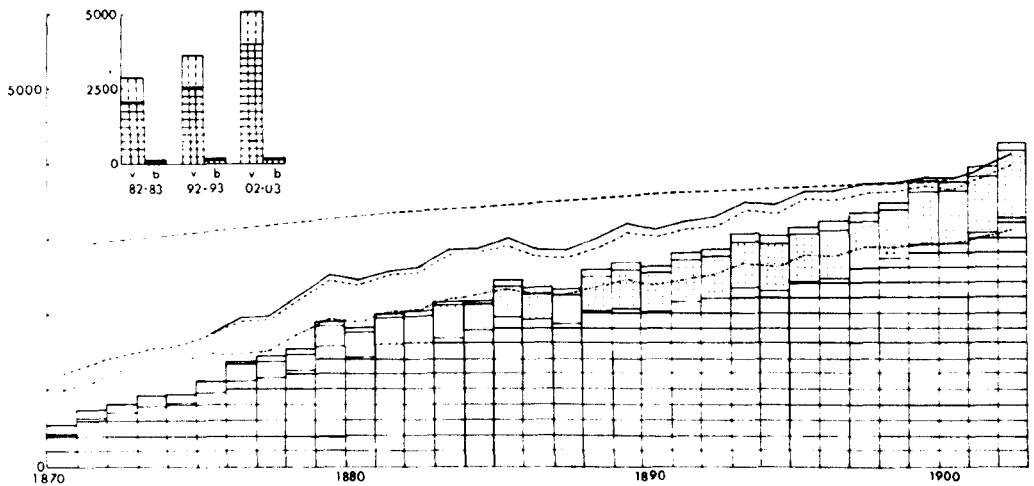


FIG. 19b.

Newcastle School Attendance district and Drayton Union (in Staffs) schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

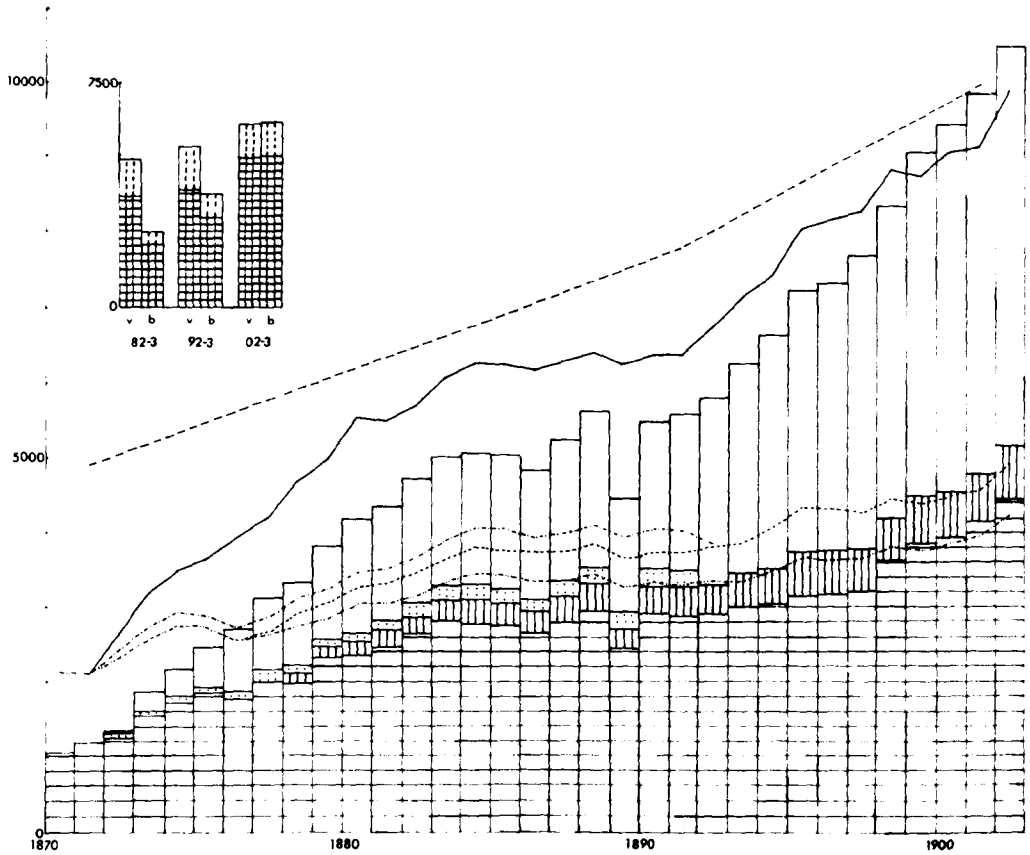


FIG. 20.

Stoke School Board district schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

of Newcastle (including that part of the Drayton union which was located in Staffordshire), Ashbourne and Cheadle, the number of places provided in voluntary schools increased between 1883 and 1903 (Figs. 19b, 22a, 22b) but in Leek Union, the position, after improving between 1883 and 1893, had declined slightly by 1903 (Fig.21). In the Stone district there was a very small reduction in the number of places in voluntary schools between 1883 and 1903 but such small decreases may be explained largely by the fall in population in the rural parishes in the last years of the century (Fig. 22c).

The conflict which existed between Board and Voluntary systems was clearly exposed in the long struggle over the establishment and running of a higher-grade school in Hanley. As was reported in the final review of the work of the Hanley School Board, "harmony had, generally speaking, characterised the deliberations of the Board (until in 1888 it was faced) by matters of a more contentious nature....." (1)

The possibility of a higher grade school had been first mooted as a result of the need to produce a new building programme to make good a reported deficit in accommodation at the beginning of 1889.²

-
1. T.S., September 2nd, 1902.
 2. H.S.B. Minutes, February 4th, 1889. The depressed conditions of the eighties had generally slowed down the rate of building in England. (Cooney, E., Long Waves in Building in the British Economy in the nineteenth century. Econ. Hist. Review. 2nd series. Vol. 13 (1960), pp. 257-69; Saul, S., House Building in England, 1890-1914. Ibid., 2nd series. Vol. 15 (1962), pp. 119-137; Habakkuk, H., Fluctuations in House Building in Britain and the U.S.A. Journal of Economic History, Vol. 22 (1962), pp. 198-230).

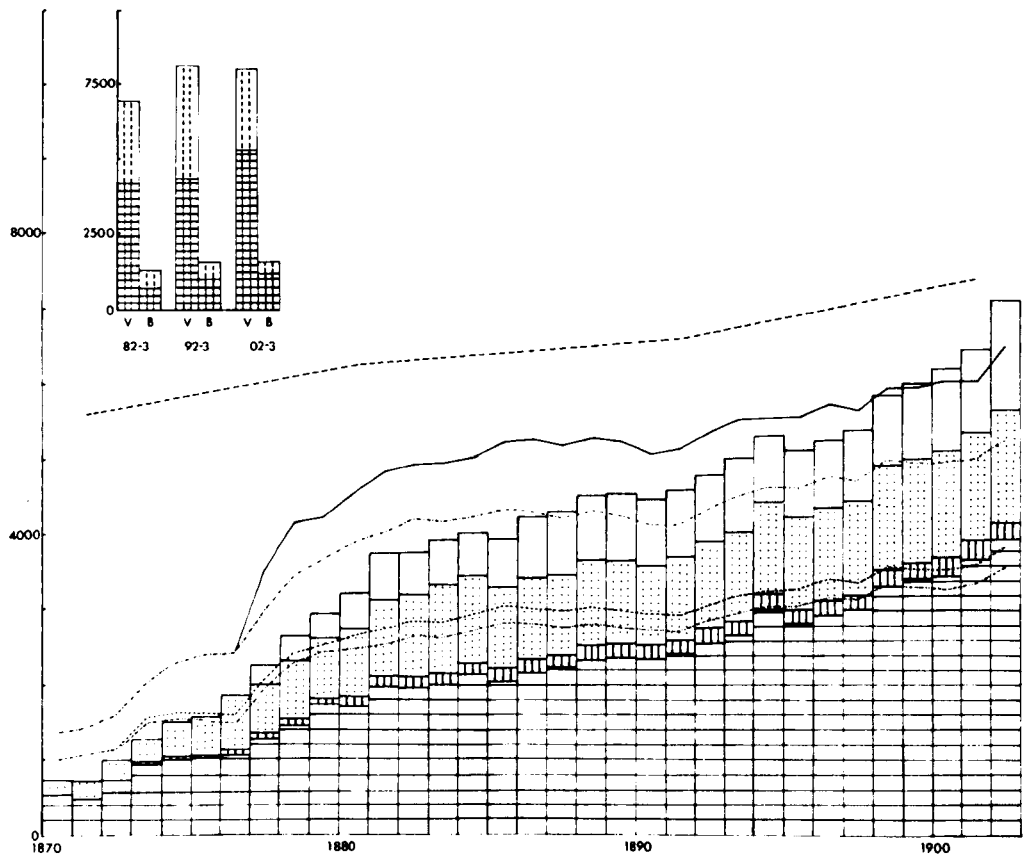


FIG. 21.

Leek Union Schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

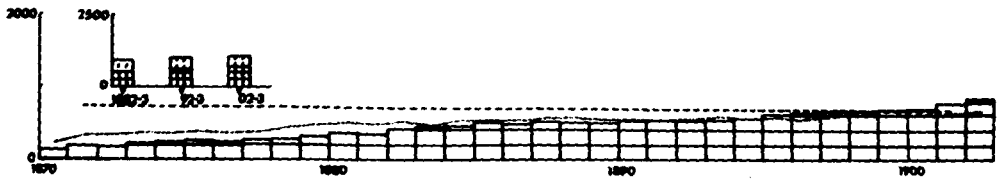


FIG. 22a.

Ashbourne Union (in Staffs.) schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

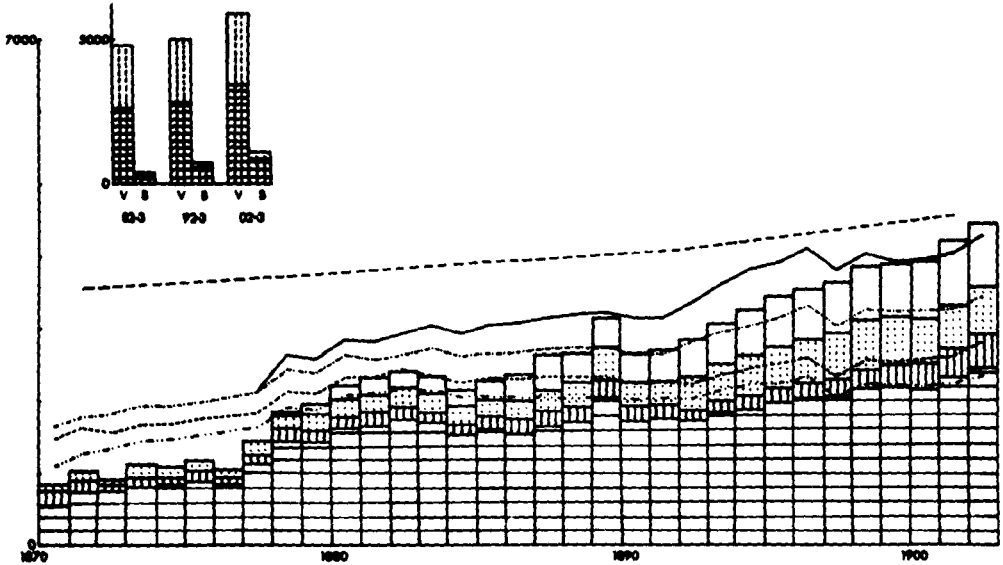


FIG. 22b.

Cheddle Union Schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

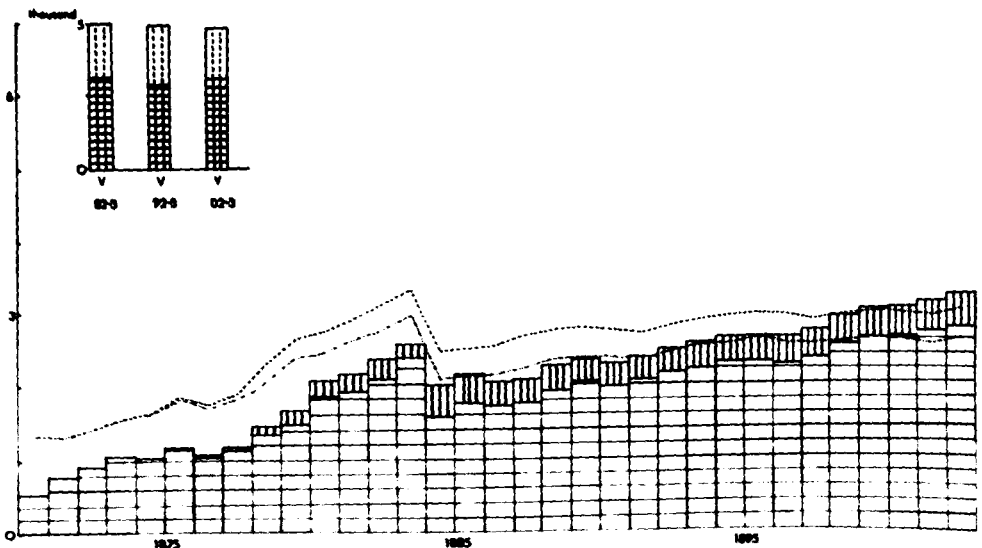


FIG. 22c.

Stone School Attendance district schools: Growth rate 1870-1903.

Whilst there existed a measure of agreement over the need to establish such a school, the Moderate party aided by the vacillating attitude of the Chairman of the Board was able to slow the process of implementation. Opposition to the movement was led by Rev. E.D.¹ Boothman whose vigorous support of the voluntaryist position did much to hinder the fulfilment of the Board's more ambitious schemes. As a result, little headway was made until after the 1891 election when the Progressive party gained a working majority. The final success was mainly due to the unstinting efforts of Thomas Harrison, who as Chairman of the Board between 1891 and 1894, guided the scheme to its completion.

Boothman's opposition, however, was maintained both within and without the Board. Allegations of the Board's unbridled extravagance² were bitter and sustained, and a personal vendetta which developed between Boothman and the first headmaster of the Higher-grade school, Mr. F.Gill, culminated in the latter's dismissal in 1896.³

The circumstances of his resignation serve to underline some aspects of the prejudice that existed at that time. Whilst the records indicate that there might have been some professional cause for dissatisfaction with the Headmaster,⁴ the reasons alleged at a highly emotional public meeting held in support of the master were

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1. For biographical details vide S.S., February 21st, 1903.
 2. Vide Appendix 1.
 3. H.S.B. Management Committee Minutes, November 11th, 1896.
 4. *ibid.*

very different.

"The real cause was that Mr. Gill did not belong to - (a Voice: "The Church") no, he need not bring that into the matter - the cause was that Mr. Gill did not belong to the dominating class. If Mr. Gill had gone to Eton or Rugby instead of to a Board School, and if, instead of going to the Owens College, as an outside student, working under great disadvantages, and therefore reflecting more credit upon him, he had been sent to Oxford or Cambridge, he would have gained the sympathy of the Chairman;(1) but because he was a poor boy and the son of poor parents and had worked his way up as they would like their boys to do - (cheers) - and because he had not got the varnish and venue of a certain dominant class, he had to go (shame)....." (2).

The school, which had been built on a relatively lavish scale, provided accommodation for nearly 1,000 scholars and in the early years the Board was hard pressed to fill it with pupils seeking higher-grade education. There were obviously some grounds for criticism but the motives for such expenditure had been clearly linked with a growing civic pride and a wish to challenge the pretensions of neighbouring Newcastle. Indeed a candidate, in an election address in 1891, had recalled that it was Mr. Harrison's ambition that Hanley should have a school as good as the High school in Newcastle.³

Other instances of competition between the board and voluntary systems may be cited. For example, the declared policy of the

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1. Frank Wedgwood, eldest son of Clement Wedgwood, who was Chairman of Hanley School Board between 1886 and 1887, was educated at Clifton and Cambridge. Although he had stood as an Independent for the School Board, his political sympathies were with the Conservative Party. (Wedgwood, C.V., *The Last of the Radicals* (1951), p. 74.)
 2. S.S., December 12th, 1896.
 3. *Ibid*, December 1st, 1891.

Nonconformist dominated Wolstanton School Board in 1874 was not to enforce compulsion until it was possible to offer a genuine choice to parents. The decision did not, however, lead to widespread¹ duplication of the education provision in the district, but locally it did provoke antagonism and conflict, as at Newchapel in 1877. There the local vicar complained that the proximity of a Board school to his was causing unnecessary difficulties.

"The school is being carried on vigorously by both the teachers under the trying circumstances in which they have been placed ever since they came into the Parish.... Only lately again they of the Board school have drawn off three more children by appointing the mother to clean the Board School room and thus they are using every endeavour to steal our children....." (2)

A petition from Newchapel against the school board rate had been presented by Sir Charles Adderley earlier in 1876. This document was said to have been signed by the church wardens and about eighty or ninety children of the school. A school board supporter reported "that a person from Newchapel had called upon him and represented that the petition had been brought to the school by the minister and that some boys who were under age had signed it because they were asked to do so. They did not know what the petition was for." (3)

There was indeed a widespread belief that the boards were deliberately enticing children from the denominational schools. The Vicar of Normacot near Longton complained strongly in 1886 that the School Board Attendance Officer was attempting to draw the Anglican

1. S.B.C., Vol. XII, (1874), p.283.
2. P.R.O. Ed. 21/15780.
3. S.B.C., Vol. XVI, (1876), p. 387.

schools' children into the Board school. Naturally the allegation was refuted and the officer was given the full support of the School Board but no doubt suspicions were not allayed.¹

Evidence shows, however, that the movement was not restricted to one direction. The Headmaster of Hanley Bethesda Board school was forced to report almost a procession of boys from his school to the neighbouring Wesleyan school in the autumn of 1874.²

It would appear that the evolution of the elementary system in terms of provision in North Staffordshire between 1870 and 1903 follows the main lines discernible on a national scale. School boards in the predominantly urban areas were able to provide relatively ambitious educational schemes. It was in such areas, where the deficiencies had been most acute and where the pressures persisted longest, that the progress was most impressive. The result was an increasing disparity between the standards of the elementary education service within the larger towns and that of the rural areas where the voluntary agencies with limited resources exercised a predominant influence. In a certain respect this development represents a reversal of a trend that had been recognised in the period prior to 1870 when in terms of provision the rural area seemed to be at some advantage in comparison with the rapidly

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXXVI, (1886), p. 682.
 2. Bethesda Board school log book October 16th, 1874, October 23rd, 1874 and December 18th, 1874.

expanding industrial agglomerations.¹ The trend established between 1870 and 1903 has continued into the present century and the imbalance between the urban and the rural service, apparent not only in North Staffordshire but in the country as a whole, must be recognised in part as a legacy of the developments of the final thirty years of the last century.

1. Bamford, T., op. cit., p. 80. The all-important question of the quality of this provision will be discussed in a later chapter.

Chapter VI. The Progress of School Provision, 1870-1903.

The problem of determining in which part of each parish or district schools should be continued or established was proffered to the Education Department and school boards by H.M.I. Sandford in 1870.

Care, he believed, should be taken "to meet the educational wants of each neighbourhood and to avoid the mischief that arises from the ill-judged, ill-regulated distribution of schools..... which in many cases exists....."

Those who are conversant with the working of our educational system and have compared it with that of other countries, cannot fail to notice how much power is wanted, how much work is left undone..... how much mischievous rivalry exists between different institutions interfering with each other, through our want of system in educational matters." (1)

It is the purpose of this chapter to consider in some detail how the educational wants of each neighbourhood were satisfied during the period 1870-1903 and to examine the emergent pattern that has persisted into the present century.

1. Newcastle School Board District.

In 1871 Newcastle possessed two National schools, one British, a Wesleyan, a Roman Catholic school (Fig. 23)² and a not inconsiderable number of 'private adventure' schools of varying quality, including Mr. Lloyd's in Marsh Street, Mr. Bridgman's Commercial school in Bow

1. R.C.C.E., 1870-71, p. 183.
2. St. Giles's National was opened in 1825, St. George's National in 1835, St. Patrick's Roman Catholic in 1833, the British School in 1834 and the Wesleyan in 1871. (P.R.O., Ed. 7/111).

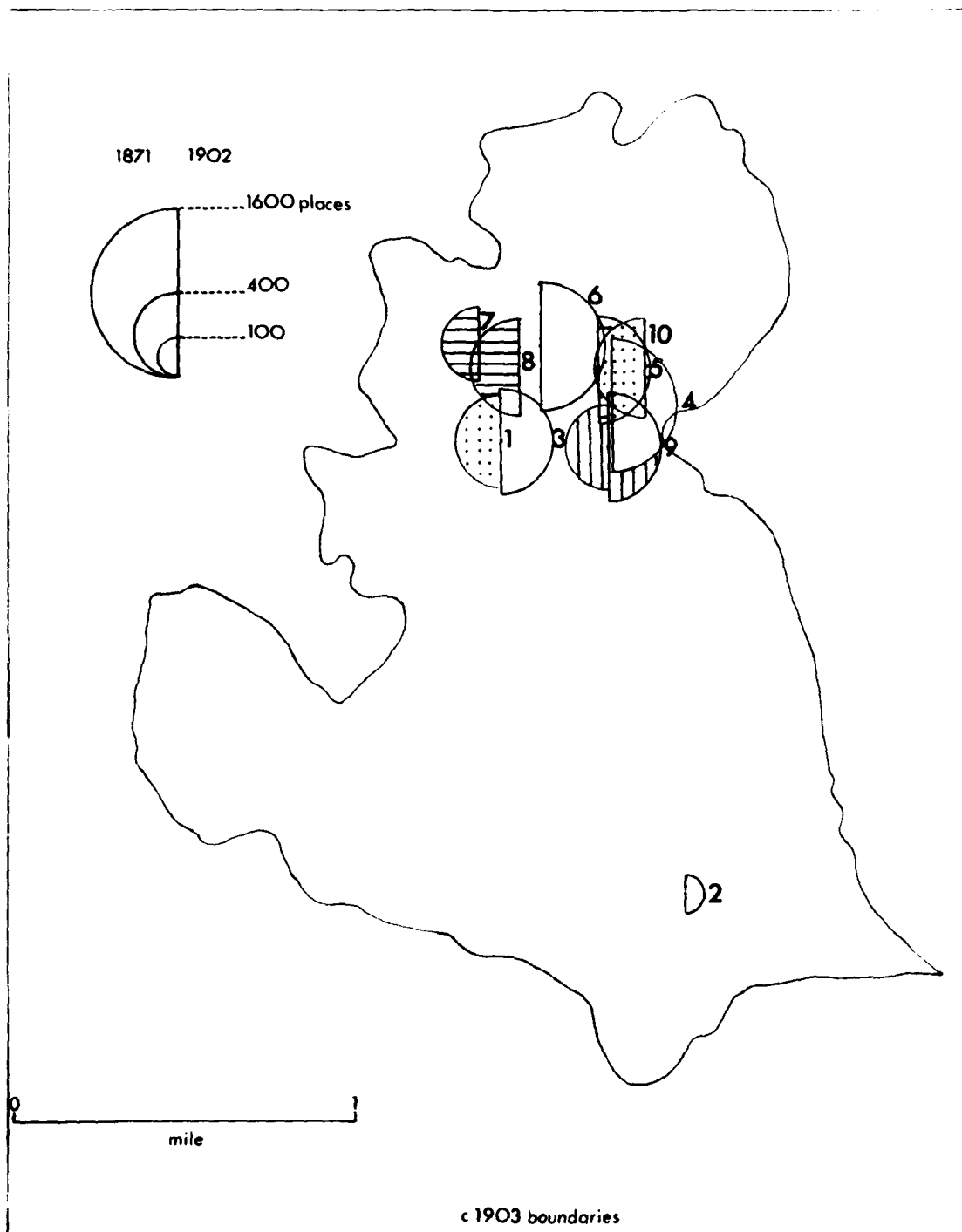


FIG. 23.

Newcastle United District schools 1871 and 1902.
(Sources: R.J.C.E. 1870-71, List of Schools in Receipt of Parliamentary Grants 1902-3).
(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 23.

NEWCASTLE UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. British | 6. Ryecroft Board |
| 2. Clayton Board | 7. St. George's National |
| 3. Friarswood Board | 8. St. Giles's National |
| 4. Hassells Street Board | 9. St. Patrick's Roman Catholic |
| 5. National | 10. Wesleyan |

(The symbol key is shown on Fig. 15).

Street and a General Ragged school in Upper Green.¹ In addition to the elementary schools there also existed a school established under the Orme Charities, which provided some post-elementary courses.²

The Inspector of Returns established a deficiency of accommodation of just over 400 but the Newcastle School Board, rather unconventionally made the figure nearly 1,000.³ Prompt action was taken by the Board and the first Board school was opened in premises rented from the Methodist New Connexion in Marsh Street under the headmastership of Mr. Lloyd, whose previous commendable services were duly recognised. The first school built for the Board was at Ryecroft in 1874. In the following year the British school in Friars' Road was taken over and became known as Friarswood Board school. During this period the Anglicans rationalised their contribution by merging St. George's National with St. Giles's National school.⁴

In 1877 the Board enlarged the former British school⁵ and took charge of the Wesleyan school in School Street, which was merged with the existing Board school in Marsh Street to form the Marsh Board

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1. H.M.I. was prepared to allow that some of the private schools were efficient. (P.R.O. Ed. 16/262).
 2. The Orme English school. The Charities were under the consideration of the Charity Commissioners at this time.
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 16/262.
 4. St. George's National School had been accommodated in an old malt-house in the early 1850s (R.C.C.E., 1851-52 p. 409). A new school, which had been built in Liverpool Road, Newcastle, was converted into a Mission church following the merger.
 5. N.G., September 13th, 1902.

¹
schools. Increasing pressure on accommodation occasioned further Board school building in 1880 and 1881. The new school in Hassells Street provided accommodation sufficient to allow the Board to close the schools in The Marsh area where conditions were unsatisfactory. No further major building operations were undertaken by the Board although alterations and enlargements were carried out at various intervals during the rest of the Board's existence.² The Board did, however, take over Clayton Board school from Stoke/^{School} Board in 1900,³ following the request of the ratepayers of that parish. The Stoke Board offered no objection.

The last important school building in Newcastle concerned the new National school to replace the original 1825 building which was reported to be in poor condition in 1891.⁴ A protracted wrangle over the Trust Deed delayed the start of the new development and even when building did commence, progress appears to have been slow. A deputation calling upon the Education Department in 1893 explained that delays had arisen from the fact that the money promised by subscribers had not been received. The lack of funds was attributed to miners' strikes and the poor state of trade in Newcastle and the neighbourhood during 1892 and 1893.⁵ The school was eventually completed in 1895.

-
1. N.G., September 13th, 1902.
 2. P.R.O., Ed. 21/16055; 16056; 16057.
 3. Clayton had been designated a new civil parish in 1896 (P.R.O.Ed. 16/273).
 4. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16058.
 5. *ibid.*

The Catholics also carried out improvements to their school during the period, including the provision of a new Infants' department in 1896.¹

2. Wolstanton School Board District.

In marked contrast to Newcastle, Wolstanton School Board operated over a wide area and the educational facilities required were commensurably greater. The 1870 - 71 Inspection of Returns revealed the existence of nine Anglican schools (and one in the process of completion), four Wesleyan and one Roman Catholic institution (Fig. 24). At the first election of the School Board it was reported that "education was in a very primitive state and the provision made for the teaching of the children of the district was sadly inadequate to the necessities of the situation."²

A deficiency of over 3,000 places was established during the winter of 1874.³

In order to improve the situation, the Board by a slender majority adopted the policy of actively encouraging the managers and trustees of denominational schools to place them under its control. The Board, as a token of its good faith, pledged itself to utilise the existing school accommodation in the parish before embarking upon its own school building programme.⁴ In pursuance of this policy,

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1. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16059.
 2. S.S., September 16th, 1902.
 3. S.B.C., Vol. XIII (1875), p. 382.
 4. S.S., September 16th, 1902.

the Board took over, in 1875, the Primitive Methodist schools in Silverdale and Pittshill and rented accommodation from the Wesleyans¹ for further schools in Cooper Street, Tunstall and at Newchapel.

The presence of numerous dame-schools provided problems related to attendance and steps were taken in the autumn of 1875 to close those which did not conform to the standards of the Education² Department. These schools continued to concern the Board to such an extent that in 1878 summonses were taken out against parents for sending their children to those schools which were not deemed efficient.³ This action seems to have removed the principal sources of complaint.

In 1876 the Board opened a temporary school in the Primitive Methodist Sunday school in Chesterton. In the same year this was closed when the first new Board school was opened in the district.⁴ The Board was also currently involved in building a new school at Silverdale to replace the one housed in the former Primitive Methodist⁵ school.

The Voluntary bodies were not to be left behind and competed vigorously in these early years. The Anglicans opened new schools at Newchapel in 1873, which may have been accommodated in the buildings earlier occupied by Newchapel Endowed school which transferred to

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1. P.R.O. Ed. 7/112.
 2. S.S. September 16th, 1902.
 3. ibid., September 17th, 1902.
 4. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16248.
 5. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16257.

Tunstall in 1873, at Knutton and in the Sandyford district of Tunstall in 1874 and at Cross Heath in 1876 while the Wesleyans established a day school at Chell in the early years of the same decade.

Major expenditure was avoided by the School Board in the next few years by taking over the Wesleyan schools at Chell (1876), Kids Grove (1876-7)¹ and at Brindley Ford (1878).² It became necessary, however, to build a new school at Chell in 1878 which was also intended to cater for the needs of the Pittshill district where³ the temporary school had been condemned by the Inspectorate.

In the early years of the 1880s, the Wesleyans surrendered schools at Harriseahead (1880), Goldenhill (1881) and Mowcop (1882). In 1880, the School Board merged with the newly acquired school at Harriseahead its school at Newchapel, thus removing a cause of complaint for the Anglicans.⁴ With a rapidly increasing population, particularly in the Tunstall district, the Board had to undertake an ambitious building programme. New schools were erected at Tunstall in Cross Street to replace the school in Cooper Street (1880) and at Goldenhill

-
1. John Smith, Secretary to the Managers, reported to the Education Department that the Infants' department had been transferred in January, 1876 "together with the staff with the exception of the Mistress, Miss Brown, who is dead". The main school came under the Board in June 1877 (P.R.O. Ed. 21/15776).
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 21/15895.
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16099.
 4. Supra. p. 125.

to take the place of the dilapidated former Wesleyan school (1884).¹
A complicated situation at Mowcop, aggravated by divisions existing²
between the managers of the National school, forced the Board to
take full responsibility for the provision of education in that part
of the parish after 1890. A new Board school had to be provided in
1891.³

As a result of the decayed condition of the Wesleyan schools in
Tunstall and Wolstanton, the managers had to relinquish their control
to the School Board in the first years of the 1890s. The Wesleyan
school at Tunstall became the John Street Board school in 1890,⁴ but
the conditions were so poor that a new school had to be built in the
High Street in 1895-6.⁵ The Wesleyan schools at Wolstanton, transferred⁶
to the School Board in 1893, were replaced two years later by a new
suite of buildings which became known as the Ellison Street Board schools.⁷

-
1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16119.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 2/400.
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 21/15779.
 4. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16164. The morale of this school was considerably improved by this transfer. The tone of H.M.I.'s reports on the school changed quite dramatically after the Board became responsible for the school (Tunstall John St. Board School log book, March 3rd, 1891).
 5. S.S., September 18th, 1902.
 6. S.S. September 16th, 1902.
 7. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16251

In the face of dwindling resources, the supporters of the denominational schools found increasing difficulties in maintaining their schools during the last decade of the century.¹ A rationalisation of resources forced the closure of the Dunkirk Church school at Chesterton in 1895 and Longbridge Hayes National school in 1900. The Anglicans did, however, manage to complete major alterations at the National school in Silverdale in 1894,² at St. Mary's National in Tunstall in 1895,³ at Red Street National in 1896,⁴ and rebuilt the school at Goldenhill, which had been severely damaged by fire in 1895.⁵ In 1890 the School Board also permitted the managers of Christ Church National at Tunstall to use the premises of the Tunstall Endowed school⁶ which had been closed in 1888.⁷

The Roman Catholics did not increase the number of their schools but were able to maintain one at Goldenhill⁸ and another at Tunstall, which was replaced by a new school in 1902.⁹

By 1903 there were in the Wolstanton School Board district under Government grant, eleven Board schools, eleven Anglican and two Roman Catholic schools, providing accommodation for over 13,500 children (Fig. 24).

-
1. Supra p. 110.
 2. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16256
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16165
 4. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16255
 5. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16118
 6. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16162
 7. Goldstraw, H. op. cit. p. 75.
 8. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16120
 9. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16166

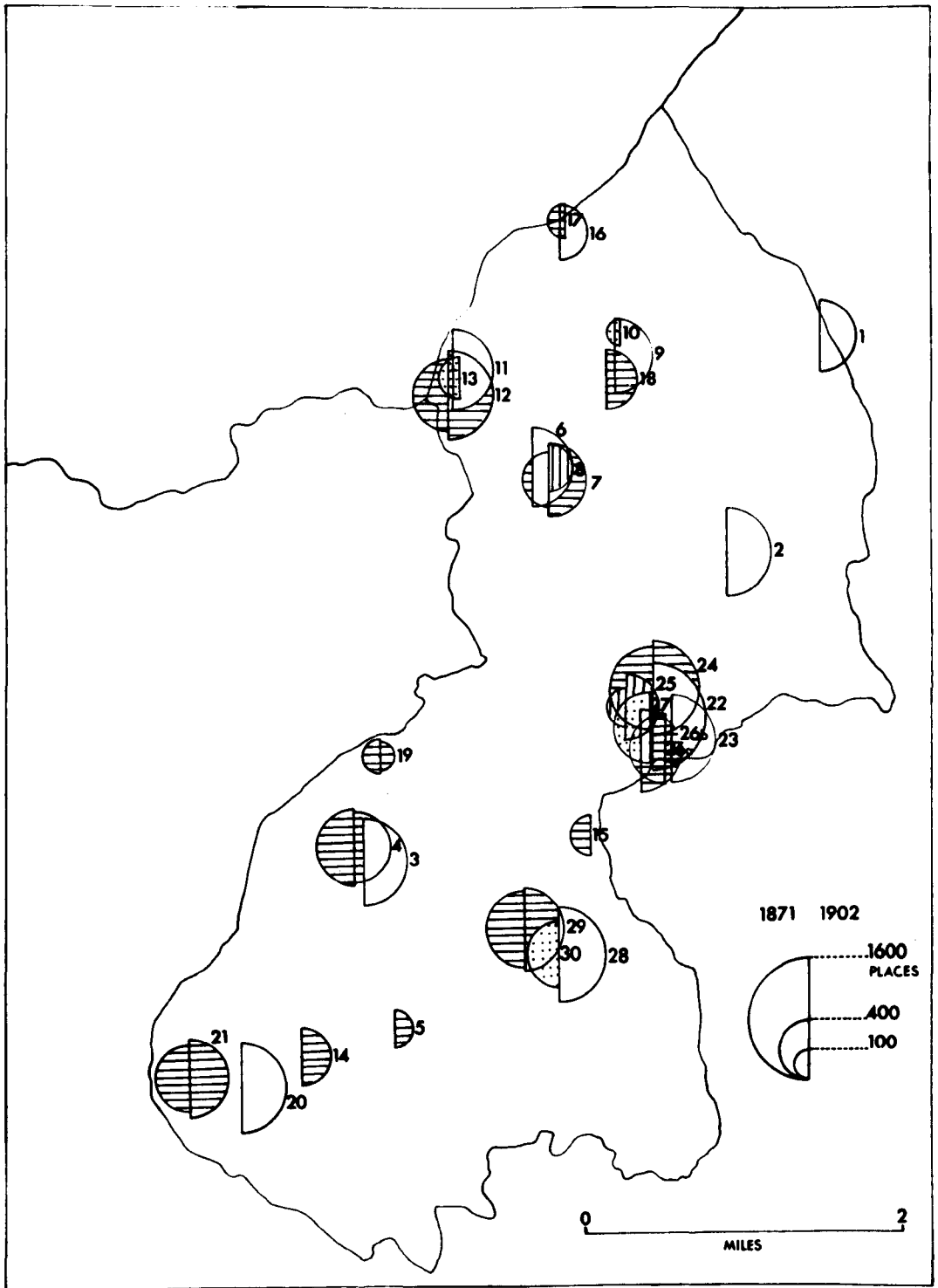


FIG. 24.

Wolstanton United District schools, 1871 and 1902.
(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 24.

WOLSTANTON UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

1. Brindley Ford Board
2. Chell Board
3. Chesterton Board
4. Chesterton National
5. Cross Heath Church
6. Goldenhill Board
7. Goldenhill National
8. Goldenhill Roman Catholic
9. Harriseahead Board.
10. Harriseahead Wesleyan
11. Kidsgrove Board
12. Kidsgrove National
13. Kidsgrove Wesleyan
14. Knutton National
15. Longbridge Hayes National
16. Mowcop Board
17. Mowcop National
18. Newchapel National
19. Red Street National
20. Silverdale Board
21. Silverdale National
22. Tunstall Board
23. Tunstall High Street Board
24. Tunstall National
25. Tunstall Roman Catholic
- 26a/b. Tunstall St. Mary's National
27. Tunstall Wesleyan
28. Wolstanton Ellison St. Board
29. Wolstanton National
30. Wolstanton Wesleyan

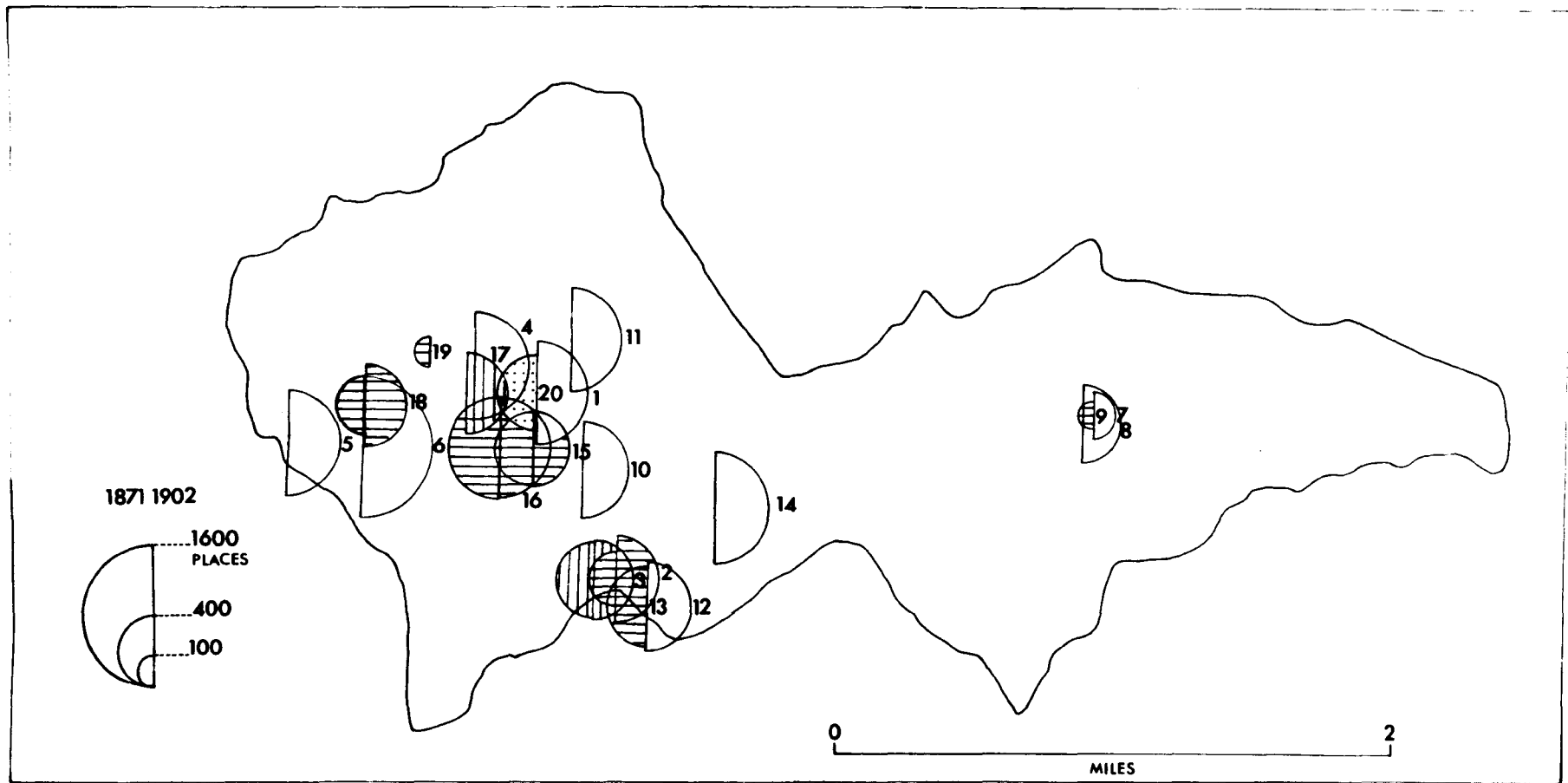
3. Burslem School Board district.

Eight voluntary schools in Burslem were recognised by the Education Department as providing "efficient" education in 1871 (Fig. 25). The principal deficiencies, according to the Inspector¹ of Returns, were almost entirely in respect of infant schools.

In order to remedy these shortcomings, the School Board at first rented, for school purposes, rooms underneath and adjoining² the Hill Top chapel, the Wesleyan Sunday school at Longport³ and accommodation in Newport Street. The first schools built by Burslem School Board in 1876 were at North Road and at Middleport.⁴ The temporary accommodation at Longport and Hill Top was replaced by new schools in 1877 and 1879 respectively.⁵ The rapid growth of population and the stricter enforcement of attendance made necessary further enlargements of the Middleport Board School between 1879 and 1884.⁶

Agreement with neighbouring Norton School Board resulted in an arrangement whereby Burslem opened a new Boys' school at Milton in 1881 to cater for children of both districts, while the Norton Board⁷ continued to maintain a Girls' and Infants' school in the same area.

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1. P.R.O. Ed. 16/272.
 2. S.S., September 23rd, 1902.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 7/112.
 4. B.S.B. minutes, June 5th, 1876.
 5. S.S., September 23rd, 1902.
 6. P.R.O. Ed. 21/16148
 7. P.R.O. Ed. 21/15898 and 15899.



Burslem United District schools, 1871 and 1902. (Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 25.

BURSLEM UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

1. Central Board
2. Cobridge National
3. Cobridge Roman Catholic
4. Hill Top Board
5. Longport Board
6. Middleport Board
7. Milton Board
8. Milton Girls' and Infants' Board
9. Milton National
10. North Road Board
11. Park Road Board
12. Shelton Granville Board
13. Shelton Granville National
14. Sneyd Green Board
15. Sneyd National
16. St. John's National
17. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic
18. St. Paul's Dale Hall National
19. St. Paul's Sytch National
20. Wesleyan.

Although the Board was involved in enlargements and alterations in the period following 1881, no major school building took place until 1895. In that year the Park Road Board school was built on the central hall plan.¹ The Board had closed its school in Newport Street in 1881² and had completed negotiations in 1891 for the transfer of the Shelton Granville National school.³ As it was in a poor condition, improvements were immediately undertaken and further major alterations had to be started in 1893.⁴

The Board took over Burslem Wesleyan school in 1901 which then became the Central Board school.⁵ A proposal made by Miss Sarah Bennett, the Labour member of the School Board, that this school be opened as a special school for defective children was rejected.⁶

The Board's final building operation concerned the establishment of a new school at Sneyd Green which was completed in the first months of 1901.⁷ While the Board had built seven schools during its existence, the Voluntary bodies had managed to open only one, St. Joseph's Roman Catholic.

-
1. S.S., September 24th, 1902.
 2. B.S.B. Minutes, December 5th, 1881.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16121.
 4. Ibid.
 5. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16090.
 6. S.S., September 7th, 1901.
 7. S.S., September 24th, 1902.

4. Hanley School Board district.

The deficiency of school accommodation in the Hanley district was estimated by the Inspector of Returns to be just over 2,000 in 1871, although the estimate of the School Board was somewhat lower.¹ Efficient education was being provided in ten Church schools, three Nonconformist, one Roman Catholic and in one Unsectarian school (Fig.26.).

The first school acquired by the Board was the Bethesda British school which was taken over in November 1871. The Board rapidly gained possession of the Etruria British school, the Bryan Street Non-sectarian Ragged school and the Bedford Street New Connexion schools in the same year.² In January 1872 the Board became responsible for the Etruria Unsectarian school for girls and infants which had been supported by Francis Wedgwood and also the Church of England Ragged school in Cross Street.³ A temporary school was also opened by the Board in the Wesleyan school room in Northwood in 1873.⁴ This great burst of activity did not entirely satisfy H.M. Inspectorate since it produced no new accommodation.

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1. P.R.O. Ed. 16/272.
 2. H.S.B. Minutes, October 21st, 1875.
 3. *ibid.*
 4. *ibid.*

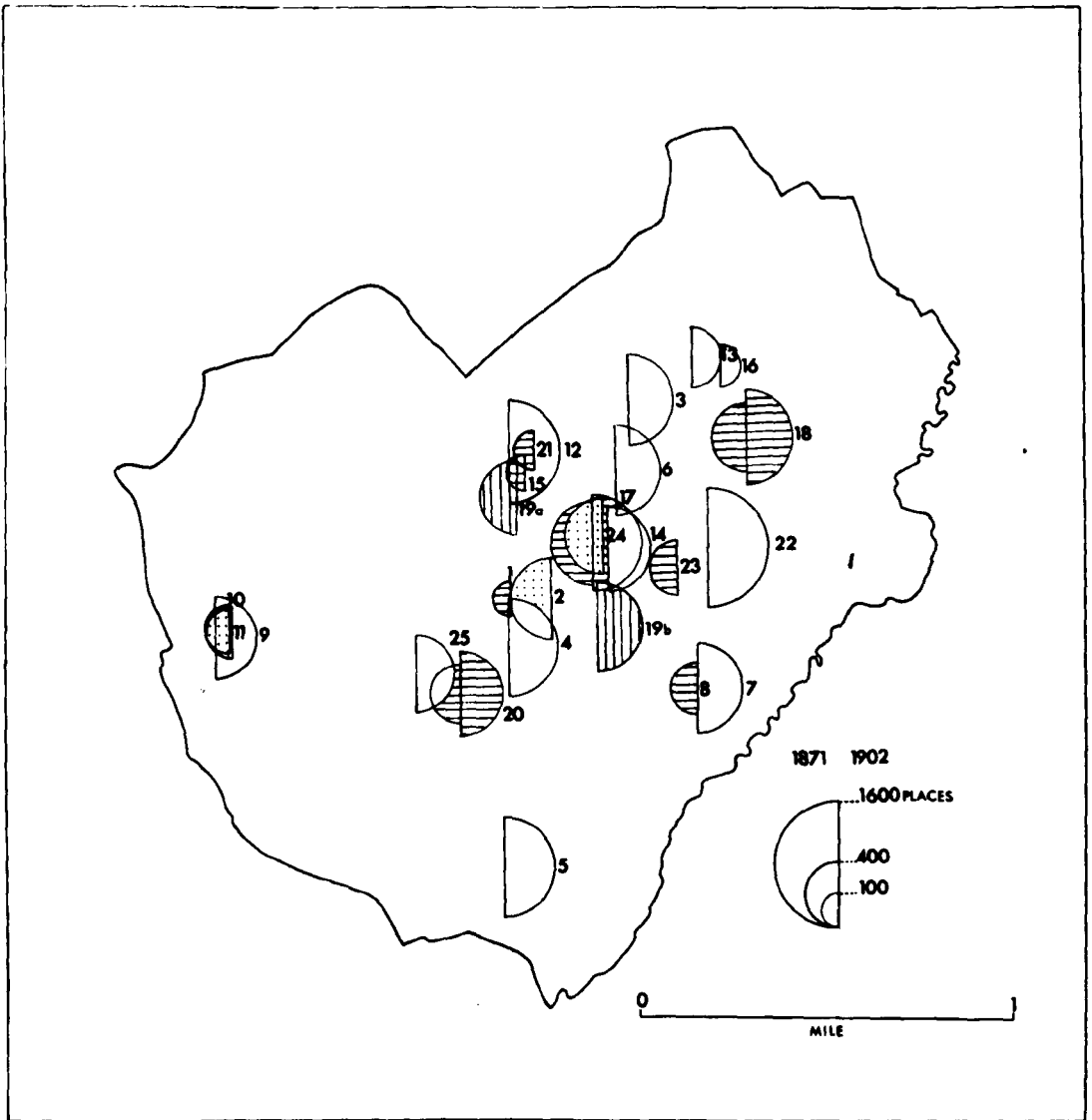


FIG. 26.

Hanley School Board district schools, 1871 and 1902.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 26.

HANLEY SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

1. Ashley Street National
2. Bethesda British
3. Broom Street Board
4. Cannon Street Board
5. Cauldon Road Board
6. Central Board
7. Eastwood Vale Board
8. Eastwood Vale National
9. Etruria Board
10. Etruria British
11. Etruria Unsectarian
12. Great York Street Board
13. Grove Board
14. Higher-grade Board
15. Hope Trinity National
16. Mount Street Temporary Board
17. National
18. Northwood National
- 19a/b. Roman Catholic
20. Shelton National
21. St. John's National Ragged
22. Wellington Board
23. Wellington National
24. Wesleyan
25. Wharf Lane Girls' & Infants' Board.

"We would deprecate the idea which appears to prevail somewhat strongly with the Board of taking over buildings only passably suitable for school purposes in order to save the erection of new buildings. Good schools cannot be maintained but in suitable buildings with suitable out-premises and, where possible with playgrounds attached." (1)

As elsewhere, the Board had to contend with the problems of private schools. In June 1873 a large number were declared unsuitable for children over the age of six.² One lady, a Mrs. Shufflebottom of Mill Street, rallied such a body of support for her school and her teaching abilities that she was allowed to continue but with a maximum³ of fifteen scholars.

The first school to be built by the Board was at Broom Street, in 1879. In spite of the strictures of the Education Department, the Board had continued to take over old premises and had acquired Eastwood Vale and Hope Trinity National schools in 1876.⁴ The early years of the 1880s saw the opening of new Board schools at Wharf Lane, Great York Street, Eastwood Vale, Etruria and Cannon Street.⁵ These developments allowed the closure of the temporary premises at Bethesda, Bedford Street, Eastwood Vale, Hope Trinity, Etruria and at Bryan and Cross Streets. The Anglicans had also closed their school at Ashley Street in the early 1870s. The condition of this school had been unsatisfactory in 1871 when H.M.I. had commented that it was

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 16/272.
 2. H.S.B. Minutes, June 18th, 1873.
 3. H.S.B. Minutes, July 16th, 1873.
 4. P.R.O. Ed. 16/272.
 5. S.S., 1st September 1902.

"even a matter of wonder that these premises were ever accepted for Annual Grant." (1)

The population of Hanley increased rapidly in the 1880s and by the end of the decade, H.M.I. reported a deficit of accommodation amounting to no less than 1,200.² The situation had been aggravated by the decision of the Anglicans to close their school at Wellington.³ As a consequence a new building programme was drawn up by the Board in which were included plans for new schools at Glass Street,⁴ on the Grove House site and in Cauldon Road. As an interim measure, the Board took over the National school at Wellington and reopened the school which was housed in the Primitive Methodist schoolroom in Mount Street. This school had been closed since 1881. H.M.I. Fowler had remarked in a memorandum to the Education Department in 1889 that he knew the premises had been practically condemned in 1880. "At that time", he wrote "it is very undesirable that children should be running wild without a school so I should be prepared to recognise the premises for a year for junior children provided the offices are in a satisfactory condition." (5)

The Wesleyans, also in the face of financial difficulties, were forced to give up their school in Charles Street in the spring of 1893.⁶

-
1. P.R.O.Ed. 16/272.
 2. H.S.B. Minutes, February 4th 1889.
 3. ibid, February 19th, 1891.
 4. This became Hanley Central Board school.
 5. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16131. This school was closed in 1891 when the new Grove Board school was completed. It was, however, opened again in 1898 but finally closed in 1907.
 6. H.S.B. Minutes, February 16th, 1893.

This was subsequently used as a Pupil Teacher centre initially by the School Boards of Hanley and Stoke.¹ The last schools to be built by the School Board were to replace the old National school at Wellington and the Higher-grade in Old Hall Street. By 1903 there were in Hanley eleven Board schools, three National and one Roman Catholic school,²(Fig. 26). The conditions of the National schools were poor, particularly the St. John's National, about which H.M.I.

submitted the following comments to the Board of Education in 1903:
"The offices of the school are in proximity to the windows of both floors, especially, the windows of the classrooms on the lower floor (occupied by the lower standards) which open in to them. There are only five seats for girls and infants with accommodation for 294 and 225. The urinals are worthy of a small village school..... The warming of the large school is effected entirely by "potters stoves". These are at present objectionable and should be supplied with fresh air from the outside by means of pipes at the back passing through the wall....." (3)

5. Stoke School Board district.

The 1870-71 Returns showed that the district was served by ten Church of England schools, one Wesleyan and one Roman Catholic school (Fig.27). The deficiency of accommodation was estimated at first to be over 1,300 with the principal shortage in Fenton and in Hartshill.⁴

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1. S.B.C. Vol. LXIII (1900), p. 403.
 2. The Roman Catholics had built a new school to replace the old one in Lower Foundry Lane. Construction had started in about 1892 and was completed in 1897. (P.R.O. Ed. 21/16132).
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16127b.
 4. P.R.O.Ed. 16/272.

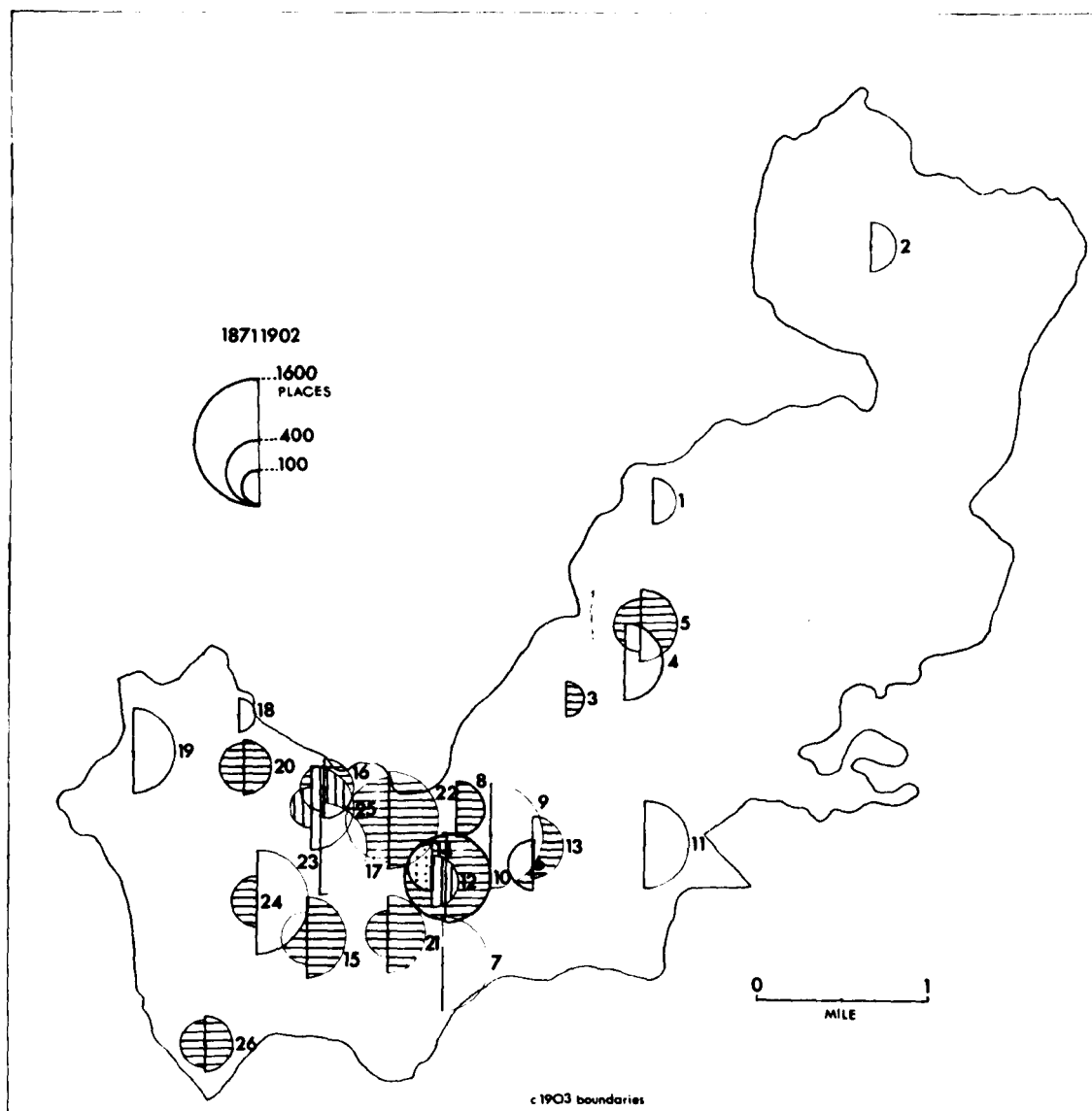


FIG. 27.

Stoke United District schools, 1871 and 1902.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 27.

STOKE UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS

1. Abbey Hulton Board
2. Bagnall Board
3. Berry Hill Church
4. Bucknall Board
5. Bucknall National
6. Fenton China St. National
7. Fenton Heron Cross Board
8. Fenton Low National
9. Fenton Market St. Board
10. Fenton National
11. Fenton Queen St. Board
12. Fenton Roman Catholic
13. Fenton Turner Memorial National
14. Fenton Wesleyan
15. Stoke Boothem Branch Church
16. Stoke Cliffe Vale National
17. Stoke Cross Street Board
18. Stoke Garner Street Board
19. Stoke Harpfield Board
20. Stoke Hartshill National
21. Stoke Mount Pleasant Church
22. Stoke National
23. Stoke Penkhull Board
24. Stoke Penkhull National
25. Stoke Roman Catholic
26. Stoke Trent Vale National.

The Board quickly obtained temporary accommodation in the Hartshill district and established there Kingscroft Board school in 1872. This was replaced by a new building in 1875 and the school was renamed Harpfield Board. Another temporary school was set up in the Methodist New Connexion Mount Tabor Sunday school in Fenton but this was superseded by a new Board school opened in Market Street in 1878.

Further buildings were added in 1888.¹ Towards the centre of Stoke, the School Board opened a temporary school at Cross Street in 1872.

Permanent accommodation for the school was provided in 1875.² In order to remedy deficiencies in the outlying rural districts, the Board built schools at Clayton and Bagnall in 1894³ and at Bucknall in 1897.⁴

Although St. Thomas's National school was transferred to the Board in 1876,⁵ the Church of England continued to make a substantial contribution to the overall educational provision in the district. Further Church schools were opened at Fenton Low in 1876 and Berry Hill in 1878.⁶

The 1880s saw a slackening of the rate of school building and consolidation was the principal feature of the decade. The Roman Catholics did, however, build a new school in Fenton in 1885. After

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16112.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16103.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15607.
 4. P.R.O.Ed. 7/112.
 5. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16155.
 6. P.R.O.Ed. 7/113.

1890 there was renewed urgency. The Wesleyans closed their school at Fenton in 1892 which necessitated the Board's building of the Heron Cross School in 1894.¹ The National school at China Street, located in a poor position in one of the least congenial parts of Fenton, was also in an unsatisfactory state in the 1890s. The opportunity to build a new school had been given by the donation of a site by Joseph Gimson in a much better and more convenient position.² Money was raised partly from the National Society which was appealed to in the "customary" fashion.

"The government are now pressing for a definite reply and I fear will not wait much longer as the Stoke School Board have plans already prepared for building a new Board school in the district in question to accommodate 1,100 children." (3)

The new school, named in memory of Rev. Herbert Turner,⁴ was opened in 1896.

The last few years of the century witnessed the building of new schools at Queen Street in 1897, Garner Street in 1898 and Abbey Hulton in 1899. The Roman Catholics in 1902 amalgamated St. Thomas's and St. Peter's schools on the Knowl Street site.

-
1. S.S.B. Minutes, September 4th, 1894.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16115.
 3. N.S.R. Letter from Vicar of Fenton to National Society, August 26th, 1895.
 4. Herbert Turner was a member of Stoke School Board from 1883 until his death in 1895 (Vide Appendix 7). At the time of his death he was Chairman of the Board. In recalling the past chairman of the Stoke School Board, it was recorded that "as an educationist he always sought to maintain a high standard of excellence and he won esteem and regard by his broad-minded charity, unfailing courtesy and kindness and to his zeal was largely attributed the successful results achieved by the Board during his chairmanship," (S.S., September 3rd, 1902).

By the end of the life of the Stoke School Board there were in existence in the district ten Board, eleven National and two Roman Catholic schools providing accommodation for over 12,000 children.

6. Longton School Board district.

The Board, established in 1871, found itself with a deficiency of accommodation of 1,630.¹ There existed in the district three Church of England schools, one Wesleyan and one Roman Catholic school providing "efficient" accommodation for just over 2,000 children.² To improve the position the Board rented from the Trustees of the Zion Chapel the school room in Caroline Street.³ So slow, however, was the progress of the school that at the end of three months the average attendance was only just over twenty-eight. The School Board, in order to obtain greater efficiency, came to an arrangement with the master of a "Private Adventure" school which was occupying the old National school near St. John's Church. As he had more children than he could reasonably cope with, the Board undertook to educate nearly 140 boys, all half-timers, in the Independent Chapel Board school where there was a staff which was largely underemployed.⁴ Josiah Ball, the master of the private school, was subsidised by the Board to compensate for the loss of school fees.⁵

1. P.R.O.Ed. 16/272.

2. Ibid.

3. Report of the Work of the Longton School Board, 1871-1892 (1892), p.5.

4. Ibid., p. 6.

5. Ibid.

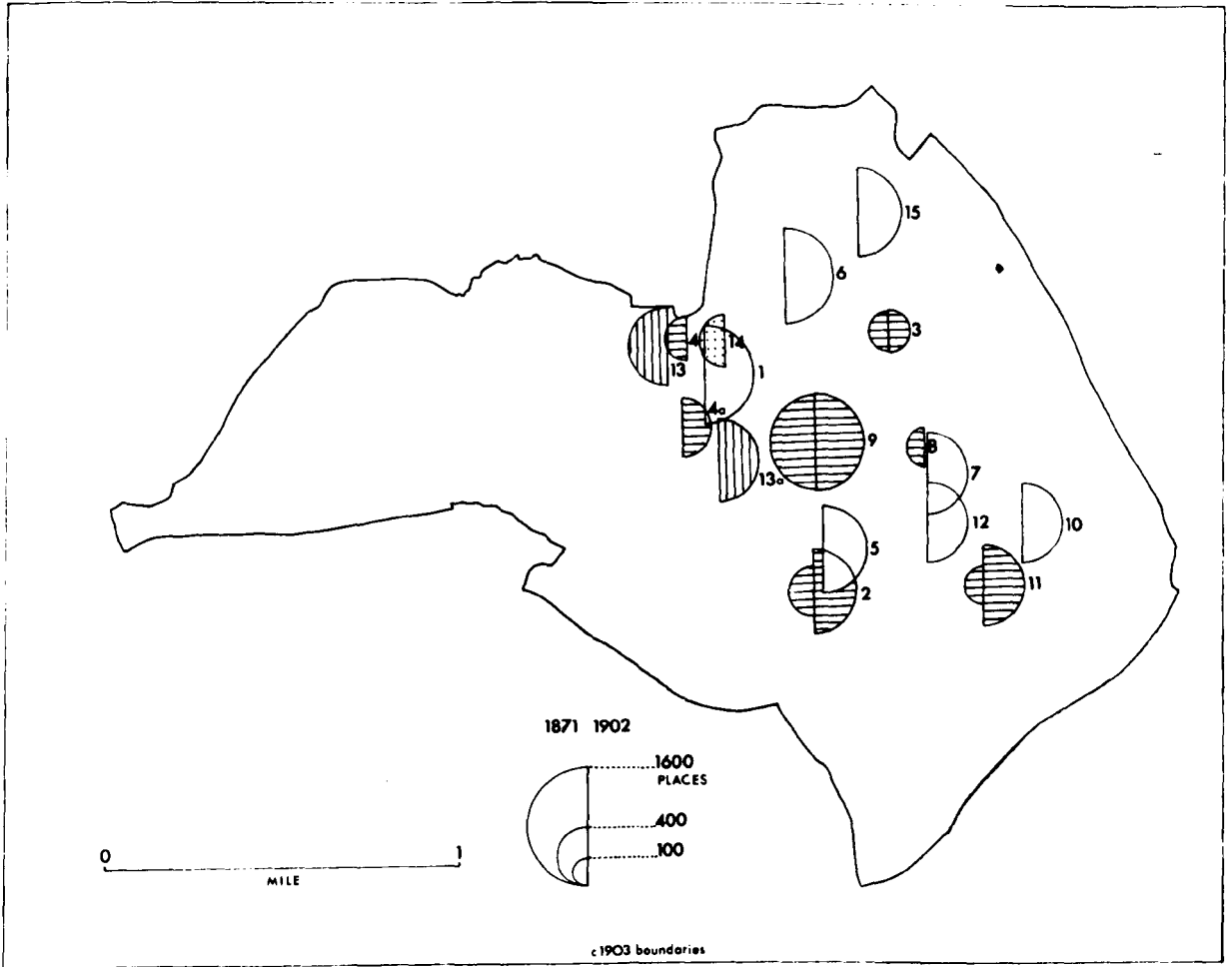


FIG. 28.

Longton School Board district schools, 1871 and 1902.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 28.

LONGTON SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS

1. Cooke Street Board
2. Dresden Church
3. East Vale Church
- 4/4a. Edensor Church
5. Florence Board
6. Grafton Road Board
7. High Street Board
8. Mount Pleasant Church
9. National
10. Normacot Board
11. Normacot National
12. Queensberry Road Board
- 13/13a. Roman Catholic
14. Wesleyan
15. Woodhouse Board.

This arrangement was terminated when the Board took over the premises of the old St. John's National school in 1873 and the Independent Chapel Board school was closed. Further demands for accommodation encouraged the Board to build its first school which was opened in the Sandford Hill district in 1876. The school was named in memory of Dean Woodhouse who had been a generous benefactor in the parish in the earlier part of the century.¹ The Rector of Longton's decision to close the Church of England school in the Mount Pleasant Mission Room in 1876 forced the Board to implement more quickly its plans for securing additional school places in the High Street area of the town. The Board decided to take over the Mount Pleasant school for a year and, following a decision in November 1876, arranged to rent the United Methodist Free Church rooms until a new school could be completed. The new school was ready in the spring of 1879.

The result of the Longton Extension Acts of 1883 and 1884 was to enlarge substantially the area under the jurisdiction of the School Board. The East Vale district of Caverswall was annexed along with considerable slices of the parishes of Stone and Trentham including the

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1. John Chappel Woodhouse, Dean of Lichfield 1807-1833, left £1,000 for the support of St. James's National school in Longton which was opened in 1836, (Griffiths, G., The Free schools and Endowments of Staffordshire (1860), p. 520), and an endowment of over £3,000 for schools in Stoke (L.J.R.O. Benefactions connected with Church schools in the Archdeaconry of Stoke-upon-Trent. Church Property Returns, Diocese of Lichfield 1884).

Dresden, Normacot and Florence districts. As a consequence of these boundary changes, three additional Church schools were brought into the Longton School Board area.¹

The acquisition of the East Vale district led to a dispute between the Longton and Caverswall School Boards. The latter claimed that it was losing a quarter of its rateable value for which there would be no compensation. As Rev. Francis Goddard, Vicar of Caverswall and Chairman of Caverswall School Board, pointed out "the Parish has borrowed to erect schools, about £7,000 secured on the rates of the whole parish from the Public Works Loans' (sic) Commissioners" (2)

No complaint was received from the 'Board-less' districts of Stone and Trentham. In fact it was with a feeling of some relief that they gave up this territory which was rapidly increasing in population.

The prospect of having to find additional school accommodation had become very alarming. "The Guardians", had been informed "of the grave deficiency of accommodation in the Normacot corner of the parish of Stone and the imminent prospect of a School Board for the whole of Stone parish if the deficiency was not voluntarily supplied at once." (3)

As Stone's problem became Longton's, it was necessary for the Board to provide new schools at Normacot and Florence. The sites for the schools were offered by the Duke of Sutherland in September 1884 on leases for 999 years at the very small ground rent of 1d per square yard;

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1. East Vale National, Dresden National and Normacot National.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 16/273.
 3. S.S., May 19th, 1883.

"A sum accepted by His Grace in consideration of the fact that the accommodation required was mainly for His own lease-holders." (1)

The schools were publicly opened at the end of December 1885.²

The increasing difficulties faced by the Voluntary school supporters grew very apparent during the last years of the decade in Longton. In 1891 the Wesleyans gave up their school to the Board which became Stafford Street Board school. Because of the poor conditions of the school and of St. John's Board School, the Board closed them both in 1892-3, and opened new schools in Cooper Street and Grafton Road. The Anglicans also reorganised the Edensor Church schools at the time.³ The Roman Catholics closed their old school in Gregory Street and opened new premises in Spring Garden Road.⁴

The need to provide additional accommodation in the final years of the Board's existence encouraged a bold experiment in the field of higher elementary education. That there already existed an Endowed school in a building erected only in 1885 did not deter the majority of the Board. The projected new school at Queensberry Road was a burning issue in the 1898 School Board election. Rev. Samuel Salt, speaking for the Moderate Party, could not approve the costs because

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1. Report of the Work of the Longton School Board, 1871-1892 (1892), p. 12.
 2. S.S., January 2nd, 1886.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16141.
 4. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16145.

he did not believe the school was necessary. He pointed out that two extra classrooms at Florence Board school would have afforded¹ sufficient accommodation for many years.

At a meeting of the Progressives, Mr. Edward Brookfield, a retiring member of the late Board, stated that although he was not standing in the election, he was prepared to defend his support for the project. He explained that with all the extra grants the school would earn as a result of the increased attendance and wide range of subjects which would be examined, the school would be an² asset rather than a liability.

The situation was, however, complicated by two facts, firstly the Conservative Party's determination at that time to curtail the activities of the School Boards; and secondly, the decision of Longton's Town Council, as the local Technical Instruction Committee, to take over in 1900 the responsibility of the local Endowed Grammar³ school. In face of a generally unsympathetic reaction at both national and local governmental levels, the Queensberry Road Board school, which had been completed in 1898, did not achieve complete

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1. S.S. January 11th, 1898. It is, perhaps, not without significance that Rev. S. Salt also happened to be a governor of the Endowed school in Longton. (S.A., January 25th, 1902).
 2. S.S., January 11th, 1898.
 3. 52 and 53 Vict. cap. 76, sec 1(d).

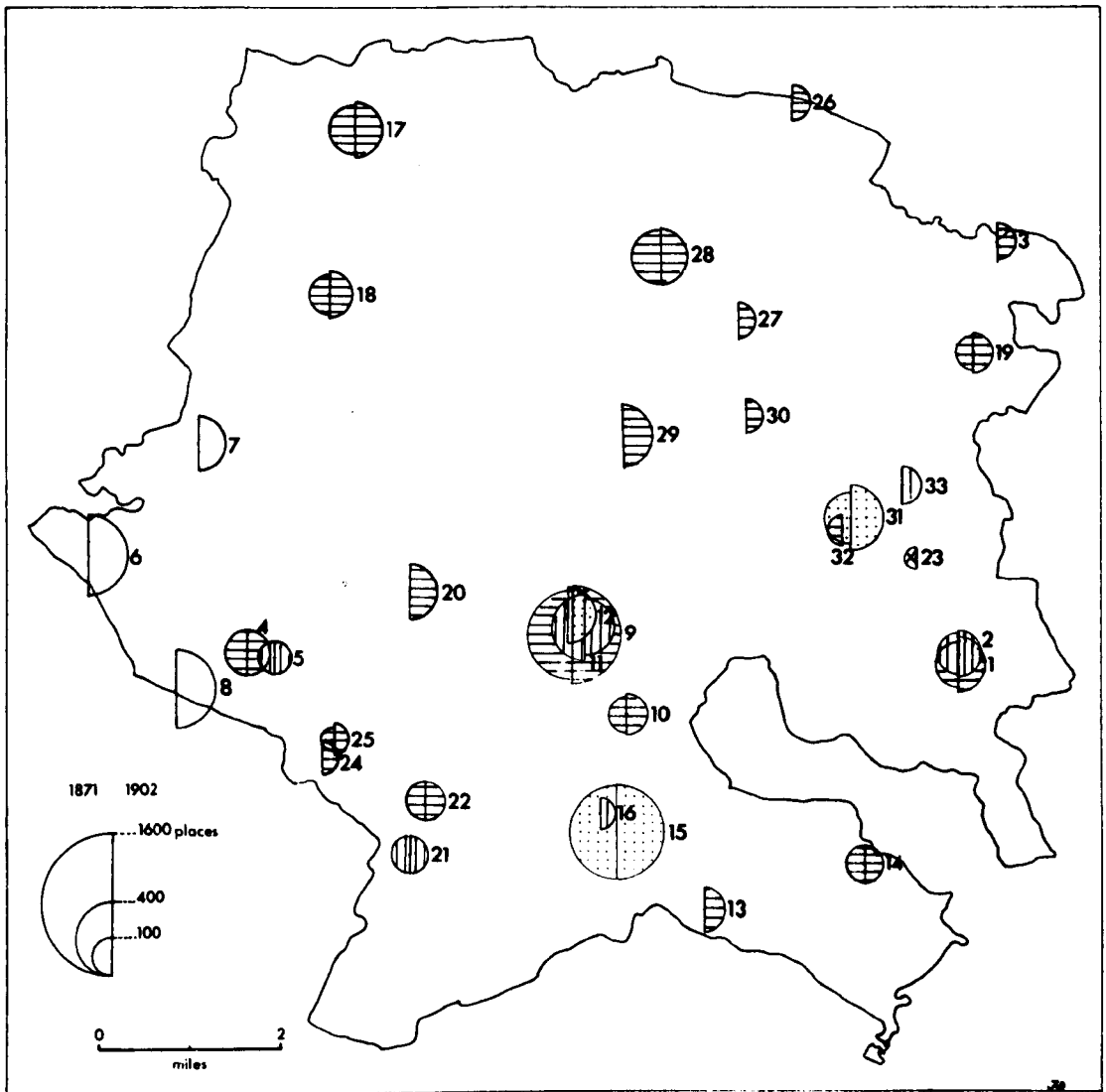


FIG. 29.

Cheadle Union schools, 1871 and 1902.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 29.

CHEADLE UNION

Parish	Schools
Alton	1. Alton National
	2. Alton Roman Catholic
Caldon	3. Caldon Church
Caverswall	4. Caverswall National
	5. Caverswall Roman Catholic
	6. Caverswall Adderley Green Board
	7. Caverswall Hulme & Werrington Board
	8. Caverswall The Meir Board
Cheadle	9. Cheadle National
	10. Cheadle St. Chad's Freehay Church
	11. Cheadle St. Giles's Roman Catholic
	12. Cheadle Wesleyan
Checkley	13. Checkley National
	14. Hollington Church
	15. Tean British
	16. Tean Roman Catholic
Cheddleton	17. Cheddleton National
	18. Wetley Rocks National
Cotton	19. Cauldon Low National
Dilhorne	20. Dilhorne Endowed
Draycott	21. Cresswell Roman Catholic
	22. Draycott National
Farley	23. Mr. Bill's School
Forsbrook	24. Blyth Marsh Endowed
	25. Forsbrook National
Ipstones	26. Berkhamstch Branch Church
	27. Foxt Church
	28. Ipstones National
Kingsley	29. Kingsley Endowed Church
	30. Whiston Church
Oakamoor	31. Oakamoor Mills British
	32. Oakamoor National
	33. Oakamoor Roman Catholic

For key to symbol for school No. 23 vide Fig. 39.

1

higher elementary status until the beginning of 1902.

"The Board (had) sought to have (the school) recognised as a Higher Elementary Mixed school under the Minute issued by the Board of Education on April 6th, 1900. The many obstacles placed in the way of securing this, causing an irritating and prolonged correspondence, led to the belief that the Minute was a dead letter only. But the Board persevered and met each obstacle by saying, "let us do what the Board of Education requires," and sanction was finally obtained in August, 1901." (2)

At the end of its existence the Longton School Board had under its control seven schools, all of which had been built since 1870. In contrast, the supporters of the Voluntary schools had been able to build only one new school in the same period (Fig.28). Moreover, the condition of the denominational schools received some sharp criticism from the Chairman of the School Board at its final meeting in April 1903.

"From the data in possession of the Town Council, only one of the Voluntary schools (presumably the new Roman Catholic school - author's comment) was in a fit condition, structurally and hygienically, to be taken over. It was a notorious matter that for years past the officers of the Board of Education had represented to the Board that the State of the Voluntary schools of Longton were such that they could not be efficient places for education and it was also known that for reasons of their own the Board of Education, year after year, had taken no notice of these declarations of their officers. The schools remained in that inefficient position to the detriment of the health of the scholars." (3)

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 20/126. The attitude of the Longton Technical Instruction Committee was ambivalent on the issue. Certainly in a letter to the Board of Education (13. 12. 1900) the Committee had expressed its support for the venture but relations between the Town Council and the School Board were not particularly cordial at the time. (P.R.O.Ed. 16/273).
 2. S.S., September 5th, 1902.
 3. Ibid, April 30th, 1903.

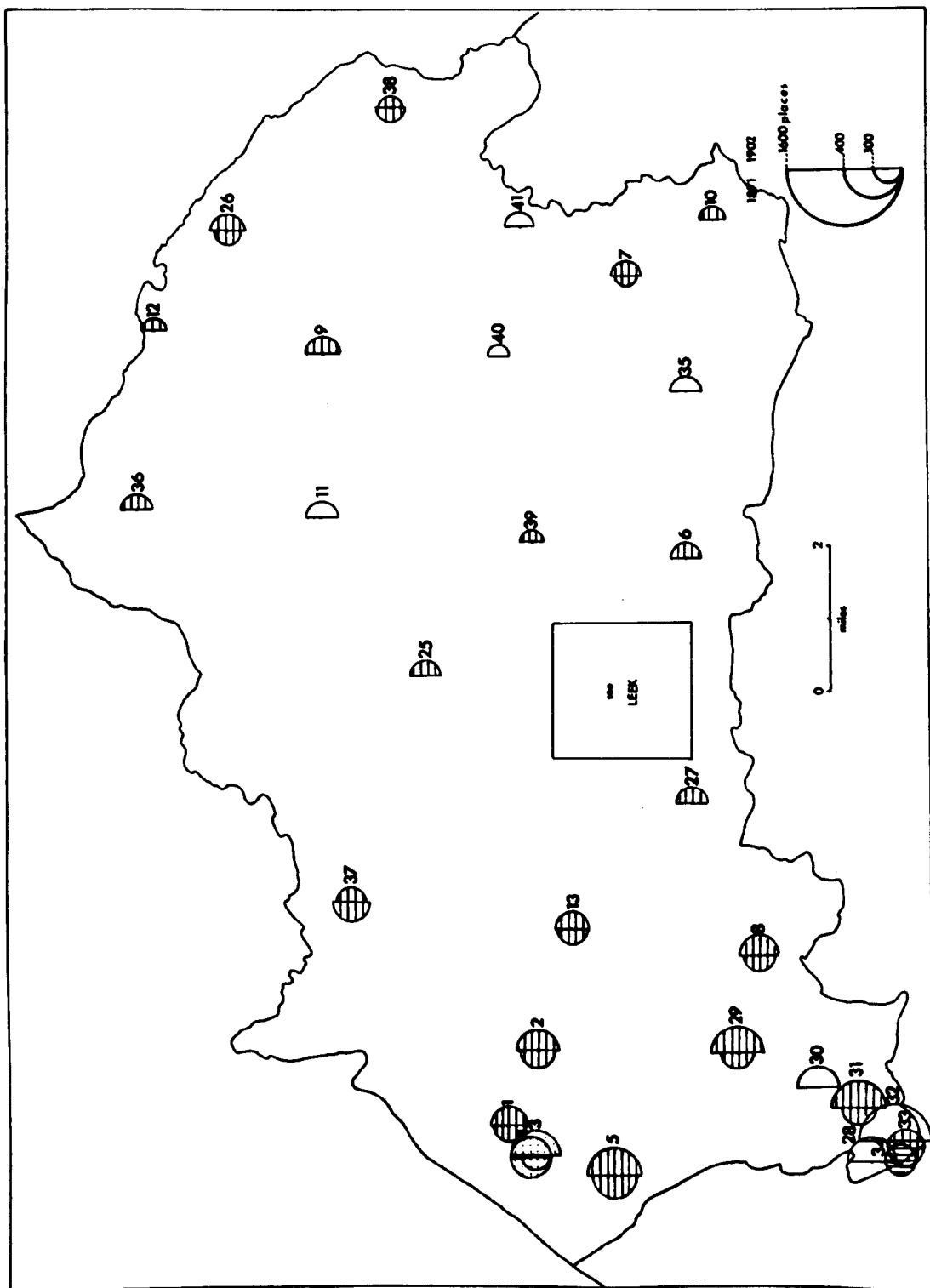


FIG. 30.

Leek Union schools (including Leek Township), 1871 and 1902.

(Key pages 166 and 167).

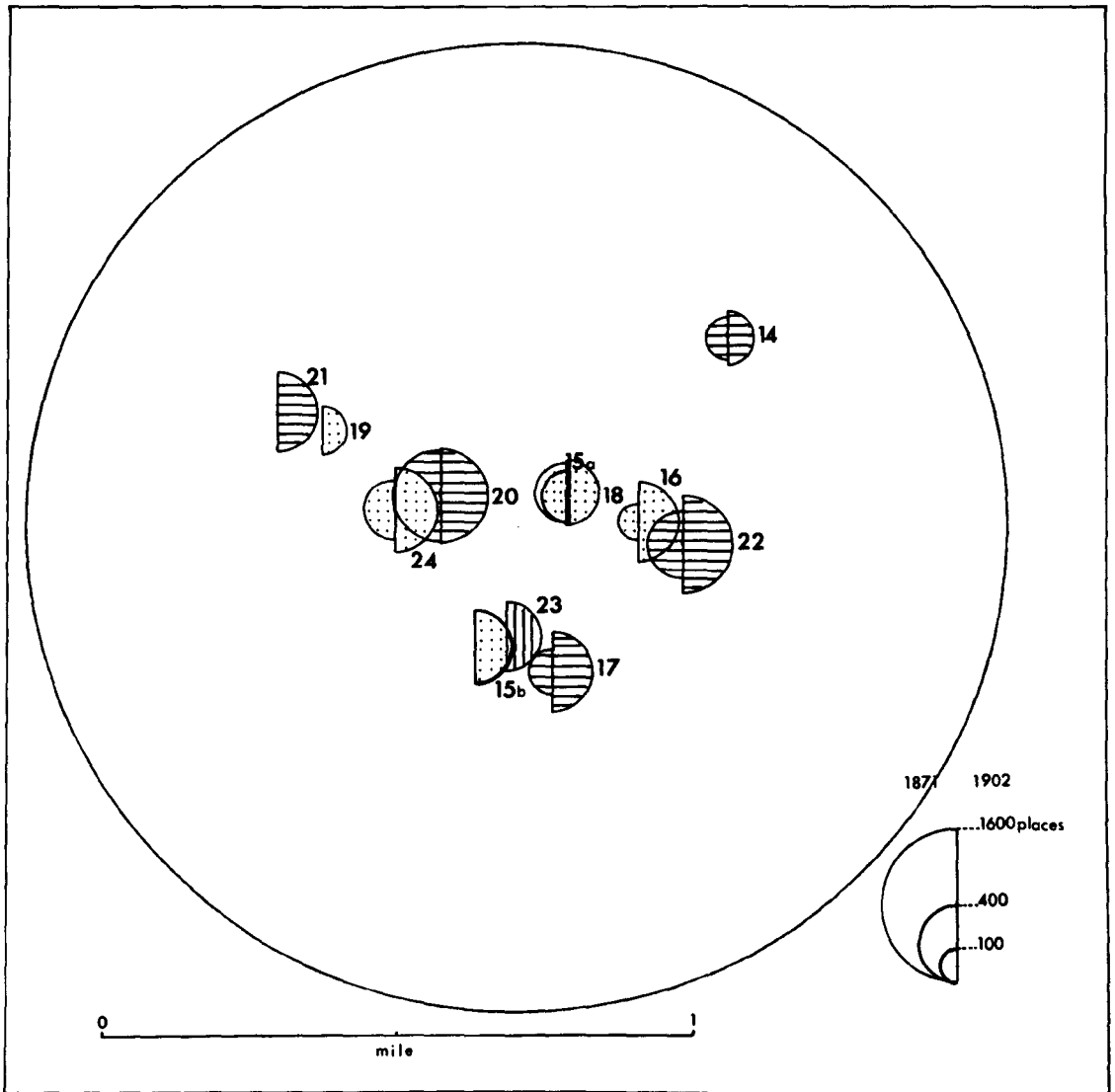


FIG. 31.

Leek Township schools, 1871 and 1902.

(Key over page).

KEY TO FIGS 30 & 31

LEEK UNION SCHOOLS

Parish	Schools
Biddulph	1. Biddulph Church
	2. Biddulph Moor National
	3. Bradley Green Primitive Methodist
	4. Gillowshaw Brook Wesleyan
	5. Knypersley Church
Bradnop	6. Bradnop Parochial
Butterton	7. Butterton National
Endon	8. Endon Parochial
Fawfieldhead	9. Newtown Ratepayers' National
Grindon	10. Grindon Free Church
Heathylee	11. Ramshaw Board
Hollinsclough	12. Hollinsclough Church
Horton	13. Horton Lee Church
Leek	14. Ball Hays Green Church
	15a/b. British
	16. Brunswick Wesleyan
	17. Compton National
	18. Congregational
	19. Mill Street Wesleyan
	20. Parish Church
	21. Parish Mill Street Branch
	22. St. Luke's National
	23. Roman Catholic
	24. West St. Wesleyan
Leekfrith	25. Maerbrook National
Longnor	26. Longnor Church
Longsdon	27. Longsdon National
Norton	28. Bradeley Board
	29. Brown Edge National
	30. Norton Green Board
	31. Norton National
	32. Smallthorne Board
	33. Smallthorne National
	34. Smallthorne Roman Catholic

KEY TO FIGS. 30 & 31 (continued 1)

LEEK UNION SCHOOLS

Parish	Schools
Onecote	35. Onecote Board
Quarnford	36. Quarnford Church
Rushton Spencer	37. Rushton Spencer Church
Sheen	38. Sheen National
Tittesworth	39. Thorncliffe Church
Warslow &	40. Upper Elkstone
Elkstones	41. Warslow Board

7. The Rest of North Staffordshire.

The pattern of the general distribution of public elementary schools in the rural districts of North Staffordshire had been established to a significant extent by 1870. Of the schools in North Staffordshire outside the Potteries, just over three quarters had been set up before 1870 (Figs. 29 to 35). In the areas administered by the Unions of Drayton, Newcastle, Stone and Ashbourne, only five new schools² were established after 1871 and two were closed.³ Greater activity characterized the Unions of Leek and Cheadle where the rising population of the parishes adjoining the Potteries placed relatively heavy pressure upon the existing educational facilities. In addition Leek incorporated a sizeable portion of the wildest parts of the Staffordshire moorlands where many parishes were without an "efficient" school in 1870-71 (Fig. 12).

The dominance of the Church of England is obviously expressed in terms of the "efficient" schools in existence in 1871. In Newcastle Union, twelve Church of England and only two Wesleyan schools were deemed to have reached the necessary standard. In Stone, twenty Anglican and one Roman Catholic school fulfilled the requirements; in Cheadle, fifteen Anglican, two British and four Roman Catholic;

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1. The schools referred to are those which came under Government inspection at some time before 1903.
 2. These were schools that received Annual Parliamentary Grants.
 3. Vide Appendix 6.

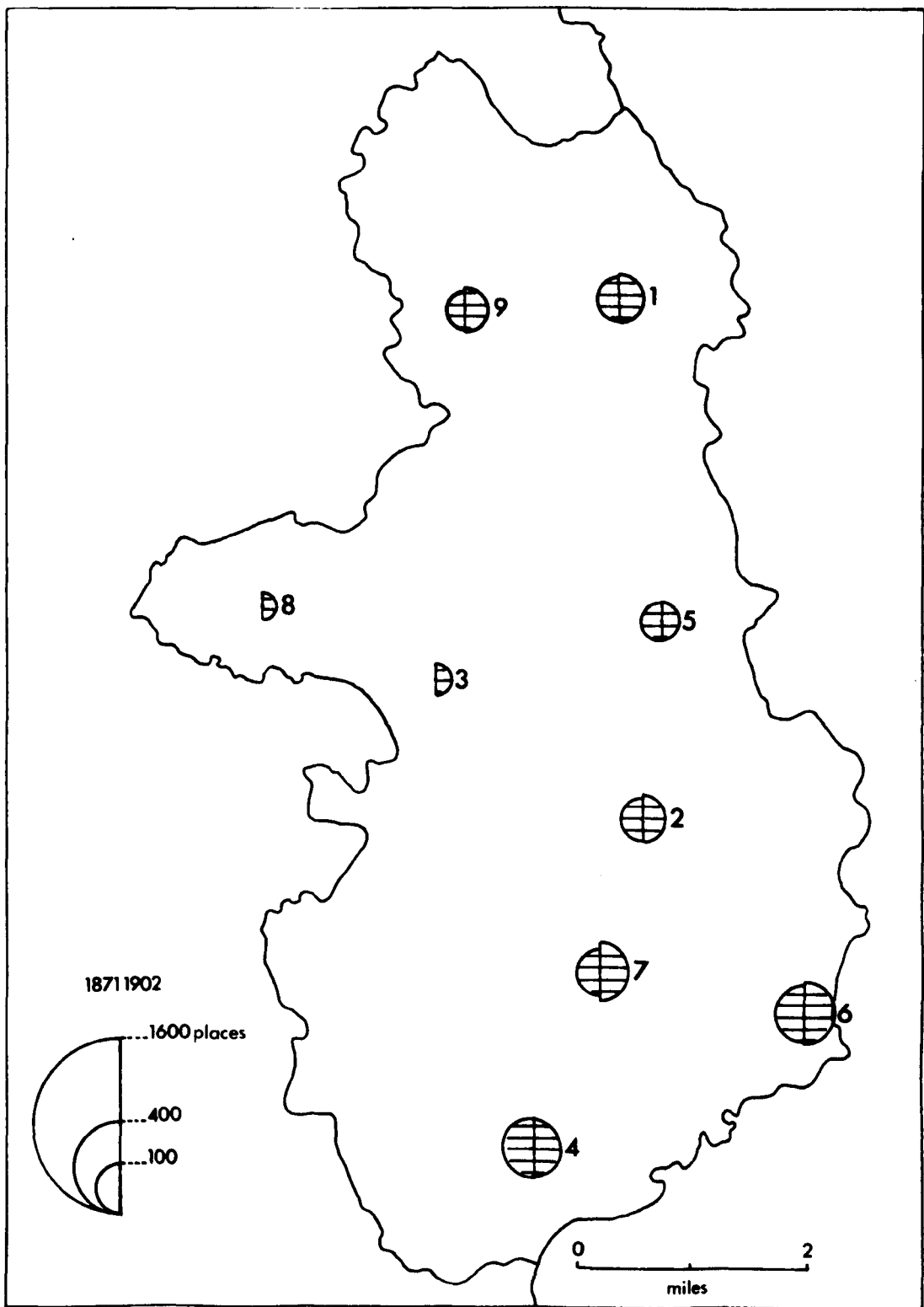


FIG. 32.

Schools of the Ashbourne Union (part of, in Staffordshire), 1871 and 1902.
(Key page 172).

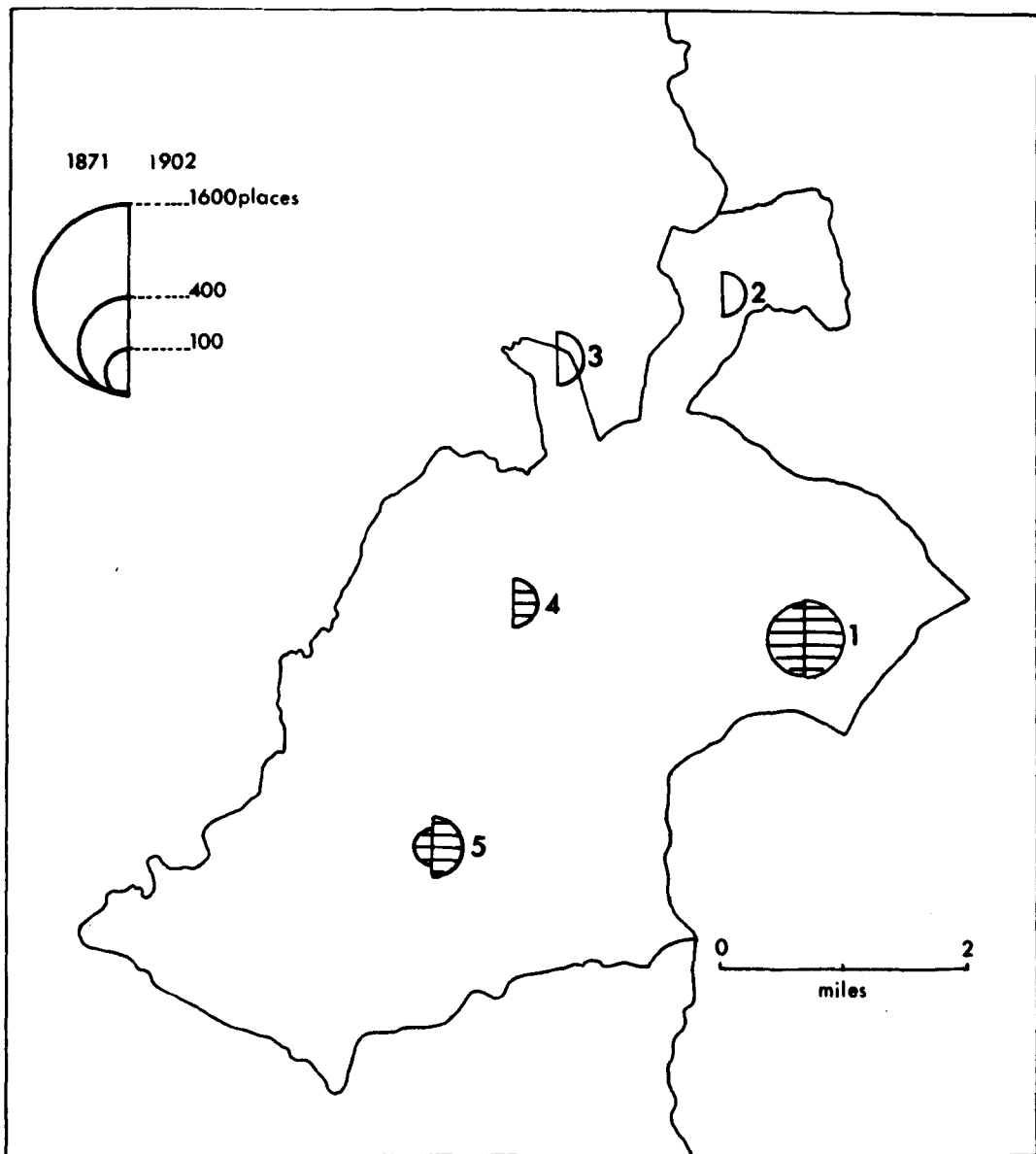


FIG. 33.

Schools of the Drayton Union (part of, in Staffordshire), 1871 and 1902.

(Key page 172..)

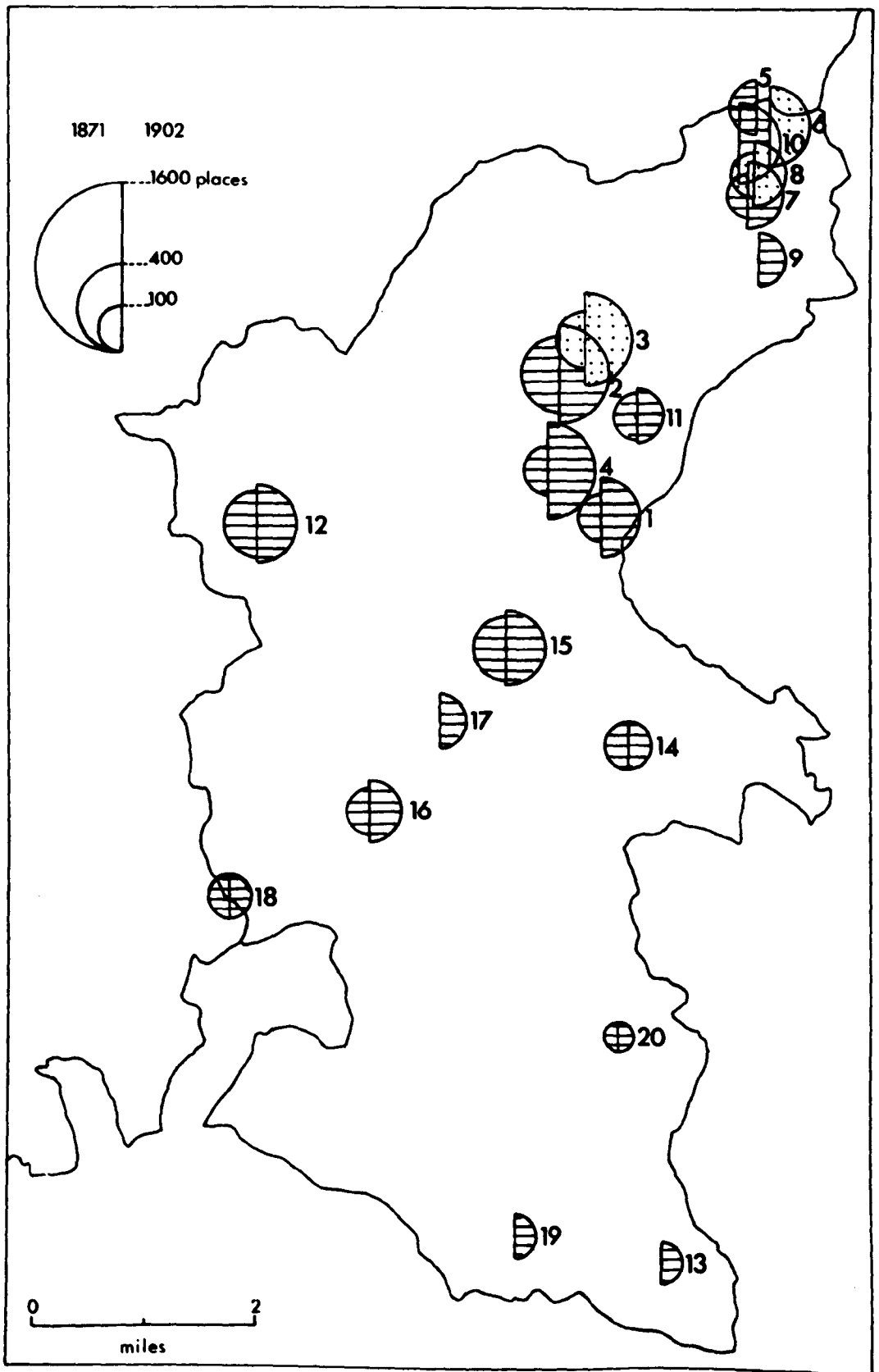


FIG. 34.
Newcastle School Attendance district schools, 1871 and 1902.
(Key over page)

KEY to FIGS. 32, 33, & 34.

SCHOOLS OF THE ASHBOURNE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRICT (Parts of, In Staffordshire) (Fig. 32).

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Alstonefield National | 6. Mayfield National |
| 2. Blore with Swinscoe Church | 7. Stanton Church |
| 3. Calton Girls' and Infants' Church | 8. Waterfall Parochial |
| 4. Ellastone Church | 9. Wetton Church |
| 5. Ilam Church | |

SCHOOLS OF THE DRAYTON UNION (Parts of, In Staffordshire) (Fig. 33).

PARISH	SCHOOLS	PARISH	SCHOOLS
Ashley	1. Ashley National	Mucklestone	4. Mucklestone Church
Mucklestone	2. Aston Board	Tyrley	5. Hales Church
	3. Knighton Board		

NEWCASTLE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRICT SCHOOLS (Fig. 34).

PARISH	SCHOOLS
Audley	1. Alsagers Bank National
	2. Audley National
	3. Audley Wesleyan
	4. Halmerend National
	5. Talke Butt Lane Church
	6. Talke Butt Lane Primitive Methodist
	7. Talke National
	8. Talke New Road Wesleyan
	9. Talke Pits St. Martin's Church
	10. Talke St. Saviour's National
	11. Woodlane Church
Betley	12. Betley National
Chorlton	13. Chapel Chorlton National
Keele	14. Keele Church
Madeley	15. Leycett Church
	16. Madeley Endowed
	17. Madeley Heath Church
	18. Onneley Church
Maer	19. Maer Church
Whitmore	20. Whitmore Church

and in Ashbourne, seven Anglican. Only in Leek Union, principally as a result of the presence of Norton parish and the town of Leek, did the pattern show a greater variety. Here the schools comprised seventeen Anglican, five Wesleyan, one British, one Congregational, one Primitive Methodist and one Roman Catholic. The provision of accommodation was almost sufficient in the town of Leek in 1871. Four National schools, two Wesleyan, one British and one Congregational school were considered adequate within the terms of the 1870 Act and the need to provide further accommodation was not pressing.¹ In addition there existed a Roman Catholic school which became sufficiently efficient to qualify for a grant in 1880.

Although the Board system operated in only six parishes outside the Potteries, Board schools made a notable contribution to the education of the area. At Mucklestone, the Board took over Knighton and Aston Church schools in 1875 and 1883 respectively.² Norton School Board obtained possession of Smallthorne Wesleyan New Connexion in 1876 and the Wesleyan and National schools at Milton in the same year.³ The Board subsequently replaced the school at Smallthorne by a new building in 1879 and built a further school at Norton Green in 1879-80. Bradeley Green Board school was opened by Norton Board in 1898. Three schools were built by Caverswall School Board between 1876 and 1884.⁴

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 2/401.
 2. M.S.B.Minutes, September 23rd, 1875; May 11th, 1883.
 3. Supra p.140.
 4. The Meir Board and Hulme and Werrington Board schools were opened in 1877 and Adderley Green Board in 1884.

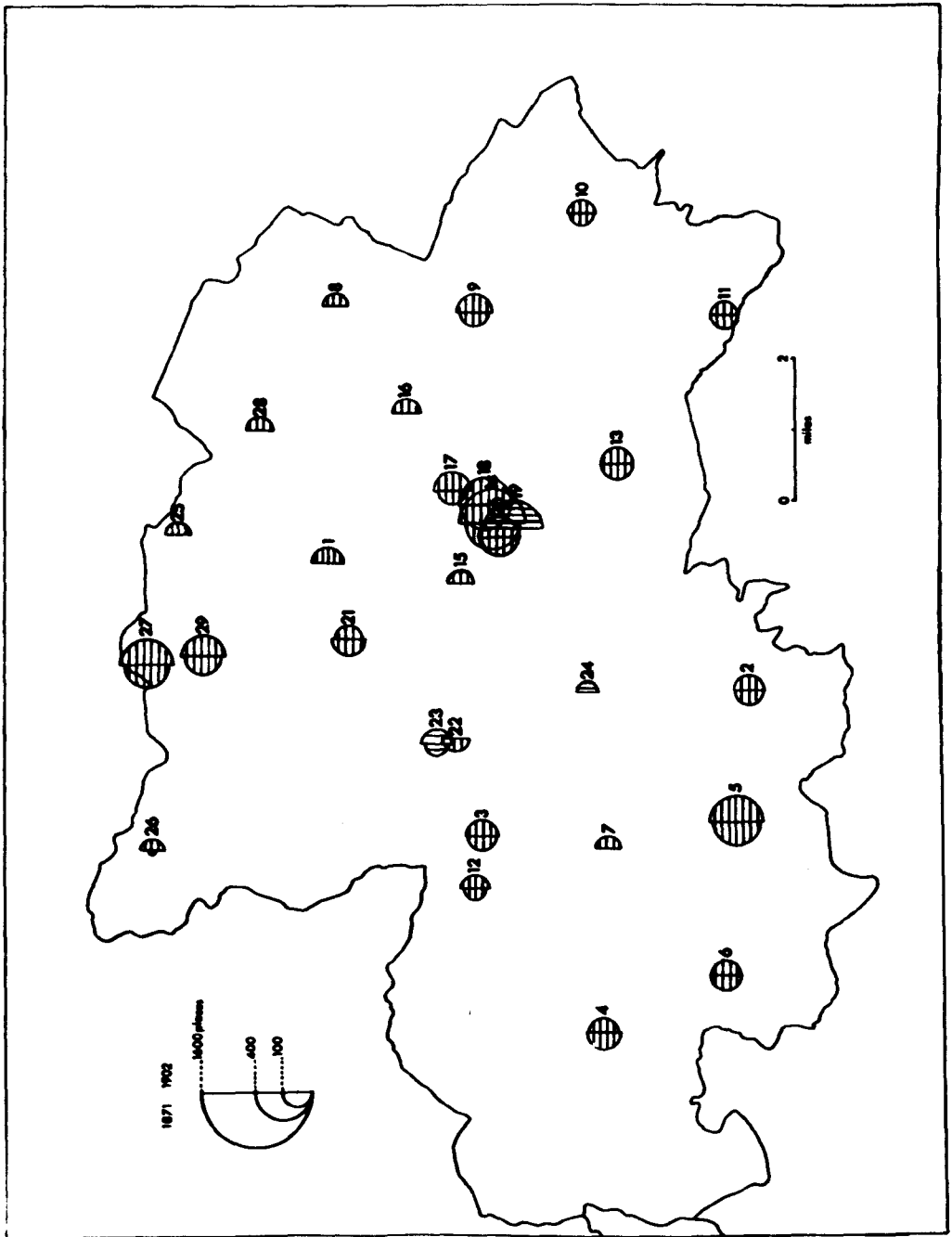


FIG. 35.

Stone School Attendance district schools, 1871 and 1902.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIG. 35.

STONE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRICT SCHOOLS

Parish	Schools
Barlaston	1. Barlaston National
Chebsey	2. Chebsey National
Eccleshall	3. Cotes Heath Church
	4. Croxton National
	5. Eccleshall National
	6. Offley Hay National
	7. Slindon National
Fulford	8. Fulford Church
Hilderstone	9. Hilderstone National
Milwich	10. Milwich Church
Sandon	11. Sandon Parochial
Standon	12. Standon Church
Stone	13. Aston National
	14. Christ Church National
	15. Meaford National
	16. Moddershall National
	17. Oulton National
	18. Stone Parochial
	19. Stone Roman Catholic
	20. Stonefield National
	21. Tittensor National
Swynnerton	22. Swynnerton Church
	23. Swynnerton Roman Catholic
	24. Yarnfield Roman Catholic
Trentham	25. Blurton Church
	26. Butterton National
	27. Hanford Church
	28. Rough Close Church
	29. Trentham Church

The responsibility of maintaining the Hulme and Werrington school was shared with Stoke School Board as it provided education for¹ children of both parishes.

The deficiencies in the moorland parishes of Heathylee, Onecote and Warslow and Elkstones were also made up by the establishment of Board schools, although the only school to be built by a Board in the area was at Upper Elkstone². In all the other cases, existing schools were taken over.

Whilst the establishment of new schools in the rural areas was less frequent than in the towns, the improvement of school premises to bring them up to the standards demanded by the Education Department was less rare. Many of the rural schools had commenced their existence in very unpromising circumstances. East Vale National in Caverswall parish was probably not untypical. It had started in a tub room at the back of a local public house in 1866. The school, situated over a pig sty and stables, had to be approached by a wooden ladder which had been, so it was reported, the cause of³ several serious accidents. The condition of Aston National in Mucklestone parish occasioned the following comments from H.M.I:-

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 2/397.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15965.
 3. P.R.O. Ed. 103/110/419.

"I have reported it in Form XA to be a farce as regards instruction. Moreover the building is fitted up as a place of worship and not as a school. It is entirely without offices and without desks, books and other apparatus....."(2)

In the case of Reap's Moor Church school near Fawfieldhead, H.M.I. reported that the school was held in a low room under the church. He suggested that the school should take over the Church and a new Church should be built elsewhere, adding that the recommendation had better not be stated in the particulars. ²

In the face of the threat of state intervention there were signs of a closing of the denominational ranks as is exemplified in the instance of the Wesleyan minister in Cheadle, who in 1891, cited the local Roman Catholic priest's support for a Wesleyan school.

"The Roman Catholic priest, in an interview he had with him last week said so crowded was his school, that the opening of the Wesleyan school was a relief to him." (3)

In concluding, it is appropriate to point out that this very great expansion in the provision of schools was accompanied by a commensurate increase in costs. The Annual Parliamentary grant to North Staffordshire schools rose from £11,046 in 1872-3 to £77,650 in 1902-3. The rise in the areas outside the Potteries in absolute terms was less dramatic, but in relative terms was still formidable,

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 2/402.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15729.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15675.

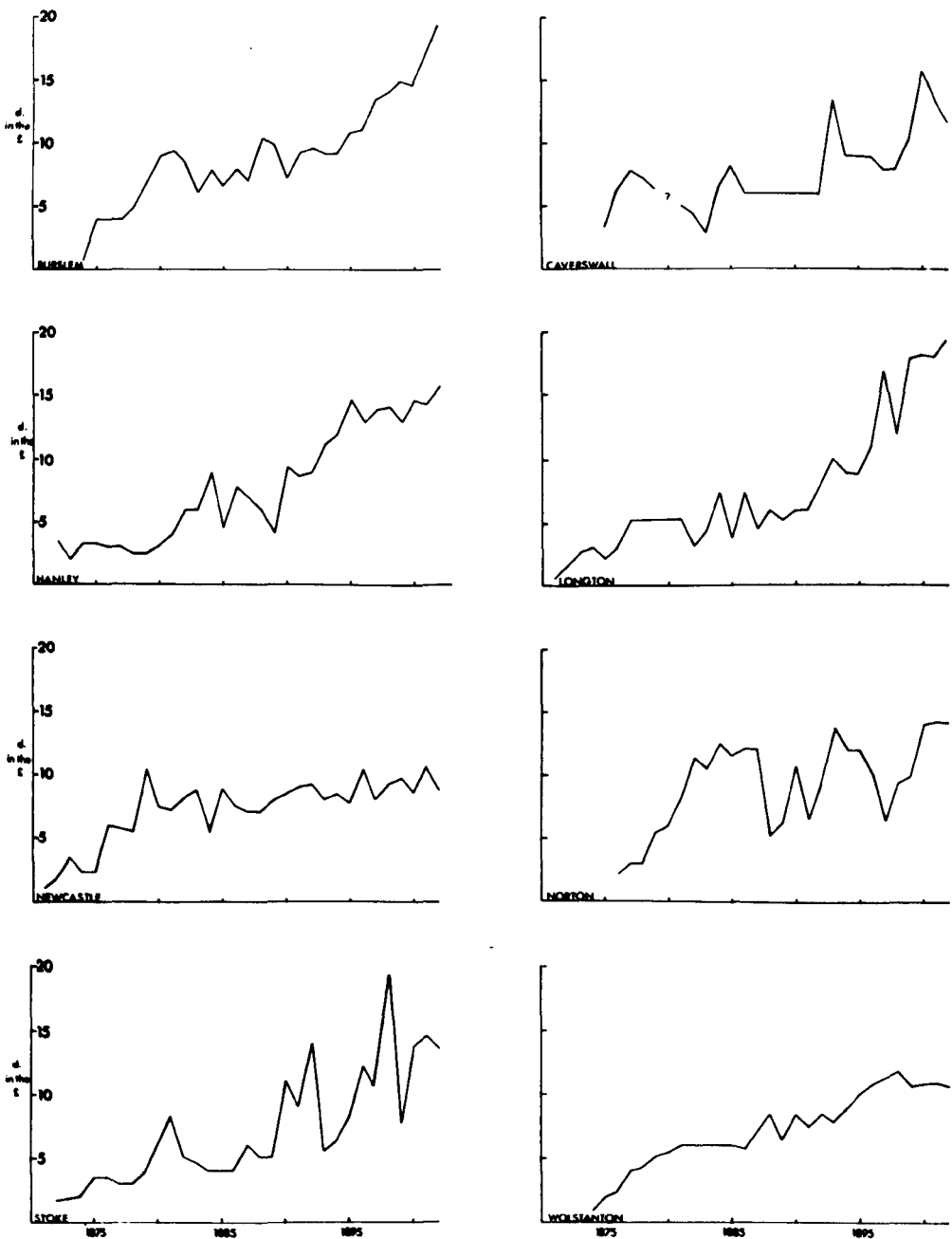


FIG. 36.

The Education Rate 1871-1903. (Potteries and adjacent school boards)

(Sources. R.C.C.E. 1871-1899. Reports of the Board of Education 1900-1903).

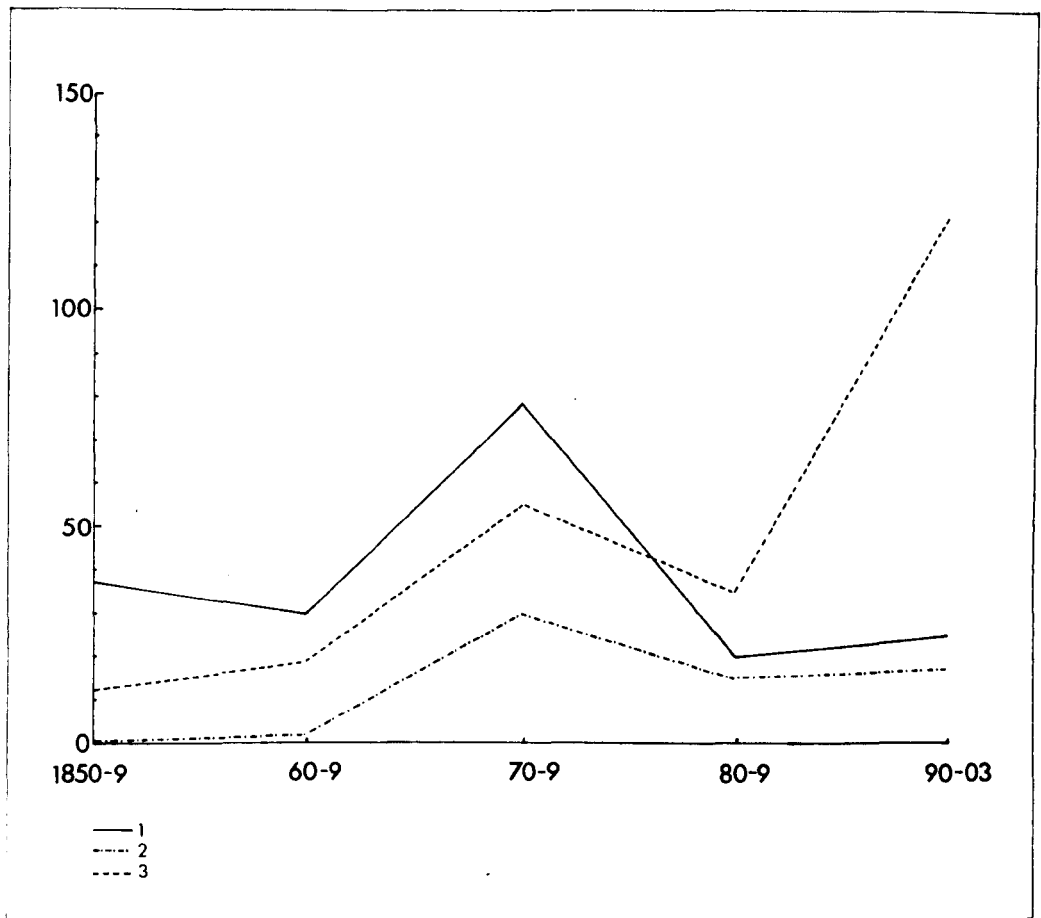


FIG. 37.

The Opening, Closure and Extension of public elementary schools in North Staffordshire, 1850-1903.

- (1. School openings.)
- (2. School closures.)
- (3. School extensions.)

having increased from £3,791 in 1872-3 to £19,926 in 1902-3.¹

The local costs are more difficult to determine in the case of voluntary schools as records of voluntary rates have not been discovered, but in the six urban School Board districts the education rate, which, before 1875, had been below 5d in the £1,² by 1880, had exceeded that figure everywhere except in Hanley where school building had been deferred to as late a moment as was decently possible (Fig.36).

During the 1880s which were relatively quiet times in terms of school building (Fig.37),³ the rate remained fairly stable and only in the case of Burslem did it exceed 10d in the £1 (in 1888-9 and 1889-90). The last thirteen years, however, experienced rises which were particularly spectacular in Burslem, Hanley and Longton. In these three districts the rate in 1902-3 was over 1/3d in the £1. During the same period, Stoke's rate, which had fluctuated rather wildly from a low point of 5½d in 1893-94 to 1/7¼d in 1898-99, settled in 1903 at 1/1½d.

In the rural School Boards the rate ranged from 0.8d in the £1 at Heathylee in 1881-82 and 1882-83 (although no rate was levied for the parish in 1887-88, 1889-90 and 1893-94) to 8.4d in the £1 at Micklestone in 1902-03. (Fig.38). In Norton and Caverswall the pattern was more

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1. The statistics have been drawn from the R.C.C.E. for 1872-3 and List of School Boards, 1902-3.
 2. At the time of the 1870 Act, it had been reckoned that a 3d rate would be quite sufficient for school purposes (Parl. Debates. 3rd series, Vol. 202, COL. 280).
 3. Thomas, B., Migration and Economic Growth (1954), p. 175. Chapter XI incorporates an interesting discussion of the causes of building cycles during the second part of the nineteenth century.

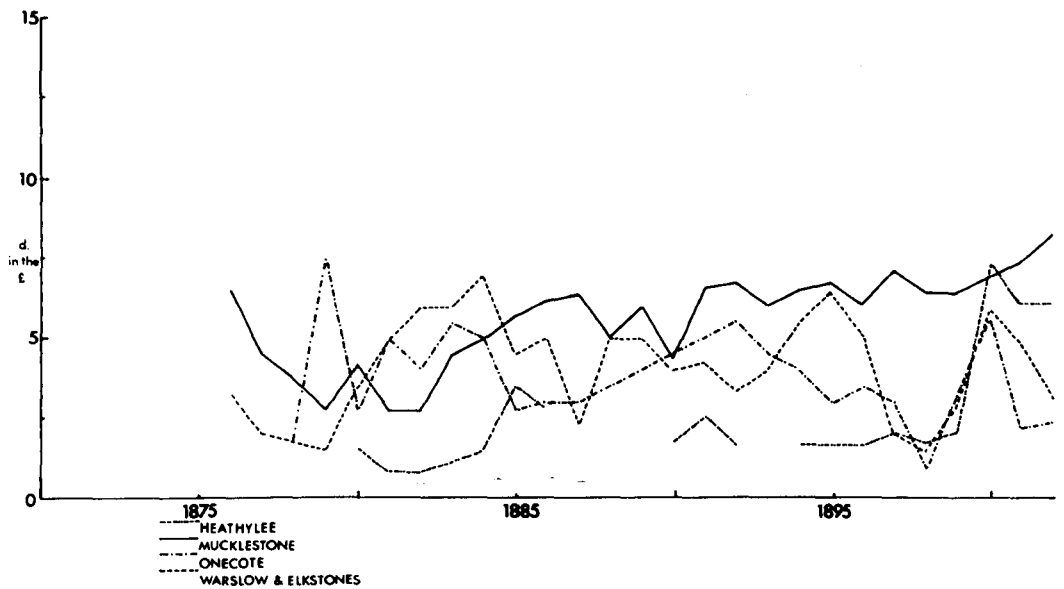


FIG. 38.

The Education Rate, 1871-1903 (Rural school boards in North Staffordshire).

(Sources: R.C.C.E. 1871-1899. Reports of the Board of Education 1900-1903).

similar to that of the Potteries Boards, although Caverswall did exhibit a marked stability between 1886 and 1893 when the rate remained at 6d. Except for five separate years, Norton's rate after 1881 was at the relatively high level of over 10d in the £1, finishing in 1902-3 at 1/2.1d (Fig. 36).

The survey confirms that the supply of "efficient" schools so improved during the period, that, by 1902, children in only a small portion of the northern part of the county lived further than two miles from a recognised school (Fig. 39)¹. Knowledge of this fact, however, afforded Nonconformists little consolation in the rural districts. They complained with some foundation that there was virtually no alternative to the compulsory attendance of their children at Anglican schools.² Apart from the school board districts where there were in theory Christian unsectarian schools, and the towns of Cheadle, Leek and Stone, only seven parishes in the whole of North Staffordshire were providing non-Anglican elementary schools in 1902.³ Of these, one, Swynnerton, only had Roman Catholic schools.

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1. Since the two-mile distance is calculated as a straight line, it follows that real distances on the ground would be greater, and, therefore, the maps represent the minimum of inconvenience for children. (Bamford, T., op. cit., p. 75).
 2. Wesleyan Education Report 1902-3, p. 18.
 3. The parishes were Alton, Audley, Biddulph, Checkley, Draycott-in-the-Moors, Eccleshall and Swynnerton.

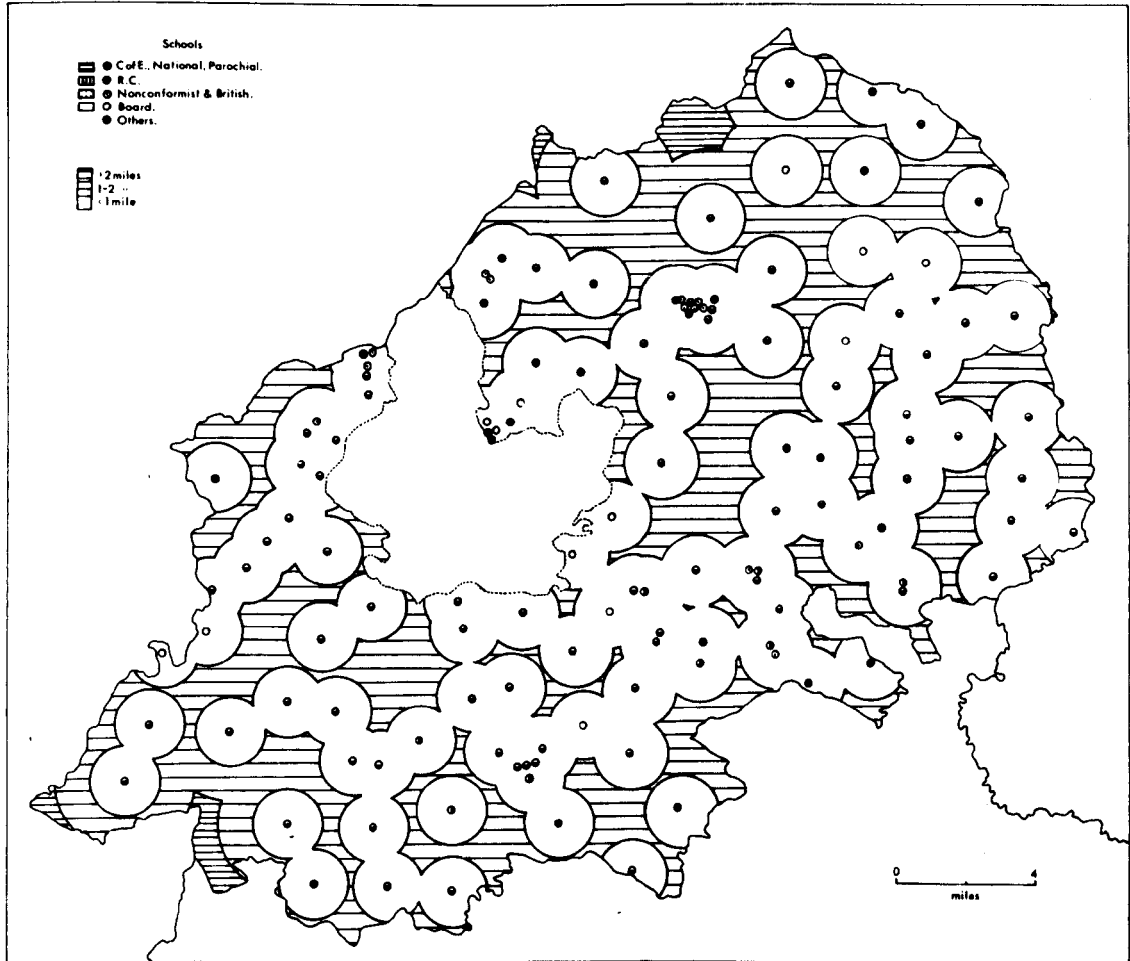


FIG. 39.

Distance from Public Elementary schools in North Staffordshire in 1903.

(Pottery townships not included)

It is plain that the dual system, as such, operated effectively only in the urbanised districts. In these areas, perhaps rather surprisingly, there appear to have been few serious instances of wasteful duplication of the educational service and, in those cases where it did occur, it seems to have had a relatively limited duration. Undoubtedly, in terms of detailed location, the sort of shortcomings alluded to at the beginning of this chapter continued to exist. Too often a school location was determined by financial exigencies and with little reference to geographical centrality and social needs. While the Education Department and later the Board of Education, with the advice of H.M.Is, looked at the matter in some detail, there was inevitably a strong feeling that an overall strategy was impossible. "The want of system in educational matters", noted by H.M.I. Sandford in 1870, was to persist throughout the period.

Chapter VII. Denominational influences and the administration of
Elementary Education.

The management of Voluntary schools was not radically affected by the operation of the provisions of the 1870 Education Act. The schools continued to be the responsibility of their own management committees which were constituted, in the main, to deal with single schools. In the towns, when geographical factors were favourable, some grouping of schools under a single management committee did take place. Such was the case in Stoke where the National schools prospered under the guidance of a committee directed in its early¹ days by Sir Lovelace Stamer. In the case of the North Staffordshire rural areas, the schools, divided by parish boundaries and separated by considerable distances and often difficult terrain, were managed individually.

The Roman Catholic and Nonconformist schools operated within a similar system, and in view of their smaller numbers and wider dispersion, provided less evidence of grouping for administrative purposes. At the same time the schools belonged to the broader,

1. Goldschmidt, L., op. cit., p. 112. The Stoke Church School Board did not superintend the work of the Anglican schools in Fenton where there existed a separate committee. (Wright, F., The Schools of the Parish of St. Peter ad Vincula, Stoke-upon-Trent (n.d.), p. 12.).

looser organisation of the appropriate parent body. The Church of England schools, to a very large degree, were in association with the National Society from which they could derive succour and advice. They also shared the advantages of common diocesan care and likewise the Roman Catholics and the Wesleyans enjoyed the security of their respective parent associations.

The quality of school management in North Staffordshire varied so widely that attention was drawn to the problem by H.M.I. Rice-Wiggin in his report in 1876-7. "I am persuaded," he wrote, "that there are many schools which are hardly visited by their managers once a year, and when they do come, they take no steps to ascertain how the school is going on. In fact it is laid down as an axiom by many of them that teachers are best left entirely by themselves." (1)

Rice-Wiggin pointed out "a marked pre-eminence in efficiency" in the schools attached to the Churches of England and Rome and to those entered as "British", whereas Wesleyan and Board schools suffered from indifferent management. The Wesleyan schools are "generally under managers who, with every good intention, are of social position and education little superior, or, too often, inferior to that of the teacher, and are thus ill-qualified to exercise an effective control over him: while they are also but indifferent judges as to whether the school itself is in a proper state as regards premises, work, subordinate staff etc." (2)

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1. R.C.C.E. 1876-7, p. 542.
 2. *ibid.*, p. 543.

The Board schools, "even where the boards are composed of persons of higher social and educational position, must I fear be expected generally to lack the hearty personal interest and watchful care which is the rule in the case of Church of England and Roman Catholic schools and is the fact in the case of the 1 British schools which I have classed as satisfactory."

That school board members should be interested in the schools was obviously not to be taken for granted if the following comments are representative:-

"The highest position on the list of attendance (at Hanley School Board meetings) belonged to Mr. Wood and then came himself. It was not only a matter of attendance, it was sometimes necessary that a member should take an interest in the schools. He knew of some members who had scarcely ever stepped inside....." (2)

The composition of the management of Voluntary schools in North Staffordshire varied considerably. In some instances the committees included personages important in national as well as county affairs. The Manningham-Bullers were well represented on the Management 3 committees of Dilhorne Free Endowed and Blyth Marsh Endowed schools. The Allens, father and son, who both represented Newcastle at Westminster in the nineteenth century, were managers of the Wesleyan

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1. R.C.C.E. 1876-7, p. 543.
 2. S.S., November 27th, 1891.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15708.

¹
school at Cheadle. Such examples are, however, infrequent. More usually the management committee comprised the local minister, tradespeople (or farmers in the country districts) who were often lay officials of the church or chapel and, in some cases, one or two industrialists or smaller landowners who usually figured prominently on the subscribers' lists. The rural character of the parishes bordering the Potteries is evident in the composition of the management committee of the Milton National schools in the Parish of Norton in the later 1870s and early 1880s. There the resident incumbent was supported by two farmers, two nurserymen, a builder, a land agent, a miller and the local station-master.² The composition of this committee contrasts markedly with that of Newcastle British school which in 1876 was comprised of one minister, one manufacturer, one local government officer, one professional man and seven tradesmen.³

Evidence to support H.M.I.'s contention that Wesleyan schools were less successfully managed because of the inferior quality of the members of the committees is not readily available and that which does exist is not conclusive. It is true that the small number of Wesleyan schools in the mining districts included on their

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15675.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15898, 15899.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16055.

committees men of the working class. For example Kidsgrove Wesleyan school had three miners on its management committee in 1877.¹ The important position of secretary to the committee was probably held in some cases by men of no great education. The secretary of Kidsgrove Wesleyan school was a grocer, as was the secretary to the management committee of Brindley Ford Wesleyan school in 1878.² H.M.I.'s judgements of the management of Anglican and Roman Catholic schools were likely to have been influenced by the fact that he only met the correspondent who was almost invariably the local vicar or Catholic priest.

In the rural districts the dominating position of the Anglican church in the field of education gave to the local incumbent the position of an education officer and the arbitrary exercise of his autocratic powers could result in considerable friction, especially where confronted by an independent teacher, or, as will be seen in a later chapter, by an antagonistic School Attendance Committee. In the mid-1870s, the Vicar of Cauldon and Waterfall, Rev. John Paine Sargent, encountered a particularly difficult situation in

1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15776.

2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15895.

1

the management of the little school at Waterfall. He had to contend with the disruptive influence of the schoolmaster, who in the opinion of the Vicar, had attempted to turn the management committee against him.

"The master, who does so much mischief to the school and parish, has quite excluded me from the School since June 1876 and D.Hall (a Trustee of the school) has deterred our best parishioner, Mr. John Townsend (a man of great wealth and ever ready to help us) from acting as a Trustee by slandering him and his family in a dreadful manner. I lament to have to add that lately Mr. D. Hall is trying to slander me in a most hideous way and has injured me much in my parish because I oppose the continuance of our present master in the Waterfall school", so wrote the Vicar to the

2

Education Department in May, 1878.

The end of the incident unfortunately is not revealed but the school was in receipt of an Annual Parliamentary Grant from 1880 which would seem to indicate the education provision was at least from that time of^a/satisfactory nature.

A similar confrontation of more formidable proportions developed between the correspondent, Rev. G.Brown and the headmaster of Aston National school near Stone in 1898. In that year Rev. G.Brown found himself faced by a new set of managers, supported by

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1. The school was only 41 feet by 16 feet at the time. (P.R.O.Ed. 21/15664).
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15966.

H.M.I. Yarde who had been instrumental in starting the fraud. Yarde had challenged Brown's right to be a manager in June 1898 when Brown had announced that he had given notice to the headmaster and had appointed another to start in September 1898. Yarde was firmly on the side of the headmaster, J.Plant, and the new managers. In an optimistic note dated 28.6.98, he had expressed the view that with the appointment of a committee supported by Mr. Harold Wright, the Stipendiary Magistrate for the Potteries, and Mr. Patterson, the principal parishioner, the matter would be closed. He added that he wished "all cases of unjust dismissal could be settled so satisfactorily." (1)

Patterson evinced the same conviction at the beginning of July when he wrote to Yarde, "Many thanks for your letter. Brown, knowing the game was entirely up, came to interview me yesterday and I seized the opportunity to let some home truths out straight which I trust will do him good. His giving in absolutely has prevented our calling a public meeting to condemn his action, so we are holding one for the village to allow them a voice in appointing the new committee of management of the schools. I think it is only right they should have a voice in the matter." (2)

The new committee came into being on July 11th but matters did not proceed as planned. Brown was not prepared to give up possession

1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15925.

2. ibid.

of the school. Patterson responded by taking the school by force. Brown wrote to the Education Department, complaining of the partiality of H.M.I. Yarde. In addition he issued a writ against Wright and Patterson for breaking into the school, putting on fresh locks and appropriating furniture. Brown also threatened to open his own school under the new headmaster in a building in the vicarage garden but this became unnecessary when he was granted an interim injunction which enabled him to regain possession of the National¹ school buildings.

The new managers, on the advice of the N.U.T., responded by helping Plant to establish a school in his own house. During the skirmishing, the Education Department had attempted to follow a neutral line but had been compromised by the unequivocal attitude² of H.M.I. Yarde.

In a letter, dated 18th September, 1898, Patterson, on behalf of the new managers, asked the Education Department for recognition of the Aston school as conducted by Plant, pointing out that the average attendance at the school was forty-three/^{as}compared with

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15925.
 2. H.M.I. Yarde appears to have been officially censured by Sir George Kekewich in September 1898 for recognising Plant's temporary school. (ibid).

sixteen at the Vicar's school. Patterson added that "the indignation aroused by the action of the Vicar was universal and pressure was brought to bear upon him by the Parish, the surrounding clergy and the Bishop of the diocese to withdraw the notice of dismissal of the schoolmaster without any justification whatever, not withstanding his 42 years service with the highest grants." (1)

The two schools continued through the winter of 1898 into the following spring. The civil action, Brown and others v. Patterson and another, was heard in February 1899 and judgement was given in favour of Brown. In spite of this, Plant's school continued to prosper with an average attendance in March of 45 compared with 7 in Brown's school. To force a final settlement, it was decided to apply to the Charity Commissioners to frame a scheme for the management of Plant's school and to obtain the general support of the parishioners for such a plan. This produced a partial success since Plant was formally reinstated on March 27th, 1899. Whereupon² Brown promptly closed the National school for the Easter holidays. Brown also claimed that Patterson had packed a meeting in March with his supporters when plans for new management were discussed but this argument did not impress the Education Department. The schools were eventually merged at the end of May 1899 but Brown continued to harass the management by hindering the execution of alterations

1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15925.

2. *ibid.*

recommended by H.M.I. Yarde. Brown accused Plant of being a heavy drinker and a frequenter of the spirit vaults of Stone. This led to Plant bringing a libel action against Brown in the summer of 1899. Yarde applied for the permission of the Education Department to appear as witness for the plaintiff. This was granted with some reservations.

Yarde continued to exert a not impartial influence during the autumn of 1899. In November he reported that he had advised "Mr. Patterson that if he was in his place (he) should have new keys made and that if Mr. Brown attempted to interfere with any repairs ordered by the Managers (he) should take proceedings against him..... The Archdeacon condemned Mr. Brown's action in the strongest possible terms and promised to back them up",

Yarde added a little practical advice. "In the winter months it is important that the fires should be lighted early. This of course cannot be done as long as Mr. Brown keeps the keys." (1)

Matters appear to have been settled at this point. Rev. G. Brown continued his ministry in that part of the parish of Stone for many years after these events and it would seem that an acceptable arrangement was devised.

Both cases confirm the extent of the power exercised by local incumbents in the management of their schools and the consternation expressed when they were challenged. The examples also reveal

the underlying insecurity of teachers in the nineteenth century, especially when caught in the cross-fire of rival factions. It seems to have been a particularly heartless decision to dismiss¹ Joseph Plant after forty-two years of service in the school without any clear cause being adduced. The second case also illustrates the partiality that H.M.Is occasionally exhibited and which did harm to the image of neutrality that was assiduously cultivated by the Education Department, and later by the Board of Education.

If the form of the management of voluntary schools was subject to considerable local variation, that of the Board schools was very much more uniform. While there existed individual school management committees usually comprising members of the school board, the general running of these schools was the responsibility of the whole board assisted by the Clerk who was the fore-runner of today's Director of Education or Chief Education Officer.

It is the purpose of the second part of this chapter to examine in some detail the composition of the school boards, which were the sources of these managers, in terms of their socio-economic and political structures and also the elections which were held to establish their triennial existences. A growing interest by social

1. R.C.C.E. 1858-59, p. 42.

historians in the socio-economic and political character of school boards has revealed some evidence of regional variations.¹ Detailed examination of the membership has given an indication of the degree of involvement of the denominations, in particular of their ordained members, within the framework of the rate-aided system and has demonstrated the extent to which the widening franchise of late Victorian Britain permitted an increased participation of the working classes.

It has been possible to obtain information to cover only the six Potteries School Boards and two rural boards within North Staffordshire. The material for the other five boards is fragmentary, and for this reason, cannot be used effectively in this context. It has, however, been possible to increase the representation of rural boards by including information relating to the School Board of Seighford, a parish lying on the southern margins of the Stone Union and sharing a common boundary with Eccleshall and Chebsey, parishes within that Union.

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1. For such studies vide, Bingham, J., The Period of the Sheffield School Board, 1870-1903 (1949); Gill, A., The Leicester School Board, 1871-1903 (1968). (Chapter 6, Education in Leicestershire, 1540-1940); Pullen, R., Factors influencing the election of Hull School Board, 1871-1901. Unpublished M.Ed. thesis (Manchester University) (1967); Ratcliffe, K., Elections and the School Boards: Teesside, 1870-1902. Journal of Educational Administration and History, Vol. II. No. 2. (1970).

Attempts have been made to analyse the membership of the boards under the following headings:-

1. Length of service by "party" group. (Fig. 40).^{*}
2. Representation of "party" by time served. (Fig. 41).
3. Length of service of members of religious bodies. (Fig.42).
4. Chairman and Vice-chairman by "party" (Fig . 43).
5. Representation by socio-economic group by number of members. (Fig.44).
6. Chairman and Vice-chairman by socio-economic group. (Figs. 45 and 46).

Clearly, differentiation based upon socio-economic groupings is not a simple task. The fundamental problem of determining the criteria which distinguish one class from another is still largely unresolved as it has proved difficult to establish a definition and form of measurement which would be universally acceptable. ¹ Ideally income groupings would provide a sound base since there exists an undoubted connection between standards of living and social class. This information is not readily available, but as income is broadly related to employment, occupational groups do provide a basis for social differentiation. This is supported by the fact that since

1. These problems are also discussed by W. Armstrong in An Introduction to English Historical Demography (ed. Wrigley, E.)(1966), pp.272-3. The schemes of P. Tillott, described in reports dated September and November 1966 and in Census Newsletter N.L.3 (July 1968) have also been consulted.

1911 the Census Authorities have divided the population into occupational groups and these have by tradition become recognised as "social classes".

The scheme adopted here, whilst approximating to that used by Tillott in 1966, has been modified in the light of the experience¹ of Pullen whose categories were designed as a measure of the occupational status of the members of Hull School Board. Whilst a degree of subjectivity is acknowledged it has the advantage of providing a finer division in the middle-class range from which the majority of the members of the school boards was drawn.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Group A. | Men of Independent means and Large Business Men. |
| Group B. | Professional and Managerial Men and Ministers of Religion. (2) |
| Group C. | Small Business Men and Minor Officials. |

-
1. Pullen R., op. cit., pp. 156-7.
 2. As far as ministers of religion are concerned, there is a considerable range of social class. Many Anglican ministers should properly be included in Group A, while Nonconformist ministers, particularly those of the Primitive Methodist sect, would be more correctly classified in Group C. For the purposes of this study, a consolidated class has been adopted.

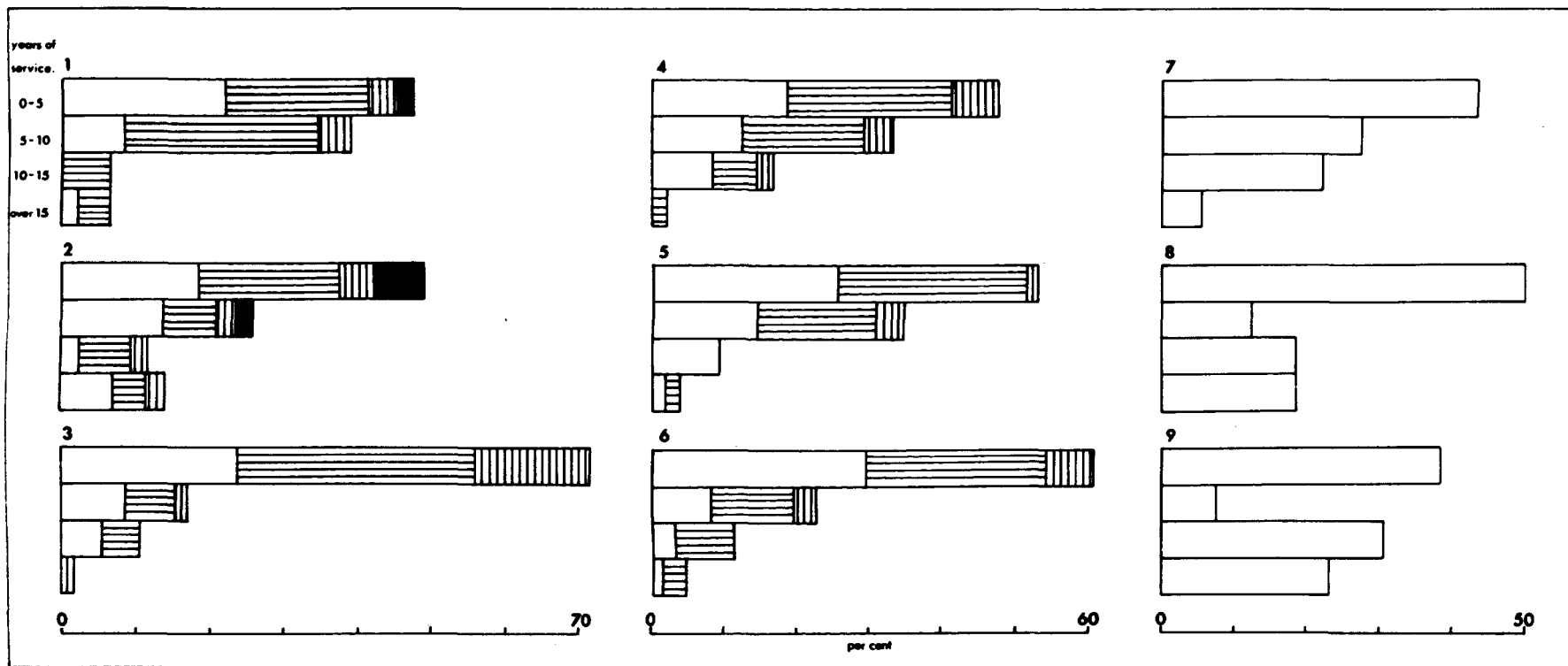
Group D. Craftsmen and Artisans.

¹
Group F. Farmers.

²
Group W. Women.

Occupations have been established by recording the candidate's description of his employment at the time of election. As has been indicated, this description may have been embellished to create a better personal image before the electorate,³ and, whenever possible, checks have been made with Directory sources. When this information has not been provided by the members, Directory sources have been used and further reservations concerning accuracy must be recognised. Occupations also change through the course of time with resulting movements up and down the social scale. No attempt, however has been made in this study to take account of such changes and a consistent policy has been followed to allocate to that class which is established by the recorded occupation at initial election.

-
1. The position of farmers in a hierarchical frame-work is also difficult to establish since it is possible that as a group, like ministers of religion, they would include persons from every shade of the spectrum of late nineteenth century classes. In view of the fact that they do represent a distinctive occupational group, it has been decided to isolate them as a separate category.
 2. For complete socio-economic table vide Appendix 2. Whilst it would be possible to distribute the female members according to the station of their male parent or husband, it is felt that since they also formed a distinctive element within the composition of the boards, their representation should be identified separately. It provides further evidence of the growing political involvement of women during this period.
 3. Pullen, R., op. cit., p. 157, Jones, G., Borough Politics (1969), p. 350.



Nine School Boards of North Staffordshire: Length of service by 'party' group.

1. Burslem. 2. Hanley. 3. Longton. 4. Newcastle. 5. Stoke. 6. Wolstanton. 7. Heathlye.

8. Mucklestone. 9. Seighford.

(for Key vide Fig. 41. Note that for the rural School Boards of Heathlye, Mucklestone and Seighford, party grouping is not identified).

Similar difficulties arise in the task of identifying party allegiances. The broad division of Moderates and Progressives has been applied and, although Liberal Churchmen have been found, they have been classified as Moderates on the undoubtedly disputable grounds that in educational matters, such a person was likely to identify with the cause of the supporters of the Voluntary schools. Where Wesleyan and other Nonconformists have been shown to be supporters of Voluntary schools, they too have been listed as Moderates. Independents though their political affiliations have¹ been established, have remained in this category.

The average length of service for the nine school boards was 7.3 years with 11.6 as the average for the longest (Seighford) and 4.8 for the shortest, (Longton). The average for the six urban boards was 5.8. The percentage of members serving less than five years ranges from 71.2% at Longton, to 47.6% and 47.8% at Newcastle and Burslem respectively and to 38.5% at Seighford.

Consideration by party shows that for the urban school boards, the Moderates tended to remain on the boards for marginally shorter periods than their Progressive opponents - (percentage of Moderate members serving over ten years, 6.7; Progressives, 7.8) (Fig.40).

1. No differentiation by party has been possible for the rural school boards.

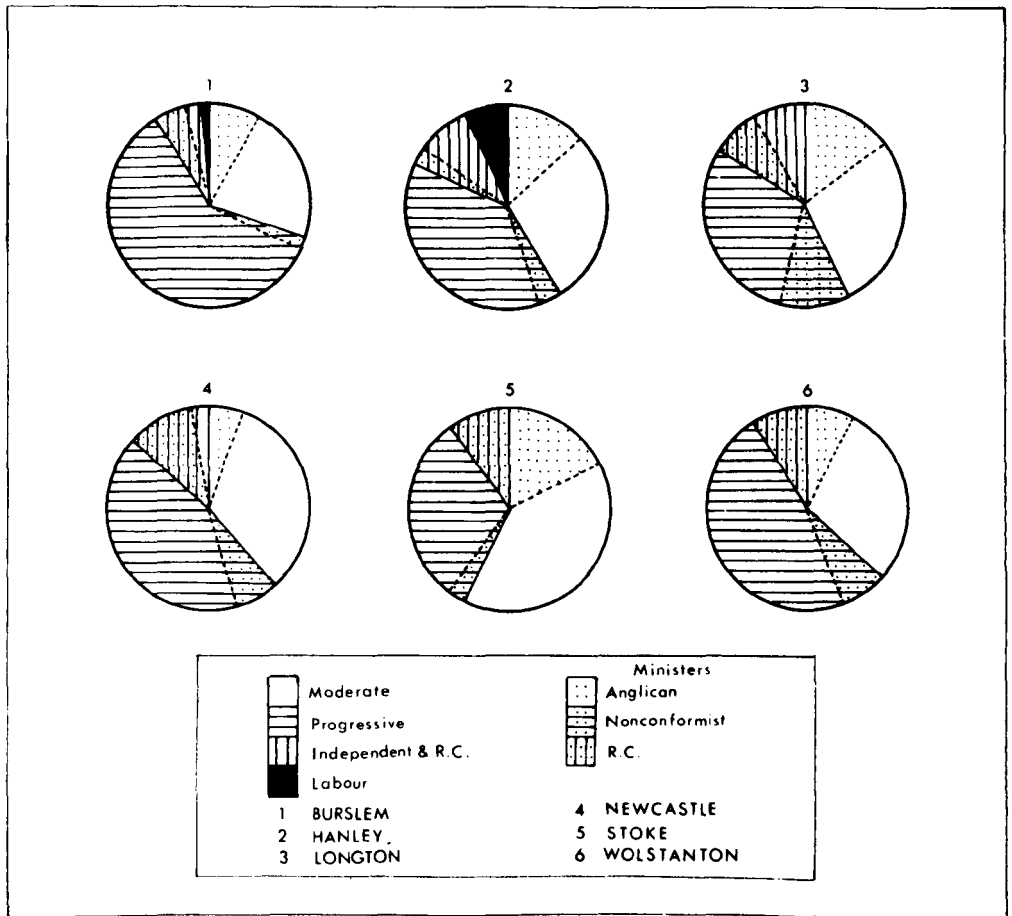


FIG. 41.

School Boards of the Potteries: Time served by all members by 'party' group.

Again contrasts exist between the "Moderate dominated" Stoke Board with 10.9% of its Moderate members serving for over 10 years and no Progressive serving for that length of time, and Burslem and Wolstanton Boards which were "Progressive-dominated". In these cases, the Moderates with service of over 10 years accounted for 2.2% of Burslem membership and 4.8% of Wolstanton's. On the other hand, at Burslem 10.8% of the membership was made up of Progressives with service of over 10 years and for Wolstanton the figure was 11.3%. Fig. 41. confirms the dominance of the Moderate party at Stoke and the comparable pre-eminence of the Progressives at Burslem and Wolstanton. At Longton and Hanley the Moderates had a slight edge on the Progressives but it is important to note that the balance was tipped against the Moderates at Hanley by the presence of the Labour representatives.

Fig. 42. reveals the relative importance of the various ministers of religion in the composition of the school boards. In this respect Stoke and Longton show the greatest degree of participation (Stoke, 30.8% of the total time served by all members; Longton 34.2%). At the other end of the scale, Heathylee, Burslem and Mucklestone exhibit considerably lower proportions (2.1% : 15.1%: 15.7%). The very low percentage for Heathylee is a result of the absence of a

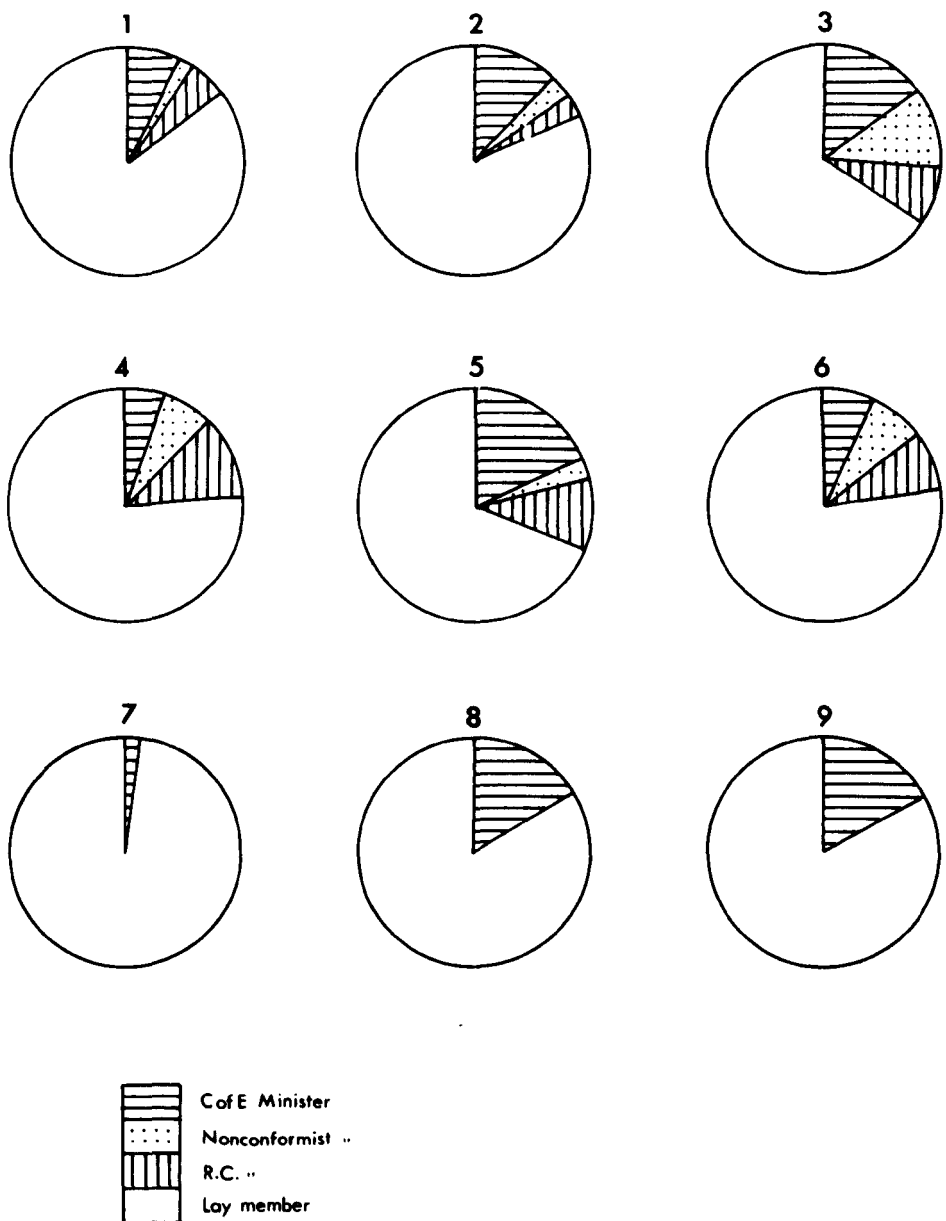


FIG. 42.

Nine School Boards of North Staffordshire: Length of service of ministers of religion.

(Boards numbered as in Fig. 40).

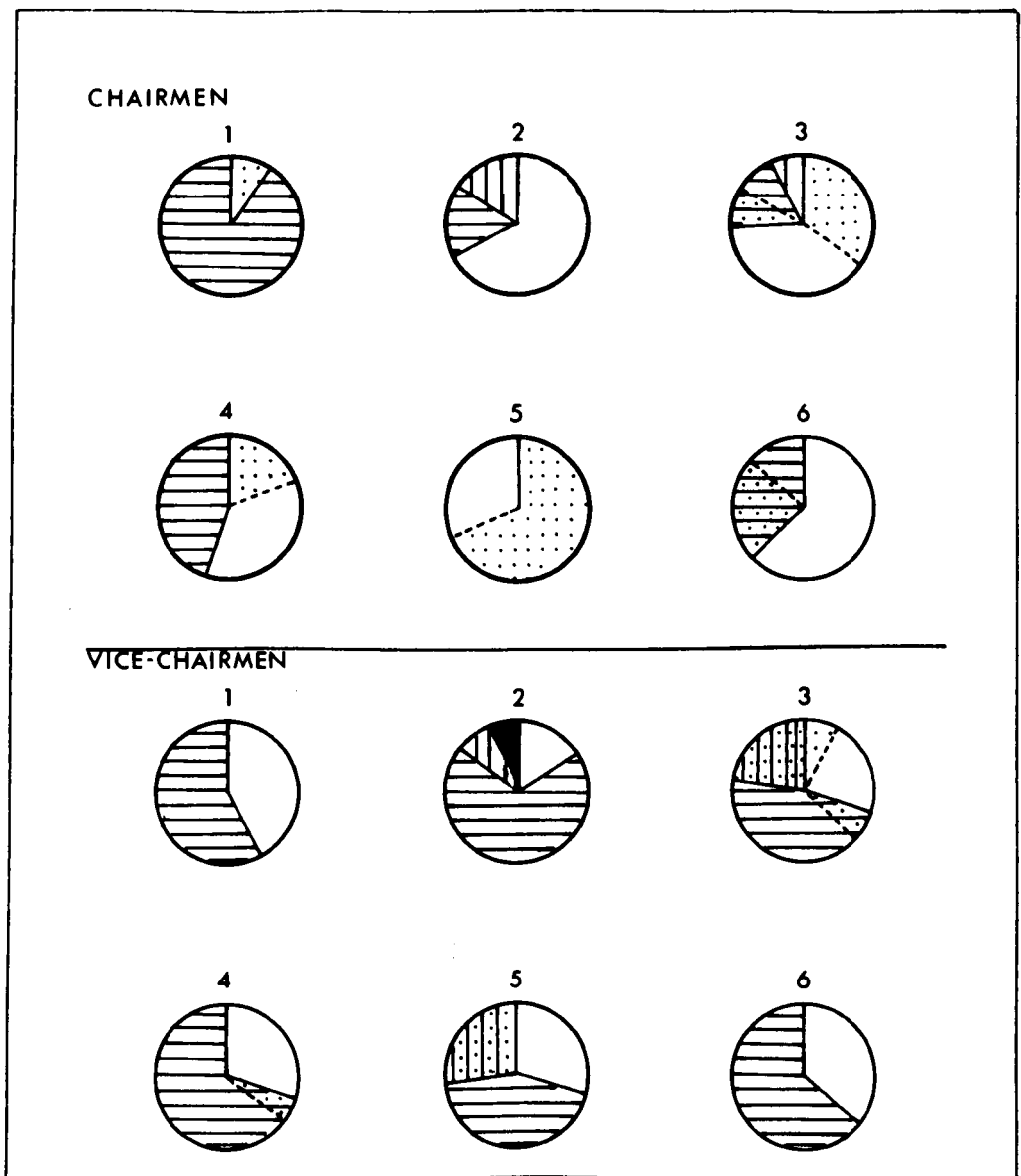


FIG. 43.

Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the School Boards of the Potteries:
Time served by 'party' group.

(Key as on Fig. 41.)

resident Anglican minister in the parish.¹ In general, the Church of England clergy occupied a greater proportion of the total time served than either the Nonconformist ministers or the Roman Catholic priests.²

If Fig. 42 is combined with Fig. 43, it is possible to establish, to a further extent, the degree of participation of the ordained. The significance of the influence of the Anglican ministry in the working of the School Boards of Longton and Stoke is clearly demonstrated. This may be contrasted with the situation at Hanley where no minister of religion ever occupied the position of either Chairman or Vice-chairman.

In terms of socio-economic groups (Fig. 44), Stoke and Burslem exhibit similar patterns, although Burslem is more strongly represented by Group A members and Stoke has no Group D representation. The inclusion of some rural areas within the Stoke School Board area is reflected in the presence of a small farming element. Hanley and

-
1. In rural boards where the complement was normally five, the expected proportion for ministers of religion was 20% since it was usual for the local Anglican minister to occupy one seat for the duration of the existence of the Board. Nonconformist and Catholic ministers were less frequently engaged in this work in rural areas where their commitment was weaker. This state of affairs is confirmed by the experience of North Staffordshire.
 2. Among the notable Roman Catholic priests who served upon the school boards of the Potteries was Edward Ilsley. He was a member of the Longton School Board from 1871 until 1873 when he became Bishop of Birmingham in succession to William Ullathorne.

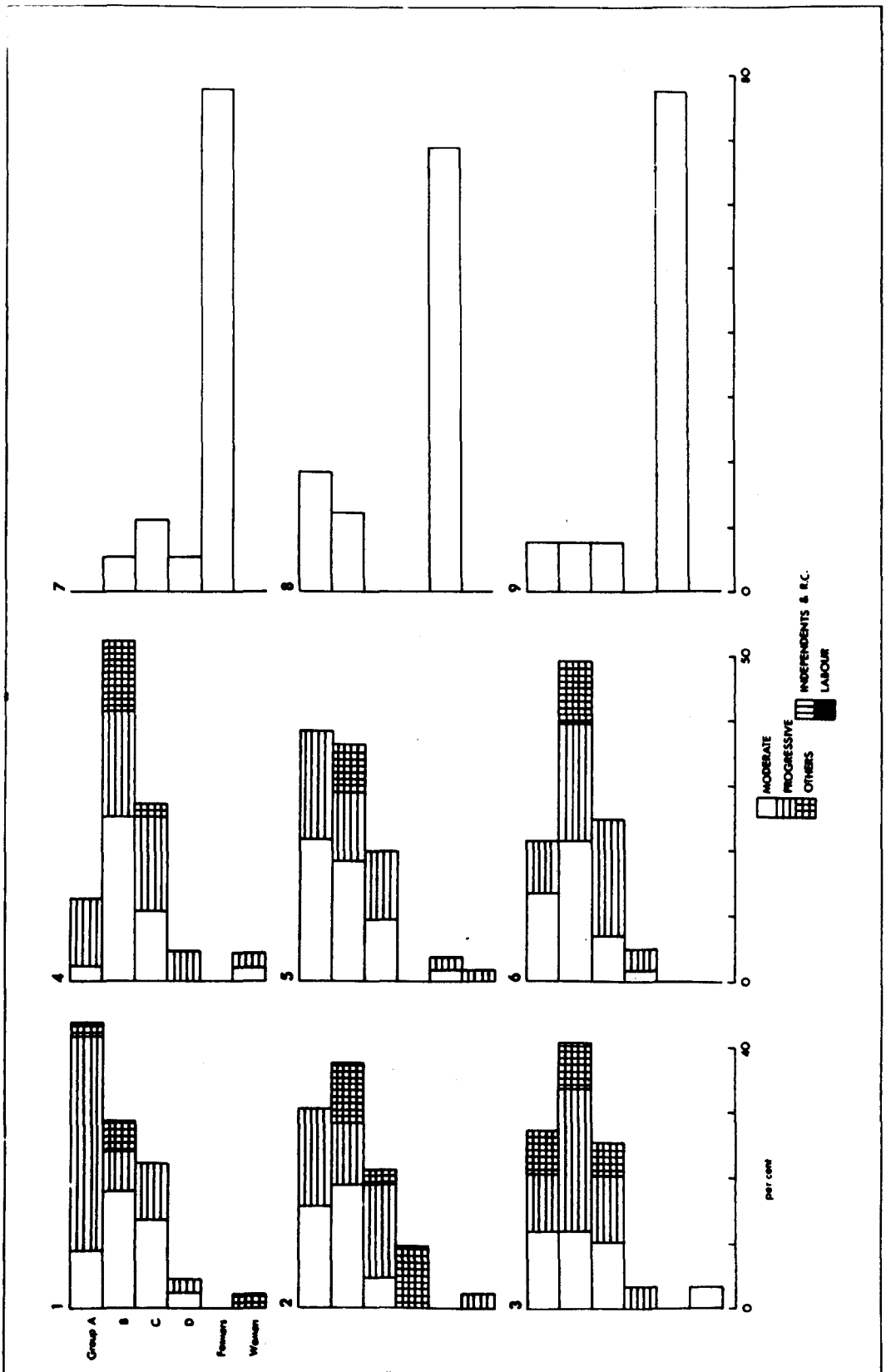


FIG. 44.

(for details vide over page)

FIG. 44.

Nine School Boards of North Staffordshire: Representation
by socio-economic group by number of members.

(Political affiliation not shown for rural School Boards)

(Boards numbered as in Fig. 40.).

Longton are similar in that they both show the importance of Group B membership and their Group A is more significant than their Group C representation. Newcastle and Wolstanton, whilst also displaying the preponderance of Group B membership, reveal Group C as being more important than Group A.¹ Wolstanton is exceptional amongst the six urban school boards in having at no time a female representative. The rural school boards all exhibit the importance of the farming interest.

The socio-economic status of the Chairmen and Vice-chairmen reveals a relatively mixed pattern (Figs 45 & 46). The importance of Group A representation in Burslem is emphasised but this is less marked in the case of Stoke. Longton's lack of Group A membership was so evident that it occasioned the following comments:-

"It has been said that they should have a manufacturer on the Board, as it was thought that in the past the Board had dealt with this class of the community..... Mr. Turner said when visiting the various manufacturers he was met with the remark that their class was not represented on the Board....." (2)

-
1. The significant participation of professional men in the work of Newcastle School Board would seem to indicate the greater interest of such people in educational rather than in general municipal affairs, if Professor Bealey is correct when he remarks, "very few industrialists intervened in the town's affairs and until well into the twentieth century the burden of municipal affairs was borne by shopkeepers and small businessmen with a sprinkling of the professional classes". (Bealey, F., et. al., op. cit., p. 38).
 2. S.S., February 24th, 1883.

The significance of Group B representation is indicated in the cases of Newcastle and Longton and contrasts in this instance with Wolstanton where members of Group C appear to have played an increasingly important part. Hanley, which as far as the class of Chairman is concerned, is similar to Longton, exhibits a pattern more like that of Wolstanton in the case of its Vice-chairmen.

Artisans (Group D) were excluded in all cases from the position of Chairman and only in Hanley and Newcastle were they able to¹ achieve the position of Vice-chairman.

The rural parishes of Mucklestone and Seighford are very similar in the composition of their School Boards and do provide a contrast with Heathylee. Anglican ministers exerted considerable influence in the organisation and administration of the education in Mucklestone² and Seighford throughout the period but Heathylee's lack of a resident incumbent meant that the responsibility for management was left with the 'farming' interest.

-
1. The under-representation of the working classes was partially a reflection of the local government suffrage. Even as late as 1919 only about two-thirds of the Parliamentary electorate were eligible to vote in local government elections in Newcastle-under-Lyme (Bealey, F., et. al., op. cit., p. 41).
 2. Similarly Norton had an Anglican minister as Chairman from 1891 to 1897 and from 1900 until 1901. Caverswall had an Anglican minister as Chairman from 1875 to 1888 and in the rural parishes of Onecote and Warslow and Elkstones, Church domination was complete with the local incumbent, almost by tradition, accepting the position of Chairman of the School board. (Vide, Appendix 7).

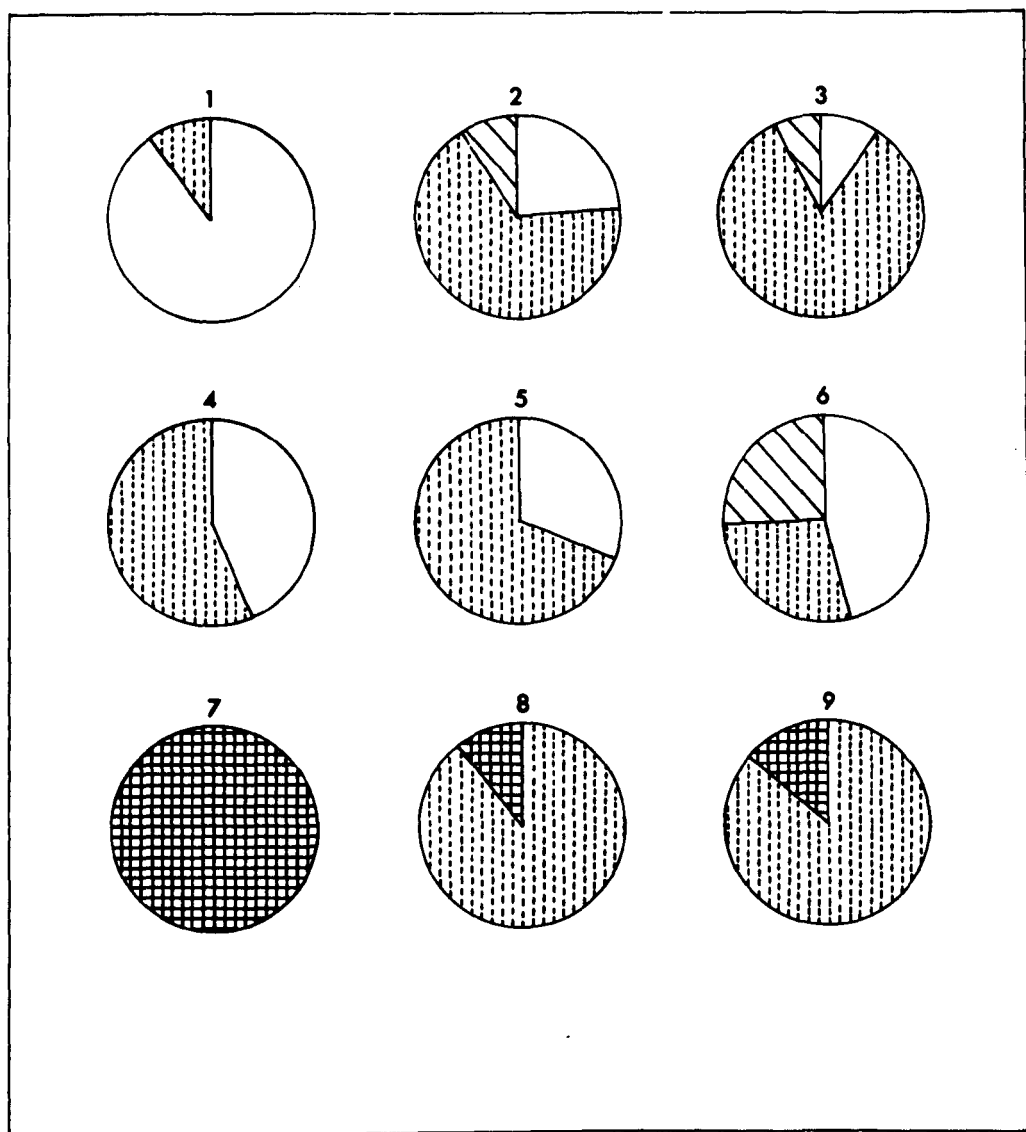
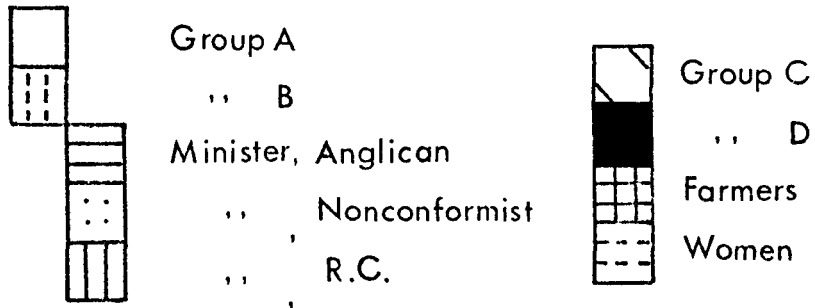


FIG. 45.

Chairmen of nine School Boards of North Staffordshire: Time served
by socio-economic group.

(Key over page)

KEY to FIGS. 45, 46 & 47.



School Boards

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Burslem | 5. Stoke |
| 2. Hanley | 6. Wolstanton |
| 3. Longton | 7. Heathylee |
| 4. Newcastle | 8. Mucklestone |
| 9. Seighford | |

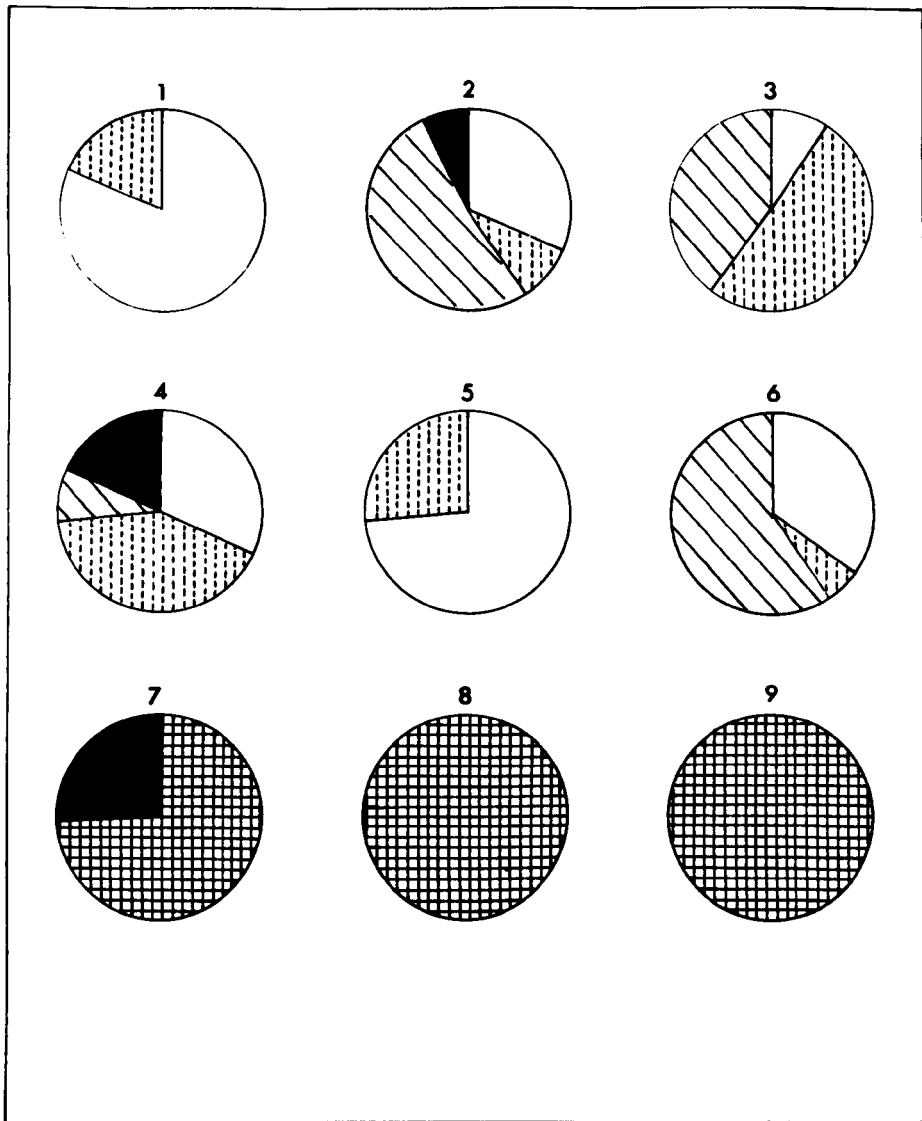


FIG. 46.

Vice-Chairmen of nine School Boards of North Staffordshire:
Time served by socio-economic group.

(Key as for Fig. 45).

Fig. 47 indicates the broadening class representation on the urban boards as the years passed. Whilst the participation of Group A members declined, working class representatives became more numerous in the later years and this is linked with the increasing involvement of Labour candidates, particularly in the work of the Hanley and Burslem Boards. Election expenses and the difficulties of attending afternoon meetings had hindered the active participation of the working classes in the early years and it was only with the emergence of full-time and part-time paid Trades Union officials that they became able to contribute a lively voice in the deliberations of the boards.

While ministers of religion always played a significant role in the work of the school boards of North Staffordshire, their participation in numerical terms increased with the passing of the years. Whereas in 1871, in the four urban boards, there were seven¹ out of thirty-six members (19.4%), in 1901, in the six urban boards² the figure had grown to seventeen³ out of sixty-four (28.1%). The influence of individual ministers depended to a considerable degree upon the length of service, and in this respect the Anglicans

-
1. Three Anglican and four Roman Catholic ministers.
 2. Ten Anglican, four Nonconformist and three Roman Catholic ministers.
 3. A similar growth in the clerical element has been noted in the Hull school board where the numbers grew from one in 1871 to seven in 1895. (Pullen, R., op. cit., p. 135).

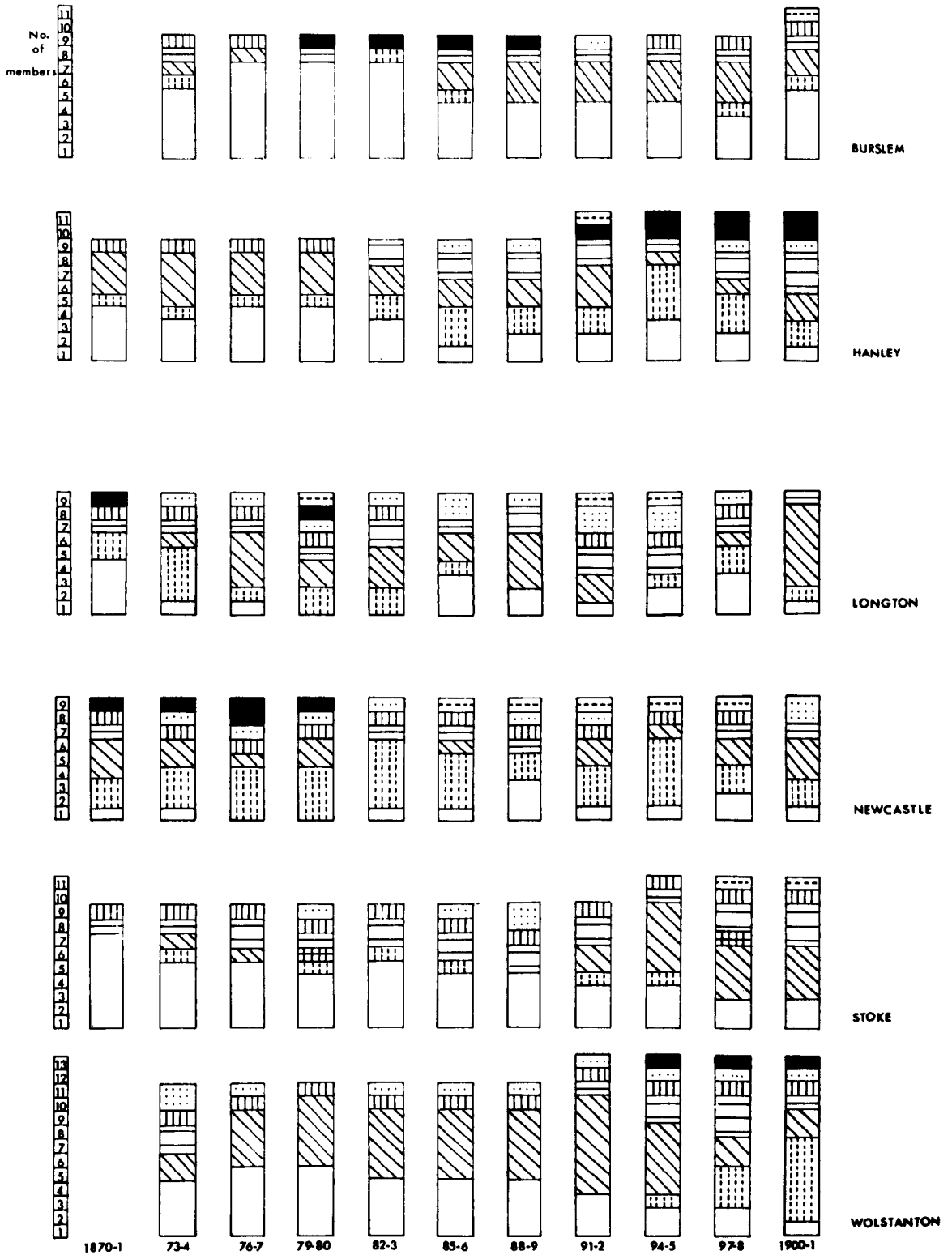


FIG. 47.

The School Boards of the Potteries, 1870-1903. Representation by socio-economic group. (By-elections not included).
(Key as for Fig. 45).

and Roman Catholics had some advantage over their Dissenting brothers since "Circuit" arrangements precluded the possibility of a long period of residence by a Nonconformist minister in one locality. The consequence of this caused some concern to the members of the Longton School Board in 1901 as is revealed in the following report:-

"There is all the more reason that he (Mr. French) should not retire from the Board because the Rev. Mr. Fleming, the esteemed Chairman of the expiring Board will be removing from the district in the course of eighteen months, in consequence of the Circuit arrangements of the Church and as the Board will then, at any rate, if not before, lose the advantages of Mr. Fleming's services, it is extremely desirable that the Board should not also be minus the present Vice-chairman." (1)

In the six urban school boards where ministers of many denominations were represented, 48.4% of the Anglican and 55.5% of the Roman Catholic ministers served for more than five years. This is in marked contrast with 21.5% of Nonconformist ministers who served for more than five years; and to emphasise the point that while 15.1% of the Anglican and 22.2% of the Roman Catholics ministers served for over ten years, no Nonconformist ministers served for more than that length of time.

1. S.S., January 4th, 1901.

ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM

p. 217.

Second paragraph should read as follows:-

" of a possible sixty-four elections in the six urban school boards, forty-three were contested. Electoral activity also tended to vary geographically. At Wolstanton and Burslem, only five of the ten elections in each parish were brought to the voters. On the other hand....."

School Boards did much to bring national politics into the local scene. Elections in the urban areas of North Staffordshire were fought on party lines and not only did they give rise to the further development of the organisation of the two major parties at the local level, but they also gave an opportunity to the emerging socialist groups to test their strength, especially after the franchise reforms of the mid-1880s. Elections were fought frequently in the Potteries but in the surrounding rural and semi-rural districts¹ such contests were much rarer.

Of a possible sixty-four elections in the six urban school boards, forty-four were contested. Electoral activity also tended to vary geographically. At Wolstanton, only five of the ten elections were brought to the voters and at Burslem, six out of the same number ended in the polling booths. On the other hand, at Hanley, Newcastle and Stoke, nine of the eleven elections were disputed. In general, the principal electoral activity was confined to the early and final years of the period under consideration. This broad pattern may in part be explained by the fact that there existed the novelty of the process in the first years; while, in the last decade

1. Although evidence is incomplete, it would seem that at Norton and Caverswall about half the elections were contested, and at Onecote and Warslow and Elkstones there was a contested election on only one occasion in each parish.

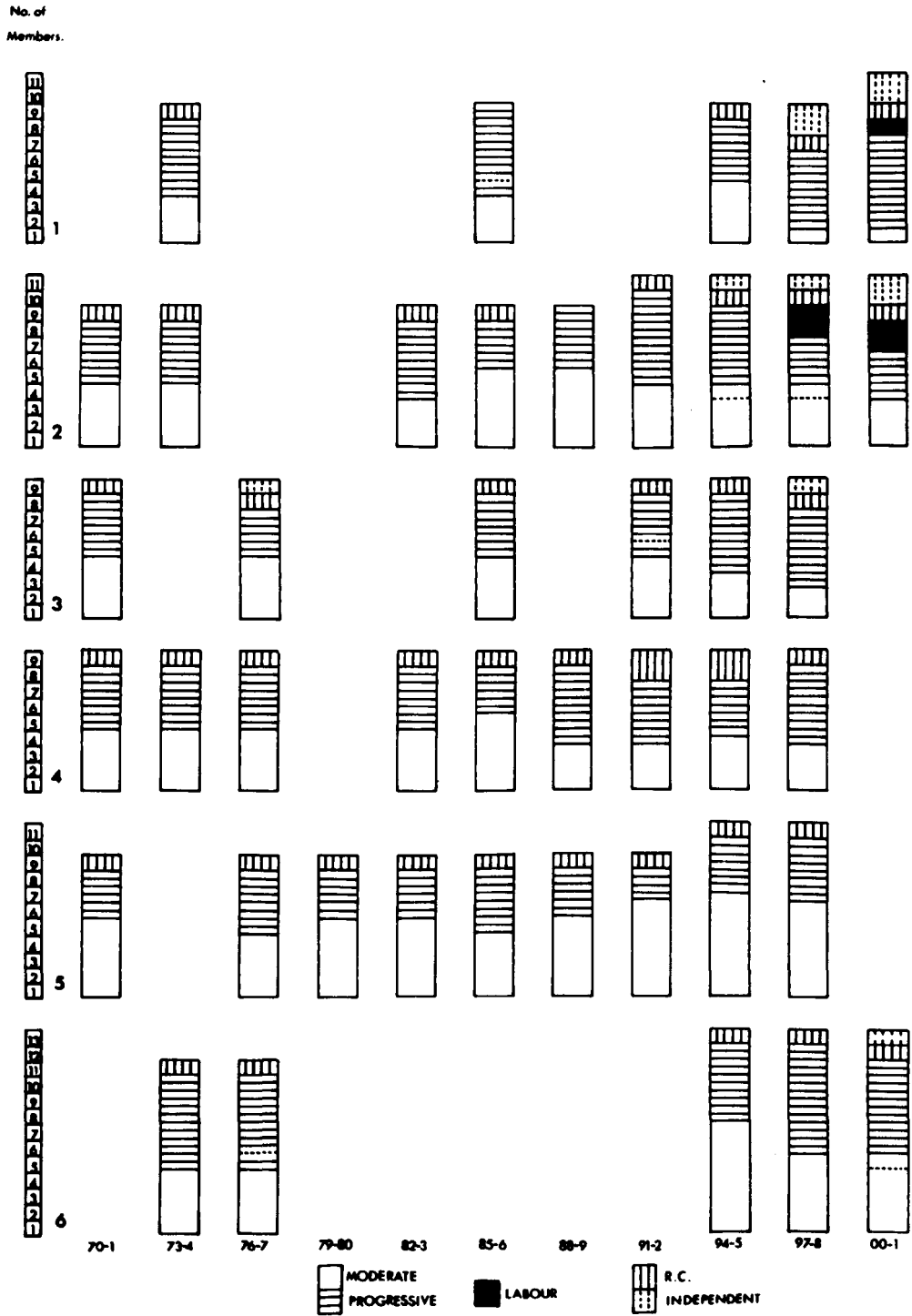


FIG. 48.

(For details vide over page)

FIG. 48.

School Board Elections in the Potteries, 1870-1903;
Representation by 'party' group.

(Where dotted lines exist, this indicates a member of
'independent' tendencies although identified with principal
party group).

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. Burslem | 2. Hanley | 3. Longton |
| 4. Newcastle | 5. Stoke | 6. Wolstanton |

of the century, the Moderates, conscious of the need to challenge the school board system from within, and encouraged by the declining fortunes of the Liberal Party, renewed the contest and fought with notable successes, especially in the 1894-5 elections, to gain the¹ control of the school boards of the Potteries (Fig.48).

Participation of eligible voters in the contests varied considerably throughout the period. For the elections where statistical evidence has been preserved, the polls fluctuated from 84% and 89% in Newcastle and Longton respectively in the spring of 1871 to 29% at a Burslem election in 1886. This low poll is matched by a figure of 32% in the 1883 election at Stoke but these two figures are exceptional and both occurred in the calms of the eighties. In the case of Burslem, the low turn out may further be explained by the fact that no contest had taken place since the first election in 1874. Generally the poll was somewhere between² 60% and 70%. Even in the final years when the future of the

-
1. It is noticeable that in the Potteries the main periods of school board activity do coincide broadly with those times when the fortunes of the Conservative party were in the ascendancy.
 2. cf. 60-70% for Newcastle's local government election after 1870 (Bealey, F., et. al., op. cit., pp. 42-43).

boards was so uncertain, the polls were still between 50% and 60%.¹

Later elections did not reproduce the excitement of the early contests. Whilst a not inconsiderable amount of publicity, including public meetings, was employed by the candidates, this did not greatly excite the electorate.

"From an early hour boys perambulated the streets bearing boards whereon were displayed exhortations to the electorate to accord support to the several candidates who together with their friends displayed considerable activity in the vicinity of the booths. Otherwise throughout the town there was little to indicate the progress of the contest which may fairly be described as having excited a large measure of interest. Indeed, keeping in view the quiet character such contests have always assumed in (Newcastle), yesterday's election can be accurately described as a keenly fought one." (2)

Lack of canvassing seems to have been a feature but at the same time, at least the ladies appear to have taken their responsibilities

1. This contrasts markedly with Sir John Gorst's estimate in 1902 of 20% to 25% participation in school board elections. (Parl. Debates. 4th series, Vol. 96, COLS. 1180-1). Gorst's figure does, however, compare closely with the figures for the Greenwich division of the School Board for London: 1876, 30%; 1891, 25%; 1897, 35%. It would seem that interest was rather greater in the provinces. Bradford showed a 75% poll in its School Board election in 1876 and the 1891 election, in which 40% polled, was described as the dulllest election in the town. (Adams, F., et. al., Education in Bradford since 1870 (1970), p. 31.)

There is little evidence in the Potteries to support the view that because the polls were often as low as 20% of the electorate, it was easy for the teachers to gain control of them. (Sturt, M., op. cit., p. 406.) In fact teachers in schools under annual parliamentary grant could not stand as candidates in school board elections after 1875 (New Code 1875, Art. 15B).

2. N.G., February 20th, 1886.

seriously. "The (Burslem) election caused no excitement and there being no canvassing, the male electors did not come forward rapidly. The lady voters polled numerously, however,,.....(1)

To a certain degree the operation of the secret ballot undoubtedly² took some of the 'life' out of local elections.

"The election (of the Hanley school board) took place on Monday and on the whole perfect quietness was secured by the ballot, though public interest in the proceedings was everywhere apparent. (At each of the polling places) there were five polling booths, one being for illiterate voters, boarded off separately, so that a good number of persons could record their votes simultaneously. The arrangements were considered to be in every way satisfactory..... Voters were extensively carried to the poll and all day long conveyances were running about³ labelled with the names of the candidates employing them."

Campaigns were fought on a limited number of issues of wide appeal. Economy in expenditure was the normal rallying call for all parties but the extent and form of religious instruction was the principal issue. The Moderates' victory at Wolstanton in 1895 had led to a number of innovations in the field of religious instruction which were denounced with vigour by the Progressive minority. The introduction of the Apostles' Creed had been the main point of contention. The Wolstanton Board, having taken the decision in September 1895, was memorialized by several local Nonconformist pressure groups including the Tunstall District Committee of the

1. S.S., February 23rd, 1886.

2. Infra p.228.

3. S.W.T., December 13th, 1873.

Primitive Methodist Connexion, the executive committee of the North Staffordshire Primitive Methodist Council, Wolstanton Rate-¹ payers and Silverdale Nonconformists and Ratepayers. The Moderates, however, would not give way. The following election in 1898 was, therefore, fought in conditions of mounting tension.

"It was early manifest that the inhabitants of the various urban and rural districts which compose the parish were taking considerable interest in the contest. Party feeling has run high through the campaign, for the issue at question - the introduction of the Apostles' Creed by the late Board - has been the subject of bitter controversy between the representatives of the two parties. The election, judging by the tone of the meetings and especially the last meetings, turns upon the subject, although the Church Candidates assure electors that they have dropped it". (2)

The outcome of the election was a Progressive victory and the Independent Vice-chairman of the retiring board was one of the ³ two candidates who failed to gain a seat.

The strong feelings, engendered by the religious question at Wolstanton in 1898, contrast strongly with the reaction to the election in Newcastle in the same year. It was reported there that, apart from "a formidable array of posters on the walls and the shop windows," there was no evidence of the impending election.

None of the candidates held an election meeting. "The wise arrangement arrived at by past Boards as to the religious instruction

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1. S.B.C., Vol. LIV, (1895), p. 501.
 2. S.S., March 4th, 1898.
 3. As the Vice-chairman was a Wesleyan, the Nonconformist ratepayers no doubt voted against him for suspected collusion with the Anglicans.

bogey has worked so admirably and smoothly that it is generally felt any interference with the status quo would be ill-advised and such a step would not be likely to win votes tomorrow.....(1) The only question of any importance before the electors was to the employment of female teachers in Standards I and II in the boys' schools." (2)

The working of the cumulative vote has frequently been cited as a factor in explaining the limited enthusiasm of the electorate for school board contests. Some, like Patrick Cumin, when Secretary of the Education Department, supported it on the grounds that people had become familiar with its working, though he did concede that it did lead to manipulation. The single transferable vote was canvassed but gained no great favour. In the larger cities, single member districts were proposed principally on the grounds that political organisation would be simpler, but no changes were made. The alleged imperfections of cumulative voting are alluded to in the following report on the 1892 Newcastle election which emphasised the need for greater organisation:-

-
1. S.S., February 9th, 1898.
 2. S.S., February 12th, 1898.
 3. Report of the Select Committee on School Board Elections (Voting), July, 1885, Q. 579.
 4. ibid. QQ. 706, 707, 708, 710. Cumin's evidence was indifferent on the question of alternative voting systems.
 5. Ibid. Q. 2199.

"The School Board election at Newcastle yesterday furnishes a new illustration of the extraordinary and inordinate power which is placed in the hands of religious denominations under the cumulative vote. The outstanding feature of the election is the fact that the Roman Catholic electors who probably do not count more all told than 400, or little more than $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the constituency, have been able to secure $\frac{2}{9}$ ths or nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the voting power of the new Board. The Rev. Mr. Maguire polled 1,797 and Mr. Murphy 1,347 votes making a total of 3,154 (sic). If we divide this total by nine it will be seen that the solid vote of 351 ratepayers would be quite sufficient to secure the desired result. It is due to the supporters of Father Maguire and Mr. Murphy to say that their organisation was admirable. It is difficult to draw any other conclusions from an election which apart from the Roman Catholic vote was fought largely on personal grounds and resulted in a more or less unintelligent scramble. It is quite clear from the position of Mr. Gallimore at the head of the poll (and the same observation is probably in some degree applicable to the splendid position won by Miss Dutton) and the position of other liberals left outside, that by means of a better understanding and a more perfect organisation, the position of the Liberal and Undenominational party might have been materially improved....." (1)

Of the six urban school boards, Newcastle was the only Board to have at any one time two representatives of the Roman Catholic persuasion. In contested elections, the Roman Catholics succeeded in gaining at least one seat on every urban board, except on one occasion at Hanley in 1888. By heavy plumping, the Catholics

1. S.S., February 11th, 1892.

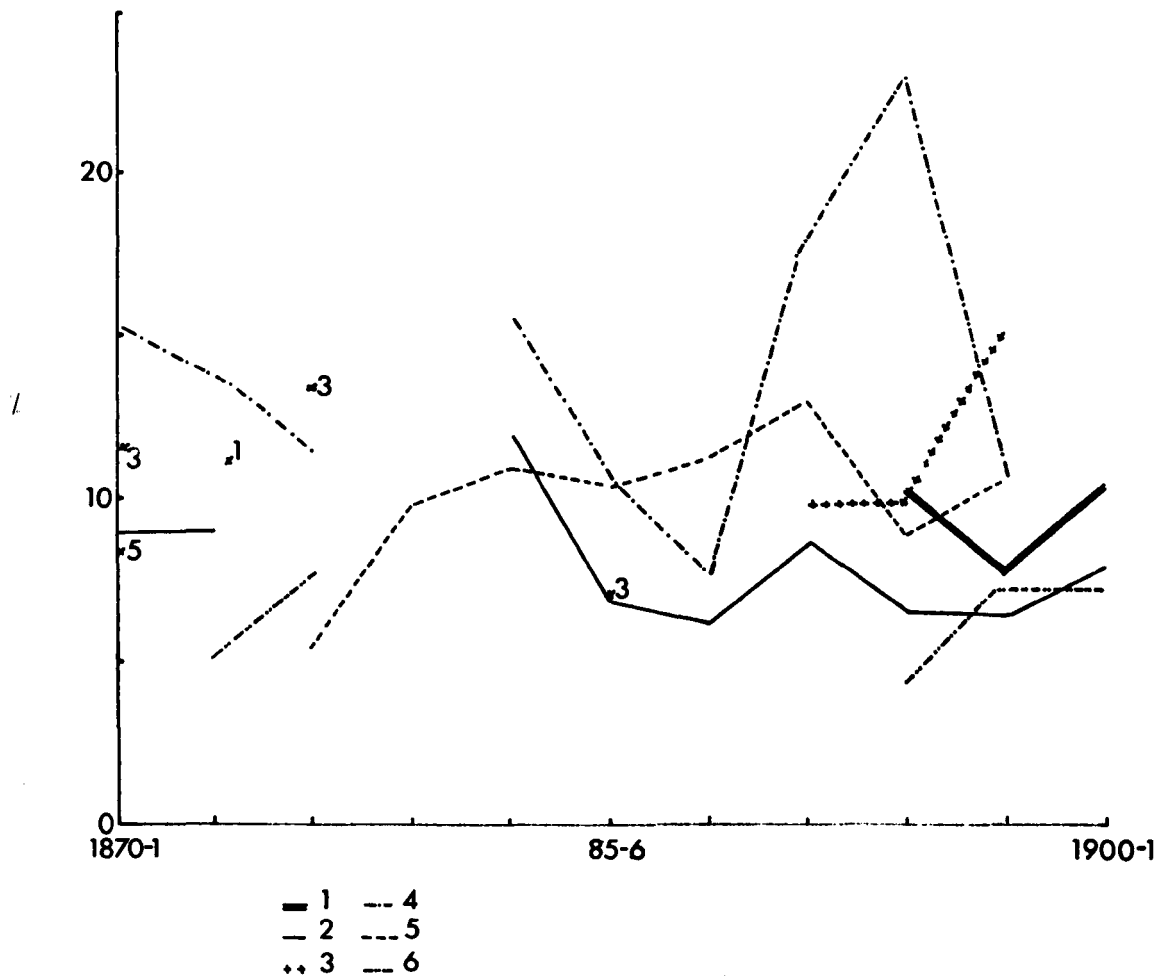


FIG. 49.

The 'Catholic Vote' in School Board elections in the Potteries
1870 - 1901.

School Board Districts

1. Burslem

4. Newcastle

2. Hanley

5. Stoke

3. Longton

6. Welstanton

consistently achieved percentages of the vote varying from 4.5 in Wolstanton in 1895 to 23.1 in Newcastle in the same year (Fig.49).¹

The Roman Catholic candidate in the Longton election of 1898 summarized the Catholic platform. He asked that he be returned not only by their plumping for him "but by asking their friends, like good neighbours to lend a helping hand to those whose voting power was not so strong as their own. The Catholics had a strong claim to the confidence of the ratepayers from the very fact that during the last eight years they had as a body expended £6,000 in school buildings in the town, thus saving the ratepayers pockets to that extent. He was perfectly independent of the two great rival parties and was not bound to either one or other by any tie whatever. When any question arose of voting upon any particular subject he should always vote for the side which his conscious told him was the right one, but keeping before his mind three great interests:- First the great and sacred interest of the children attending the schools of the town; secondly the joint interests of the teachers and thirdly the best interests of the ratepayers, Catholic and non-Catholic alike." (2)

An appreciation of the need for greater organisation is indicated in the campaign of William Gretton, who stood as a Labour candidate in the Hanley election of 1891.

-
1. The effects of the cumulative vote were shown in Newcastle's first school board election in 1871. 279 persons, of whom 213 were "plumpers", voted for the Roman Catholic candidate with the result that he was returned top of the poll with 2168 votes, 550 votes ahead of his nearest rival. The candidate for whom the highest number of persons cast their votes (463 with only 10 "plumpers") was returned third on the poll with 1,164 votes. (S.W.T., February 25th, 1871).
 2. S.S., January 4th, 1898.

"He had consented to this arrangement (by the Progressives) of splitting the town up into divisions to get the electors to plump for the candidate set to their division and he trusted the people of Northwood would carry out the arrangement honourably as far as they could..... He could not impress it upon them too much 1 that he was entirely depending upon the votes of Northwood."

Similar directions were given to voters of Hanley by James

Fenton in 1888, when he maintained that "the (Wesleyan New) Connexion was quite strong enough to continue to return two members of the Board but urged that in the event of any ratepayer believing otherwise that his votes should be recorded mainly in the interest of Mr. Chambers." (2)

The renewed challenge of the Moderates in the 1890s increased the level of intensity at which the elections were contested. In the calm years of the preceding decade, many candidates had contented the electorate by merely allowing their names to be put forward and then issuing a few pious addresses in the local press. A minority may have rationalised their position in the manner of the Vicar of Northwood in 1888:-

"As canvassing, in my opinion, is contrary to the spirit of the Ballot Act, I ask you to excuse my not waiting on you personally and to show your approval of my conduct by your generous support at the Poll." (3)

-
1. S.S., November 28th, 1891.
 2. ibid. November 28th, 1888.
 3. ibid. December 1st, 1888.

George Bradford appears to have been satisfied to allow the momentum of fifteen years of school board service to carry him on to the 1888 Hanley Board. "If you think my past experience will be useful in the future, I shall be glad to serve you for the next term of three years." (1)

But even the complacent Mr. Bradford had to adopt a more positive line in the following election of 1891. "This was the first occasion," he explained, that he had addressed "a meeting in connection with a School Board election. He had always left his claims to the free judgement of the people. But as the Liberal Six had made certain statements respecting himself he thought it was his duty to take an opportunity to contradict them..."²

The evidence provided by the Pottery townships confirms a keen electoral activity connected with the school boards, which contrasts markedly with the apathy that was characteristic of the local government elections described at some length in Chapter II. The educational issue which was in essence a religious matter provoked a continuous and acrimonious outburst of public controversy between Anglicans and Nonconformists in the final years of the nineteenth century. This found expression particularly in the triennial school board elections. The interest, however, did not spill over into the surrounding country districts where the nature of the parish, as an electoral unit, prevented the formation of a vigorous political response to the educational question.

1. S.S., December 8th, 1888.

2. ibid. December 5th, 1898.

Chapter VIII.

Denominational Influences and the School

Curriculum.

The curriculum of the Public Elementary schools of North Staffordshire was effectively controlled by the Education Department through the operation of the Codes. Direct intervention dating from the issue of the Revised Code of 1862 had resulted in a system of individual examinations and "payment by results". Until the introduction of the "block grant" in 1900, the curriculum of the Public Elementary school was shaped and determined very largely by grant-earning considerations.

Although the Codes were published annually, some were of greater importance than others and their introduction had the effect of producing significant changes.¹ In the period under consideration, the issue of such Codes occurred in 1871, 1875, 1882, 1890 and 1900.² These have been discussed at length elsewhere and whilst it is not the purpose of this chapter to consider them in detail, it is necessary to look at the broad framework and to indicate some features which have a special significance in North Staffordshire.

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1. A case against the annual introduction of the Codes was put by Sir Lovelace Stamer to the Cross Commissioners. (Cross Com; 2nd Report (1887), QQ. 24413, 24562).
 2. Vide Report of the Board of Education, 1910-11, pp. 6-20. Spalding, T., The Work of the London School Board (1900), pp.160ff.

Between 1871 and 1875, successive Codes had the effect of generally broadening the curriculum. This increased the pressure upon schools at a time when they were bearing the burden of a great increase in the number of backward and neglected children who were being drawn into North Staffordshire schools for the first time. The 1875 Code, in particular, extended the work of the lower end of the school by placing greater emphasis upon the class subjects, which were then grammar, history, geography and simple needlework (for girls only). The list of class subjects which were examined after Standard I was further enlarged in 1880 in order to include "any others which can be reasonably accepted as special branches of elementary instruction and properly treated in reading books, graded so as to suit the capacities of the children of various ages, in whose hands they are placed." (1)

The greater liberty of choice did not, however, immediately produce much change in the list of subjects actually taught in the elementary schools of England and Wales. In 1882, only eleven schools were taking Natural History, eight Domestic Economy, two Chemistry, one Agriculture and one Mensuration.² The popularity of the subjects to which grants had previously been confined, was

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1. R.C.C.E., 1880-1, p. xv. Examples of 'class' subjects included geography, natural history, physical geography, natural philosophy, history and social economy. (ibid., p. 112).
 2. R.C.C.E., 1882-3, p. xvii.

confirmed by the fact that geography had been taken in 14,205¹ instances, grammar in 17,510 and needlework in 7,999. History, on the other hand, remained relatively unpopular, being taken in only 1,315² cases.

The 1882 Code, by offering higher grants for Infants taught in separate departments, brought additional pressures upon the resources of the voluntary schools. The Code also marked the beginning of a period in which the outstanding features were the upward extension of the curriculum by the introduction of the new Standard VII; the emphasis on English and the appreciation of its value in mental and moral training; and the official recognition of the teaching of one branch of manual instruction, cookery, and its importance in the practical training of girls.³

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1. It was reported that geography was "generally selected in the Stoke district as the extra subject of instruction because of all others it is best adapted to the capacity of children and is also likely to be of much practical use to them in after life. As a rule it is well taught, though here and there I can detect signs of superficial teaching and I never consider that a teacher has complied with the conditions of the Minute who has merely confined his instruction to a parrot-like repetition of a string of names from a geographical text-book without exciting the curiosity or drawing out the intelligence of the children." (R.C.C.E., 1870-1, p. 110).
 2. Ibid., 1882-3, p. xvii.
 3. This may be regarded as part of the piecemeal plan to improve the social conditions of the labouring classes through the process of education. The Temperance Movement would provide the sober husband for the domesticated wife and the domesticated wife would keep the husband from the demon drink!

The 1890 Code represented an attempt to implement some of the recommendations of the Cross Commissioners. The most important aspect was the abolition of the examination in the 3 Rs, thus marking the beginning of the end of the system of 'payment by results'. The principle of the Code and its immediate successors was to move the emphasis from the literary side of the curriculum with the result that more time was given not only to Science but also to Mathematics, Commercial Subjects, Domestic Economy for girls and manual subjects for boys.

The 1900 Code, by introducing the "block grant", provided a major simplification of the system of administering the Government Grant. The complicated process of payment for class and specific subjects was swept away. The choice of subjects was no longer to be controlled by financial considerations. Managers and teachers were now free in theory to choose what they should teach and how they should teach it, without regard to the possible effect of their choice upon examination and the pecuniary state of the school. The revolution, however, was not to be accomplished overnight since neither the managers nor the teachers were prepared to discard lightly the conditioning of nearly forty years and, in consequence, the results of these changes are not readily appreciable in the few years that remained of the period now under consideration.

Whilst the emphasis was placed firmly upon the 3Rs for much of the period, the more ambitious schools were able to benefit from the scope afforded by the later Codes. In the Pottery townships the schools with sufficient resources to enable them to take advantage of the new opportunities were most frequently those under the management of the Boards. Burslem School Board introduced singing into its schools in the early 1880s. The results were so encouraging, it was reported by H.M.I., that the services of the master were engaged by other schools in the district.¹ The singing was part of a plan which, according to the Chairman of the Burslem School Board, was intended "to make the school life of their children brighter and better. (Everything) that could be done by giving them wholesome rules, and by pervading their teaching with an intelligent spirit, rather than keeping them as was commonly supposed, to learning by rote, they might depend, would bring about the best results." (2)

Such innovations did not often pass unchallenged. John Gratton, working man, Roman Catholic and Moderate member of the Burslem School Board, was not slow to complain that the money might have been spent in relieving the suffering of the underfed children of the borough.³

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1. R.C.C.E., 1882-3, p. 329.
 2. S.S., May 5th, 1883.
 3. P.R.O.Ed.16/273. John Gratton published a short tract entitled "Why should a Working man be a Conservative?" (S.S. January 12th, 1899).

Hanley School Board also took an early decision to set up¹ cookery classes in its schools in 1881, which were subsequently reorganised under the Code of 1832. This decision, too, was opposed by a Moderate, Roman Catholic member of the Board, William O'Keeffe. He managed to close the classes in 1883. The decision was subsequently rescinded when it was realised that his informal² resolution was disallowed by the terms of the 1873 Education Act.

Newcastle School Board, whose enthusiasm for innovation was not an outstanding feature, did, however, introduce cookery for the³ older girls in 1883. In 1891, Norton School Board even went to the lengths of attempting to provide a cookery centre for the use of all the schools in the parish. Difficulties were encountered, including the question of using the Technical Instruction Grant from the County Council for technical instruction in the schools during the time they were opened for ordinary Elementary Education, even though, as was admitted, cookery formed part of such elementary education. This case serves to illustrate the demarcation problems which were to become so vexatious in the last years of the nineteenth century. It also reveals the problem confronting both a School Board

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXVI, (1881), p. 587.
 2. 36 and 37 Vict. cap. 86. Third Schedule. Sub-section (9).
(S.B.C., Vol. XXIX (1883), p. 314).
 3. S.B.C., Vol. XXX (1883), p. 352.

and the Education Department when the provision of facilities for all schools, Board and Voluntary, was attempted in a school district. The perpetual fear of the discovery of ratepayers' money being used to support Church schools had a paralysing effect. In this case the Education Department lamely advised:

"Perhaps, as this Board has schools of their own, it will not be necessary to make the Cookery Centre any larger or more expensive on account of the attendance of children from the voluntary schools...." ¹

Ventures into the realms of higher-grade elementary education ² have already been noted at Hanley and Longton. In other parts of the Potteries ambitions were more restrained. Newcastle had its own endowed schools but, even at the turn of the century, these provided places for only a small number of children whose early educational experiences had been in the elementary schools.

"Another £100 is applied to the provision of exhibitions for scholars for all elementary schools in the town to the Middle School and the Orme Girls' school. The scholars are selected by competitive examination and there are at present thirteen boys and ten girls from the elementary schools participating in the higher branches of education given at the two schools." (3)

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1. P.R.O.Ed., 2/402.
 2. Supra pp. 120ff and pp. 159ff.
 3. S.S., September 11th, 1902. The liberality of the scheme may be judged from the fact that in 1902 there were just under 3,000 children in regular attendance in Newcastle public elementary schools. In 1885 a member of the Newcastle School Board had noted that only one boy had reached the high school from the elementary schools of the borough. (S.B.C., Vol. XXXVIII (1887), p. 672).

The experiences of the endowed schools in Tunstall and Burslem were sufficiently discouraging to prevent any important excursions into the field of higher-grade elementary education by the Wolstanton¹ and Burslem School Boards. Stoke, on the other hand, without an endowed school of its own, resisted any attempts to establish a higher-grade school. This may, in part, be attributed to the fact that a Church-dominated Board would be somewhat reticent about drawing attention to the deficiencies of the Voluntary system.² Comparison undoubtedly would have been made had a higher-grade school under the aegis of the School Board come into existence.

In the area outside the Potteries and Newcastle, higher-grade elementary education was limited to that which was offered in Leek, Cheadle and Audley. In addition to the grammar school which Leek had had since the eighteenth century, there was the Nicholson Institute which had been established in 1882. While it provided mainly technical education, it was in 1903 providing secondary education for

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1. Tunstall Endowed school which had been transferred from the adjoining district of Newchapel in 1873 was closed on account of lack of support in 1888. (Goldstraw, H., op. cit., pp. 240-1). Burslem Endowed school was also closed for similar reasons in 1898. The possibility of a higher-grade school for the borough was discussed in 1899. (R.C.C.E., 1898-9, pp. 225).
 2. Work in the sixth and seventh standards was concentrated in Stoke National school during the 1880s according to Stamer's evidence to the Cross Commission. A number of the successful scholars of this school made their way to Newcastle High School. (Cross Csmn, 2nd Report, (1887), QQ. 24,503, 24,504, 24,559, 24,611).

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150 scholars. Cheadle had an Endowed Middle-class school on
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Monkhouse Hill and there was a similar school in Audley.³

Log books usually contain standardized syllabuses and the list of object lessons which H.M.I. required to be copied out for his approval. The lessons often included a heterogeneous collection as is exemplified in the following list for Tunstall Wesleyan school in 1889.

"Lessons for 1889.

1st Class

Animal Kingdom	Beaver, squirrel, bee, mole, reindeer, pigeon, owl, fox, ostrich, monkey, sponge.
Vegetable Kingdom	Oak tree, cocoa-nut (sic), wheat, orange.
Minerals	Gold, silver, chalk.
Common objects	Bells, windows, umbrella, cork, coins, the face, a thimble, the daisy, tea-table.
Natural phenomenon	Water, spring, frost, autumn.

2nd Class

Animal Kingdom	Lion, tiger, goat, duck, elephant, herring, robin, wolf, hen, monkey, bear.
Vegetable Kingdom	Tea, Coffee, apple, carrot.
Minerals	Coal, salt.
Common objects	Boots and shoes, pin, the hand, Baker's shop, a penny, railway station, an India rubber ball, the fire.
Natural phenomenon	The sky, sun, winter.

3rd Class

Animals	Cat, dog, cow, sheep, horse, ass, mouse, hen.
Miscellaneous objects.	Parts of the body, table, chain, coal, school-slate, apple, tin, bread." (4)

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1. Kelly's Directory Staffs. 1904, p. 228.
 2. Taunton Csn. Vol. XV, p. 524.
 3. Ibid. pp. 374-375.
 4. Tunstall Wesleyan Infants' school log book, February 15th, 1889.

One wonders what strange concoctions may have been served as a result of adherence to such a scheme when the following entries appear in the same log book.

"March 21st, 1890 Lesson given on Bee, Duck, Orange and Iron.
March 28th, 1890, Lesson given on Silver, railway station and spider." (1)

The geography scheme outlined at Mount Street Temporary Board school in Hanley in 1883 recognised the need to start from the familiar.

Standard III	England and Staffordshire
Standard IV	British Isles, British North America and Australia.
Standard V	Europe, Latitude and Longitude, Day and Night - Seasons.
Standard VI	ditto." (2)

Acknowledgement of the assistance of the North Staffordshire Association of Teachers is made in 1881 by the master of Hanley Roman Catholic school, on adopting a new geography syllabus to satisfy the requirements of the Code.³

"Standard IIA	Geographical Terms and Definitions (illustrated by maps of the world).
Standard IIB	Points of the compass.
Standard III	England and Wales. The County of Stafford in detail.
Standard IV	
1st year	Scotland, Ireland and the Colonies.
2nd year	Europe.
3rd year	Asia, Africa and America." (4)

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1. Tunstall Wesleyan Infants' school log book.
 2. Hanley, Mount Street Temporary Board school log book, April 2nd, 1883.
 3. Article 19 (c) (i).
 - 4.. Hanley R.C. Boys school log book, June 27th, 1881.

In the country districts where resources were undoubtedly limited, there is, nevertheless, evidence of the inventiveness and progress of some teachers.

"This small school", wrote H.M.I. of Heathylee

Ramshaw Board school in 1892, "with every disadvantage in the shape of position, weather etc., is an excellent example of what can be done with intelligent teaching. The children are exceedingly well-behaved, are bright and interested in their work and have been thoroughly well taught." (1)

The long-serving master of Cotes Heath Church school did
sterling work in the field of rural studies,² and if the numerous references to walks and scrambles are to be accorded their full significance, many other teachers took advantage of the natural
³environment.

The need for a stronger practical bias in the work of rural schools is, however, reflected in the report of H.M.I. Fowler in 1898-9.

"It is to be feared that the character of rural education is not altogether popular, especially with the farmer and labourer class. This, also, is said to be too unpractical. There is a danger of this term 'practical' carrying us too far in one direction and producing a type of school in which literature in its wider sense shall be non-existent; but something might, perhaps, be

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1. H.S.B. Minutes, July 28th, 1892.
 2. Cotes Heath Church school log book, November 12th, 1909. June 12th, 1913.
 3. For an example, Milwich Church school log book, March 11th, 1877.

done to make the education in country schools bear more upon the future life and occupation of the scholars than in town schools. The Manchester Guardian lately suggested that the afternoon meetings should be wholly devoted to manual labour for boys and practical housewifery for girls." (1)

Much has been written concerning the conditions of schooling provided for the working classes in the nineteenth century and many of the generalisations are supported by the conditions which persisted in North Staffordshire through the period. In the poorer districts the schools appear to have provided a very hard existence. Mount Street Temporary Board school, situated in the Northwood district of Hanley and containing many very poor children may be quoted as one particular example.² The log book reveals a graphic picture of the harshness of the schooling in the 1870s. The following entry is typical of many of the period.

"September 18th, 1878. Caned this morning:- J.Owen (Home lessons) also by Mr. Brabin, J. Burn (Stupidity), J. Niblett (Idleness), Caned this afternoon:- J. Handcock (Late)."³

Physical punishment was evidently recognised by the master of Endon Parochial school as a means of inculcating higher moral standards since he records that he had "punished a boy rather severely for swearing and falsehood." (4)

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1. R.C.C.E., 1898-9, p. 226.
 2. Mount Street Temporary Board school log book, March 25th, 1888.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Endon Parochial school log book, October 17th, 1884.

Nor was such punishment reserved only for the boys. The mistress of Hanley Wharf Lane Board school for girls recorded in July 1882, "Caned all the late girls on Thursday morning, one slap on the hand."(1)

The resentment engendered by the frequent and often indiscriminate use of corporal punishment is exemplified in the following log book extract:

"Punished a boy this morning for telling the boys who sat next to him that "he would break the cane the next time he was punished"." (2)

Whilst such treatment was frequent but relatively harmless, there were the occasions when the wrath and frustration of the teacher could result in acts of uncontrollable violence. A case was brought to the attention of the Wolstanton School Board of a boy named James Thomas Wakefield, aged fourteen, who was in attendance at Silverdale Board school. It was alleged that in the spring of 1898, a teacher had struck Wakefield, knocking him backwards over a form. The Boy's back was hurt and paralysis set in, the boy being deprived of sight and speech. He subsequently regained his sight but not the use of his lower limbs or his ability to speak. Justice in this case did not catch up with the teacher who had apparently left the district and could not be traced when the incident was brought

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1. Wharf Lane Board school for girls log book, July 7th, 1882.
 2. Forsbrook Blyth Marsh Endowed school log book, January 14th, 1880.

to the attention of the School Board.¹

This was by no means an isolated example. Small children of less than five were often subjected to physical punishment and the cases when action was taken to restrain the teachers were relatively few... It is true the master of Knighton Board school in the parish of Mucklestone was given notice to resign in 1881 on account of a poor Annual Report and the frequent complaints made by the parents of his ill-treatment of their children.² Matthew Wardhaugh, a most colourful Longton worthy,³ strongly disapproved of the harsh treatment of a Longton pupil in 1882.

"Mr. Wardhaugh said he would not be a member of the Board if a master must be allowed to half kill a child, and call it chastisement." (4)

In the majority of cases ill-treatment was regarded as an inevitable and tolerable part of the educative process. A London headmaster, recorded by G.A.N. Lowndes, commented, "I could never remember seeing my headmaster in school when he had not a cane hanging by the crook over his left wrist. Every assistant master had a cane and so had the pupil teachers, but we were not allowed to have a crook so that if any questions arose they were only pointers. There were no backs to the desks and backs of boys were straightened by means of a stroke of the cane." (5)

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1. N.G., November 10th, 1900.
 2. M.S.B. Minutes, February 15th, 1881.
 3. For biographical details, I am indebted to C.F. Lovatt who has compiled an unpublished record of the theatrical career of Matthew Wardhaugh.
 4. S.B.C., Vol. XXVII (1882), p. 653.
 5. Lowndes, G., The Silent Social Revolution (1937), p. 17.

No doubt the task of the teacher was difficult. The lack of an educational tradition, poor home environments, unsympathetic parents, the demands for the labour of the young and large classes were powerful factors working against the purposes of the teachers. Moreover they were forced to operate within a system which made their very livelihoods dependent upon the measurable performance of their charges at every annual inspection. It is, therefore, not surprising that the teachers resorted to the physical goad as a means of achieving the minimal objective. It was, in particular, in the industrial districts, where the social problems were most acute, that

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1. In January 1902 the headmaster of Tunstall High Street Board school reorganised his school in the following manner:-

		No. of Pupils
Standards VI, VII	1 certificated master	74
Standards V	1 certificated master	73
Standards IV	1 certificated master & a pupil teacher	89
Standards III	1 certificated master	110
Standard II boys	1 Art. 50 mistress & a monitor	70
Standard II girls	1 Art. 68 mistress & a pupil teacher	60
Standard I boys	1 certificated mistress & a pupil teacher	59
Standard I girls	1 Art. 50 mistress	52

(Tunstall High Street Board school log book, January 6th, 1902).

Not only were the classes large, but they often incorporated a wide age range. This was particularly true in the early years of the period under consideration. At Tunstall Wesleyan school in 1872, of the thirty-eight children present for examination in Standard I, five were six years old, six were seven, five eight, seven nine, eight ten, three eleven and four were twelve years old. This pattern was reflected through the standards. (Tunstall Wesleyan school log book, May, 1872).

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the school conditions were often harshest.

Many of the social evils of the period were attributed to the effects of excessive drinking, and many social reformers were of the opinion that in the Temperance Movement was the means of resolving many of the problems of the poor, especially the so-called undeserving poor. In the 1860s Samuel Morley had reflected that "the Temperance cause lay at the root of all social and political progress in the country." (2)

Nineteenth century opinion supported the view that without sobriety,³ the results of any other social reform would be thrown away. It was, therefore, a cherished belief that if the young could be reached at a sufficiently early age then there was a chance that improvements might be achieved.

After 1870 the Liberals became most closely associated with the Temperance movement and there were several attempts by Progressive members of the Potteries School Boards to introduce Temperance teaching

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1. School discipline was not only harsh but formal. A mistress, teaching at Hognaston in the Derbyshire part of the Ashbourne Union was summonsed by a parent for an assault on his children, who, according to his evidence had refused to curtsy to her. (S.B.C., Vol. LIII (1895), pp. 608-9).
 2. Hodder, E., Life of Samuel Morley (1887), quoted by Kitson-Clark, G. op. cit. p. 128.
 3. Kitson-Clark, G., op. cit., p. 128.

into the Board schools.¹ In 1878, Alfred Colclough raised the issue of starting Temperance Instruction in Longton's Board schools but a motion to introduce Dr. Richardson's Temperance lesson book into the school was rejected on the grounds that the material was too abstruse.² In 1890, Rev. Ben Chambers, of the Methodist New Connexion, called Hanley School Board's attention to the need for impressing upon school children the danger of intemperance and moved that a copy of Dr. Richardson's reading book should be obtained and information should be gathered from other school boards in the country about the action that they were taking on the issue.³ It was subsequently resolved unanimously that one lesson per week should be given in each of the Boys' and Girls' schools under the Board.

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1. Examples elsewhere include Kingston-upon-Hull where attempts were made to introduce Temperance Teaching into the Board schools in the 1880s. (Cluderay, T., The Hull School Board - its Task and its Achievements. Unpublished M.Ed. thesis (Hull University) (1968), p. 84).
Although the Temperance cause was espoused principally by Nonconformists, the movement had many supporters in all quarters. At the Annual Congress of Church Managers and Teachers in 1880, Mr. William Baker of Southport "amid strong signs of disapprobation, remarked that of a total of 100 children six would turn out to be drunkards. If they taught the children that it was as much a sin to be drunk as to steal there would be less drunkenness among the rising generation than existed in the country now. The only way for them to move forward the temperance movement among the children was for the teachers themselves to become total abstainers." (The Schoolmaster, May 29th, 1880).
 2. S.B.C., Vol. XX (1878), p. 252 and p. 372.
 3. H.S.B. Minutes, January 16th, 1890. Replies were received from Nottingham and Leeds School Boards.

and that a suitable text-book on the subject should be supplied to¹
each head teacher of these schools.

Such were the supposed pressures placed upon teachers to satisfy the requirements of the Codes and earn a respectable grant that in the early 1880s the great 'over-pressure' question became a burning issue. As H.M.I. Blandford remarked, "until the last two or three years the term "overpressure" as applied to children being overworked in elementary schools was unknown. Some ingenious persons have, however, discovered, or it may be, have invented the term; "overpressure" becomes a "household word" vivesque acquirit eundo." (2)

In the general view of the Inspectorate, "overpressure" was put forward to mask the shortcomings of the schools.

"I (H.M.I. Yarde) can quite understand that when teachers put off till the latter part of the year work that ought to have been done all through the year, the children suffer, or again when managers say to the teachers you must pass a certain percentage and take up such and such class subjects and specific subjects, the temptation to³ overwork the children is too great to be resisted....."

Although H.M.I. Fowler, who was responsible for the Potteries, at this time declared he had not met with any well authenticated cases of "overpressure",⁴ the Newcastle School Board did give some time to the subject. One member remarked in 1884 that if he remembered correctly "Mr. Mundella attributed the fault of overpressure to the device to earn the maximum grant with a minimum teaching staff." (5)

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1. H.S.B. minutes, March 20th, 1890.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1884-5, p. 289.
 3. Ibid., p. 302.
 4. Ibid.
 5. S.B.C., Vol. XXXI (1884), p. 14.

Sir Lovelace Stamer, in his evidence to the Cross Commission, claimed that where health was affected it was generally due to underfeeding, though he did believe that the dull were pressed to produce certain results. He also felt that pupil teachers were over-¹pressed and overpressed themselves. Home lessons were given in Stoke schools but he did not believe they were overdone or tended to lead to "overpressure". Indeed he attested that parents would² complain if they were not given.

Occasional references to overpressure continued to occur in the 1890s. The master of Tunstall John Street Board school recorded that a Lucy B-----, who had been ill all week was reported to be "suffering from disturbances in the brain probably a case of overpressure. P.S. absent three weeks." (3)

The major area of controversy in curriculum matters was, not surprisingly, the question of religious instruction which in fact only received a relatively small part of the teaching time of each day. Whilst the schools within the voluntary system could use the appropriate religious formulary, in the case of the rate-supported schools, the 1870 Act had left the decision whether religious instruction should

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1. Cross Cmn. 2nd Report (1887), QQ. 24,210; 24,211; 24,213-24,216; 24,298; 24,304.
 2. Ibid., QQ. 24,305-24,307.
 3. Tunstall John St. Board school log book, April 11th, 1890.

be provided at all, and if so in what form, to the locally elected school boards. This issue was, therefore, very prominent in the school board election contests, particularly in the early years.

The Progressive candidates usually campaigned, as did Alexander Stocker at Stoke in 1871, for the reading of the "Word of God without¹ note or comment", but the Moderate party's response was usually clear and detailed.

"To order that the Bible shall be read, but "without note or comment" would be in our judgement an indignity to the Word of God, if indeed any school teacher could be found who would take office under such restrictions. It would be to reduce the Bible below the level of the most ordinary school book, which we desire the scholars, not only to read but to understand. We would, therefore, leave it to the teachers to explain the Bible (as he sees it to be necessary) as a rule of life; while we would jealously guard against any infringement of the letter or spirit of the clause above; (2) and would restrain any teacher from making his Bible lessons³ serve the separate interests of any denomination whatsoever.."

Intense feelings were generated on this question and evidence of either Moderate or Progressive predominance on the North Staffordshire school boards is marked by the form of the religious instruction permitted in the Board schools of the individual districts. Moderate-dominated Stoke allowed in its schools "religious instruction suited to the capacity of the children: also hymns and prayers used at the opening and closing of the school" (4)

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1. S.S., March 4th, 1871.
 2. 33 and 34 Vict. cap. 75. sec. 14(2). The famous Cowper-Temple clause.
 3. S.S., March 4th, 1871.
 4. S.B.C. Vol. XXXII (1884), p. 527.

At Burslem, Hanley, Newcastle and Norton-in-the-Moors, where the Nonconformists exercised a greater influence, the early Religious Instruction programme avoided the principal area of dispute. The following formula which was adopted widely throughout the country was found to be accepted:-

"That in schools managed by the Board the authorized version of the Bible shall be read, and portions of the text, selected by the principal teacher, but subject from time to time to the direction of the Board, may be committed to memory by the scholars, in both cases without note or comment; but the principal teacher in charge of any school for the time being may give explanations of a historical, biographical or geographical nature necessary for the understanding of the narrative and may explain the modern and generally accepted meaning of any word or phrase, the sense of which has changed since the Scripture translation was made. That the following be the definition of the terms used in the resolution:- Historical; pertaining to a narrative of events and facts recorded in the Bible. Geographical:- relating to a knowledge of the positions on the surface of the earth and the natural features of the places mentioned or referred to in the Bible." (1)

Burslem School Board ordered that the schools under its management should be opened with the singing of Hymns previously approved by the Board, the Lord's Prayer and Benediction.

Nonconformist Wolstanton's School Board followed the example of the School Board for London, using that School Board's selection of hymns and prayers.

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1. S.B.C., Vol. IV. (1871-72), p. 170.
 2. B.S.B. Minutes, December 7th, 1874.
 3. S.B.C., Vol. XXXII, (1884), p. 528.

Longton School Board endeavoured to avoid major divisions by accepting "that a selection of the Scriptures (should) be agreed upon by the Board (and) be read in all the schools under the management of (the) Board and that there be given therefrom such instruction in the principle of morality and religion as (was) suited to the capacity of the children but purely unsectarian in character." (1)

The selection included the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles but this arrangement was modified later. A system was introduced in which was included an examination in Scriptural Knowledge by members of the Board "selected for the purpose upon a syllabus arranged by the examiners and approved by the Board and embracing both Old and New Testament history." (2)

Attempts especially by the Anglican ministers to remove the unsectarian bias of the instruction were strongly resisted by the Nonconformists. The Apostles' Creed was a special bone of contention as also was the attempt to introduce Diocesan Inspection into the Board schools. At Longton in 1885, Rev. Adam Clarke proposed that the informal examination in religious knowledge should be discontinued on the grounds that "there was a difficulty under the method by members of properly testing the real amount of knowledge possessed by the children and he thought it would be better to obtain the services of an independent examiner, who would report to the Board. The Rev. E.B.Charlton, the diocesan inspector, was willing to conduct such an examination on the Old and New Testament." (4)

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1. S.S., September 4th, 1902.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Supra p. 223.
 4. S.B.C., Vol. XXXII (1885), p. 387.

The prospect of the presence of such a man in the Board schools of Longton prompted a swift reaction on the part of Nonconformists on the School Board. Rev. J.H. Johnes, Congregational minister, considered "that such an appointment was not in harmony with the Education Act, neither did he think that the town would care to have the Board schools examined by the Bishop's Inspector. If it was considered necessary to have some inspection other than that which has been hitherto conducted by the members of the Board, it should be conducted by a gentleman not connected with any particular church." (1)

At Hanley the Bishop's Inspector did, however, gain a toe hold but he had to share his examining responsibilities with the Chairman
2
of the Board and a Nonconformist minister.

In the rural areas the influence of the Anglican church was more obvious than in the urban school board districts which have been examined. The distinctive Anglican inspiration in the religious observances in the schools under the Mucklestone School Board may be judged from the form of the services that preceded and concluded daily school.

*In the morning, at the opening of the school - the Head Teacher shall read a psalm or a portion of a psalm. Then shall follow the singing of Bishop Kenn's Morning Hymn. Followed by the Lord's Prayer, the collect for the day from the Book of Common Prayer the Collect for Grace, the Collect for Peace, the General Thanksgiving, the Prayer of St. Chrysostom and the Benediction.

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXXIII (1885), p. 387.
 2. H.S.B. Minutes, January 19th, 1888.
Stoke School Board made a similar arrangement. (Cross Csn. 2nd Report (1887), Q. 24376).

In the evening. Psalm and Bishop Kenn's Evening Hymn. Followed by the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, collect at evening from the Book of Common Prayer, collect for Aid against Perils, collect for all conditions of men and the Benediction." (1)

Warslow and Elkstones School Board more modestly permitted
2
Bible Reading with simple explanations.

The practical moral value of religious instruction was evidently recognised by the diligent members of the Hanley School Board for, in 1892 a sub-committee of that Board reported that it saw it was "desirable that teachers should be impressed with the grave responsibility resting upon them by enforcing moral duties by means of lessons drawn from scripture; and when cases arise in school by treating them in a more serious spirit. The committee (considered) that the following points should have the constant watchfulness of the teachers:-

1. Indecency in the playgrounds or streets, on assembly and dismissal and misuse of the conveniences.
2. Writing on any part of the school premises or adjoining buildings or in books etc. used in the school.
3. Offence of foul and profane speech."

The question of the implementation of section 25 of the 1870 Education Act was closely linked with the attitudes towards religious instruction.
4
Hanley, Longton, Newcastle and Stoke School Boards

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXXII (1884), p. 530.
 2. M.S.B. Minutes, January 6th, 1876.
 3. S.B.C., Vol. XXXII (1884), p. 530.
 4. H.S.B. Committee minutes, March 11th, 1892.
 5. 33 and 34 Vict. cap 75, sec. 25. Supra p.100.

incorporated in their by-laws provisions to pay school fees under this section but of the four Boards, only Stoke did not take¹ advantage of the arrangement. In spite of strenuous opposition, both within and without the school boards, the poor whose children attended voluntary schools in Hanley, Newcastle and Longton did receive financial support.² Similar provisions were made by the School Boards of Caverswall³ and Norton-in-the -Moors⁴ but Wolstanton⁵ and Burslem refused to implement that section of the 1870 Act. No provision had to be made in the case of the other school boards of North Staffordshire as their by-laws came into operation after the passage of the Sandon Act of 1876, by which the duty of paying for poor children in voluntary schools was transferred to the Poor Law⁶ Guardians.

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1. S.S.B. Triennial Report, 1871-1874, p. 7.
 2. Evidence that such fees were paid in Hanley is found in the reference to the receipt of moneys from the School Board by the master of Hanley R.C. School. (Hanley R.C. Boys' School log book, November 20th, 1874).
In Longton a local meeting of the National Education League, held in July 1871, passed a resolution disapproving the Longton School Board's decision to pay school fees for education in denominational schools of children whose parents were unable to afford them. (S.A., July 15th, 1871). School Board debates on this issue were frequently long and acrimonious. (H.S.H. minutes, June 17th, 1874. S.B.C., Vol. II (1871), p. 240).
 3. R.C.C.E., 1875-76 (Part V) By-laws (No. 468) By-law 7.
 4. Ibid., 1876-77 (Part V) By-laws (No. 694) By-law 6.
 5. Ibid., 1874-75 (Part V) By-laws (Nos. 327, 342) By-law 7.
 6. 39 and 40 Vict. cap. 79, sec. 10.

The period saw a gradual broadening of the curriculum of the schools of North Staffordshire, principally as a result of the operation of the successive Codes of the central authority. Whilst the urban Board schools, with relatively ample resources, were able to respond effectively to these encouragements, it would be incorrect to assume the voluntary schools made no progress. In spite of the gradual enlightenment, conditions in schools generally remained for the most part uncongenial. The fate of the slow learner was particularly unfortunate. For children and staff alike, the annual visitation of H.M.I. was especially feared and detested. Many inspectors, it would seem, acted with great disdain and showed scant consideration for the sentiments of those in the schools, as is exemplified in the following description of part of one annual inspection:-

"As the time of the Class Examination fixed for 1.30 p.m. was changed by H.M. Inspector without giving any further notice than by saying yesterday afternoon that he should come to examine the Boys at 10 o'clock in the morning, many Half-timers and others could not come today.

Mr. Rice Wiggan examined in the second standard Geography. After asking oral questions respecting definitions etc., and the meaning of the map, if they were not able to point out certain places indicated on the map of Scotland as presented in Cornwall's small atlas - they were plucked. This I objected to and was borne out by Rev. Fr. Molloy. I did so on the ground that the boys were able to give verbal description and could if asked make a map - therefore they must know the meaning of a map. In Standard IV a blank map from the same atlas was presented. For the upper Standard fifteen questions were read out by the Inspector after

repeating the question which consisted of about two lines - the boys were expected to write the answer. I think the difficulty in this would be that they forget the question." (1)

Corporal punishment was commonplace and severe; some log books read like punishment records, but there is little evidence to indicate that a sound beating increased the capacity for learning. Nor is there much evidence to suggest that conditions in Board schools were very different from those in the Voluntary institutions. It might be anticipated that in the urban areas, the Board schools, often located in the poorer districts, would be more authoritarian but there is little to support this view. It would appear that the character of the teacher was a decisive factor. In the mid-1870s the master of Hanley R.C. school, which served a relatively poor section of the population, adopted a sympathetic attitude in his school and he was still able to record on leaving the school that he could not "speak too highly of the lads if only properly dealt with."²

In curriculum matters the question of greatest moment was, without doubt, religious instruction. The school boards of North Staffordshire adopted varying attitudes towards the problem but it is significant that only in the areas of strongest Nonconformity,

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1. Hanley R.C. Boys' school log book, April 21st, 1876. Vide Appendix 3. for a pupil teachers' impression of inspection.
 2. Ibid., July 13th, 1876.

namely Burslem and Wolstanton did sectarian influences remain at a consistently negligible level, except for the short period of Anglican ascendancy in the mid-1890s.

Chapter IX. Staffing, Salaries, Fees and the Training of Teachers.

STAFFING.

For the child going to a public elementary school in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, the conditions in so many respects were very different from those which persist today. Whilst in principle the requirements of the Standards ensured a uniformity of curriculum, the Education Department's efforts toward standardisation made little impact when the schools varied so much not only in origin but also in terms of resources and most significantly in the quality of teaching. Proof is not lacking to confirm that the elementary school teacher of this period was often a person of no special merit.

"The remuneration of the teacher, dependent as it was upon voluntary contributions was not sufficient to support him in decency. Hence the calling presented no attractions to persons of education and culture, but tended rather to offer an asylum to those who had failed to obtain a living in other avocations. Any broken down tradesmen who was able to write and cypher fairly, could, after undergoing the short training that was then deemed necessary, blossom forth into an elementary school master." (1)

The limited prospects of the nineteenth century elementary school master are cruelly exposed in the Report of the Newcastle Commission of 1861.

1. Spalding, T., op. cit., p. 84.

"The occupation of an elementary school master is not well suited to a young man of an adventurous, stirring or ambitious character, and it is rather a misfortune than otherwise when persons of that temper of mind are led into by the prospect which its earlier stages appear to afford of rising in the world socially as well as intellectually. It is a life which requires a quiet, even temper, patience, sympathy, fondness of children and habitual cheerfulness. It wants rather good sense and great intelligence than a very inquisitive mind or very brilliant talents and the prospects it affords appear well calculated to attract the class of person best fitted for it. A schoolmaster is sure of a good income, a great deal of leisure, and a moderate labour as long as health lasts. If his prospects are not so extensive as in some other walks of life, they are more secure. He is never out of work. He is affected only casually and indirectly by the vicissitudes of trade, and he fills a position which if not socially all that he could wish, is universally recognised as respectable and useful. It can hardly be doubted that these prospects, if neither exaggerated nor depreciated, are sufficient to attract an adequate number of persons to the calling; but it is important that their nature should be clearly understood, in order that disappointments do not arise from a misconception as to the character of the employment." (1)

In the early years of the century, the salaries of the schoolmasters had been low; as Kay-Shuttleworth had pointed out, many teachers earned little more than an agricultural labourer and rarely as much as a moderately skilled artisan. The average annual salary of National Society teachers immediately before 1846 was just over £30.

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1. New Csn. Vol. I (1861), p. 163.
 2. Kay-Shuttleworth, J., Four Periods of Public Education (1862), p. 474.
 3. R.C.C.E., 1845-46, Vol. I, p. 273. It should be noted that on average a male head teacher in the Midlands was receiving at that time a salary of just over £50 per annum. (Ibid).

By 1861 the average annual salary of certificated masters had reached¹ nearly £95 and of uncertificated just over £60. By the standards of that time, the elementary teacher could claim to be no longer poor but his social position remained uncertain. As has been pointed out, "the certificated teacher was a phenomenon not only interesting in himself and in relation to the schooling of the period, but also the best available example of the social difficulties in rising from the lower to the middle class - for this was then the only way a poor boy could obtain a higher education, and when he had obtained it he must perforce appear impeccably respectable, though he was modestly paid, and was likely to suffer both the jealousy of the class he had left and the disdain of the class he aspired to enter." (2)

While few teachers in North Staffordshire suffered dismissal as³ a result of a loss of respectability, the security of tenure, referred to by the Newcastle Commissioners, was not always a reality and teachers, especially in the rural districts, often found themselves in difficulties as a result of being at odds with the local incumbent, who frequently happened to be the principal manager of the village⁴ school. One example has already been cited in the parish of Stone and it is interesting to draw attention to another case in Longsdon.

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1. R.C.C.E., 1861-62, p. 9.
 2. Collins, P., Dickens and Education (1963), p. 168.
 3. Only two cases of dismissal for immorality appear to have been recorded in North Staffordshire during the period. A master was dismissed from Hollington National school in the parish of Checkley in 1877 and another from Betley National school in 1884. H.M.I. recorded in the second case that he was sorry "to find that the late Master had been guilty of such gross misconduct as to necessitate his immediate dismissal." (Betley Nat. Boys' school log book. December 19th, 1884).
 4. Supra pp.190ff.

In this instance the Head teacher of Longsdon school, having served for nearly nine years, was given notice by a newly appointed vicar in July 1902. Two years earlier when he had just taken the living, the vicar had suggested that the master should leave, explaining that "a new clergyman always got on better with a school-master of his own appointing." (1)

The circumstances of the attempted dismissal in 1902 were rather unusual.

"Having invited me to play cricket on 7th July 1902, I went remaining for about an hour. The Vicar handed me a note on the cricket field." (2)

The contents of this note must have been most disconcerting.

"I have been requested by the Managers of the School to let you know privately that they think a change of Schoolmaster would not be beneficial for the school, as you have now been here a fair number of years.

They do not desire however to do anything which might in any way be prejudicial to you, so they have asked me to intimate to you privately that in their opinion by far the best and pleasantest plan will be for you to send in your resignation as they wish to treat you with courtesy and consideration....."(3)

The Vicar had informed him earlier that he had influence with the young men of the parish which rightly belonged to the church and that the master's resignation was imperative to the success of his ministry. The master subsequently interviewed nearly all the managers of the school, who informed him that they knew nothing of the vicar's letter.

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15826.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

Although the master did not lose his post on this occasion, the unfortunate rivalry appears to have continued for a number of years and eventually in 1910 the vicar exposed the master for irregularities in the completion of the registers.¹

SALARIES.

If security of tenure was one question which concerned the nineteenth century elementary school teachers, so also was the matter of salary. Under both the Board and the Voluntary systems the salaries of teachers, especially headteachers, were frequently made dependent in part upon the amount of the government grant earned, thus guaranteeing at least an appropriate devotion to grant-earning activities. As early as 1876, however, H.M.I. Rice-Wiggin was reporting that the "arrangements under which teachers have an interest in the annual grant should be abolished." The managers "would be at perfect liberty to promise a 'bonus' if they would be satisfied with the results of the examination. There are no schools in my district more satisfactorily conducted than the Longton St. James C.E. schools in which every teacher has a fixed salary with the addition of a bonus if the managers considered that the report justifies it." (2)

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15826. The master was suspended for a year. There is some evidence that the master suffered from a "persecution complex." He was convinced that the County Authority expected that he should achieve good attendance results to keep down the rates. He felt he could best satisfy these requirements by adjusting the registers and apparently encouraged his assistant to do the same. She was struck off permanently. The poor relationships that existed between Rev. John Glennie, Vicar of Croxton and his teachers were notorious. In the period 1870-1903 he saw the backs of sixteen head teachers. Only one stayed longer than three years. (Croxton Nat. school log books).
 2. R.C.C.E., 1876-7, p. 545.

In spite of the criticism of the use of the grant, the practice, although declining in significance, persisted in parts of North¹ Staffordshire throughout the period.

The inclusion of school pence, wholly or in part, as an element in salaries was less common but was by no means infrequent before its almost total abolition in 1891. A school mistress appointed to Heathylee Ramshaw Board school in 1885 received a salary of £30 per annum, plus the whole of the school pence and a 'bonus' of £5 per² annum if the examinations were fair, and £10 if reported good. This was later transformed into a fixed amount of £60 per annum and³ subsequently increased to £75 in 1889.

In the early years, in the rural areas, there was probably little to choose between the salaries paid in Board and Voluntary schools. In 1877 the mistress at Alton National school (average attendance 78) was receiving £30 per annum, plus part of the Government Grant worth £5. 1s. 6d, part of the school pence (£2. 18s. 2d) and rent of⁴ lodging and coal (£6. 13s. 0d), making the grand total of £44. 12s. 8d.

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1. The Inspector complained in his annual report in 1876 that "the financial arrangement between the Master (of Cotes Heath Church School) and the managers is unsatisfactory. The former has far too large an Interest in the Grant and the School Pence." (Cotes Heath Church School log book, November 4th, 1876).
 2. H.S.B. Minutes, January 19th, 1885. The average attendance at the school in 1885-6 was 39 and in 1888-9, 37.
 3. Ibid., December 13th, 1889.
 4. S.R.O., D554/166.

The master of neighbouring Cauldon Low National school ¹ received in the same year £50, plus two thirds of the Government Grant (£48. 16s. 0d) and all the school pence (£32. 9s. 3d), which represented a total of £131. 5s. 3d. ² This amount would compare favourably with the £70 plus two-thirds of the Government Grant, producing about £100, which was being received in 1880 by the master of Knighton Board school, which was located in Mucklestone parish. ³ ⁴

Salaries in the urban schools were usually larger, principally because the schools had more pupils. An assistant master was appointed to Northwood Board school in Hanley in 1873 at a salary of £80 per annum plus half the grant, with a guaranteed minimum of £120 ⁵ per annum. This would seem a generous sum in comparison with the salaries of the teachers in the rural districts of North Staffordshire but it is put into perspective when it is noted that the Hanley School Board was prepared to employ in 1872 any young lad, who was able to write and do accounts, as an office boy at an annual salary ⁶ of £52.

The prize post under the Hanley School Board, the Headmastership of the Higher-grade school, was advertised in 1896 at £300 per annum,

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1. Average attendance in 1876-7 was 69 and in 1877-8 , 75.
 2. S.R.O. D554/166.
 3. Average attendance in 1879-80 was 65.
 4. M.S.B. Minutes, November 15th, 1879.
 5. H.S.B. Minutes, October 23rd, 1873.
 6. Ibid., November 20th, 1872.

with an annual allowance of £30 for a house.¹ This salary compares favourably with the national average for headmasters of Board schools of £162-11s in 1895.²

Women's salaries were consistently lower than those of men. In 1873 the Hanley School Board guaranteed salaries for women teachers working for the Board of £65 per annum.³

Variations in salaries paid in Board schools in the Potteries and adjacent districts obviously occurred but it has not proved possible to produce detailed information. At one time, it would seem, Newcastle School Board was providing higher salaries than were the other authorities in the area.

"In July 1881, (Mr. Bullock) said it appeared from the returns the Clerk had been able to obtain from other Boards that their teachers got larger salaries than almost any in the district, though the principle on which the salaries were paid was in some cases on a lower scale. The attendances at the Newcastle schools were also larger than at other schools in the district. The Committee's decision was that no alteration should be made with respect to the present staff but they recommended that in future appointments the salary should be fixed according to the merits of the case." (4)

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1. H.S.B. Committee Minute book, 1895-1899, p. 147.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1895-96, p. 631. At the time the principal teacher in a C.E. school could expect an average salary of £121-4s-3d. It should, however, be remembered that just under two thirds of headteachers in Church schools were provided with a house or free rent while only just over one-third of Board School headteachers received a similar perquisite. (Ibid).
 3. H.S.B. Minutes, October 23rd, 1873.
 4. S.B.C. Vol. XXVI (1881), p. 36.

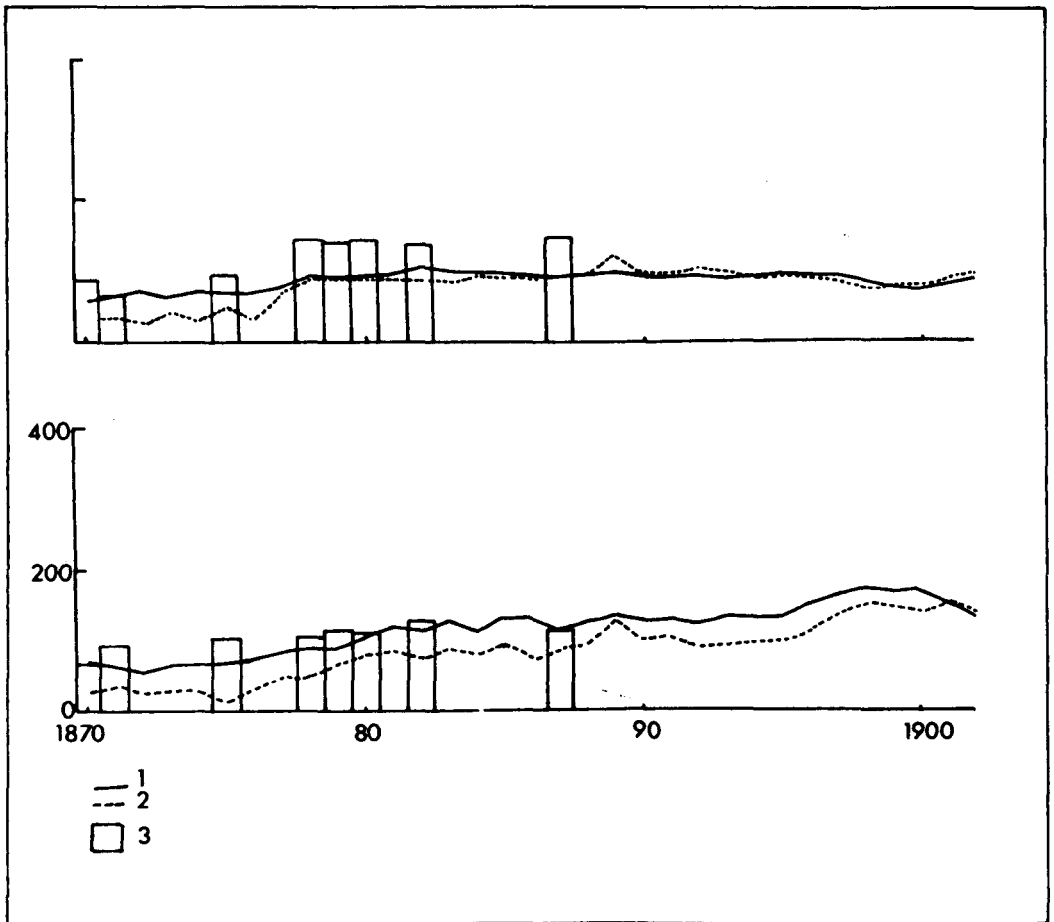


FIG. 50.

Relationship between school attendance, annual parliamentary grant and teachers' salaries at Alton National and Cauldon Low National schools, 1870 - 1903.

1. Average Attendance 2. Annual Grant 3. Head teachers' salaries.

(value in £s)

Unlike the situation today, salaries did not always automatically¹ rise with the passage of the years. Indeed, as a result of the methods of salary computation, there occurred considerable fluctuation. Examples of such variations are shown in the accompanying graphs which refer to the National schools in Alton and at Cauldon Low² and demonstrate effectively the importance of good attendance. Such salary movements were not confined to the Voluntary schools. The salary of the master of Knighton Board school in Mucklestone declined³ from about £100 in 1880 to £75 per annum in 1883.

By the 1890s a gap had developed between the salaries paid by the Board and Voluntary authorities. The national average salaries of Board school teachers in 1895 exceeded those of their colleagues in the Voluntary schools, with the exception of the case of the head-

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1. Wolstanton School Board determined in 1899 that an annual salary increase (usually of £5) would depend entirely upon (1) H.M.I's report of the school, (2) the opinion of the Headteacher and (3) the Board Inspector. (Tunstall High Street Board school log book, December 21st, 1899).
 2. Vide Fig. 50.
 3. M.S.B. Minutes, November 15th, 1879; March 30th, 1883.

masters of Wesleyan schools, the number of which was declining rapidly. ¹

1. Average Salaries paid to certificated teachers in 1895.

	Men			Women		
	Head	Assistant		Head	Assistant	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Church of England	121. 4. 3.	74. 19. 6.		75. 10. 5.	52. 6. 3.	
Wesleyan	170. 13. 6.	84. 12. 2.		86. 13. 0.	54. 1. 9.	
Roman Catholic	117. 3. 3.	79. 1. 7.		66. 14. 4.	52. 12. 5.	
British & Udenom.	143. 16. 1.	92. 12. 3.		81. 5. 9.	57. 1. 3.	
Board	162. 11. 0.	103. 6. 4.		114. 4. 3.	81. 14. 6.	

(R.C.C.E., 1895-6. p. 631).

In his evidence to the Select Committee on Elementary Education in 1892, James Yoxall, secretary of the National Union of Teachers from 1892 until 1924, reported that there were 218 certificated masters receiving under £50 per annum and 3,052 under £75. Just over 40% were receiving less than £100. Of the certificated mistresses 1,140 were earning less than £40, 1,705 less than £45 and 1,608 less than £50. 55% of certificated mistresses were receiving less than £75. Yoxall did, however, emphasise that "when smaller salaries obtain, there usually are cases where a residence is added on to the benefit of the teacher." (Select Committee Report on Elementary Education (Teachers Superannuation) 1892, Q. 342).

Average adult male earnings in 1890 were about £65 per annum. (Clegg, H., et.al., A History of British Trade Unions since 1889 Vol. I. (1964), p. 92).

The question of salaries was one on which the School Boards of the Potteries found a need for a measure of co-operation and a common initiative. The Burslem School Board in 1895 explored the possibility of reaching a common salary policy with the other boards of the district.¹ Whilst it appears that a policy was not formulated, a comparison of the salaries paid by the Longton and Newcastle Boards in 1903 would indicate that at least some informal agreement had quietly come into existence.² Although the salaries received by headmasters in the Newcastle and Longton Board schools compare favourably with the national average, their female colleagues and assistants fared less happily.

1. B.S.B., Minutes, April 24th, 1895.

2.	Newcastle (a)	Longton (b)	National Average (b)
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Headmaster	200. 0. 0.	205. 15. 0.	174. 11. 11.
Headmistress	112. 1. 8.	117. 18. 5.	125. 0. 1.
Male certificated Assistant	£80-£120.	110. 17. 0.	112. 18. 0.
Female " "	£65-£85.	75. 11. 5.	84. 19. 3.

((a) P.R.O. Ed. 21/16059.

(b) S.S. April 30th, 1903.)

In 1899, Wolstanton School Board was paying its male certificated Assistants between £70 and £120 and its similarly qualified females between £60 and £85 per annum. Any teacher passing the London University Matriculation was entitled to an additional £5, and to £10 additional on graduating at any University in the United Kingdom. (Tunstall High St. Board school log book, December 6th, 1899).

Economy, so frequently the major passion of the members of a school board, represented a constant threat to the financial wellbeing of the Board's employees. The Longton School Board in the late 1890s reported that whilst it had been prepared to honour an agreement with the teachers to implement an automatic scale of increased salaries,¹ "it had found it necessary, to some extent, to reduce the staff in order to meet the liabilities without enormously increasing the call on the rates." (2)

The public, however, were reassured that "in reducing the staff by judicious selection they had not in one iota decreased the efficiency of the schools." (3)

Further economies had been effected by employing "carefully selected women teachers for the junior standards of boys' schools" (4)

and it was ominously added that "so successful had the scheme been that (it) would be extended." (5)

At least the existence of rate support for Board schools gave some⁶ measure of security to the teachers in these schools. Less fortunate was the master of Hollinsclough Church school who in 1878 left the

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1. It had been estimated in 1898 that the effect of the new scales would be to raise the salaries of Longton headmasters from about £160 per annum to over £200 within five years. This prediction proved to be very accurate. (S.S. January 17th, 1898).
 2. Ibid., April 30th, 1903.
 3. Ibid.,
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. The fact that the Precept had to be honoured by the providing authority caused considerable resentment. The Newcastle Town Council in 1891 sent the Precept order back to the School Board for reconsideration. (S.B.C., Vol. XLV (1891), p. 536).

district, having not been able to obtain his salary because no money
had been received from the subscribers.¹ The teacher of the school
in the parish of Onecote probably found himself in a similar predicament
when it was reported in 1878 that "the teacher has been paid by
Voluntary rate hitherto, but latterly this voluntary
rate could not be collected." (2)

Even in well regulated Stoke it is recorded that the resourceful
Sir Lovelace Stamer on at least one occasion had to go into the
Church schools of the parish and announce with regret that he was
unable to pay the salaries as he had no money.³

FEES.

The Education Act of 1870 had limited fees in Public Elementary
schools to a maximum of 9d per week.⁴ It was not until 1891 that
parents were given the right to demand free education for their
children. Fees did not then disappear immediately and in some
elementary schools a charge was continued until 1918.⁵ At
Eccleshall, for example, the school managers after 1891 required
a quarterly subscription to the school from parents at rates
corresponding to their station in life above that of the labourer class,

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15767.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 2/402.
 3. Wright, F.E.J., op. cit., p. 19.
 4. 33 and 34 Vict. cap 75. sec. 3.
 5. 54 and 55 Vict. cap. 56. sec. 2 (2).

and in proportion to the number of their children being educated.¹

Other nearby districts including Croxton, adopted the plan of continuing the system of weekly payments but at lower rates and accepting children of the labourer class free.²

Until 1891, individual management committees and school boards had set and varied the rates at their own discretion, subject of course to possible objection by the Education Department. Grading by parents' means or status, by pupils' age or standard and by the number in one family were normal procedures although not all were incorporated in every scale. Newcastle School Board established the following scale in 1877:-

1. Croxton Parochial Magazine, Vol. XIII, September 1891.

2. Ibid.

Many Wesleyan schools continued to charge fees. In 1902, an annual income of about £27,300 was received by Wesleyan schools from school pence. This represented just under 10% of the total actual income received by the Wesleyan schools. The Macclesfield district in which the North Staffordshire Wesleyan schools were grouped received only just over 5% of its total income from school pence. (Wesleyan Education Report 1902-3, p. 52).

As the Wesleyan Committee reported in 1892 on the effects of the Free Education Act of 1891, "several Wesleyan schools have felt strong enough to decline the fee-grant, and they have suffered no disadvantage. It has been found in these cases that there has been a remarkable readiness on the part of parents to continue on the old lines. So far the results have justified the course adopted in these schools, and in every such case there has been an increase in the scholars. Where the fee-grant has been accepted and the difference between it and the previous school fee is charged, the payment of a reduced fee especially in districts where the Board schools are free- has proved attractive rather than otherwise. There has only been financial loss when Managers have accepted the fee-grant and they have not (charged) as a fee any sum in excess of it." (Ibid., 1891-92, p. 20).

Infants	2d per week
1st Standard Boys and Girls	1d per week
2nd Standard Boys and Girls	2d per week
3rd Standard Boys and Girls	3d per week
4th, 5th, 6th Standards Boys	4d per week
4th, 5th, 6th Standards Girls	3d per week

Where there are two children or more in one family in regular attendance, the fees were 2d for each child of any standard. (1)

At Croxton National school education was rather more expensive.

A sliding scale of fees had been used since the opening of the new school in 1872. Rev. John Glennie argued that this was very

desirable because "there are many persons having children at school of such positions in life, that they not only can afford to pay for their education, but feel that they are lowered in estimation if not allowed to do so, or at any rate share in the expense." (2)

The scale established was set out as follows:-

- "(a) For each child whose parent is in a condition of life to afford to pay it, 6s. per quarter, or 6d per week.
- (b) For each child of a parent who makes a declaration that he is unable to pay the above fee, after sanction of the Committee, 4s per quarter, or 4d per week.
- (c) For each child of labourer parents, 2s per quarter, or, if preferred, 3d per week." (3)

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1. N.G., September 13th, 1902.
 2. Croxton Parochial Magazine, Vol. XIII. September 1891.
 3. Ibid.

Wolstanton School Board initially distinguished between half-timers and full-timers, charging 4d per week for those in full-time and 3d per week for those in half-time education. This was subsequently altered to 4d per week for Standards III, IV, V and VI and 3d for Standards I and II. Infants were charged 2d per week and no family was required to pay more than a shilling in total. Fees in the Voluntary schools in the urban areas may have been marginally higher than in the Board schools. At the Sneyd National School in Burslem in 1873, the infants were required to pay 3d per week, girls 4d and half-timers, 3d.

In rural Mucklestone at a meeting of the School Board in November 1875, it was resolved "that a uniform fee of 3d per week for each child be paid by all children in attendance at Knighton Board school, and that such fee shall include the use of all School Books and other School Materials which shall be supplied by the Board excepting Copy Books, Home Lesson Books and sewing materials for girls." (4)

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1. S.S., September 16th, 1902.
 2. There is also evidence of movement between voluntary schools occasioned by the need to seek a cheaper education. The headteacher at Blyth Marsh Endowed school reported in January 1880, "Three boys left this week. Two of them have gone to the Roman Catholic school at Crosswell the parents could not pay the school fees, and some few shillings they were in arrears. The Priest is allowing them to go free." (Forsbrook Blyth Marsh Endowed school log book, January 16th, 1880).
 3. Sneyd National Girls' & Infants, school log book, April n.d. 1873.
 4. M.S.B. Minutes, November 4th, 1875.

At Milwich Church school in 1869 the children were required to pay for heating with the result that the "children presume the right at all time of crowding around the fires and in many cases..... purposely remain away to avoid payment." (1)

To place the onus of providing certain school materials upon the parents appears to have been a widely accepted arrangement but it inevitably produced a reason for non-attendance. The correspondent of Eccleshall National school wrote to the Education Department in 1888 to enquiry whether "magistrates are justified in not convicting a parent for not sending his child to school on the plea that the child has been sent home for aforesaid payment (for books) and thus consequently his attendance has not been made." (2)

The Eccleshall correspondent was informed that "My Lords consider it is not reasonable (Art. 89. N.C.) to refuse admission to a child whose parents refuse to provide or pay for school books." (3)

The relevance of fees to the general question of attendance will be discussed in the following chapter but it is important to stress at this point that there is little doubt school pence imposed a genuine burden upon many of those classes for which elementary education was intended and the poorest were faced with a real choice between food and school fees.⁴

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1. Milwich Church school log book, December 17th, 1869.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/15715.
 3. Ibid.
 4. "School Board Work", Good Words, 1872, p. 651, quoted by Rubinstein D., School Attendance in London 1870-1904: A social history (1969), p. 85. "I have always tried to persuade parents to send their boys to school till they were thirteen years of age and have several times paid the school fees myself." (Longton National school log book, May 20th, 1890).

PUPIL TEACHERS

Whilst pupil teachers were found in almost all the urban schools of North Staffordshire, the small size of many of the rural schools limited their employment in the agricultural districts. Many of the village schools continued for the whole period much in the way described in the following report of H.M.I. on Foxt Branch Church school in the parish of Ipstones in 1894.

"Mixed school. The mistress deserves great credit for the way in which she managed and taught the school with an average of 68, almost without help. The children behave very well and the tone of the school is good. The elementary work is well and accurately done and the children are intelligent." (1)

The only help the mistress of such a school was likely to receive would be from a monitress who would usually have the responsibility of looking after the infants.²

Denominational partiality often meant that in the rural districts where the dominance of the Anglican church was so marked, Nonconformists were at some disadvantage when seeking entry into the teaching profession as pupil teachers.³ Their chances were better in the urban areas where the variety of schools provided greater opportunities and it might be anticipated that in the cases of Board schools there would be little discrimination. Indeed a Jewess was able to find employment

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1. S.R.O. D/554/166.
 2. cf. Moddershall Church school log book 1895-1903.
 3. Chadwick, O., The Victorian Church, Part II, (1970), p. 190.

as a pupil teacher under the Longton School Board in the 1880s but when she applied for a permanent teaching post following the satisfactory completion of her training, the Board was very divided and would only appoint her on a temporary basis after considerable¹ discussion. The principal argument of the Denominational (Moderate) party was that "it was impossible for a Jew or Jewess to read a chapter of the Bible with the same meaning as a Christian." (2)

A more tolerant view was expressed by the Methodist New Connexion minister. He urged "the Board to take a very broad view, and stretch a point to oblige a lady who had been brought up under the Board. If it was a mistake for a lady of the Jewish race to attempt to become a teacher in a Board school, the mistake was made by a previous Board." (3)

Perhaps at the age of about thirteen, when the Jewish girl had entered her apprenticeship, her religious beliefs would have seemed less pernicious, and the sensitivities of the worthy gentlemen would not have been offended. But a qualified teacher was quite a different matter.

Pupil teachers were normally indentured for four years although this period was reduced in 1899 to three when the minimum age at which an engagement could commence was raised from fourteen to

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XLI (1889), p. 31.
 2. N.G., January 5th, 1889.
 3. Ibid.

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fifteen. Much of this training was of an extremely dubious quality since headteachers had heavy work-loads and were, in many cases, poorly equipped intellectually to carry out such tasks. That some headteachers did work diligently and constructively on behalf of their pupil teachers, is however, indicated by the comments on "criticism lessons" which have been preserved in the school log books. At Audley Wesleyan school in January 1886, Frank Platt, pupil teacher, gave such a lesson on "Rivers". The headmaster recorded the following enlightening comments:-

"The lesson was not well worked out. There was too much telling simply and no attempt at inductive teaching. Advised him in future when giving a lesson on "Rivers" to select some small stream in the neighbourhood of the school, dealing with the brook as a river on a small scale. After having given the children a clear idea of all the common terms as applied to rivers, then to lead them from this to consider the terms in connection with larger streams or rivers." (2)

It would appear that the other pupil teachers in the schools also sat in on such lessons for it was pointed out that on an earlier lesson

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1. Day School Code, 1899 paras. 39.40.
The minimum age had been raised from thirteen to fourteen in 1878. (1878 New Code, para.70b). A limit of not more than four pupil teachers for every certificated teacher had been established in 1873. (1872 New Code para. 70g). This number was reduced to three in 1878 (1878 New Code, para. 70g), and two in 1880 (1880 New Code, para. 70g). In 1882 it was fixed at three for each principal and one for each certificated teacher. (1882 New Code, para. 42).
 2. Audley Wesleyan school log book, June 11th, 1886.

on "Northumbria", "the arrangement of the lesson was good. Physical features taken first, followed by Political events. A sketch map was drawn on the blackboard. Adverse criticism by some of the Pupil Teachers were: 1. Want of energy in manner, 2. Told the children too much and asked very few questions, 3. Errors in language (Grammar), 4. One error in historical fact connected with the Battle of Flodden." {1)

Whilst these examples of apparently good practice did exist,
the need for a more formal preparation of pupil teachers was recognised. ²

In his report of 1882-3 in the Potteries, H.M.I. Fowler commented that "it would be a most desirable thing if the school boards and voluntary schools in 'the Potteries' could be induced to join forces and adopt the system which has worked so well in Liverpool, not of removing the instruction of the apprentices out of the hands of their own teachers, but of supplementing this by combined lectures and class teaching delivered at some centres." (3)

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1. Audley Wesleyan school log book, June 4th, 1886.
During this period, great emphasis was placed upon the criticism lesson in the training of pupil-teachers. (R.C.C.E., 1892-93, p.122).
 2. In February 1893 the Wolstanton School Board issued a printed list of suggestions to improve the system of instructing pupil teachers and candidates (Vide Appendix 4) and also requested the headmaster of Tunstall John Street Board school to give two hours special instruction on each Saturday morning to the Pupil Teachers in the third and fourth years. Forty pounds per annum was to be made available to cover expenses and the teachers involved would be paid pro rata out of this sum. (Tunstall John Street Board school log book, February 15th, 1893).
 3. R.C.C.E., 1882-3. p. 328.

The exhortation did not produce any immediate response and it was not until much later in 1895, that any decisive action was taken.¹ In August of that year, the Longton School Board agreed to establish a separate Pupil Teacher class which would meet on week-days and on Saturday mornings. It was to be superintended by a full time instructor. The proposal was vigorously opposed by the supporters of the Voluntary system. Their principal spokesman was Rev. S. Salt. Perhaps he feared that this initiative of the School Board would further emphasize the disparity between the Voluntary and rate-aided educational systems. Mr. Mitcheson speaking in favour

1. Earlier informal attempts to improve the standards of training had been associated with activities of the North Staffordshire Association of Certificated Teachers which was founded in 1850-51 as the Church Teachers' Association. In 1866 it had broken up but was reformed on a much wider basis in 1869 when all certificated teachers in the area were invited to join. By 1874 it had more than 100 members. The object of the Association was to enable teachers to assist one another in the methods of school teaching by reading papers, drawing up syllabuses and explaining government regulations. In the winter, meetings were held in school rooms in the Potteries but in the summer the gatherings often took the form of picnics to schools in the country districts. In 1874 the Association was split up into local branches of the National Union of Elementary Teachers, in an attempt to build up a Teachers Association for the county. This scheme failed and in 1879 the society was reformed and appears to have functioned at least until 1892. (Lowe, R., *The Development of Adult Education in the Potteries with special reference to the founding of a university in the area*. Unpublished M.A. thesis (Keele University) (1966), pp.74-75). In 1862 teachers in west Derbyshire had joined with those in north-east Staffordshire to form the Dove Valley Association of Elementary School Teachers. It seems that the Association may have been superseded in the early 1870s by the local branch of the National Union of Elementary Teachers. (Johnson, M., op. cit., pp. 169-170).

stated, "they were bound to do this work efficiently and if it were necessary to spend the money they would have to spend it. From his own point of view he had always understood that pupil-teachers were sort of white slaves. They ought to take that into consideration." (1)

Rev. Salt retorted "with respect to slavery, I have had the management of schools in which there have been pupil teachers for nearly thirty years, and have never heard that expression in my life." (2)

Certainly the conditions under which the pupil teachers served in the schools of Rev. Salt could not be regarded as the most liberal. In the School Board election campaign of 1898, the reverend gentleman was accused of forcing his pupil teachers into the Sunday schools.

Replying with some heat, he pointed out that "if they were pupil-teachers he was responsible for their religious education; he would have them attend or he would not have them as pupil-teachers..... No pupil-teacher ever taught in the Sunday schools but was taught - and those who had been most regular in the Sunday school succeeded most, not only at their religious but also at their secular examinations." (3)

In answer to a question whether he had ever given notice to any of his former teachers for attending the East Vale Mission Church in Longton and not attending Rev. Salt's church at Dresden, Rev. Salt said he had never given that notice. When the actual teacher confronted the reverend gentleman on this point, there was general ^{when} uproar at the meeting and Rev. Salt agreed that he forced every pupil

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1. S.B.C., Vol. LIV. (1895), p. 136.
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.S., January 11th, 1898.

teacher to attend his Sunday school, it was reported that the¹
pandemonium only increased.

Newcastle School Board attempted to follow Longton's lead
in 1896 but it subsequently discovered that a central class for the
instruction of the town's pupil teachers could not be properly formed²
owing to the small number of apprentices needing instruction.

A later effort in 1899 stemmed from the initiative of the Hanley
and Stoke School Boards to establish a pupil teacher centre for the
whole of the Potteries using the former Wesleyan Higher-grade school³
in Charles Street in Hanley. Courses at the centre were to last for
three years from the age of fifteen and operate on a half-time basis
of instruction and teaching. The proposed title for the centre, the
Staffordshire Potteries Pupil Teacher centre, was objected to by the
Education Department on the grounds that there were other School Boards
in the Potteries which were not participating and that there was also
the likelihood of a similar centre being established for voluntary⁴
schools in Stoke. By 1901, however, it had become generally known by
the proposed nomenclature, in part because by that date it had gained

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1. S.S., January 11th, 1898.
 2. N.G., September 13th, 1902.
 3. S.B.C., Vol. LXIII, (1900), p. 403.
 4. P.R.O.Ed. 57/21.

the support of the Burslem and Wolstanton School Boards. In that year the Centre had about 200 pupil teachers from the schools of the four Boards.¹ The first head of the centre was Robert Williamson.² He had completed his professional training at the Glasgow Free Church Training College and had served on the staff of Bradford School Board's Pupil Teacher centre.³ His assistant, twenty-eight-year-old Miss Elizabeth Adam, who was also trained in Scotland at the Church of Scotland College in Edinburgh, had been a member of the staff of the Gateshead School Board's Pupil Teacher centre before moving to Hanley.⁴

In the face of the uncertainties aroused by the Cockerton judgement and the subsequent challenge of the legality of School Board expenditure on Pupil Teacher centres,⁵ the plan of the four School Boards to build a new centre in the Potteries was delayed. The prevaricating tactics of the Board of Education are revealed in Sir George Kekewich's somewhat ingenuous memorandum of September 15th, 1901,

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1. S.S., September 19th, 1902.
 2. Robert Williamson was a graduate of Glasgow University. He was appointed to his post in Hanley in his thirty-sixth year. (P.R.O.Ed. 57/21). He later became the first Chief Education Officer of Hanley.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 57/21. Adams, F. et al., op. cit., p. 29.
 4. P.R.O.Ed. 57/21.
 5. Dyer and others v. London School Board. (P.R.O.J15/2607/4127).

in which he pointed out that he understood "all these cases should be delayed as much as possible owing to the fact that the London provision of P.T. centres is to be challenged before the auditor - I cannot imagine how the challenge can lead to a victory for the opponents of the Boards - of course anything may happen before the auditor but the High Court surely could not support a surcharge, if he made one. If, however, he does surcharge, I take it that we shall be justified in suspending all approval of new centres until the case has been tried." (1)

It is, perhaps, not without some significance that the attention
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of Robert Morant was drawn to this case. He must have relished the opportunity to put the Potteries School Boards in their place and in a memorandum bearing his initials, dated 4th November, 1901, he indicated that the proposals of the Potteries School Boards "should be referred to the Staffs. County Council Technical Instruction Committee and with a request for their observations and opinions. He would then like to see this before any steps are taken with the School Board proposals....." (3)

A Board of Education memorandum of October 31st, 1902 marked the end of the project.

"I submit that the Board of Education should not at this juncture give a formal sanction under sec. 52 E.A. 70 to any fresh combination between School Boards for the provision or management of Pupil Teacher Centres. I propose to reply to the Clerk of Burslem School Board that in view of the

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 57/22.
 2. Robert Morant was at this time secretary to the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 57/22. Support for the plan was given by the Staffordshire County Council Technical Instruction Committee in a letter to the Board of Education on January 13th, 1902. Hanley Technical Instruction Committee gave its approval on January 30th, 1902. (P.R.O.Ed. 57/22).

recent decision given in the Court of appeal in the case of Dyer and others v. London School Board respecting the establishment and maintenance out of the School Fund of centres for P.Ts and in view of the provisions of the Education Bill now before Parliament, the Board of Education are not prepared at this present time to give their formal sanction under section 52 of EEA 1870, (1) to such new proposals for combination between School Boards as those which your board submits." (2)

In the meantime the status of the existing Pupil Teacher centre in Hanley was regularised in accordance with the provision of the Education Act 1901³ Renewal Act 1902.

Although the centre was never built, it is interesting to reflect upon the imaginative scheme that had been submitted by the Potteries School Boards. In October 1901, William Copeland, Clerk to the Conference on the proposed Teachers' Centre, had written in the following manner to the Board of Education:-

"It would be a great convenience to these School Boards if they could amalgamate for the purpose of erecting and maintaining a Pupil Teacher centre; and there has just been offered, practically as a gift, to the School Boards a most suitable site. (4) This site is a portion of a plot of land which has been presented to the Council for

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1. 33 and 34 Vict. cap. 75, sec. 52. The school boards of any two or more districts, with the sanction of the Education Department, may combine together for any purpose relating to elementary schools in such districts, maintaining, and keeping efficient schools common to such districts.....
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 57/21.
 3. 2 Edw. VII, cap. 19.
 4. The site for the Pupil teacher centre supported by all the School Boards of the Potteries, (including Newcastle but not Caverswall) was offered by Alfred Bolton, the copper manufacturer, of Oakmoor (P.R.O.Ed. 57/22). The site was subsequently used for the Central School of Science and Technology which was opened on April 20th, 1914. It later became the North Staffordshire College of Technology. (Lowe, R., op. cit. p. 226).

the extension of Higher Education in North Staffordshire with a view to the erection of a College. Such an arrangement would give the School Boards' P.T. centre the advantage of being immediately connected with Higher Education. The site adjoins the Stoke-upon-Trent Railway station which is in direct communication with every part of the District..... " (1)

It was envisaged that the centre would cater for some 650 pupil teachers from nearly all parts of the Potteries, including the Voluntary schools.

The individual initiatives, however, were not to be combined and in consequence there existed in 1903, four separate pupil teacher centres in the Potteries. Two were operated by school boards and two were within the voluntary system.² Of an estimated 210 pupil teachers in attendance at these four centres in 1903, 165 (78%) were enrolled at the school board centres.³ Outside the Pottery townships, evidence confirms the existence of only one pupil teacher centre in the rest of North Staffordshire and this was located in Leek.⁴

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 57/22.
 2. Apart from the joint Board centre in Hanley, there were two centres in Stoke; one provided by the Roman Catholics and one for girls set up by the Stoke Church school board, and the school board centre in Longton which was housed in the old School Board offices. (S.S., May 20th, 1903).
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 53/210. Figures for attendance were not given for the Roman Catholic centre in Stoke.
 4. Ibid. The pupil teacher classes in Leek were provided principally by members of the staff of Nicholson Institute at that centre in the town. The classes took place on weekday evenings and Saturday mornings. It was, therefore, not a properly constituted day centre. (Annual Reports of the Nicholson Institute, Leek, 1902-1907).

Whilst pupil teachers formed an important part of the teaching staff of many schools in North Staffordshire, further assistance was drawn from the sizable number of uncertificated teachers, many of whom had been ex-pupil teachers.¹ In the rural areas, however, the main support especially in Infants' departments, ~~were~~ the female supplementary²s, officially introduced in 1875 to reduce the need for monitors³ and known successively as Art.32(c)³, Art. 84,⁴ and Art.68⁵ teachers. Without formal training, many of the supplementaries had started teaching as monitors.⁶

In the early part of the period under consideration, both pupil teachers and monitors were frequently paid directly by the headteacher

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1. Article 50 (Day School Code 1896) Persons who have passed the Queen's Scholarship examination..... may be recognised as assistant teachers. Uncertificated teachers' salaries were considerably lower than those of their certificated colleagues.
In 1892, James Yoxall had reported that the salaries of uncertificated masters ranged from £50 to £75 per year and those of unqualified mistresses from £25 to £60. (Select Committee Report on Elementary Education (Teachers' Superannuation) 1892, Q344).
 2. Monitors were still being employed at the turn of this century at Tunstall High St. Board school. (Tunstall High St. Board school log book, January 6th, 1902).
 3. New Code 1875.
 4. New Code 1882.
 5. New Code 1890. With the restriction on the hours of employment for pupil teachers, it became more economic to employ Article 68 teachers than apprentices. (Tropp, A., The School Teachers (1957), p. 171).
 6. It is interesting to note here the training background of a rural elementary school master in North Staffordshire. Samuel Rowbotham, who caused so much trouble for the school management committee in the parish of Waterfall (supra p.189) "had been for many years not a schoolmaster but a writer for Lawyers and for Newspapers. He (was) powerful as a writer and most plausible," complained Rev. J.P. Sargent to the Education Department in April 1878. "He could make Black appear White and White Black....." (P.R.O.Ed. 21/15966).

from his own salary but this practice gradually disappeared.¹ By 1903 the male pupil teachers under the Newcastle School Board were receiving in their final year of training £23. 10s. while their female colleagues received £19. 10s. per year.²

Recruitment for the teaching profession was not easy as is shown in the report of H.M.I. on North Staffordshire in 1901.³

"Male Pupil teachers appear to be in danger of becoming an extinct species. At a recent examination, I counted only four first year pupil teachers out of a total of nearly 200." (4)

About the same time, Hanley School Board, mindful of the situation, had published the following advertisement.

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1. Johnson, M., op. cit., p. 163.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16059.
 3. This was a national problem, vide Tropp, A., op. cit., p. 170.
 4. Board of Education Report 1900-1, Vol. II. p. 45.
The question of 'teacher-wastage', another familiar contemporary problem, also exercised the attentions of the nineteenth century educational administrators. "Out of 2,000 school mistresses who come out of Training Colleges at the age of twenty and go into the work of public education, at the end of ten years, 1,000 have left the profession for various reasons, not merely by death....." (Select Committee Report on Elementary Education (Teachers' Superannuation) 1892, Evidence of James Yoxall Acting President of the N.U.T. in 1892, Q.331).

"Parents and guardians of children at present attending or about to leave Hanley schools are desired to consider the advantages offered by the profession of teaching as a livelihood, and the facilities offered to candidates for posts as teachers to enable them to qualify for the position..... and parents are reminded of the absences of fluctuation in income, the security of tenure and the amount of leisure of a teacher." (1)

In conclusion it would appear that in North Staffordshire the denominations discovered it was increasingly difficult to compete with the Boards in matters of staffing, salaries and the training of teachers. In order to provide sufficient resources the denominations found themselves in a position of having to charge higher fees and to maintain fee payments after the introduction of 'free' education in 1891. For this reason they had difficulty in maintaining schools in the poorest districts and often had to surrender control of such schools to the school board. As a consequence, in the urban areas, the denominational schools, with the exception of those under the control of the Roman Catholics, tended to become associated with a "better"² class of children than did the Board schools. This factor no doubt helped the denominational schools to compete with some success in the market for teachers even though the managers were unable to match the

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1. S.B.C., Vol. LXIV, (1900), p. 250.
 2. Cross Cnvn., 2nd Report (1887), QQ. 24407, 24408. The evidence of Stamer to the Cross Commission confirms the assertion in the case of Stoke Parish.

salaries offered by the school boards. In some cases this 'class' advantage enjoyed by the teachers in the voluntary schools was cancelled by the strict control of the management committees, of which the local minister was frequently the embodiment. Certainly the character of the keen interest evinced by some ministers, so neatly summarized by Sir Lovelace Stamer in his evidence to the Cross¹ Commissioners, could be a further advantage, but too often there developed a situation in which master and incumbent found themselves in conflict. The interest was transformed into interference and the designs of the teachers were frustrated by a minister who resented the challenge implicit in the teacher's presence in his parish. The potential level of friction, particularly between Anglican ministers and their teachers, appears to have been somewhat greater than that which existed between the school boards and their teachers.

The responsibility for pupil teachers in the rural areas rested with the headteachers and, apart from the annual examinations, there is little to show that there were any attempts to standardise the

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1. Cross Csn., 2nd Report (1887). Q. 24236. "I believe that for inducing heartiness and earnestness in the work, there is nothing like the management of a good voluntary school, where the clergy and others who are interested in the schools are continually there and take a direct and personal interest in the whole thing. The difference I can see between the voluntary schools and the board schools is just the difference between a private firm and a limited liability company"

quality of the supervision. On the other hand, in the urban areas, the school boards, recognising the deficiencies of the training programmes, responded by becoming increasingly involved in the preparation of their own recruits. The establishment of a pupil teacher centre for the Potteries represented a major achievement in school board co-operation in North Staffordshire and demonstrated that the lack of administrative cohesion between individual units, the fundamental weakness of the school board system, could be overcome if the will and determination of those involved were sufficiently strong.

Chapter X. Denominational Influences and School Attendance.

There is little doubt that the subject of School Attendance and the attempts to achieve its enforcement exercised the minds of all those connected with elementary education for a considerable amount of time during the second half of the nineteenth century. Whilst the immediate concern following the passing of the 1870 Education Act had been with the provision of school places, this was relatively quickly superseded by the need to ensure that such places¹ were being filled.

Although permissive compulsion was established by the 1870 Act, it was not until 1876 that a major step was taken to make compulsion universal, and mandatory powers were not brought into existence until 1880. After the passing of the Mundella Act, full-time education until the age of ten was legally demanded everywhere. Until 1891, however, the "school pence" made the enforcement of school attendance difficult. As has been pointed out "it would seem at first glance that Victorian legislators and administrators made problems for themselves unnecessarily in making the school attendance of the poor both compulsory and, relatively expensive; even free schools would have been difficult to keep filled. It is impossible to understand this contradiction without bearing in mind the deeply ambivalent attitude towards education of the

1. For an outline of the history of school attendance enforcement vide Dixon, J., A History of School Attendance Work. Education Welfare Officer 1957.

working class characteristic of higher social classes....
It was widely asserted by the middle class that many
working class parents supported fee paying." (1)

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It has already been shown that it was a view widely held by the
middle classes that unless education, like any other commodity, was
paid for, it would be despised, or at least undervalued, by the
independent minds of some sections of the working classes.

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Ample evidence confirms that, at least in the urban parts of
North Staffordshire, fees did militate against the good attendance of
many children. Of the stated excuses adduced for non-attendance in
Longton schools in 1871, just over 38% were associated with poverty
and the resultant inability to pay the fees. Uncertain working
conditions undoubtedly contributed to these difficulties. The

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headmistress of Sneyd National Girls' school in Burslem commented that
"in many cases the parents were unable to pay the
School fee, owing to the closing of some Earthenware
manufactories consequent upon a shortage of water." (5)

A year earlier it was recorded in the log book of the same school that
the attendance had been small all the week "as the parents had not the
money to pay the Children's school pence." (6)

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1. Rubinstein, D., op. cit., pp. 83-84.
 2. Supra p.60.
 3. The fragmented nature of the working class of the nineteenth century has been discussed by Rubinstein, D., op. cit., pp. 12-13.
 4. S.B.C., Vol. II, (1871), p. 141.
 5. Sneyd National Girls' and Infants' school log book, September 1st, 1873.
 6. Ibid., August 16th, 1872.

A sense of pride among certain sections of the working class is suggested by the following log book entry:-

"Several people out of work. Find it difficult to collect fees. Cannot get them to apply to Guardians." 1

In the rural districts poverty was regarded as a less significant factor, 2 Periods of indifferent trade in the country towns, nevertheless, did have an effect. Business in Stone was bad in the winter of 1873 and a mother, in explanation of non-payment of fees, showed the headmaster of St. Michael's National school her husband's wage book which revealed that his earnings in the first week were $14/3$, $13/10\frac{1}{2}$ in the second, $4/8$ in the third and $3/10\frac{1}{2}$ in the fourth. 3 In the following July the headmaster of the same school wrote that "the school fee rate is far too high for the rate of wages now earned by the majority of parents." (4)

Whilst there exists some doubt about the significance of fee payment as a factor affecting the attainment of satisfactory attendance levels, there is less uncertainty about other factors. Poor health

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1. St. Michael's Nat. school log book (Stone), December 19th, 1879, quoted by Chorley, R. History of Elementary Education in Stone, Staffs from the mid-eighteenth century to 1902 with special reference to 1870-1902. Unpublished Diploma in Education dissertation (Birmingham University) (1965), p. 47.
 2. The Commissioners on the Employment of Children in Agriculture reported in 1868-9 that they regarded poverty as seldom being a hindrance to sound attendance in rural districts of mid-Staffordshire (Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, 2nd Report, 1868-69, p. 13).
 3. Quoted by Chorley, R., op. cit., p. 55.
 4. Ibid.

engendered by the poverty, squalor and semi-starvation that so many children experienced in the expanding industrial areas was an important contributory factor in accounting for indifferent attendance. The menace of infectious diseases was constant. School log books abound in references to cases of scarlatina, diphtheria, measles, and other unspecified fevers. A typical entry comes from Sneyd Girls' National school in Burslem:-

"Almost every street round is infected with fever of one sort or another, in fact the children are forbidden to pass along Nile Street home, those living the direction of town being warned to go by way of Regent Street and Waterloo Road." (1)

The rural districts appear to have been almost equally vulnerable.

"School still very thin. Typhoid fever broken out in one part of the parish." (2)

The scale of the effects of such outbreaks is revealed in the following log.

"The (measles) epidemic has developed with alarming rapidity, 70% of the children being absent." (3)

The correspondent of St. Paul's Dale Hall National school in Burslem wrote to the Education Department in 1888 to enquire whether they were justified in refusing admittance to a boy for the following

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1. Burslem, Sneyd National Girls' school log book, October n.d. 1874.
 2. Croxton National school log book, July 19th, 1878.
 3. Endon Parochial school log book, January 18th, 1889.

reasons:-

- "1. That he is suffering from 3 large unhealed lupus sores in the face for which he is still being treated at the local hospital.
2. That when last attending the school (about 18 months ago) he imparted the disease to a girl named Lily K ____ who is still suffering from it.
3. That the stench from the lupus sores is most offensive to both teachers and scholars." (1)

The Education Department agreed that the correspondent's decision
2
was justified.

The insanitary conditions of Longton in particular were, for much of the period under consideration, a source of local indignation. So bad were the conditions that the frequency of the outbreaks of fever in the borough almost became a national scandal in the late 1890s.³ Diphtheria caused the Longton schools to close for such a long period in 1897 and 1898 that Miss Florence Clarke, who had earlier been a Moderate member of the Longton School Board, wrote to her personal friend, Sir John Gorst, then the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, drawing his attention to the Longton situation.

"A notice in our local Pottery paper that diphtheria is again increasing prompts me to ask you if there is no superior authority who can stir our Town Council

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 21/16097.
 2. Ibid.
 3. The insanitary condition of many children attending school in Longton is graphically illustrated in the following extract which was by no means exceptional. "The lad's head was literally swarming with vermin - in all my life I never beheld so sickening a sight: standing as I did nearly a yard away I could see scores of nasty creatures running about. I sent him at once....." (Longton Nat. school log book, September 29th, 1890).

to do something to arrest the disease besides closing the schools. It will be six months at the end of this month since they were first closed except for a fortnight re-opening in January. They were to open after Easter but I suppose the closing will be prolonged if the epidemic is increasing again. Meanwhile no other steps are taken. We need an Infectious Hospital and better drainage but the Corporation want to spend money on other things, so they close the schools month after month (whilst the Town Hall is let freely for children's entertainments) and then the old mayor says they have done all in their power to stamp out the disease....." (1)

As a fervent supporter of the Voluntary schools in Longton, Miss Clarke's motives may have been influenced less by a desire to improve the sanitary conditions of Longton than by a need to protect the voluntary system of elementary education in the borough. The voluntary schools suffered more than the Board schools as a result of closure since they did not enjoy the security of rate support.²

The debilitating effects of under-nourishment were also important in reducing the physical conditions of the children and rendering them particularly susceptible to frequent infections. In order to alleviate the problem of hunger, the provision of "penny dinners" for the children attending the Board schools in Hanley was raised in 1885. It was the opinion of one member of the Board that where children had broken down at school it was from want of proper

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 16/273.
 2. Since 1892 elementary schools had been able to claim the so-called "epidemic grant". (1892 Code Art. 83a).

nourishment. Another member countered by affirming that when parents had come before the Excuse Committee that which was wanting¹ was clothing not food. In this instance, however, no action was² taken.

Even as late as 1902 the Labour member of Burslem School Board, Miss S. Benett, was able to remark "that in view of the fact that a number of children were not coming to school because they had no boots, that they should be encouraged to come without boots, describing this as much cheaper and healthier in the summer. She thought that if they came without boots, and without jackets..... it would save the parents' pockets for the winter." (3)

In the early days, following the passing of the 1870 Education Act, an important cause of non-attendance was the illegal employment of children of school age. With limited accommodation and a strong desire for economy, the school boards at first did not press too vigorously for universal attendance. A case in Newcastle illustrates this attitude. The owners of a silk mill in Silverdale had written to the Education Department in February 1872 about the employment of the children of the ages between eleven and thirteen. Newcastle

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXXIII. (1885) p. 461.
 2. H.S.B. minutes, April 16th, 1885. Burslem School Board introduced in the winter of 1884 a system of "penny dinners" for the children at Hill Top and North Road Board schools. It was reported that "there can be little doubt of the benefits which must accrue to the schools as well as to the individuals, arising from the improved physical condition in which the children are enabled to resume their studies." (B.S.B. Triennial Report, 1883-1885, p. 21). cf. Oddy, D., Working-Class Diets in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain. Econ. Hist. Review. 2nd Series, Vol. 23 (1970), pp. 314-323.
 3. S.S., September 4th, 1902.

School Board had circularized parents pointing out that children up to the age of thirteen could be legally compelled to attend school in the borough. The owners of the mill feared that if this ruling was enforced they would lose at least one-third of their labour force.¹ The matter was referred to the Newcastle School Board by the Education Department and it was decided that as there was insufficient accommodation in the schools at that time, it would not be prudent to² enforce the provisions of the Act.

In the rural districts, in spite of the careful arrangement of holiday periods, farm work frequently took the children away from school.

"The bilberry woods having been thrown open, many of the girls are away this week picking bilberries." (3)

"School Attendance very bad. Reason Potatoo (sic) digging and sorting, likewise thatching and ploughing." (4)

Such extracts are typical of the whole period in the farming districts. There was plenty of casual employment for a willing lad, especially in the summer months.

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1. S.B.C., Vol. IV, (1871-2), p. 398.
 2. S.S., March 2nd, 1872.
 3. Cotes Heath Church school log book, July 7th, 1871.
 4. Milwich Church School log book, September 29th, 1871.

"John Halden who is fifteen and has attended school during the winter when not at work has now left altogether." 1

For young girls, however, the country parts did not offer so many counter-attractions but it was always possible to enter domestic service and the numerous references to early leaving on this account indicates a persistent cause of irregular attendance.

"August 15th, 1887. Mary D— who was twelve years of age in February and has only passed the 4th Standard has left school and gone to service.

September, 9th 1887. Mrs D— came to say that she has arranged for Mary to leave her situation in a month's time from now and return to school.

October 17th, 1887. Mary D— allowed by the Board to attend half-time." (2)

Contrasts in attendance patterns and the relative importance of juvenile employment in urban and rural districts of North Staffordshire are demonstrated in the following returns for Leek Union:-

"For the urban districts of Leek and Lowe and Tittesworth

I	Average No. of unemployed children over 5 and under 14 upon the registers of 19 certified efficient schools during the year ending December 1877	1687 (67.9%)
II	Average no. of half-time children between 9 and 14 etc.	487 (19.6%)
III	Estimated no. between 5 and 14 attending private schools during the year ending December 1877	229 (9.2%)
IV	Estimated no. between 5 and 14 not accounted for	82 (3.3%)
		<hr/> 2485 (100%)

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1. Milwich Church school log book, April 6th, 1888.
 2. Ibid., October 17th, 1887. For a general account of juvenile employment vide Report of Departmental Committee on the Conditions of School Attendance and Child Labour, 1893-4, (P.P. 1893-4, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 545 - 590) and Returns of Elementary Schools: Children Working for Wages, 1899. (P.P. 1899, Vol. LXXV, pp. 433-483).

For the rural districts

I	Average no. of unemployed children over 5 and under 14 upon the registers of 12 certified efficient schools during the year ending December 1877.	1065	(74.5%)
II	Average no. of half-time children between 9 and 14 etc.	4	(0.3%)
III	Estimated no. between 5 and 14 attending private schools during the year ending December 1877.	186	(13.1%)
IV	Estimated no. between 5 and 14 not accounted for.	174	(12.1%)
		<hr/> 1429	(100%) "1

Although the performance of the rural districts under heading I was better than that of the towns, the obvious lack of legal half-time employment in the country areas led to a considerable degree of absolute non-attendance, much of which may have been encouraged by illegal employment. The proportion of children attending private schools in the rural districts might also have given grounds for a little anxiety. The quality of such education at even the better private schools, which tended to be in the towns, was generally considered uncertain, and such schools in rural districts were often very indifferent.

"The adventure schools in the neighbourhood are in full swing, and children are frequently here at the age of seven years who do not know their letters." (2)

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1. S.A., April 27th, 1878.
 2. Endon Parochial school log book, June 13th, 1884.

But as H.M.I. pointed out in 1883, "if a parent is summoned for educating a child at a (private) school, the result is generally unsatisfactory. The magistrates, as a rule, having little or no knowledge of what constitutes efficient education, are easily satisfied and the child is declared to be in receipt of proper elementary instruction....." (1)

Attendance at private adventure schools continued to be a cause of unsatisfactory attendance in various parts of North Staffordshire throughout the period and the headmaster of Christ Church National school in Stone is found to be still complaining as late as 1898 that alleged attendance at such a school was a customary means of
2
evading the attendance regulations.

The returns for the Leek district also suggest that it was more difficult to keep records on all the children in the rural parts since only 3.3% of the children were not accounted for in the town while this percentage rose to 12.1 in the adjacent country districts.

A further factor militating against satisfactory attendance was "capricious migration". Parents would transfer their children from one school to another and from one authority to another in order to evade the attentions of the school attendance officer.

"The officer appointed to enforce the Bye Laws has complained (in May 1873) to the (Newcastle) Board that he experiences much difficulty in chequing (sic) the attendance in consequence of the Parents of children at school constantly removing them from one school to

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1. R.C.C.E., 1882-3, p. 326. *Infra* pp. 326-7.
 2. Chorley, R., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

another and that such removal often affords negligent Parents the opportunity of keeping their Children away from school and a considerable time elapses before the Officers can ascertain the fact of their absence. So that numbers of children comparatively speaking make 1
very few attendances which otherwise ought to be made."

The difficulties arising from being involved in such "removals" were obviously recognised by the master of Cotes Heath Church school when he recorded that "four children of the name of A----- have presented themselves for admission. They have been attending Standon and as there has evidently been a dispute I have admitted them without entering their names upon the 2
Register, pending enquiry by the School Correspondent."

In North Staffordshire such devious behaviour was encouraged by the vagaries of the rules relating to the question of partial and total exemption. Such variations are revealed in the following undated table (circa 1880) showing the exemption requirements as stipulated in the by-laws of several North Staffordshire parishes.

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 16/262.
 2. Cotes Heath Church school log book, May 23rd, 1893.

Parish	Age at which to attend school	Distance of school from home constituting a reasonable excuse for not attending school.		Standard to be reached if not employed.		Standard to be reached if beneficially & necessarily employed half-time.		Time required to attend school if beneficially employed. Weekly or Yearly.
		Age	Miles	Age	Standard	Age	Standard	
Mayfield, Endon, Stanley and Longsdon.	5 - 13	5-13	2	10-13	5	10-13	3	5 weekly
	5 - 13	(5-6 6-13)	(1) 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10-13	4	10-13	3	5 weekly
Leekfrith	5 - 13	(5-7 7-13)	(1 $\frac{1}{2}$) 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10-13	4	10-13	3	5 weekly
Leek & Lowe.	5 - 13	(5-7 7-13)	(1) 2)	10-13	5	10-13	3	5 weekly
Horton	5 - 13	(5-7 7-13)	(1) 2)	10-13	4	10-13	3	5 weekly
Hollinsclough	5 - 13	(5-7 7-13)	(1) 2)	10-13	4	10-13	3	5 weekly
Quarnford	5 - 13	(5-7 7-13)	(1) 2)	10-13	4	10-13	3	5 weekly
Eccleshall	5 - 13	5-13	2	10-13	4	10-13	3	5 weekly
Stone	5 - 13	5 - 13	2	10-13	5	10-13	3	$\frac{1}{2}$ the time school is open
Trentham	5 - 13	5-13	2	10-13	5	10-13	3	5 weekly "

The effect of such variety is revealed sharply in 1875 when the By-law officer of Newcastle called the attention of the Board to the large number of half-timers from the Borough who were employed in the earthenware factories and brickyards in the Pottery districts.

"The number was increasing, the reason being no doubt that the Standards in the town were so much lower than in the Potteries. Children were required to pass the 4th Standard while in Newcastle they were eligible as half-timers if they passed the 2nd Standard." (1)

Whilst the situation was not reported completely accurately since Burslem certainly allowed half-timers at Standard Two,² the comments do serve to illustrate the problem which persisted throughout the period and caused considerable inconvenience.³ The difficulties arising from such migrations were exacerbated especially when the movement was between schools under the jurisdiction of different rural authorities. A case occurred in the Union of Stone in Fulford parish in the spring of 1902. The children of two families resident in that parish had attended irregularly at Fulford Church

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XIV (1875), p. 630.
 2. The Schoolmaster, February 2nd, 1883.
 3. Evidence supports the view that there was considerable real movement of population especially in the urban areas. For example, the Vicar of St. Paul's, Burslem had reported in 1870 that "it was difficult to ascertain reliable statistics concerning religious affiliations of the population because of the migratory habits of the population." (P.R.O.Ed. 103/82/583).

school and the parents had been summoned by the Stone School Attendance Committee. In consequence the parents had removed the children to Cresswell Roman Catholic school in the neighbouring parish of Draycott in Cheadle Union where they maintained their irregular attendance. Cheadle School Attendance Committee was unable to take direct action because the parents resided in another Union and the indifferent communications, which existed between the two Unions concerned, caused nearly five months to pass before any effective¹ action could be taken against the parents.

A further serious obstacle to regularity of attendance in the Potteries was the occurrence of the "Wakes". Unfortunately the "Wakes" in the various districts of the Potteries did not fall at the same time and "practically, for some months, there is a continual and shifting feast..... Fairs, markets and travelling exhibitions are fruitful causes of truancy and are estimated by the local authorities to affect the school attendance to the extent of nearly 10 per cent. In Stoke-on-Trent alone, the attendance fell off to 63 per cent in May (1883) on account of these disturbing elements." (2)

Obviously such festivities had an unsettling effect upon the infants of Tunstall Wesleyan school where it was recorded in 1874 that "the numbers this week are very thin in consequence of Burslem wakes." (3)

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 6/59.
 2. The Schoolmaster, February 2nd, 1884.
 3. Tunstall Wesleyan Infants' school log book, July 3rd, 1874.

There were many other, often frivolous, causes for non-attendance as the following log book extracts will illustrate:-

"Attendance small owing to Circus at Stone."¹

"The attendance on Monday was very low on account of a fair at Leek, which quite unsettled the children for the week." (2)

"A new building called the "Wedgwood Institute" being opened today many children were away from school to see procession." (3)

"Gave the children half holiday on Monday afternoon as there were so many absent on account of the "Colliers' and Miners' Demonstration." (4)

"The (Hanley School) Board are strongly of the opinion that in several cases brought before them, coal and cinder picking was the cause of children being absent from school and they expressed a determination to put the practice down as far as it concerned children of school age and in school hours." (5)

Girls were often held at home for errands and other domestic chores.

"Many children away again today. Sent after them and found that the cause of their absence was due to helping their mother to "clean through"." (6)

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1. Milwich Church school log book, September 20th, 1871.
 2. Endon Parochial school log book, May 22nd, 1874.
 3. Sneyd Nat. Girls' school log book, April 21st, 1869.
 4. Hanley Bedford St. Board Girls' school log book, May 16th, 1873.
 5. S.B, C., Vol.XV. (1876), p. 226.
 6. Sneyd Nat. Girls' school log book, June n.d. 1873.

If the problem of attendance was serious, so were the attempts of successive governments after 1870 to establish a statutory framework in which a solution might be found. The Elementary Education Act of 1876 took a long step towards making compulsion universal and the Mundella Act of 1880 completed the process. The 1876 Act established for the first time a comprehensive system of local education authorities covering the whole of England and Wales and provided powers by which by-laws could be enacted to deal with the problem of attendance. The two bodies responsible for the enforcement of attendance were the school boards, and when they did not exist, the school attendance committees.

The school boards, as has been seen, were elected directly but the school attendance committees were appointed annually by the Board of Guardians from its own membership and were, therefore,

not composed of persons elected specifically for an educational task. ¹

In North Staffordshire from 1876 until 1894, those parts of the county which were not within a school board district were under the control of seven school attendance committees. Four of these

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1. The Boards of Guardians had been suggested by H.M.I. Blandford in his report on the Midlands District in 1874-5. "Yet compulsion through some agency or other is absolutely necessary if the children in rural parishes as well as in the larger towns are to be properly educated, and the opinion of many managers of schools in this district is, that compulsion might be enforced through the agency of the board of guardians or through some modification of that body." Blandford went on to quote in support of this view the speech made by Lord Napier and Ettrick to the Social Science Congress at Glasgow in October 1874. "To me it appears that the multiplication of authorities and boards is an evil which should be avoided, and though the Board of Guardians would probably be not as good an educational council for the parish as might be constituted from other materials, it exists, it is partly elective, it is a familiar and recognised authority, it levies rates, it might be compelled to act on the requisition of the Education Department and if invested with functions and obligations connected with education, persons would probably be found to serve upon it who had this interest particularly at heart. Another argument appears to me to recommend the Board of Guardians for this object, I mean the fact that the Board of Guardians is the rural sanitary authority and might in virtue of this feature in its constitution be most properly furnished with those powers of sanitary inspection and control in schools which are most desirable, and which do not at this moment, as far as I know, exist in any quarter." (R.C.C.E., 1874-5, p. 58).
The choice of the Board of Guardians in 1876 as the appropriate agency for the responsibility completed a curious reversal of intention. In the Education Bill of 1867 which in certain respects had foreshadowed the 1870 Education Act, the school committee in the boroughs was to be elected by the Town Council (a similar provision was contained in the 1870 Act but subsequently deleted) but in the rural unions the powers of election were to be conferred not upon the Board of Guardians but upon the ratepayers at large. (Parl. Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 188. COL. 1347).

p. 310. The following addition to footnote 2 should be included:-
"It should be noted that Audley, as an Urban Sanitary Authority, had as early as 1877 attempted to improve attendance in the parish by applying to establish a local school attendance committee. Although permission was granted by the Education Department and by-laws were enacted, approval had to be subsequently withdrawn when attention was drawn to the fact that for the purposes of the Sandon Act of 1876, Audley would have to include Kidsgrove. This was not possible since under the terms of the 1870 Education Act, the parish of Kidsgrove had been placed under the control of the Wolstanton School Board. (P.R.O.Ed. 2/395)".

were completely within North Staffordshire, they were Newcastle,
Leek, Cheadle and Stone. The other three, namely Drayton, Congleton¹
and Ashbourne stretched into the adjoining counties of Shropshire,
Cheshire and Derbyshire,² (Fig. 14).

School attendance committees were appointed annually following
the Board of Guardians elections and, in the cases of the four
committees wholly within North Staffordshire, consisted of eight
elected and four ex-officio guardians.³ The school attendance
committees, since they were appointed by the Boards of Guardians,
naturally reflected the socio-economic composition of those bodies

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1. Biddulph was a parish within the union of Congleton until 1894 when it was transferred to Leek with the result that attendance in that parish then became the responsibility of Leek School Attendance Committee.
 2. After their creation in 1894, the urban district councils of Audley, Biddulph and Leek applied, under the terms of the 1876 Elementary Education Act (39 & 40 Vict. cap. 79 sec. 33) for permission to superintend school attendance in their own areas. (P.R.O.Ed. 2/395, Ed. 2/401). While it was argued that the work could be more efficiently performed by local people, fully acquainted with the local circumstances, this did not always lead to more effective attendance enforcement. The headteacher of New Road Wesleyan school in Talke complained in 1899 of the inefficiency of the Audley Urban District Council in its capacity as the local attendance committee. (Talke New Road Wesleyan school log book, December 5th, 1899).
 3. The Boards of Guardians included in their membership all the Justices of the Peace residing in and acting for their areas. (4 & 5 Will.IV. cap. 76 sec. 38).

and contrasted to a marked degree with that of the school boards
which has already been considered.¹ The qualification for a Guardian
ensured a membership overwhelmingly composed of middle and upper class
men and women.² It was from this source that was drawn a committee
to compel working class children to attend school. The first school
attendance committee set up for the Stone Union³ comprised three

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1. Supra p.207.
 2. The qualification for a Guardian (which the Act had left to the Commissioners to prescribe, subject to a maximum of £40 rental value) was normally established at an occupancy worth £25 per annum (4 & 5 Will. IV. cap. 76 sec.38). This ensured, to quote the Commissioners' own words, that "members of the upper and middle classes act together, as a body, in the dispensation of relief." (Quoted by Webb, B., et al., English Local Government. English Poor Law History, Part II. The Last Hundred Years (1929) p. 121). The ideal guardian has been described in the following manner. "The office of Guardian offers no sensational attractions. Its unobtrusive usefulness, its dull and cheerless routine, are avoided by men seeking the ladder to a political career..... Nevertheless the quiet and modest philanthropist finds that a seat on the Board enables him to do much good with little fame..... the Boards usually consist mainly of middle class people." (Redlich, J., et al., op. cit., p. 214). Whilst women could become guardians under the terms of the 1834 Act, the necessary rating qualifications meant in fact that few did. The removal in 1894 of any rating qualification for election as a guardian did lead to a notable increase of women candidates in the urban districts but their number remained relatively small in the rural districts. (Webb, B., et al., op. cit., p. 234).
 3. Viscount Sandon was in fact nominated as an ex-officio member of the first Stone School Attendance Committee but "on consideration that his Lordship's duties seldom permit of his residence at Sandon, the nomination was withdrawn." (S.A., April 28th, 1877).

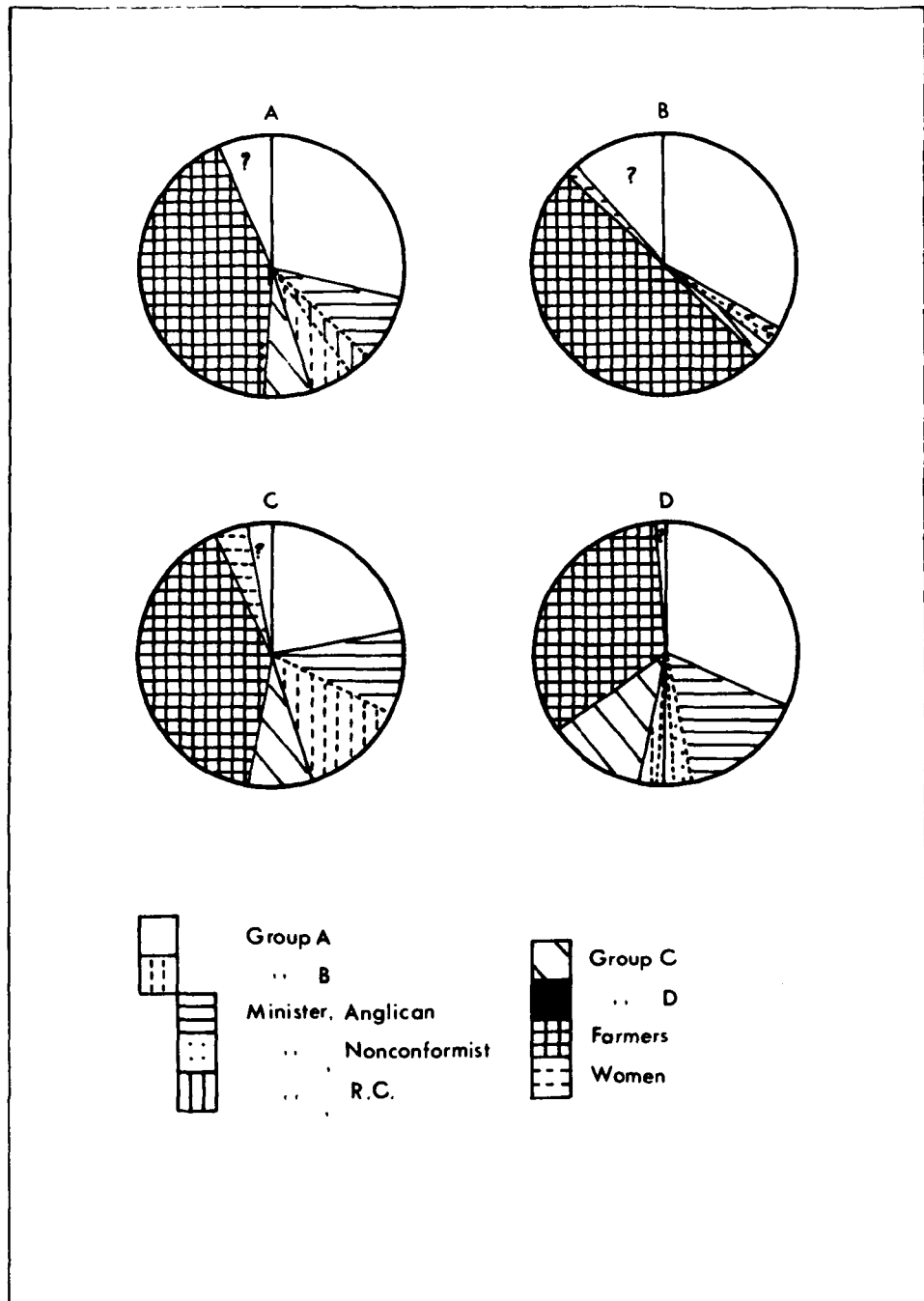


FIG. 51.

Four North Staffordshire School Attendance Committees: all members by socio-economic group.
(A. Cheadle, B. Leek, C. Newcastle, D. Stone)

(Note that the pattern for Stone is not strictly comparable with those of the other S.A.C.s because the records for these years are missing. vide Appendix 3).

prominent landowners, three of whom were Anglican clergymen, two local manufacturers, four farmers and only one man who might have conceivably had some appreciation of the conditions of the class for whose alleged benefit the committee had been called into existence.

The preponderance of the farming representation in the four school attendance committees is clearly apparent (Figs. 51 and 52) and in every case, except Newcastle, class A takes second place. The professional classes (Class B) were prominent in Newcastle and on account of the strong representation of the Anglican clergy, were notable in Stone. The Anglican clergy were well represented in Newcastle but to a much less significant extent in Cheadle and in Leek. The Nonconformist ministry was represented briefly on Stone's committee while the Roman Catholic priesthood achieved important¹ representation on the committee for the Cheadle Union. Class C representatives who were few in overall numbers, were most numerous on the Stone Committee. Women gained representation on the Leek and Newcastle Committees, thus confirming the view that urban areas were more likely to reveal a sympathy for the legitimate political aspirations of the female. Mary Clodd sat for seven years on Leek

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1. The presence of Basil Fitzherbert on the Stone Attendance Committee guaranteed the recognition of the Catholic position. He was an active supporter of the Catholic cause and served as a member of the national Catholic Poor-School (School after 1887) Committee from 1866 until 1904. He was also a member of the first Catholic Education Council which took the place of the School Committee in 1905. (First Report of the Catholic Education Council 1904, p. iii).

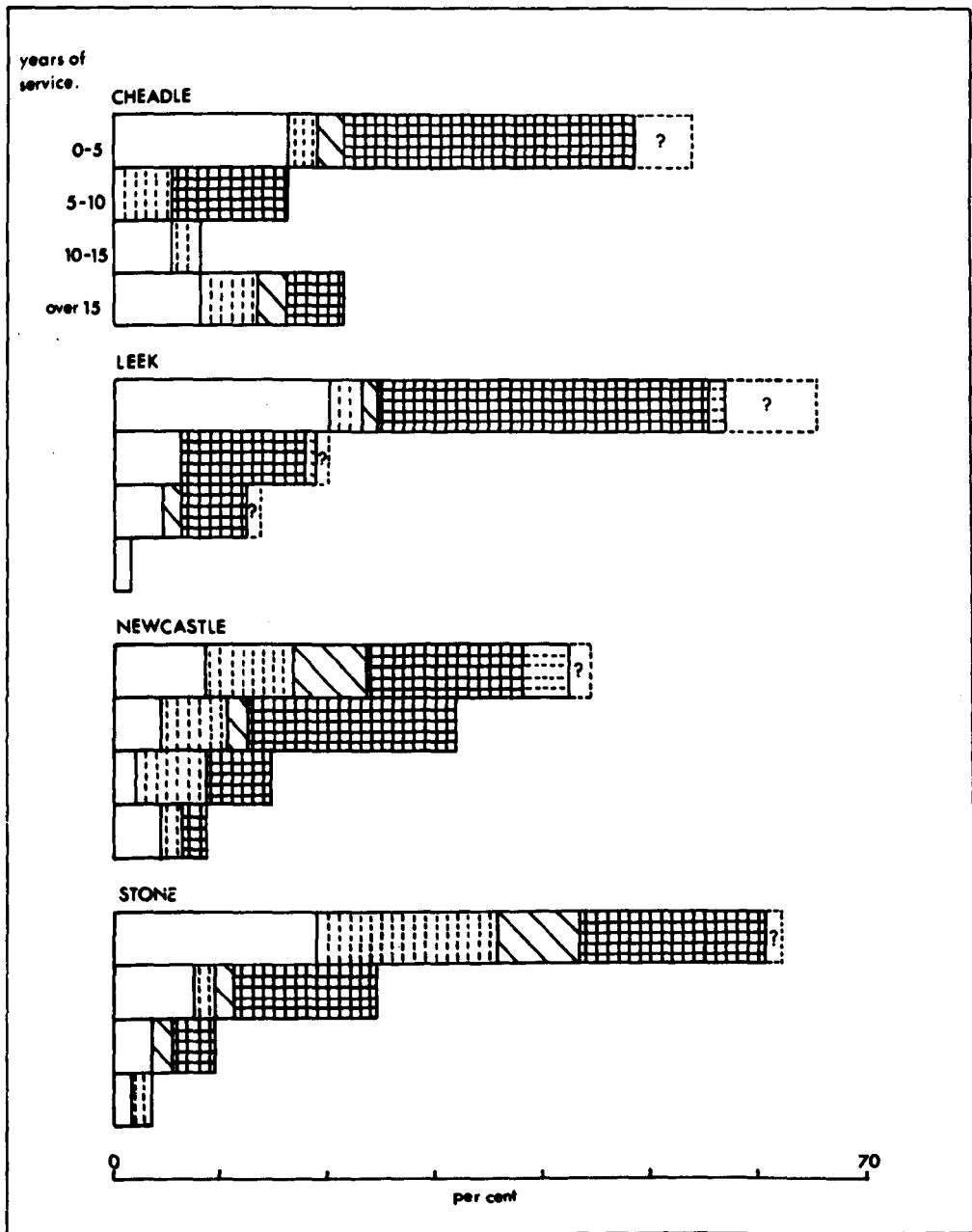


FIG. 52.

Four North Staffordshire School Attendance Committees: Length of service, by socio-economic group.

(Note that the pattern for Stone is not strictly comparable with those of the other S.A.Cs because the records for those years are missing, vide Appendix 3).

(Key as for Fig. 51).

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School Attendance Committee.

In terms of length of service ex-officio members tended to remain for relatively long periods but their influence was often minimal on account of their infrequent attendance. Thomas Twemlow, who took an active part in the work of the Newcastle S.A.C., and long-serving John Robinson, who deemed it relevant to continue to serve on the Leek S.A.C. after the termination of ex-officio membership² in 1894, are notable exceptions.

Cheadle, in comparison with the other committees, shows an impressive proportion of long-serving members. 21.6 per cent of its members served over fifteen years as compared with 1.5 per cent at Leek, 3.76 per cent at Stone and 8.5 per cent at Newcastle. Dominating the work of Cheadle S.A.C. was Charles Blagg, the sporting solicitor, who served for the whole existence of that committee.³ Reference should also be made to Cheadle's long-serving farmers, Thomas Scarratt and William Coxon who both sat for twenty-three years on the committee. Great length of service in itself is unlikely to be a good indicator of the efficiency of the committee especially in view

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1. Mary Clodd, an enthusiastic socialist, was associated with the William Morris Labour Church in Leek. (S.A., May 8th, 1897).
 2. John Robinson had become the first chairman of the Leek Municipal Education Committee which had been established in 1875.
 3. He wrote "A History of the North Staffordshire Hounds and Country, 1825-1902", which was published in 1902.

of the fact that, as will be seen, Leek S.A.C, with the highest proportion of members serving for five years or less, was probably the most effective in North Staffordshire.

If compulsory attendance was to be implemented, it depended initially upon the determination of the school boards and school attendance committees to pursue a purposeful policy. For the most part, evidence would seem to suggest that in the period after 1880, at least the urban school boards of North Staffordshire exercised a praiseworthy diligence, although the measure of success was variable. Much of the criticism had been directed at the school attendance committees. H.M.I. Fowler, in his 1832-3 report on North Staffordshire, noted a wide discrepancy between the boards and the school attendance committees on the question of school attendance enforcement. Over a similar period, Longton School Board had obtained fines in 347 cases, Burslem in 197, Wolstanton in 189, while Cheadle Union obtained¹ fines in seven cases and Leek in none at all. Fowler admitted it was true "the attendance committees have now appointed officers but in many cases the number is insufficient and the salary inadequate. We may, however, congratulate ourselves on the fact that a better era has at length arisen than when one union appointed an aged gentleman who could with difficulty totter from one end of the county town to the other." (2)

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1. R.C.C.E., 1882-3, p. 325.
 2. Ibid.

In the case of Leek, Fowler conceded that "considerable allowance must be made for the drawbacks of climate and long distances, but complaints of bad attendance are equally numerous in places where the population is concentrated close¹ to the school."

The record of Leek S.A.C. stands out as one of the more successful of the limited number of examples provided by North Staffordshire.

At the outset, there had been the greatest difficulties. The district included a considerable portion of its population in areas without efficient schools (i.e. not under parliamentary grant).² After this

unpromising start, H.M.I. Fowler was, however, able to report in 1885 that "in the Leek Union the attendance is the highest where under an energetic chairman the attendance committee endeavour to produce better results,"⁽³⁾

although he had chided the chairman for complacency two years earlier.⁴

In his report of 1895, Fowler wrote that the S.A.C. of Leek Union "is better organised and worked than any other in North Staffordshire. A yearly conference of the local committees is held, which under an energetic and influential chairman,⁵

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1. R.C.C.E., 1882-3, p. 325.
 2. Supra p. 83. R.C.C.E., 1876-77, p. 541.
 3. R.C.C.E., 1884-5, p. 299.
 4. S.B.C., Vol. XXIX, (1883), p. 647.
 5. Such sub-committees were formed in other unions including Stone and Ashbourne. "Local committees were re-appointed for the parishes in the Ashbourne Union in 1878, certain of the small parishes being in some cases grouped together. The clergyman, the guardian and one or more other persons were appointed in each case to constitute the local committee." (S.B.C., Vol. XIX (1878), p. 572). The value of such local committees was disputed. Some experts were of the opinion that the sub-division of the administration only compounded confusion and delay. (The Schoolmaster, February 2nd, 1884) "The Stone (S.A.) Committee have as yet taken no action after the report has been sent in by the Local Committee. There are several cases which require attention but they are very slow in performing." (Cotes Heath Church School log book, February 15th, 1885).

is of service in making public the facts and giving ¹
prominence to the necessity for improvement and progress."

In 1901, the same inspector could write that "the percentage of attendance in the Leek Union is given as 79.6. It varies very greatly in the different schools ranging from 95 per cent to 67 per cent. The above mentioned Union is the only one, as far as I am aware, in which there is any properly organised attempt to grapple with the problem." (2)

Whilst the Leek S.A.C. could justifiably claim a considerable measure of success, the performance of the Stone School Attendance Committee was much less satisfactory. In a comparative report produced by H.M.I. Rice-Wiggin in 1876-77, the standard of elementary education in the Stone Union was shown to be the poorest in North Staffordshire in almost every respect.³ This was the challenging situation to which the Stone S.A.C. failed to respond. By February 1881 the Education Department was threatening to declare the Committee in default.⁴ The

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1. R.C.C.E., 1894-95, p. 30.
 2. Board of Education Report, 1900-01, Vol. II, p. 37. Not all the reports on the Leek S.A.C. were complimentary. The Heathylee School Board complained in January 1889 that "the children do not altogether attend school as well as the Board would wish but the greatest absentees are Children residing in the adjoining district under the control of the Leek Union School Attendance Committee and it has a detrimental effect on the Board district. This was pointed out to the Assistant Clerk of the Leek Board of Guardians on the 29th day of November last, the reply was that they were beyond distance as allowed by their bye laws but the School Board were able to prove that such was not the case." (He. S.B. minutes, January 10th, 1889).
 3. R.C.C.E., 1876-77, p. 539.
 4. P.R.O.Ed. 6/60.

threat was repeated in the following year by H.M.I. Yarde who pointed out that "the economy of appointing men at small salaries to perform important duties would be found to be a very false economy indeed." (1)

The underlying problems of the Stone S.A.C. were summarized in the following report which appeared in The Schoolmaster in 1884.

"The School Attendance Committee for Stone is a kind of sub-committee of the local Board of Guardians. It meets not oftener than once a month, and then at the end of all the regular business, which absorbs the attention of the members for many hours. It is a difficult thing to exhaust the powers of a parochial guardian, with all the aids for recruiting himself which are at hand; but his mental powers become a little diminished, after a prolonged attention to the laborious duties which devolve upon him.... I am informed by persons who represent the opinion of various political and social strata, and of different parts of the district, that there is practically only one member of the committee (one of the neighbouring clergymen)(2) who has any interest in the subject of education, or any knowledge of the way in which the machinery of public instruction should be controlled. Small farmers and tradesmen, with a high sense of all things "porochial" (sic) but with minds that are little better than a blank, in regard to the business of the schools, are not the kind of men to whom should be entrusted the enforcement of the Education Act. It would seem to be the case in Stone. The district which the Committee controls is a large one, but the means which have been adopted for its supervision are altogether inadequate." (3)

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXVIII, (1882), p. 16.
 2. Probably refers to Rev. Edward Edwards, Vicar of Trentham.
 3. The Schoolmaster, February 9th, 1884. Of the twenty-eight members of the Stone S.A.C. (representing just over half of the total known membership) whose political sympathies have been established with some degree of certainty, twenty-six were Conservatives.

The task of exposing the inadequacies of the Stone School Attendance Committee was left largely to the idiosyncratic and irascible Vicar of Croxton, Rev. John Glennie, who resided in the large parish of Eccleshall in the Stone Union.¹ His autocratic rule of the Croxton National school had brought him into conflict with a large section of the population of Eccleshall. In particular, he had managed to antagonise most of the landowners in the parish.² In lengthy letters to the Education Department, he enumerated the many shortcomings of the Committee.³ He was, however, not a lone critic. Local organisations such as the Eccleshall Ruri-decanal Association of School Managers and Teachers memorialised the Education Department in June 1884⁴ and very gradually some improvements did take place. By the end of the 1880s H.M.I. Yarde was able to report

"as regards attendance there is a very great improvement. Two efficient officers have been appointed, a census of children has been taken and the result is greatly improved attendance with little friction." (5)

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1. Rev. John Glennie's association with the development of elementary education was longstanding. He had been a London Diocesan Inspector of Schools between 1853 and 1857 and H.M. Inspector of Schools for London and Middlesex in 1857-8 and for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex from 1858 to 1860. (Crockford's Clerical Directory (1888), p. 489). He had applied for the post of Diocesan Inspector of Schools in Staffordshire but had not been appointed. (Croxton National School log book, March 15th, 1898).
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 2/398.
 3. P.R.O.Ed. 6/60.
 4. Vide Appendix 5.
 5. R.C.C.E., 1888-89, p. 273.

To a very considerable extent, the success of the work of attendance enforcement depended upon the qualities of the attendance officers appointed by the school boards and the committees.

Unfortunately in the rural districts, the size of the stipend was unlikely to attract anybody but a part-timer. Rev. John Glennie referred in 1881 to the Stone Attendance Officer as a man of many casual employments.¹ The Stone Guardians had advertised for an officer in 1880 at a salary of £20 per annum. This was raised to £30 on the appointment of a new officer in 1885.² Salaries were similar in other rural parts. Newcastle School Attendance Committee decided in 1877 to appoint one officer for Whitmore, Chorlton and Maer at a salary of £10 per year; one for Keele at £5; one for Madeley at £10, and one for Betley and Balterley at £5.³ Leek appointed one S.A.O. in the late 1870s at £20 per annum to supervise the urban district, comprising the township of Leek and Lowe and the adjacent parish of Tittesworth, and another at £30 per annum to take care of the rest of the Union, except those parishes with school boards.⁴ Cheadle was paying its S.A.O. £30 per annum in 1882.⁵ Such salary

1. P.R.O. Ed. 6/60.

2. Ibid.

3. S.S., May 8th, 1877.

4. Leek Board of Guardians minutes 1876-79, p. 297.

5. R.C.C.E., 1882-3, p. 325.

levels prompted the following comment on the Stone Board of Guardians in 1880.

"..... they have decided to pay somebody twenty pounds a year for doing his work badly instead of a larger sum for doing it well. We suppose this passes for sound economy with the majority. To most people outside it will seem penny-wise and pound-foolish economy.... Perhaps what the majority really want is that the work should not be done....." (1)

The remuneration offered for the services of school attendance officers by rural school boards was even less. For patrolling the parish of Heahhylee, the School Board of that district was prepared² to offer an annual salary of £1. On account of the limited nature of the task in a single parish, Mucklestone School Board combined with Woore School Board in contiguous Shropshire to appoint a single S.A.O. to deal jointly with the two parishes. The Woore Board, considering the work of the officer in the Mucklestone School Board district would be considerably more than that in the Woore district, suggested as a fair and equitable arrangement that three-fifths of the salary should be paid by the Mucklestone Board and the rest by the Woore Board. It was finally agreed that £15 per annum would be

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1. S.S., December 29th, 1880.
 2. He. S.B. minutes, February 19th, 1885.

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paid by Mucklestone and £9 by Woore.

These stipends contrast unfavourably with those paid by the school boards within the Potteries. Hanley and Stoke each had two S.A.Os in 1884, receiving salaries of £100 per annum with travelling expenses. Burslem had at this time one full-time officer at £90 per annum and two part-time officials, one at £50 per annum and the other at £10 per annum. Longton, where the worst state of attendance was to be found, employed only one attendance officer in 1884. At Newcastle in 1884 there were two officers; one receiving £80 for his full-time work and the other acting as a combination of assistant, caretaker, drill sergeant and recreational manager.

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1. M.S.B. minutes, March 1st, 1878. In spite of the apparently poor remuneration there appears to have been little difficulty in attracting recruits. Even for a salary of £6 per annum, the Seighford School Board in mid-Staffordshire had nineteen applicants in 1876 from as far away as Manchester and Southampton. (M.S.B. minutes, September 2nd, 1876). The reason for such a wealth of applicants must be found in the nature of the appointment. The school attendance officer, as has been indicated, did enjoy certain perquisites not shared by the skilled working man to whom their social status may most suitably be compared. "While they were on occasion subject to dismissal they had less to worry about unemployment than most wage-earners. Work was less onerous during school holidays and by the 1890s visitors (in London) had been awarded paid holidays of 4 and 5 weeks. This was a privilege unknown to manual workers, only a tiny minority of whom enjoyed even a few days' paid holiday" (Rubinstein, D., op. cit., p. 45). At least two School Board members in North Staffordshire, J.E. Oakes (Burslem) and Ralph Unwin (Wolstanton) resigned from their respective Boards in order to apply for the Position of School Attendance Officer.
 2. The Schoolmaster, February 9th, 1884.
 3. Ibid.

At that time the salaries received by the senior school attendance officers in the Potteries did not compare unfavourably with those of assistant teachers and clearly reflected the significance¹ attached to their work. With the passage of time and the general improvement in the standards of attendance, their average salaries slipped steadily behind those of male assistant teachers. The importance of the S.A.O. was, however, still recognised by H.M.I.

Fowler in 1899 when he remarked that "the Pottery towns vary considerably in the quality of their attendance - in some of them it is fairly good, in others it is poor. Among the latter is Burslem and the case affords a good illustration of the importance of a really efficient attendance officer. A change of officer in one portion of the School Board district recently resulted in a rise of nearly 20% in a short time. The man was moved, whereupon there was an immediate fall of 10%." (2)

The Boardswere concerned to see that their attendance officers maintained a high standard of conduct, that their dress should be dignified and their lives should be unimpeachable. It was not surprising therefore that Hanley School Board should take a serious view of the improper conduct of one of its officers, who had apparently fallen in with undesirable company in Fenton. Only after a public declaration of his guilt and penitence was he allowed for the time to³ continue in his office.

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1. Supra. p.268.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1898-99, p. 225-6.
 3. H.S.B. minutes, December 6th, 1888.

However diligent the school board and school attendance committees, and enthusiastic and competent the school attendance officers, in the end their success depended very largely upon the unqualified support of the local magistrates. Much has been written of the unwillingness of the magistrates to co-operate by convicting¹ parents for the non-attendance of their children. Even when fines were inflicted, problems still existed. Hamlet Griffiths, a member of the Newcastle School Board, demanded that action be taken to enforce fines on parents summoned before the magistrates.

"Hundred of fines have been inflicted", he contended, "but very few enforced. In February (1876) for instance the fines amounted to £7. 2s. 6d but only 16s. 10d was paid." (2)

The position had not materially improved by the end of 1883, since the number of fines which had remained unpaid was still causing concern and the S.A.O. complained that "the fact of the fines not being immediately enforced had a very injurious effect on his work." (3)

In the rural districts of North Staffordshire the situation was even less satisfactory. The headteacher of St. Michael's National school in Stone lamented in 1881 that "the irregularity in attendance and other unnecessary difficulties (were) far more trying than any amount of hard work. It seems very hard that the managers who expect a large grant from the school should do so little to help me. Irregularity

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1. Rubinstein, D., op.cit., pp. 98-103.
 2. S.B.C., Vol. XVI (1876), p. 387.
 3. N.G., December 22nd, 1883.

of attendance must ensue when a School Manager,
Chairman of the School Attendance Committee, refuses to 1
grant summonses when applied for by the Attendance Officer.*

But where a case did reach the court there was no certainty of a successful outcome even in the most clear-cut circumstances. In one such instance in November 1881 a test case was brought before the Eccleshall Magistrates. The charge against a certain Nimrod Lowe was that he had failed to send his son to Croxton National school. In his defence it was claimed the boy was in attendance at a local private school. The Chairman of the Magistrates dismissed the case. His summing-up is illuminating.

*The present proceedings raised an important question under the Education Act and one that he believed no decision had yet been given upon in any of the law courts. In this case the parents of a child were charged with sending that child to a school the manager of which was said to be incompetent to give that elementary instruction which the law required, and if the charge had been supported by conclusive evidence, the Bench would have felt bound to compel the parents to comply with the law and send the child to some school that was recognised as efficient. But the evidence in support of the charge was by no means conclusive as to the incompetence of the teacher; in fact it amounted to mere conjecture and even if they were to examine the child now before them and found that he was extremely ignorant they could not accept the ignorance as a proof of incompetency of the teacher, because it might rise from the

1. St. Michael's National school log book, June 3rd, 1881, quoted by Chorley, R., op. cit., p. 48.

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natural dullness and incapacity of the child...."

The unco-operative attitude of the Eccleshall Magistrates appears to have persisted, for in 1891 the headteacher of Cotes Heath Church school reported that "two names of children were placed before the Stone Attendance Committee....., the Officers visits have had no effects. I stated this in a communication to them, but fearing the Eccleshall magistrates would not convict, the officer informs me that their Committee would not take action." (2)

The effectiveness of the law was further diminished by the limitation of the penalties and it was not uncommon for children to stay away to earn the money to pay the expected fine. So it was reported in the log book of Christchurch National school in Stone in 1889.

"J----when summoned to go before the Magistrates stayed at home until the court day and by holding horses etc., earned 2/- to pay the anticipated fine." (3)

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1. P.R.O.Ed. 6/60. It is difficult to understand how such a judgement could have been made in light of section 24 (7) of the Elementary Education Act of 1873 (36 & 37 Vict. cap. 86). "If a child is attending an elementary school which is not a public elementary school, it shall LIE ON THE DEFENDANT TO SHOW THAT THE SCHOOL IS EFFICIENT....."
In a similar case in Longton some ten years earlier, a boy was being sent to a private school which had been declared inefficient by the Education Department. In this instance the Education Department ordered that the School Board and the Magistrates should together determine whether the child could be under efficient instruction in an inefficient school. The child was examined by a School Board member of the defendant's choice and was declared to be in receipt of efficient instruction. The summons had to be withdrawn although the school continued to be considered inefficient. (S.B.C., Vol.VII (1872), p. 368, Vol. IX (1873) p. 156. S.A., October 26th, 1872).
 2. Cotes Heath Church school log book, January 12th, 1891.
 3. Christchurch National school log book, October 5th, 1889, quoted by Chorley, R., op. cit., p. 49.

And as late as 1901 it could still be pointed out:

"Officers saw me with regard to L———, and undertook to get a summons. The routine of getting the summons before the Guardians and a prosecution will take three weeks during which time she will earn the fine." (1)

Effective action on the part of the magistrates, however, could produce better results as was recorded in 1889 at St. Dominic's R.C. school in Stone:

"Attendance this week greatly improved owing probably to fines imposed on desperate cases where the law has been evaded for long periods. These cases have been pursued steadily by the attendance officer and the children are now back and attending well." (2)

In view of the general indifference of the magistrates and the difficulty of collecting the fines when imposed, the courts were avoided as far as possible. The fact that teachers' salaries could in part be made dependent upon the annual grant, which was directly related to attendance, was frequently used to prompt the teachers to take action in the case of persistent non-attendance. The incentive was even greater if the non-attender happened to be a good examination candidate.

"Sent a note to Mr E—— asking him to send W—— tomorrow, the day of the inspection..... He has until this year (1889) attended well and has never failed in any subject." (3)

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1. Christchurch National school log book, September 11th, 1901, quoted by Chorley, R., op. cit., p. 49.
 2. St. Dominic's R.C. school log book, June 23rd, 1889, quoted by Chorley, R., op. cit., p. 50.
 3. Milwich Church school log book, June 24th, 1889.

The supporters of the Voluntary system might be expected to have been rather more enthusiastic about pressing for better attendance since their need for aid from central government funds was very acute. It is surely for this reason, that the teachers in the non-Board schools¹ are found to be so much more concerned with the question of attendance.

"In 1883 Rev. (Adam) Clarke referred to the low average attendance at the various schools of the (Longton) Board during the past year. The question was, what was the remedy? There was a method which he had found to work well for his own schools, where the teachers found time to go round, time after time, on visits to the parents and talked to them, and showed them that by making the required attendances their children would all the sooner be enabled to go to work. (2)

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1. Children who did not attend for the prescribed period each year could not be examined and hence could not earn a Government grant. Between 1871 and 1882, 250 attendances had to be made at the school in which the examination was to be taken and between 1882 and 1890 when this requirement ceased to be in operation, twenty two weeks' registration was necessary. After 1890 this practice was discontinued,
 2. This attitude is found again in/^{the} 1884 Report on School Attendance in the Potteries. Referring to children in the Potteries, "once fairly within the grasp of the schoolmaster, they are said to show not a little shrewdness in their estimation of the value of "a pass" and they are not unwilling to exert themselves when they are fully aware that the land of labour, if not liberty, can be reached by steady application to the requirements of the Code." (The Schoolmaster, February 9th, 1884).

By this being done kindly it was possible to raise the attendance figures very considerably. The greater part of this was done by the persuasive efforts of the teachers themselves and was work which his experience told him could not be done by the School Board Officer. The payment of the merit grant to the teacher would, he thought, put money into the pocket of the Board." (1)

That this was not a solitary example is confirmed by the fact that a similar initiative had been demonstrated by some of the teachers in the Voluntary schools in Hanley where, it was pointed out, they

"are extremely active in looking after all absentees; and (the reporter was) furnished with a variety of forms and cards now used in St. John's schools with very considerable effect..... (The reporter) noted that in the opinion of one of the most successful voluntary teachers, enquiries made through the boys or pupil teachers are more satisfactory than keeping duplicate registers. It is not much trouble for the teachers themselves to call upon parents. If he gave the Attendance Officer fifty names, he could doubt the excuse written opposite forty of them." (2)

Prizes and other rewards were also offered for regular and punctual attendance. Stoke School Board was trying in 1884 to encourage good attendance by a system of rewards.

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXIX (1883), p. 516. Such was the zeal of some teachers that a member of the Wolstanton School Board raised a question in 1901 concerning complaints that such children were being forced into schools before they were fit. The same member also drew attention to the report of the local Medical Officer of Health in which it was noted that strenuous efforts made by school teachers and school attendance officers caused the return to school of children who were undoubtedly a source of danger to their school fellows. (N.G., June 15th, 1901).
 2. The Schoolmaster, February 2nd, 1884.

"Every child who is marked present at school ten times in a week (or as many times as the school has been open) receives a ticket for that week when four weekly tickets have been obtained, they may be exchanged for a larger ticket. At the year's end, holders of at least ten large tickets are entitled to a prize of the value of 2s, and if they have passed in all three subjects of the standard in which they have been presented, the value is increased to 2s. 6d." (1)

A similar system of reward cards had been initiated by Hanley School Board in 1875.²

In the 1880s Newcastle School Board attempted to stimulate greater regularity of attendance by offering a free education to those children who had made 400 attendances in the previous year and by giving to those pupils who had passed the sixth standard, free scholarships of the value of £4. 4s. or £5. 5s. according to age,³ in the Newcastle Endowed Middle and the Orme Girls' schools. These incentives were not confined to the Board schools. Favours were also given for regular attendance in Voluntary schools.

"Father Molloy visits, Give children notice of a Tea Party tomorrow for those who have made 250 attendances." (4)

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1. The Schoolmaster, February 2nd, 1884.
 2. H.S.B. minutes, June 17th, 1875.
 3. The Schoolmaster, February 9th, 1884. In 1883, Wolstanton Board School offered to give a free education to all children who had been neither absent nor late for twelve consecutive months. It was reported that a considerable number of children had fulfilled these stringent conditions and are now at school at a cost of £22. 10s. 8d per annum. (S.B.C., Vol. XXIX (1883), p. 344).
 4. Hanley R.C. Boys' school log book, March 16th, 1874.

"About forty boys have been treated to a visit to the swimming baths every week since the holiday..... None but the regular and industrious boys are (sic) allowed to go." (1)

However effective such prizes were for good attenders, they did little for incorrigible truants or even the average child. Once a scholar had been absent from a few sessions, the chance of any reward was lost and his attendance would probably revert to its old level.² This was recognised by the Stoke School Board for, in the late 1890s, a wider reward system was introduced whereby schools having a monthly average attendance of 90 per cent or more, obtained³ a half holiday in the month.

The whole concept of prizes for any purposes obviously offended the socialist principles of Miss Bennett, the Labour member of the Burslem School Board. She was anxious that the award of prizes should be discontinued, and in 1902, not without a little political adroitness, supported her design with the persuasive argument that such a cause⁴ would save money.

The managers of the Wesleyan school in Audley encountered some problems when they introduced a system of penalties for poor attendance in the mid-1880s. Pupils were charged 3d or 4d per week according

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1. Longton Nat. school log book, September 8th, 1882.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1880-1, p. 237.
 3. S.S., September 3rd, 1902.
 4. Ibid, September 4th, 1902.

to age, but if they missed an attendance and were unable to produce an acceptable excuse, they were charged an additional 1d at the end of the week. If the fines were not paid, the child would be barred from the school and would then become liable to receive a summons for non-attendance. The attention of the Education Department was drawn to this scheme in March 1885 when a local parent wrote to Mr. Mundella after having to pay a fine for the non-attendance of his child.

"It is evident," as the indignant parent wrote to the Education Department in May 1885, "that such a regulation robs the scholars of their lessons and endangers their chance of getting labour certificates which is a serious matter to a working-man."(1)

The Education Department, while sanctioning remission of fees for regular attendance, was not happy about accepting, by parity of reasoning, an increased fee for irregularity. It was, therefore, recommended that the managers adopt a scheme whereby the whole fee should be collected at the beginning of the week and part should be refunded at the end of the week to every child who had not missed an attendance.
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1. P.R.O.Ed. 6/60.
 2. P.R.O.Ed. 6/60. The collection of fees presented many difficulties. Various strategies were employed including keeping children back on account of owing school pence. (Fenton China St. National school log book, April 23rd, 1875).

If fines and prizes could not succeed, then there was the possibility of recourse to corrective institutions. These were principally of two kinds, residential and non-residential. A further distinction might be made between the truant school, which was intended for persistent offenders whose attendance was unlikely to improve without a spell under strict supervision, and the industrial school which often contained children whose truancy was combined with homelessness, being out of parental control or otherwise in need of care and protection. The first industrial school to come into existence in North Staffordshire was at Werrington in the parish of Caverswall on the fringes of the Potteries. This served¹ the country area.

The question of providing a similar school for the industrial districts of the Potteries was raised in February 1878 on the initiative of Sir Lovelace Stamer, then Chairman of the Stoke School Board. The result of the initial discussion was the formation of a committee consisting of the Chairmen of the School Boards of the Potteries and Newcastle to draw up a scheme. Desultory progress was made and it was not until 1882, again as a result of the persistence of the reverend baronet, that the issue was revived.

1. The school for boys was opened in 1870. A similar school for girls was established at Lichfield in 1889.

In advocating the school he drew attention to the fact that "it was not their wish to make children criminals but to deal with them before they became criminals for it was a fact that truancy was only the forerunner of a criminal life." (1)

It was emphasised in further support that the cost in the first instance would be met by a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d in the pound, and later, only

²
d. In spite of the argument that "it would be a very happy circumstance if (the) district, which was split into so many parts, working for the most part, separately, should join in carrying out such a humane, wise and important matter," (3)

nothing ever came of the initiative, probably because it was not mandatory to establish such a school and the school boards were, therefore, unwilling to authorize the additional, albeit small, financial commitment.⁴ The school boards found it cheaper to make their own arrangements. The Burslem School Board, for example, arranged to send its male truants, under Magistrate's order, to the⁵ Liverpool School Board Truant's school.

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1. S.B.C., Vol. XXVIII (1882), p. 456. cf. Tobias, J., Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th century. (1967), p. 252.
 2. S.B.C., Vol. XXVIII (1882), p. 456.
 3. Ibid.
 4. A rather better result was achieved in a later attempt in mutual co-operation. In order to satisfy the requirements of the 1893 Act (56 & 57 Vict. cap. 42), a school for blind and deaf children was opened in May 1897 at The Mount in Hartshill, Stoke, under the supervision of the North Staffordshire Joint School Authority. The School Boards of Hanley, Stoke, Burslem, Longton, Wolstanton and Norton joined the authority. Capital expenses were apportioned pro-rata with the result that Hanley as the largest board, paid a quarter of the whole amount. (S.S., September 2nd, 1902).
 5. B.S.B. Triennial Report, 1883-5, p. 19.

It was not until the final year of the century that the gap between the estimated number of places required and the average annual attendance finally closed (Figs. 15, 16, 17, 19b, and 22a). It is true that appraisal in detail reveals a variable performance but by 1901 H.M.I. Fowler was able to report that as far as attendance was concerned "the county of Stafford ranks fairly high, the percentage being 84.65 against an average of 81.9 for the English counties generally and Hanley stands at the head of the County Boroughs with a percentage of 87.8". (1)

The impressive efforts that had been made to obtain a higher standard of attendance had, in the long run, a very beneficial effect. The important reforms of the 1890s, including the abolition of almost all fees for elementary education in 1891 and the raising of the minimum age of full-time attendance to twelve in 1899, have been cited as significant factors in accounting for the improved attendance. Judging from some contemporary reports, however, it would appear that the termination of fee payment was not generally regarded as producing an immediate and unqualified improvement. H.M.I. Yarde reported in 1892 that in his district, which included the Stone Union, "the abolition of fees had increased the number of children on the books but I do not see that the attendance is improved." (2)

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1. Board of Education Report, 1900-1, Vol. II, p. 37.
Even today the attendance rate in primary schools is only marginally more satisfactory. In Liverpool, for example, in recent years, it has varied about the 88.5 mark. Rubinstein reports a similar situation in London. op. cit., p. 114. The percentage returns for the primary schools in the Stoke Authority are in the low nineties, which reflects perhaps, the great progress achieved by Hanley in the closing years of the last century.
 2. R.C.C.E., 1892-3, p. 50.

Similarly, H.M.I. Fowler in the same year pointed out that in his largely industrialised part of North Staffordshire, "the introduction of free education last year caused a large influx of children, especially younger ones, into the schools in most parts of the district, particularly into board schools. The average attendance, of course, rose at once but fell off again after a short time so that the improvement, except in infants' schools, though general, fell short of what we hoped for." (1)

Fowler concluded rather gloomily, that the "bad habits, which compulsion doubtless intensified, will take long to eradicate, and we shall probably have to wait for the advent of a new generation of parents who will send their children regularly as a matter of course, before a thoroughly satisfactory attendance can be secured." (2)

In 1891, it had been reported by the Newcastle School Board that, in spite of the promised operation of the 'Free School' Act, truancy³ had increased in both Stoke and Fenton.

Fowler was, however, able to incorporate in his 1895 report the following statistics, showing the percentage of average attendances upon numbers on the rolls in the principal school board districts and within the Leek Union:

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1. R.C.C.E., 1892-3, p. 50.
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.B.C., Vol. XLVI, (1891), p. 84.

	1890	1893
* Hanley	78.0	82.3
Longton	75.0	80.5
Burslem	76.4	79.4
Stoke	75.3	79.0
Wolstanton (6 months only)	76.1	80.1
Leek Union Rural	76.6	81.5
Leek Union Urban	74.5	80.0 * (1)

It is of interest to note the relatively satisfactory condition of attendance in the rural parts of the Leek Union. It would appear that the difficulties involved in getting to school in the harsh moorlands districts should not be over-emphasised. Moreover, it should be stressed that even in 1870 those parts of North Staffordshire (excluding the Potteries) which were over two miles from an efficient school only represented some 12% of the total area (Fig. 53); by 1902, the position had improved to such an extent that only 1.4%² was not served by a school within two miles' distance (Fig. 39). It is also worth noting that earlier in 1869, it had been argued that distance from school in itself was no obstacle to attendance in the case of older children. "On the contrary," so it was reported, "the more distant scholars are often the most regular and punctual." (3)

Two other factors may account for the general improvement in school attendance towards the end of the century: firstly a change of public opinion and, secondly, the revival in the late 1890s of the educational controversy.

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1. R.C.C.E., 1894-5, p. 30.
 2. cf. Situation in the East Riding of Yorkshire (Bamford T., op. cit., pp. 76-77).
 3. Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, 2nd Report 1869, p. 17.

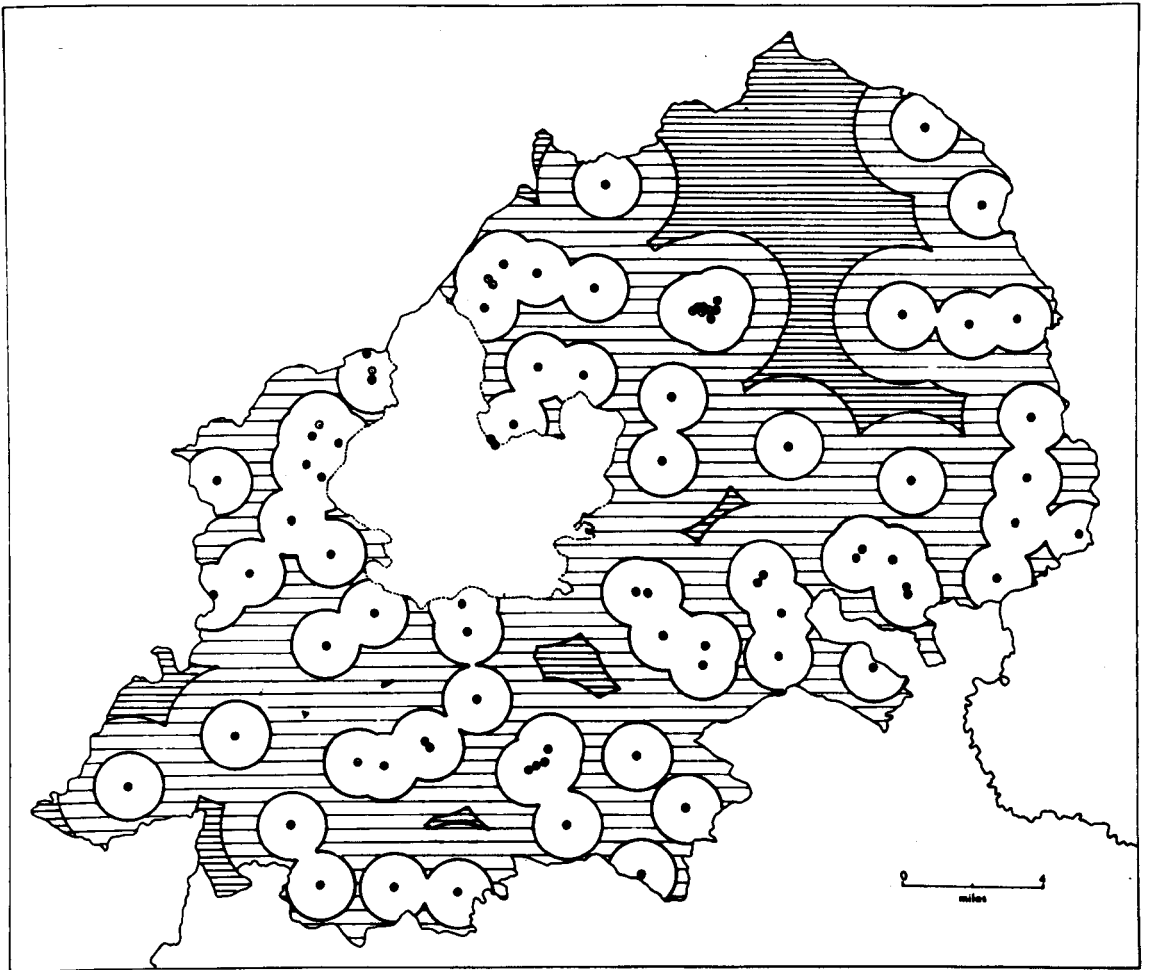


FIG. 53.

Distance from Public Elementary schools in North Staffordshire in 1871.

(Pottery townships not included)

(Key as for Fig. 39)

As has been pointed out, parents were becoming reconciled to and appreciative of, formal education and regular attendance at elementary school.¹ Many parents of poor children had themselves been Board school pupils and were well accustomed to regular attendance.²

In the 1890s the position of the voluntary schools and the future form of secondary education had become increasingly subject to a public debate which reached a climax in the first years of this century. Education for the first time virtually since 1870 was a first class political issue and it is possible to surmise that the increased interest in the topic may have had an effect upon general attendance, which rose in the elementary schools of England and Wales from 81.6% in 1895 to 85.7% in 1904.³

In 1876 attendance enforcement had become the responsibility of a local government agency. The supporters of the Voluntary system did not fail to recognise that in this, a major step had been taken towards the drawing of denominational elementary schools into a general system of education, for which the State would assume the ultimate responsibility. It is, therefore, not surprising there developed an increasing resentment

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1. Rubinstein, D., op. cit., p. 116.
 2. S.S., September 18th, 1902.
 3. Rubinstein, D., op. cit., p. 116.

amongst the denominationalists which was often expressed in the questioning of the impartiality of attendance committees and the activities of their servants. Nevertheless even the staunchest supporter of the voluntary system could hardly deny that the improvement in the standards of attendance should rank as one of the outstanding educational achievements of this period and, as has been pointed out, was the significant first step towards the creation of an educated¹ populace.

1. Rubinstein, D., op. cit., p. 119.

Chapter XI. The 1902 Education Act - the end of a beginning.

Forster's Act brought into existence a state of competition in which the odds were firmly against the supporters of the Voluntary schools. With the rise in local rates, less money could be spared for the denominational schools attended by the children of the working classes, and the increasing costs of running schools, in part because of the higher standard of education, further exacerbated the difficulties of the Voluntary bodies. In the event it was only the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics who were prepared to defend the system, for the Nonconformists, from the start, satisfied with the general character of the Christian unsectarian education which was being supplied in the Board schools, relinquished the control of their schools in those urban areas of North Staffordshire where rate-aided schools existed.

By the end of the century denominational schools, as has been emphasised, tended to be older, their buildings more dilapidated, their classrooms smaller than Board schools. The pay their teachers received was less and, while the Voluntary schools may have enjoyed a reputation of social superiority, partly as a result of charging higher fees which satisfied some better off working class parents who were

anxious to avoid sending their children to the 'slum schools', advantages of this kind disappeared as more parents became aware of the benefits of the newer, more spacious schools and the better¹ qualified staff that were being provided by the boards.

By the mid-1880s it had become abundantly clear that the Voluntary schools could not compete for very much longer unless they received more aid from the State² but there existed the unresolved problem how such assistance might be received without requiring unseemly concessions to an undenominational system. The majority of the Cross Commission had recommended a limited payment from the rates,³ but not all the supporters of the Voluntary system wanted it. Many Voluntaryists, including such men as Archbishop Benson foresaw that money from rates would mean only a further weakening of control by the churches over their schools. In fact rate-aid did not become widely acceptable to Anglicans until Temple succeeded Benson at Canterbury in 1896.

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1. Parental awareness had already been referred to in the Newcastle Commission Report of 1861. Vide Assistant-Commissioner George Coode's report on the State of Popular Education in the Potteries. (New Csn., Vol. II (1861), p. 281).
 2. The pressures of the competition are reflected in the following extract from a letter by the Vicar of Forsbrook to the National Society in 1897. "I am writing to ask if the National Society will kindly help us in providing additional school accommodation in this fast increasing parish..... I am most anxious to prevent the formation of a School Board which would be most disastrous to our present school....." (N.S.R. Forsbrook Nat. School).
 3. Cross Csn., Final Report (1888), pp. 222-3.

Although the Conservatives offered financial help in 1897, conditions in many Voluntary schools in the Potteries continued to be unsatisfactory at the end of the century.

"Much has been done in Voluntary schools since the issue of the circular on premises, but there are a good many badly arranged and inconvenient schools still left, and several with no or unsatisfactory playgrounds. They were not quite bad enough to be condemned but they are deficient in many characteristics of a good school and are not conducive to effective teaching." (1)

It was the Conservative party's determination in the late 1890s to save the voluntary system of education that guaranteed the persistence of the dual system in this century. In many respects, this may be interpreted as an essentially politico-economic issue. From a political point of view, the Conservatives had a strong dislike of the School Board system, which had been the creation of the Liberal party. Conservatives viewed the school boards as Liberal bastions and in consequence were strongly opposed to their continued existence.² It was therefore expedient to undermine their influence by any possible device, and support of the Voluntary system offered such an opportunity; and later, by acceding to the strong demand for a better co-ordinated system of educational administration, the Conservative party, with some justification, could point to the newly created county and county borough

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1. R.C.C.E., 1898-9, p. 225.
 2. Hughes, K., A Political Party and Education, Reflections on the Liberal Party's Educational Policy, 1867-1902. (British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. VIII, No. 2, (1960), pp. 120-21).

councils as more suitable bodies for the purpose than were the school boards. In economic terms, support of the Voluntary system also made good sense to the Conservative Party. It meant a basic saving, for a considerable, albeit reducing, part of the educational system would continue to be subsidised by private subscriptions.

The Conservative solution to do away with school boards, to bring rate-aid to the Voluntary schools, and to establish the county and county borough councils as the bodies responsible for the finance and administration of education at both the elementary and secondary levels, produced a furore in the ranks of the Liberal opposition. The most extreme opponents of the 1902 legislation launched a movement of 'passive resistance' against the payment of rates in aid of denominational schools. The Passive Resistance League came into existence with Dr. Clifford as its leader and the 'Crusader' as its propaganda organ.

In North Staffordshire, the autumn of 1902 saw a number of anxious Nonconformist gatherings. Whilst the strongest protests were heard in the Potteries, reaction was widespread. The following resolutions of a public meeting held under the auspices of the Leek Free Church Council are typical, not only of those passed in North Staffordshire,¹ but in the country as a whole.

1. Wesleyan Education Report 1902-3 pp. 17-19. Bentley, W., A History of Elementary Education in the Fylde Area of Lancashire during the period 1870-1903. Unpublished M.A. thesis, (Liverpool University), (1961), p. 189.

"This meeting strongly protests against the Education Bill now before Parliament because I. It violates the principal (sic) of civil and religious liberty - (a) by placing the support of the denominational schools on public funds without providing for proper public control; (b) by imposing religious tests upon teachers in a large number of schools, making it impossible for many Nonconformists to enter the teaching profession; (c) by endowing the religious denominations to the hindrance of others at the expense of the rate-payers, 2. It introduces in an aggravated form the question of sectarian education in schools, which has in the past proved so great a bar to educational progress, 3. Its provision for secondary education is inadequate, 4. It gravely menaces the efficiency of elementary schools by transferring their control from popularly elected Boards to a committee of an already over-burdened Council." (1)

It was widely felt that men who were elected for the purposes of looking after such things as highways, water, gas and electricity, and whose principal object was to spend as little as possible were hardly the people to take in hand an important spending department like education. The opponents of the 1902 legislation cited with enthusiasm the relative failure of the School Attendance Committees. They had been created, so they pointed out, to see that every child had a school place and that every child was in this place but they had more often than not done their best to frustrate the purpose for which they had been created. Now a similarly constituted body was to be given the power of the school boards and the additional task of finding the necessary money for all schools.

1. S.S., October 4th, 1902.

Local branches of the Passive Resistance League were formed.

The Hanley Passive Resistance League was constituted in March 1903.¹

Rates were unpaid. Samuel Rathbone Edge, a leading Nonconformist who had been Liberal M.P. for Newcastle from 1878 to 1880, was the first to be tried for non-payment of rates in Newcastle in 1903.²

The half yearly meeting of the North Staffordshire and District Federation of Evangelical Free Churches in September 1903 renewed its "protest against the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 on the ground amongst others, of their violation of civil and religious liberty and the injury they inflict on the course of true education. It declares its conviction that no settlement of the education question can be satisfactory which does not give full public control of public funds, which does not afford full religious liberty to all teachers, and which does not give to the Churches the full responsibility for religious instruction. It would further express its hearty sympathy with those who are impelled by conscience to refuse the voluntary payment of the education rate, so far as it is devoted to purposes of sectarian instruction." (3)

Anglicans and Roman Catholics generally avoided public comment, but when forced to make a statement, usually suggested as did the Rector of Stoke in September 1902, that their opponents were attacking the Bill, not because they wished to "improve the education of the children" but purely to gain a political advantage.⁴ As James Heath, Conservative

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1. S.S., March 28th, 1903.
 2. N.G., October 3rd, 1903.
 3. Ibid., September 19th, 1903.
 4. S.S., September 30th, 1902.

Member of Parliament for North-west Staffordshire, pointed out, "they opposed it simply that they wanted to make it a party cry in the country - they wanted to collect their scattered forces together, and if possible to re-unite them." (1)

Clearly the Conservatives in the constituencies felt it wise to lie low. As James Heath explained in his speech at Chell on September 26th, 1902, "at this time of the year he always considered it his duty to come down to the constituency and attend a series of meetings. This year the general opinion was that they would probably do better without holding such meetings....." (2)

Whilst the bitterness persisted after 1903, the formal opposition subsided and the terms of the 1902 Act were gradually accepted. In part this acceptance was made easier by the general attitude of the teachers, who as a body favoured the legislation. Indeed North Staffordshire schools had suffered no less than others from inequalities existing between Voluntary and Board schools, from the ill-effects of one-man management and the impossibility of securing effective attendance in the rural districts. The National Union of Teachers would have preferred to the county and county borough councils, a single body³ for education, directly elected by the ratepayers, but in its eyes this choice was a minor matter largely because school teachers as such had played little part in the work of the school boards since 1875

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1. S.S., September 29th, 1902.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Tropp. A., op. cit., p. 181.

when a regulation had been introduced preventing teachers employed by
a board from taking a seat on that body.¹

As far as the administrative changes were concerned, the Union, like the Fabians, was pleased that the 1902 Act established a new order. As Yoxall, the N.U.T. secretary, had pointed out in 1902, there had existed in the majority of boroughs "school boards, technical education committees, committees of the Voluntary schools, endowed schools with governors, Board evening schools, technical evening schools and voluntary evening schools."⁽²⁾ This had been the administrative chaos.

The result of the administrative changes embodied in the 1902 Act was to place secondary education in North Staffordshire under the control of the County Council except in the County Borough of Hanley which became an independent Part II Authority. Under Part III of the Act, not only was every County Borough a Local Authority, but also each borough with a population of over 10,000 and each Urban District with a population of over 20,000 was a Local Authority for elementary education in its area unless it surrendered its power to the County. In North Staffordshire three Part III Authorities were set up to cover approximately the areas supervised by the School Boards of Burslem, Longton and Newcastle. The greater part of Stoke United School Board district was divided between Stoke and Fenton Part III Authorities,

1. Supra p. 221.
2. S.A., January 11th, 1902.

and Wolstanton United School Board district passed under the control of the county authority. Later, in 1905, both Wolstanton and Tunstall became independent Part III Authorities.

If the majority of the elementary school teachers accepted the 1902 Act as the best legislation that could have been hoped for in the circumstances of the time,¹ representatives of some other sections of opinion were less jubilant.² Many Trade Unionists and the T.U.C. itself were seriously concerned about some aspects of the new educational measures especially the abolition of the school boards. Many trade unionists in North Staffordshire, such as Enoch Edwards, had found their way into political life through these bodies, and their disappearance seemed likely to reduce the opportunities for effective union participation in local politics. Similarly many socialists had gained their first political experience on the School Boards. Both the Burslem and Hanley School Boards had had their Labour representatives (Fig. 48). In the event, as it happened, the new authorities did employ the services of many of those who had given valuable service on the school boards, with the result that the anxieties of the trade unionists and others were unjustified.

The growing participation of the working classes in local government was just one feature of the changes that had occurred during

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1. Tropp, A., op. cit., p. 182.
 2. The objections of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers were reported in July 1902. (S.S., July 15th, 1902).

the period between 1870 and 1903. To many these changes were directly attributable to the educational developments that had taken place since 1870. An assessment of the effects of the educational innovations has been preserved in a survey of the opinions of a number of leading manufacturers, carried out by the North Staffordshire Chamber of Commerce in 1898. The principal purpose was to discover whether the 1870 Education Act had been advantageous to the district and conducive to any improvements of their employees generally to perform their work.

	Results.		
	Yes	No	Neutral
In your opinion are the Elementary Education Acts being efficiently carried out in the district?	38	3	2
Are the workpeople more amenable to reasonable discipline or control than prior to 1870?	17	21	5
Is their application to their work more thoughtful and intelligent?	17	23	4
Do they exhibit a greater amount of self-respect, neatness and precision?	23	17	4
In cases of dispute are they more, or less, disposed to peaceful methods of settlement and adjustment; and are the relations between employers and employed generally improved?	16	19	7
Is the moral tone better or worse?	26	2	14

	Results		
	Yes	No	Neutral
As a manufacturer and employer of labour are you of the opinion that the Elementary Education of the last quarter of a century has, taken on the whole, produced good results?	32	7	8
Are you of opinion that Elementary Education as now given in North Staffordshire, produces fairly good results?	21	5	8
Are you of opinion that the employment of half-timers is economically of value to the trade? From the employer's point of view.	4	34	0
From the Workman's point of view, both economically and as teaching a skilled handicraft at an early age.	6	29	3 (1)

Mr. Ridgway commenting on the survey, expressed "his clear support for elementary education but he had some reservations. How was it, he asked. 'that the children you see so bright and intelligent in the school should, as soon as they go to a manufactory, become disposed to resent discipline and get lawless?' His opinion was that the spirit of independence which was to a certain extent commendable, had degenerated into lawlessness. In his opinion this was in a great extent accounted for by the fact that the formation of character - and he would say Christian character - was not sufficiently attended to in the elementary schools....' There was a steady deterioration of the work people going on from day to day and his feeble voice which had been raised against it was like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. There was a time in the days of the indentured apprenticeships when a working on carrying out of his trade had no higher ambition than to be a good journeyman at the trade he had learned but this feeling was fast going, and it was accountable from the fact that lawlessness was preached on every hand." (2)

A fellow manufacturer, Wilcox Edge, took a more optimistic view.

As far as he was concerned, the young men were not less lawful than

in earlier times but he did think that "the whole country was running wild on sport. Although it might improve them in physique, he found it would produce a great moral deterioration. He hoped for a remedy in the fostering of the evening continuation classes." (1)

The significance of conditioning that is part of the educative process had not escaped the appreciation of the middle classes of whom these manufacturers were representatives. The views they expressed were more widely held than they were willing to believe and these attitudes were resistant to change. Miss Florence Clarke, sister of Rev. Adam Clarke of Longton, illustrates this resistance in her letter to the National Society in February 1901:

"My object in making the bequest is of course to secure as far as possible the maintenance of the present church school (Longton National) and to hinder transference to a School Board or to provide for some other means of training children of the working classes in church principles in that parish if my first object is defeated." (2)

Her wishes are an echo of her brother's comments nearly thirty-five years earlier, when he had applied for a grant from the National Society for the same school.

"Such a population as that which I have described, is I imagine exactly the class which the National Society would wish to have educated in the principles of the Church of England. Our borough of Stoke-upon-Trent of

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1. S.S. February 19th, 1898.
 2. N.S.R., Longton National school. The determination of Florence Clarke and her brother may be attributed to the influence of their father, Rev. J.B.B. Clarke, who was the diocesan inspector for the Bath and Wells Board when the influence of George Denison, Archdeacon of Taunton, was at its strongest. (Burgess, H. Enterprise in Education (1958)p.91)

which Longton is part, is more largely increased by the new Reform bill than any other borough in England; it will be more than quadrupled and the larger number of the parents of my school children and in course of time the children themselves, will be voters under the New Act. If the Reform Bill is to work for good, it must be by the religious and efficient training of such a large working population as this....." (1)

It cannot help but be felt that there was some justification for those radical critics who asserted that the Tories only wanted religious education for the poor to teach them submission, and showed little care for it in the education of their own children.²

Although the spirit and purpose of later Victorian education will continue to be disputed, the increase of its quantity after 1870 is virtually undeniable.³ To a very considerable degree, this increase must be attributed to the energy of the school boards. The Nonconformists viewed the school boards as their special province where they could manage the affairs of the new Christian unsectarian schools to which they were committed. The allegation, often expressed by Anglicans, that the school board was potentially little more than a Nonconformist school committee was sometimes based upon an element of

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1. N.S.R., Longton National School.
 2. Rich, E., The Education Act, 1870 (1970), p. 110.
 3. This view is challenged. vide West, E., Education and the State (1965), Chapter 10. Idem. Resource Allocation and Growth in Early Nineteenth Century British Education (Econ. Hist. Review. 2nd series, Vol. 23. (1970), pp. 68-95).
In 1870 there were 105 schools under Government inspection, while in 1902 this figure had risen to 233, of which 66 were under the control of the School Boards of North Staffordshire.

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truth. Whilst many Anglicans and Roman Catholics sought places on the school boards in order to challenge the Nonconformist position and to restrain the boards' initiatives, they adopted in many cases a more positive attitude and found it possible to co-operate with the Nonconformists in promoting the educational interests of their districts. Nevertheless in some parts of North Staffordshire, clerical wranglings had so incensed the populace that it was ruled, notably at Fenton and Longton, that ordained ministers would not be eligible for places on the new education committees created by the 1902 Act.²

Of the voluntary bodies only the Roman Catholics maintained their position in terms of school provision. As has been pointed out, "the Catholic Church determined to educate its own children; and the laity supported it. In the last analysis the failure of the Anglicans and Nonconformist schools was due to lack of loyalty of their members." (3)

The example of the Roman Catholics in Stone serves to illustrate this determination. In November 1876 they were told by their clergy that

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1. The apprehensions of the Anglicans and Roman Catholics were unlikely to be reduced when the British Society could proclaim that "School Boards (were) in reality British School Committees, some upon a gigantic scale, and with few exceptions the Schools are British Schools with another name....." (British and Foreign School Society Report, 1881, p. 15. quoted by Cruickshank, M., op. cit. p. 54).
 2. S.A., May 9th, 1903. Stoke, it was recorded, was more tolerant and "co-opted both the Rector and the Roman Catholic priest so making use of a good educationist when they can find him irrespective of denomination or creed." (Ibid).
 3. Pelling, H., Popular Politics and Society in late Victorian Britain (1968), p. 53.

their schools would have to be placed under government inspection. It was explained that, as a result of the increasing strictness of legislation, it appeared likely a Board school would be established which the Catholic children would have to attend, their schools not being approved efficient when H.M.I. Wilkinson had last visited in 1874. "The choice lay between accepting Government Grant or losing the children altogether." (1)

No Board school ever appeared in Stone.

On account of the almost unchallenged domination of the Anglican schools in the rural areas of North Staffordshire, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists could complain, with some justification, that, under the terms of compulsory attendance, they were unable to exercise their right to choose the form of education for their children. This situation must account in part for the persistence of the many small private schools in rural districts, for it was only by sending their children to such institutions that the dissenters could escape the influence of the Establishment.²

The growing financial advantage of the Board system affected the staffing of all schools in the long term. The Board schools inevitably

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1. Chorley, R., op. cit., p. 22.
 2. An example of the sort of suspicions harboured by Nonconformists about the activities of the managers of the Anglican schools was provided in the hustings associated with the first School Board elections at Wolstanton. At one meeting a Nonconformist accused the Vicar of Kidsgrove of discrimination. He said that his step-daughter who went to the Vicar's day school and to the Wesleyan school on Sunday, had to start on a Monday morning with forty less marks than the others. This was hotly disputed by the Vicar. (S.S., March 14th, 1874).

drew staff away from the Voluntary schools, but perhaps to a smaller extent than might have been anticipated, for the Voluntary schools in North Staffordshire were still more numerous than Board schools and the prospects therefore of obtaining a headship within the Voluntary system were commensurably greater. In addition the majority of training colleges were denominational in character and many of the teachers who had trained in them were strongly influenced to stay within the Voluntary sector. There existed unquestionably a loyalty¹ based upon a genuine religious conviction.

In terms of what was taught in the schools of the two systems, with the exception of religious instruction, there were few basic differences. The prescriptions of the Codes effectively determined the curricula, but the school boards were able to take advantage of any innovations which were introduced. Since the majority of Board schools were situated in the towns, this advantage, enjoyed by the rate-supported schools, tended to accentuate the growing disparity between the educational service in the towns and in the country, an unfortunate feature which has persisted until the present time.

In spite of the many difficulties, attendance enforcement, particularly in the towns, represented a major area of success.

1. Although details regarding the qualifications of the Voluntary school teachers are not available, the existing evidence suggests that the proportion of qualified teachers was smaller than in the urban Board schools. This, however, would need further verification. (cf. York, Rowntree, B., *Poverty: A Study in Town Life* (1902), p. 339).

Attendance figures for urban districts have not greatly improved since the early years of this century. This was an enterprise which had depended upon a good measure of co-operation between the State and Voluntary bodies.

The period produced its educational leaders within both the Board and Voluntary systems. Sir Lovelace Stamer must be regarded as the dominating figure in the Potteries¹ but there were others who in their various ways, have ensured that they will be remembered in the history of education in North Staffordshire. Within the Board system, men like William Woodall and Thomas Hulme, both long serving chairmen of Burslem School Board, Frederick Wragge and Thomas Harrison at Hanley, Rev. Adam Clarke of Longton and Edward Greatbatch at Stoke were a few of those who did so much to advance the cause of education in the Potteries. Significantly in this short list half the names are of

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1. The influence of Stamer in North Staffordshire was enhanced by the fact that some of his curates at Stoke found livings in parishes in the northern parts of the county. They followed his example and identified themselves with the cause of education. Rev. Edward Salt, long-serving member of the Stone Attendance Committee, had been a curate at Stoke between 1873 and 1875 before becoming Rector of Standon. Rev. Thomas Fearon, another Stoke curate, served upon the Norton School Board during the time he was rector of that parish and Rev. Richard Harris, a distinguished academic, served on the Longton School Board after a period as a curate at Stoke.

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men who would be regarded as Moderates. Nor should be forgotten that small band of women, who in an unobtrusive fashion, not only forwarded the purposes of education but also aided the cause of female emancipation by serving on the School Boards of the Potteries.

In the country districts outside the Potteries, the notable personages may be less abundant but men like John Robinson of Leek, Charles Blagg at Cheadle, Francis Kitchener who, after giving up the headmastership of Newcastle High school, served with distinction on the Staffordshire County Council and Rev. Edmund Hinchliffe at Mucklestone are but a few of those whose voluntary services in the cause of the county's education should be recalled. That these men and women were drawn from both sides of the 'fence' serves to underline the persisting dualism which has been such a feature of the evolution of education in this country. Although Dr. T.J. Macnamara had prophesied in 1902 that "the swift and inevitable result must be that schools (which received rate-aid) would lose their denominational character and pass into the control of those who found the money for their maintenance," (2) the dual

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1. As George Melly, Liberal M.P. for Stoke had pointed out in 1874, "the Rector of Stoke and the Rector of Longton, his political opponents, had been elected Chairman of school boards and he asked whether it was possible to find in those towns two men more calculated to carry out what was wanted - the unsectarian education of the children of Stoke and Longton? If every rector was like Sir L.J. Stamer and the Rev. A. Clarke..... there would be a system of national education commenced tomorrow!" (S.A., January 31st, 1874).
 2. Parl. Debates. 4th Series. Vol. III, COL. 854.

system has continued through the twentieth century and it would seem likely that, as in the words if not judgement of a former distinguished Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, it will only be

"eliminated and the unification of the elementary school system effected by the processes of time and attrition." (1)

1. Selby-Bigge, L., The Board of Education (1927), p. 239.

APPENDICES

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX 1

Letter to Editor.

"What is the culminating point in "the persistent policy of wasteful extravagance" pursued by the majority of Hanley S.B. during the past 6 years? It is the Higher Grade School. This school places Hanley on a dizzy height of educational distinction.

Hanley now has double the amount of higher grade accommodation in proportion to population-double, I say, that of the average of other towns in England and Wales. In Leeds the higher grade provision is one place in 127 of the population; in Cardiff, one in 140; in Norwich, one in 160; in Hull, one in 170; in Sunderland, one in 182; but in Hanley it is two in 152. Consider then - has not this double provision of costly buildings and staff much to do with the doubling of our rates in 6 years? Again can our Higher Grade School be justly termed an honest higher grade provision? There are only about 220 scholars in it (at a very liberal estimate) who can be classed as higher grade scholars at all. There are about 700 scholars on the books. Standards III and IV at Birch-terrace contain about 200 scholars - purely elementary. Standards V and VI contain also about 200; these may take specific subjects, and so they may in any other school in the borough. They, too, then are elementary scholars. This makes 400 elementary. There are also about 80 scholars residing outside the borough who may be denominated "cuckoos" since they make their nests in places which belong to the children of Hanley rate-payers at free cost. I deduct these for whom our Board have no reason to provide and I find that only 220 scholars are provided with higher education. And yet the school has cost £19,000 in building, and now is costing £1,800 per annum in salaries, without reckoning music teachers.

And consider, sir, that 480 children are attending this school whose parents are under the impression that they are receiving higher grade education, superior to other schools in the borough, and some of them are paying their 8d or 9d per week whereas they might have it all free in our other schools under the Board. I say, then, that the school in Birches-terrace cannot be honestly labelled "Higher Grade".

The policy of the majority has not only been extravagant, its results in our schools are iniquitous."

E.D. Boothman.

(S.S., Oct. 10th, 1894).

APPENDIX 2

Socio-economic Groups.

GROUP A. Men of Independent Means and Large Business Men.

China clay merchant	Major brewer
China manufacturer	Major landowner
Clothing manufacturer	Manager of Railway Company
Colliery owner/coal master	Manufacturer
Colour manufacturer	Merchant
Copper manufacturer	Newspaper proprietor
Earthenware manufacturer	Potters' agent/merchant
Flint-mill owner	Senior Army officer
Glue manufacturer	Sewing silk manufacturer
Gentleman	Silk manufacturer
Ironmaster	Stilt and Spur manufacturer
Large builder (Master)	Tape manufacturer
	Timber merchant
	Town Clerk.

GROUP B. Professional and Managerial Men and Ministers of Religion.

Accountant	Highway engineer/surveyor
Auctioneer	Land agent
Banker	Land surveyor
Barrister	Mining engineer
Civil engineer	Minister of Religion
Colliery contractor	Newspaper editor
Colliery manager	Pottery manager
Dental surgeon	Publisher
Engineer	Solicitor
Estate agent	Surgeon
	Theatre proprietor

Socio-economic Groups (continued)

GROUP C. Small Business men and minor officials.

Assistant overseer	Miller
Baker	Monumental sculptor
Birdseed dealer	Music store owner
Brewers' agent	Nurseryman
Butcher	Outfitter
Chemist	Pawnbroker
Clothier	Potters' printer
Coachbuilder's manager	Printer
Coal merchant	Publican
Commercial hotel-keeper	Rate-collector
Commercial traveller	Registrar of Births and Deaths
Commission agent	Saddler
Confectioner	Schoolmaster
Draper	Shopkeeper
Druggist	Small builder
Drug-store keeper	Small-ware dealer
Furniture dealer	Stationer
Greengrocer	Tailor
Haberdasher	Trade Union official
Hatter	Traveller
Hosier	Watch-maker/seller
House furnisher	Wine merchant
Insurance agent	
Ironmonger	
Jeweller	
Leather seller	
Licensed victualler	

GROUP D. Craftsmen and Artisans

Blacksmith	Potters' fireman
Cow keeper	Potters' presser
Holloware presser	Sagger maker
Ovenman	Sanitary ware presser
Potter	

APPENDIX 3.

An essay on Inspection, written by a 17 year old male pupil teacher at Bollington National school near Macclesfield in 1879.

Inspection.

The word Inspection means "examination". Every year the schools throughout England are examined by a man called an Inspector. He examines them and then he sends word to the Government, and the papers of the higher standards he sends for them to look at. If the school passes well they send them extra grant, if the school passes 90 per. cent. that is if there was a hundred boys examined 90 of them would pass. For everybody that passes, the school receives so much money. The Inspector examines all the school in reading, writing and arithmetic, and also Grammar, Geography, which are called the extra subjects, and the school also receives grant for these. At the inspection the scholars are all dressed neat and clean and when the inspector gives them their work they begin to do it and it looks very well when they are all doing their work. Each standard has its own particular work to do all through the year, and if they cannot do their work at the Inspection they will fail and will have to stay in the same class another year, and if they pass they are removed into another standard, until they have reached the sixth standard. But children now have to be taught a deal more than what they had used to be.

(This essay has been preserved in a pupil teacher's exercise book, the property of Miss J. Armitt).

APPENDIX 4.

Wolstanton School Board.

Suggestions

to

Improve the Present System of Instructing Pupil Teachers
and Candidates.

- 1 - The time of meeting to be from 8.20 a.m. to 9.20 where the school opens at 9.30, and in other cases the hours instruction to end 10 minutes before the opening of School.
- 2 - Certificated and other Assistant teachers to render help in making Exercises and recapitulating Lessons under the direction of the Head Teacher.
- 3 - As much time as possible to be given daily to each Pupil Teacher for private study during school hours; at least three-quarters of an hour should be secured.
- 4 - Text books to be those taken from a list approved by the Board Inspector, and a small library of Text Books to be provided.
- 5 - All Exercise Books to be daily marked, dated and signed by the Head Teacher in red ink.
- 6 - The Exercise Books to be retained in the school for inspection by the Board Inspectors on the occasion of his visits.
- 7 - A half-yearly Examination of all the Pupil Teachers and Candidates to be held by the Board Inspector at the Central Schools, Tunstall, the results to be reported to the Board and the Teachers.
- 8 - The Board Inspector to visit without notice, and enter such remarks as he may consider necessary in the Log Book.

Henry Farmer
Board Inspector.

(Tunstall John St. Board School log book, February 15th, 1893).

APPENDIX 5.

Memorial from the Eccleshall Ruri-decanal Association of School Managers and Teachers (to enquire into the manner in which the Stone Board of Guardians carries out the Education Act of 1876) (June 1885).

1. The Board appears not to comprehend its duties.
2. That its Officers and the Guardians only regard it to be their duty to lock up children on the books making bad attendance on receipt of complaint of such attendance from the Teacher.
3. That no census of the children of school age within the Union has been taken and consequently children not on the Books are unlooked after.
4. That the S.A.C. which meets once a month frequently has not a quorum for the transaction of business, and consequently cases reported from the Parochial committees fail to be attended to.
5. That for some years the Attendance Officers have not carried out the Duties entrusted to them, even when full allowance has been made for the miserable stipend paid them by the Guardians.

(P.R.O. Ed. 6/60).

APPENDIX 6.

North Staffordshire Public Elementary Schools.

1870-1903

(by School Districts)

The existence of a school is indicated in the following charts by a single line. When the line is doubled, it shows that the school was at that time in receipt of an Annual Parliamentary Grant.

CHEADLE UNION SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Alton National				
Alton R.C.				
Cauldon Church				
Caverswall Nat.				
Caverswall R.C.				
Adderley Green Board				
Hulme & Werrington Bd.				
The Meir Board				
Cheadle Nat.				
St. Chad's Freehay Ch.				
St. Giles's R.C.				
Cheadle Wesleyan				
Checkley Nat.				
Hollington Ch.				
Team British				
Team R.C.				
Cheadleton Nat.				

CHEADLE UNION SCHOOLS (continued)

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Wetley Rocks Nat.				
Consall British	?			
Cauldon Low(e) Nat.				
Dilhorne Endowed				
Cresswell R.C.				
Draycott Nat.				
Farley Mr. Bill's		?		
Blyth Marsh Endowed				
Forsbrook National				
Berkhamsytc Ch.				
Foxt Church				
Ipstones National				
Kingsley Endowed Ch.				
Whiston Church				
Oakamoor Mills British				
Oakamoor National	?			
Oakamoor R.C.				

DRAYTON UNION SCHOOLS IN STAFFORDSHIRE

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Ashley National				
Aston Board				
Knighton Board				
Muckleston Church				
Hales Church				

ASHBOURNE UNION SCHOOLS IN STAFFORDSHIRE

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Alstonefield Nat.				
Blore with Swinscoe Ch.				
Calton Girls' & Inf. Ch.				
Ellastone Church				
Ilam Church				
Mayfield Nat.				
Stanton Church				
Waterfall Parochial				
Wetton Church				

LEEK UNION SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Biddulph Church				
Biddulph Moor Nat.				
Bradley Green P.M.				
Gillowshaw Brook Wes.				
Knypersley Church				
Bradnop Parochial				
Butterton National				
Endon Parochial				
Newtown Ratepayers'				
Ramshaw Board				
Hollinsclough Ch.				
Horton Lee Ch.				
Ball Haye Green Ch.				
Ball Haye Green Wes.				
Leek British				
Leek Brunswick Wes.				
Leek Compton National				
Leek Congregational				

LEEK UNION SCHOOLS (Continued)

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Leek Hargreaves, Alsop St.				
Leek Mill St. Wesleyan				
Leek Parish Church				
Leek Parish Mill St. Branch				
Leek St. Luke's National				
Leek R.C.				
Leek West St. Wesleyan				
Meerbrook National				
Longnor Church				
Longsdon National				
Bradeley Board				
Brown Edge National				
Norton Green Board				
Norton National				
Smallthorne Board				
Smallthorne National				
Smallthorne R.C.				

LEEK UNION SCHOOLS (continued)

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Smallthorne Wesleyan	-			
Onecote Board				
Onecote National				
Quarnford Church				
Rushton Spencer Church				
Sheen National				
Thorncliffe Church				
Upper Elkstone Board				
Warslow Board				
Warslow Church				

NEWCASTLE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Alsagers Bank Nat.				
Audley National				
Audley Wesleyan.				
Halmerend Nat.				
Butt Lane Church				
Butt Lane. P.M.				
Talke National				
Talke New Rd. Wes.				
Talke Pits St. Martin's Ch.				
Talke St. Saviour's Nat.				
Woodlane Church				
Betley National				
Chapel Chorlton Nat.				
Keele Church				
Leycett Church				
Madeley Endowed				
Madeley Heath Church				
Onneley Church				
Mæer Church				
Whitmore Church				

STONE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRICT SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Barlaston Nat.				
Chebsey Nat.				
Cotes Heath Church				
Croxton Nat.				
Eccleshall Nat.				
Offley Hay Nat.				
Slindon Nat.				
Fulford Church				
Hilderstone Nat.				
Milwich Church				
Sandon Parochial				
Standon Church				
Aston National				
Stone Christ Church Nat.				
Meaford Nat.				
Moddershall Nat.				

STONE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRICT SCHOOLS (continued)

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
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Oulton National				
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Stone Parochial				
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Stone Roman Catholic				
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Stone St. Ann's R.C.				
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Stonefield Nat.				
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Tittensor Nat.				
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Swynnerton Church				
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Swynnerton R.C.				
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Yarnfield R.C.				
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Blurton Church				
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Butterton Nat.				
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Hanchurch Church				
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Hanford Church				
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Rough Close Church				
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Trentham Church				
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BURSLEM UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Central Board				=
Cobridge Nat.				
Cobridge R.C.				
Hill Top Bd.				
Longport Bd.				
Middleport Bd.				
Milton Bd.				
Milton Girls' & I. Bd.				
Milton Nat.				
Milton Wes.				
Newport St. Bd.				
North Rd. Bd.				
Park Rd. Bd.				
Shelton Granville Bd.				
Shelton Granville Nat.				
Sneyd Green Bd.				=
Sneyd Nat.				
St. John's Nat.				
St. Joseph's R.C.				
St. Paul's Dale Hall Nat.				
St. Paul's Sytch Nat.				
Wesleyan				

HANLEY SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Ashley St. Nat.	==			
Bedford St. Bd.		==		
Bethesda Board		==		
Bethesda British	==			
Broom St. Bd.			==	==
Bryan St. Bd.		==		
Cannon St. Bd.			==	==
Cauldon St. Bd.			==	==
Central Bd.			==	==
Cross St. Bd.		==		
Eastwood Vale Bd.			==	==
Eastwood Vale Nat.	==			
Etruria Board		==		
Etruria British	==			
Etruria Unsectarian	==			
Great York St. Bd.			==	==
Grove Board			==	==
Higher Grade Bd.			==	==
Hanley Ragged	-			
Hope Trinity Bd.		==		

LONGTON SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Cooke Street Bd.				
Dresden Ch.				
East Vale Ch.				
Edensor Church				
Florence Bd.				
Grafton Rd. Bd.				
High St. Bd.				
Mt. Pleasant Bd.				
Mt. Pleasant Ch.				
National				
Normacot Bd.				
Normacot Ch.				
Queensberry Rd. Bd.				
Roman Catholic				
St. John's Bd.				
Wesleyan				
Woodhouse Bd.				

NEWCASTLE UNITED S.B. DISTRICT SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Newcastle British	==			
Clayton Board		==	==	==
Friarswood Bd.		==	==	==
Hassells St.Bd.		==	==	==
Newcastle Nat.		==	==	==
Ryecroft Bd.		==	==	==
St. George's Nat.	==			
St. Giles's Nat.	==			
St. Patrick's R.C.				
The Marsh Board		==		
Wesleyan	==			

STOKE UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Abbey Hulton Board				
Bagnall Board				
Berry Hill Church				
Bucknall Board				
Bucknall National				
Fenton China St. Nat.				
Fenton Heron Cross Bd.				
Fenton Low National				
Fenton Market St. Bd.				
Fenton Mt. Tabor Bd.				
Fenton National				
Fenton Raglan St. Bd.				
Fenton Queen St. Bd.				
Fenton R.C.				
Fenton Turner Mem. Nat.				
Fenton Wesleyan				
Stoke Boothan Branch Ch.				
Cliffe Vale Nat.				
Cross St. Board				
Stoke Garner St. Bd.				
Harpfield Bd.				

STOKE UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS (continued)

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
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Hartshill National				
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Stoke Kingscroft Bd.	—			
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Stoke Mt. Pleasant Church				
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Stoke National				
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Penkhull Board		—		
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Penkhull National	—			
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Stoke R.C.		—		
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Stoke Trent Vale Nat.				
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WOLSTANTON UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
Brindley Ford Bd.				
Brindley Ford Wes.				
Chell Bd.				
Chell Wesleyan	?—?			
Chesterton Bd.				
Chesterton Dunkirk Ch.				
Chesterton Nat.				
Cross Heath Ch.				
Goldenhill Bd.				
Goldenhill Nat.				
Goldenhill R.C.				
Goldenhill Wes.				
Harriseahead Bd.				
Harriseahead Wes.				
Kidsgrove Bd.				
Kidsgrove Nat.				
Kidsgrove Wes.				
Knutton Nat.				
Longbridge Hayes Nat.				
Mowcop Bd.				
Mowcop Nat.				

WOLSTANTON UNITED SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT SCHOOLS (continued)

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900/03</u>
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Mowcop Wes.	=====			
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Newchapel Bd.	=====			
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Newchapel Nat.	=====			
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Pitts Hill Bd.	=====			
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Pitts Hill P.M.	=====			
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Red Street Nat.	=====			
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Silverdale Board	=====			
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Silverdale Nat.	=====			
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Silverdale P.M.	=====			
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Tunstall Board	=====			
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Tunstall High St. Bd.			=====	
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Tunstall John St. Bd.			=====	
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Tunstall Nat.	=====			
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Tunstall R.C.	=====			
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Tunstall St. Mary's Nat.	=====			
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Tunstall Sandyford Nat.	=====			
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Tunstall Wesleyan	=====			
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Wolstanton Ellison St. Bd.			=====	
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Wolstanton Nat.	=====			
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Wolstanton Wes.	=====			
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APPENDIX 7.

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

1870 - 1903

YEAR COMMENCING
MARCH

1874

1877

1880

1883

1886

1889

1892

1895

1898

1901

SEPT
1903

W. WOODALL											
T. HUGHES											
W. BOULTON											
H. DAVENPORT											
P. HENDREN											
J. MASSINGHAM											
W. DULSHAM											
N. OWEN											
W. SHIRLEY											
A. SHAW											
C. BLOOR											
T. BLACKSHAW											
J. BIRCH											
J. BOWDEN											
W. EDGE											
J. GRATTON											
T. HULME											
E. WALLEY											
J. MADDOCK											
J. OAKES											
S. OLDHAM											
J. BEARDMORE											
E. EDWARDS											
A. ELLIS											
J. GRAHAM											
E. LEIGH											
H. EDWARDS											

BURSLIEM SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1874 - 1903

===== CHAIRMAN

----- VICE-CHAIRMAN

/continued.... (1)

YEAR COMMENCING
MARCH

1874

1877

1880

1883

1886

1889

1892

1895

1898

1901

Sept
1903

J. MASON											
T. HARTLEY											
W. WADE											
A. CAMPION											
J. HYMERS											
W. SUTTON											
T. WARDLE											
H. WILBY											
S. GIBSON											
W. OLDHAM											
A. CAPPER											
S. MALKIN											
G. WADE											
T. WILLETT											
T. EDWARDS											
A. BANNER											
G. BARDSLEY											
MISS S. BENETT											
J. DAWSON											
CLERKS TO THE BOARD											
T. TOMPKINSON											
W. T. COPELAND											
A. SHELDON											

BURSLEM SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS AND CLERKS, 1874 - 1903
(continued)

===== CHAIRMAN

----- VICE-CHAIRMAN

OCCUPATIONS AND PARTY ALLEGIANCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE BURSLEM

SCHOOL BOARD, 1874-1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
BANNER, Abram	Manufacturer	Independent
BARDSLEY, George	Anglican Minister	Moderate
BEARDMORE, John	Ironmonger	Progressive
BENETT, Miss Sarah	Spinster	Labour
BIRCH, John	Anglican Minister	Independent Church
BLACKSHAW, Thomas	Dispensing Chemist	Moderate
BLOOR, Charles	Gentleman	Progressive
BOULTON, William	Ironmaster	Progressive
BOWDEN, James	Master builder	Progressive
CAMPION, Alfred	Anglican Minister	Moderate
CAPPER, Alfred	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
DAVENPORT, Harry	Gentleman	Moderate
DAWSON, Joseph	Printer & Stationer	Progressive
EDGE, William	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
EDWARDS, Enoch	Secretary to the N. Staffs Miners Federation	Progressive
EDWARDS, Henry	Anglican Minister	Moderate
EDWARDS, Thomas	Potters' agent	Progressive
ELLIS, Arthur	Solicitor	Moderate
GIBSON, Samuel	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
GRAHAM, John	Anglican Minister	Moderate
GRATTON, John	Potters' fireman	Roman Catholic
HARTLEY, Thomas	Congregational Minister	Progressive
HENDREN, Philip	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
HUGHES, Thomas	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
HULME, Thomas	Potters' merchant	Independent Progressive
HYMERS, Joseph	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
LEIGH, Edmund	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
MADDOCK, James	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
MALKIN, Sidney	Tile manufacturer	Progressive
MASON, John	Coal merchant	Moderate
MASSINGHAM, John	Anglican Minister	Moderate
OAKES, John	Saggar maker	Progressive
OLDHAM, Samuel	Surgeon	Moderate
OLDHAM, William	Dispensing chemist	Moderate
OULSNAM, William	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive

/continued.....

Occupations and Party Allegiances of the Members of the Burslem School Board, 1874-1903 (continued)

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
OWEN, William	Newspaper editor	Progressive
SHAW, Anthony	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
SHIRLEY, William	Commission agent	Moderate
SUTTON, William	Grocer	Moderate
WADE, George	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
WADE, William	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
WALLEY, Edward	Master builder	Moderate
WARDLE, Thomas	Dispensing chemist	Moderate
WILBY, Henry	Shopkeeper	Independent
		Progressive
WILLETT, Thomas	Engineer	Independent
		Progressive
WOODALL, William	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive

YEAR COMMENCING
DECEMBER

APRIL

1870 1873 1876 1879 1882 1885 1888 1891 1894 1897 1900 1903

F. WRAGGE												
T. PIDDUCK												
G. BRADFORD												
J. BULL												
W. MOLLOY												
R. HARRAMORE												
E. POWELL												
C. WEDGWOOD												
W. WOOD												
T. ASHWORTH												
E. BAXTER												
J. BEBBINGTON												
C. BAINES												
J. EMERY												
W. VARCOE												
E. BOOTHMAN												
T. de VINE												
W. O'KEEFE												
W. RINGLAND												
B. CHAMBERS												
C. PHILLIPS												
T. RING												
A. BAINES												
J. FENTON												
T. HARRISON												
G. RISELEY												

HANLEY SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS, 1870 - 1903

== CHAIRMAN

--- VICE-CHAIRMAN

YEAR COMMENCING
DECEMBER

APRIL

1870 1873 1876 1879 1882 1885 1888 1891 1894 1897 1900 1903

MRS. E. BROWN
W. GRETTON
J. BRADDOCK
W. JACKSON
J. HAMSHAW
H. LYNAM
F. WEDGWOOD
J. MEAKIN
J. RIDGWAY
C. ADCOCK
J. EDWARDS
W. LANSDELL
R. READ
C. COOPER
H. EMERY
W. KNOWLES
J. TAYLOR

CLERKS
M. BLAKISTON
G. CHEFFINGS
W. HEATH
A. SMITH
J. HODDER

HANLEY SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS, 1870 - 1903
(continued)

== CHAIRMAN

--- VICE-CHAIRMAN

OCCUPATIONS AND PARTY ALLEGIANCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HANLEY

SCHOOL BOARDS, 1870 - 1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
ADCOCK, George	Hosier	Progressive
ASHWORTH, Taylor	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
BAINES, Arthur	Dental surgeon	Moderate
BAINES, Charles	Colour manufacturer	Moderate
BAXTER, Edward	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
BEBBINGTON, James	Printer & stationer	Progressive
BOOTHMAN, Edward	Anglican Minister	Moderate
BRADDOCK, John	Sanitary-ware presser	Labour
BRADFORD, George	Draper	Moderate
BROWN, Mrs. Ellen	Married woman	Progressive
BULL, Joseph	Iron manufacturer	Moderate
CHAMBERS, Ben	New Connexion Minister	Progressive
COOPER, Charles	Confectioner	Moderate
DE VINE, Thomas	Anglican Minister	Moderate
EDWARDS, Jenkyn	Anglican Minister	Moderate
EMERY, Herbert	Workingman	Labour
EMERY, John	Music-store owner	Roman Catholic
FENTON, James	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
GRETTON, William	Potters' presser	Labour
HAMSHAW, John	Solicitor	Moderate
HARRISON, Thomas	Colour manufacturer	Progressive
JACKSON, William	Sanitary-ware presser	Labour
KNOWLES, Walter	Anglican Minister	Moderate
LANSDELL, William	Congregational Minister	Progressive
LYNAM, Henry	General manager, Shelton Coal & Iron Co.	Independent
MEAKIN, James	China manufacturer	Moderate
MOLLOY, William	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
NARRAMORE, Robert	China clay merchant	Moderate
O'KEEFFE, William	Auctioneer	Roman Catholic
PHILLIPS, Charles	Surgeon	Moderate
PIDDUCK, Thomas	Ironmonger	Progressive
POWELL, Edwin	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
READ, Richard	Medical practitioner	Independent
RIDGWAY, John	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
RING, Theophilus	Anglican Minister	Independent Church
RINGLAND, William	Draper	Progressive
RISELEY, George	Grocer	Progressive

/continued.....

Occupations and Party Allegiances of the Members of the Hanley School Boards, 1870-1903 (continued).

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
TAYLOR, Joseph	Primitive Methodist Minister	Progressive
VARCOE, William	China clay merchant	Progressive
WEDGWOOD, Clement	China manufacturer	Independent
		Progressive
WEDGWOOD, Frank	China manufacturer	Independent
		Moderate
WOOD, William	Stationer	Progressive
WRAGGE, Frederick	General Manager, Shelton Coal & Iron Co.	Independent
		Church

											APRIL
1871	1874	1877	1880	1883	1886	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901	1903

LONGTON SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1871 - 1903

~~SECRET~~ VICE-CHAIRMAN

/continued,.,.,.(1)

YEAR COMMENCING
JANUARY

APRIL

1871 1874 1877 1880 1883 1886 1889 1892 1895 1898 1901 1903

C. JOHNSON
A PEARSON
S. SALT
S. EMOY
J. LEAK
W. SMITH
J. WILLCOCK
J. BATES
J. BRIGGS
MISS F. CLARKE
T. HARBER
H. SMITH
W. LOWE
G. MITCHESON
G. OLIVER
C. ALLAN
E. BESWICK
F. DELANEY
J. FLEMING
W. FRENCH
T. POTTER
H. WILLIAMSON
T. MOTTERSHEAD
T. NEWELL
W. BRICKEL
A. COLLINGWOOD
W. CROFTS
R. HARRIS

LONGTON SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1871 - 1903
(continued 1)

== CHAIRMAN

--- VICE-CHAIRMAN

/continued....(2)

YEAR COMMENCING
JANUARY

▲PRIL

1871 1874 1877 1880 1883 1886 1889 1892 1895 1898 1901 1903

W. REID												
H. TAMS												
CLERKS												
E. YOUNG	—											
C. ADDERLEY	—	—	—									
G. KENT				—	—	—	—	—				
J. SMITH									—	—	—	—

LONGTON SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1871 - 1903.
(continued 2)

== CHAIRMAN

--- VICE-CHAIRMAN

OCCUPATIONS AND PARTY ALLEGIANCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LONGTON

SCHOOL BOARDS, 1871 - 1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
ADDERLEY, William	China manufacturer	Moderate
ALLAN, Charles	Medical practitioner	Independent
ASHWELL, Hatfield	Coal master	Moderate
AYNSLEY, John	Earthenware manufacturer	Independent
BATES, John	China manufacturer	Moderate
BECK, John	Brick & China manufacturer	Roman Catholic
BESWICK, James	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
BRICKEL, William	Printer	Independent
BRIGGS, James	Baptist minister	Progressive
BROOKFIELD, Edward	Gentleman	Progressive
CLARKE, Adam	Anglican minister	Moderate
CLARKE, Mrs. Beatrice	Wife of Adam Clarke	Moderate
CLARKE, Charles	Outfitter	Moderate
CLARKE, Miss Florence	Sister of Adam Clarke	Moderate
COLCLOUGH, Alfred	Coal merchant	Progressive
COLLINGWOOD, Arthur	China manufacturer	Roman Catholic
CROFTS, William	Drugstore owner	Independent
DELANEY, Francis	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
EMONY, Samuel	Timber merchant	Roman Catholic
FARMER, George	Printer	Progressive
FLEMING, John	New Connexion minister	Progressive
FRENCH, William	Registrar of Births & Deaths	Progressive
GODDARD, John	Colliery owner	Liberal churchman
HARBER, Thomas	Rate collector	Moderate
HARRIS, Richard	Anglican minister	Moderate
HEATHCOTE, Justinian	Sec. Wolstanton S.E. List	Moderate
HULSE, Joseph	Coal master	Moderate
HULSE, William	Accountant	Moderate
ILSLEY, Edward	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
JOHNES, John	Congregational minister	Progressive
JOHNSON, Charles	Baptist minister	Progressive
LEAK, Joseph	Traveller	Progressive
LOWE, William	China manufacturer	Progressive
MACLEAN, Alexander	Anglican minister	Moderate
MAYER, William	Pottery manager	Progressive
MILLS, John	Congregational minister	Progressive
MITCHESON, George	Mining engineer	Progressive
MOTTERSHEAD, Thomas	Hosier and general dealer	Progressive
NEWELL, Thomas	Furniture dealer	Progressive

Occupations and Party Allegiances of the Members of the Longton School
Boards 1871-1903 (continued)

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
OLIVER, George	Anglican minister	Moderate
PALMER, Enoch	Accountant	Progressive
PEARSON, Alfred	New Connexion minister	Progressive
POTTER, Thomas	Gentleman	Moderate
REID, William	Grocer	Moderate
ROBINSON, George	Solicitor	Progressive
SALT, Samuel	Anglican minister	Moderate
SIBARY, George	Grocer	Moderate
SMITH, Henry	New Connexion minister	Progressive
SMITH, William	Anglican minister	Moderate
SPOONER, Daniel	Workingman	Progressive
STRINGFELLOW, John	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
TAMS, Henry	Birdseed dealer	Independent
TURNER, Thomas	Chemist	Moderate
WARDHAUGH, Matthew	Theatre proprietor	Progressive
WELSH, Charles	Solicitor	Moderate
WILEMAN, James	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
WILLCOCK, John	Congregational minister	Progressive
WILLIAMSON, Henry	China manufacturer	Progressive
WOOD, George	Ovenman	Progressive

											SEPT
1871	1874	1877	1880	1883	1885	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901	1903

[illegible]

CHAIRMAN

== VICE CHAIRMAN

/continued....(1)

YEAR COMMENCING
FEBRUARY

SEPT
1903

1871 1874 1877 1880 1883 1885 1889 1892 1895 1898 1901

H. DIXON												
H. GRIBBIN												
MRS. F. KITCHENER												
J. GALLIMORE												
D. JOHNSTON												
J. LOVATT												
W. WEBSDALE												
MISS A. DUTTON												
J. GODWIN												
T. MURPHY												
G. BRABAZON												
T. McKEE												
J. TIERNAN												
S. WATSON												
W. ELLIOTT												
S. FENTON												
A. LANGLEY												
T. STONELEY												
R. THOMSON												
CLERKS												
R. FENTON												
J. COOKE												

NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1871 - 1903.

(continued 1)

== CHAIRMAN

==== VICE-CHAIRMAN

OCCUPATIONS AND PARTY ALLEGIANCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE NEWCASTLE

SCHOOL BOARDS, 1871 - 1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
ALLEN, Frederic	Accountant	Progressive
BEARDMORE, William	Potter	Progressive
BEEBY, William	Congregational minister	Progressive
BOURNE, Hugh	Commission agent	Progressive
BRABAZON, George	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
BRIGGS, William	Draper	Moderate
BULLOCK, Thomas	Accountant	Progressive
COTTERILL, Alfred	Surgeon	Moderate
COUSENS, Rowland	Anglican minister	Moderate
DIXON, Herbert	Grocer	Progressive
DOWNS, Robert	Auctioneer	Moderate
DUTTON, Miss Annie	Spinster	Independent Church
DUTTON, William	Solicitor	Independent Church
EARL, Emmanuel	Schoolmaster	Independent Church
EDGE, Thomas	Haberdasher	Progressive
ELLIOTT, William	Furniture dealer	Progressive
FENTON, Edward	Solicitor	Moderate
FENTON, Samuel	Anglican minister	Moderate
GALLIMORE, John	Master builder	Progressive
GODWIN, John	Stationer	Progressive
GRIBBIN, Hugh	Grocer	Moderate
GRIFFITHS, Hamlet	Holloware presser	Progressive
HUGHES, James	R.D. Priest	Roman Catholic
JOHNSON, David	Solicitor	Moderate
KITCHENER, Mrs Frances	Married woman (wife of the Headmaster of Newcastle High School)	Independent Progressive
KNIGHT, Joseph	Solicitor	Independent Church
LANGLEY, Arthur	Baptist minister	Progressive
LOVATT, James	Clothing manufacturer	Progressive
MCKEE, John	Draper	Progressive
MCKEE, Thomas	Coach builder's manager	Moderate
MAGUIRE, Martin	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
MASSEY, Charles	Glue manufacturer	Progressive
MOODY, William	Newspaper proprietor	Progressive
MURPHY, Thomas ?	Pawnbroker	Roman Catholic

/continued.....

Occupations and Party Allegiances of the Members of the Newcastle School Boards, 1871 - 1903 (continued)

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
ORTON, Charles	Surgeon	Moderate
RAMM, Howard	Estate agent	Moderate
ROBINSON, James	Leather seller	Progressive
SHUFFLEBOTHAM, John	Pottery manager	Progressive
SLANEY, Robert	Solicitor	Moderate
STONELEY, Thomas	New Connexion minister	Progressive
TERRY, James	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
THOMSON, Robert	Tailor	Progressive
TIERNAN, John	Surgeon	Roman Catholic
VEALE, Henry	Anglican minister	Moderate
WATSON, Samuel	Solicitor	Progressive
WEBSDALE, William	Congregational minister	Progressive
WILLIAMS, James	Unitarian minister	Progressive
WILTON, Samuel	Master builder	Moderate

1871	1874	1877	1880	1883	1886	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901	SEPT 1903
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STOKE SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS, 1871 - 1903

== VICE-CHAIRMAN

/continued ... (1)

1871	1874	1877	1880	1883	1886	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901	SEPT 1903
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CHAIRMAN **VICE-CHAIRMAN**

OCCUPATIONS AND PARTY ALLEGIANCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STOKE SCHOOL

BOARDS, 1871 - 1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
ASHWELL, Michael	Surgeon	Moderate
BISHOP, Frederic	Ironmaster	Moderate
BRAIN, Elijah	Manufacturer	Progressive
BROADY, John	Brewer's agent	Moderate
COCKER, Thomas	Congregational minister	Progressive
DENT, Francis	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
EDWARDS, George	Flint-mill owner	Moderate
EDWARDS, George C.	Grocer	Progressive
ELLIOTT, Philip	Draper	Progressive
FORD, Charles	China manufacturer	Moderate
GOODWIN, Frederick	Grocer	Moderate
GREATBATCH, Edward	China clay merchant	Moderate
GREEN, Spencer	China manufacturer	Progressive
GIMSON, Joseph	Stilt & spur manufacturer	Moderate
GROSE, William	China clay merchant	Progressive
HALLAM, George	Grocer	Progressive
HARRIS, Arthur	Commercial traveller	Progressive
HAWKER, William	China manufacturer	Progressive
HUGHES, Edward	China manufacturer	Progressive
HUMPHRYS, Walter	Anglican minister	Moderate
HURST, Sim	Baptist minister	Progressive
JACKSON, Arthur	Commercial traveller	Moderate
JACKSON, Dan	New Connexion minister	Progressive
JONES, Charles	Manufacturer	Moderate
KIRKHAM, William	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
LINGARD, Elijah	Highway surveyor	Progressive
LONGMORE, Edwin	Farmer	Moderate
MALKIN, Ralph	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
MASSEY, Enoch	China manufacturer	Progressive
MASSEY, Mrs. Sarah	Wife of Enoch Massey	Progressive
MATTHEWS, Isaac	Nursery owner	Moderate
MINTON-SENHOUSE, Herbert	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
MINTON-TAYLOR, Robert	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
MYATT, John	Farmer	Progressive
NORTHCOTE, James	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
NUNAN, Denis	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
PAICE, Arthur	Anglican minister	Moderate

/continued.....

Occupations and Party Allegiances of the Members of the Stoke School
Boards, 1871 - 1903 (continued)

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
PATZER, Frederick	Commercial hotel proprietor	Progressive
PEACH, James	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
PHILLIPPS, William	General Manager. N. Staffs. Railway Co.	Moderate
RADFORD, Samuel	China manufacturer	Moderate
RHEAD, Sampson	Auctioneer	Moderate
ROBINSON, Charles	Solicitor	Progressive
ROGERS, Ernest	Anglican minister	Moderate
SHORTER, Arthur	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
SIMPKINSON, Charles	Anglican minister	Moderate
STAMER, Sir Lovelace	Anglican minister	Moderate
STEVENSON, John	Grocer	Independent Church
STOCKER, Alexander	China clay merchant	Progressive
STUBBS, Thomas	Potters' printer	Progressive
TELLWRIGHT, James	Gentleman	Moderate
TURNER, Herbert	Anglican minister	Moderate
TYRWHITT, Hon. Leonard	Anglican minister	Moderate
WALLEY, John	Merchant	Moderate
WILLETTS, Thomas	New Connexion minister	Progressive

1874	1877	1880	1883	1886	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901	SEPT 1903
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WOLSTANTON SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS, 1874 - 1903.

== VICE-CHAIRMAN

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YEAR COMMENCING MARCH	1874	1877	1880	1883	1886	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901	SEPT 1903
W. ADAMS (JUN)											
A. PENNY											
J. SCARRATT											
J. SMITH											
P. WHITEHURST											
G. WILES											
E. CAIRNS											
F. BARBER											
R. BESWICK											
H. BUTLER											
A. COTTON											
W. SANDFORD											
R. UNWIN											
E. NEWSOME											
J. CADMAN											
M. GODFREY											
D. JOYNSON											
W. MULLINEUX											
V. SAUERLAENDER											
A. SHORTER											
W. SUTHERLAND											
S. STAN(Y)ER											
J. GOODWIN											

WOLSTANTON SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS, 1874 - 1903
(Continued 1)

== CHAIRMAN

== VICE-CHAIRMAN

/continued.....(2)

YEAR COMMENCING
MARCH

1874

1877

1880

1883

1886

1889

1892

1895

1898

1901

SEPT
1903

P. BLOOR											
J. BRITTAIN											
J. BYGOTT											
T. COPE											
E. HOLLINSHEAD											
N. SCOTT											
W. STATHAM											
J. P. STREET											
J. HORNE											
CLERKS											
H. FARMER											

WOLSTANTON SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1874 - 1903.
(continued 2)

== CHAIRMAN

== VICE-CHAIRMAN

OCCUPATIONS AND PARTY ALLEGIANCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE WOLSTANTON

SCHOOL BOARDS, 1874 - 1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
ADAMS, (Jim) William	Earthenware manufacturer	Moderate
BARBER, Frederick	Draper	Moderate
BELL, Robert	Congregational minister	Progressive
BESWICK, Robert	Colliery owner	Moderate
BLOOR, Peter	Accountant	Moderate
BRITTAIN, John	Engineer	Independent Church
BUTLER, Herbert	Anglican minister	Moderate
BYGOTT, John	Anglican minister	Moderate
CADMAN, James	Coal & Iron Co, General Manager	Moderate
CAIRNS, Edward	Primitive Methodist minister	Progressive
CLARE, Thomas	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
COPE, Thomas	Colliery contractor	Progressive
COTTON, Arthur	Auctioneer	Progressive
COTTON, John	Stationer	Progressive
CUMBERLIDGE, George	Grocer	Progressive
DAVENPORT, Harry	Gentleman	Moderate
DOWNING, James	Brick & tile manufacturer	Moderate
FERGUSON, Joseph	Primitive Methodist minister	Progressive
FORD, Thomas	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
FORD, Walter	Monumental sculptor	Progressive
FOX, John	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
GODFREY, Michael	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
GOODWIN, James	Grocer	Moderate
HANCOCK, Jabez	Manufacturer	Progressive
HARDING, James	Grocer	Independent Progressive
HARRIS, Clement	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
HEATH, James	Gentleman	Moderate
HEATHCOTE, Justinian	Iron master	Moderate
HOLLINSHEAD, Edward	Solicitor	Independent Church
HORNE, John	Primitive Methodist minister	Progressive
JACKSON, William	Anglican minister	Moderate
JONES, George	Primitive Methodist minister	Progressive
JONES, William	Primitive Methodist minister	Progressive
JOYNSON, Daniel	Grocer	Progressive
KENNY, Thomas	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
LANTON, James	Grocer	Progressive
LANTON, Noah	Grocer & draper	Progressive
MACDONALD, John	Land agent	Moderate

Occupations and Party Allegiances of the Members of the Wolstanton
School Boards 1874 - 1903 (continued)

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Party</u>
MOULDS, John	Saddler	Independent
MULLINEUX, William	Colliery manager	Progressive
NEWSOME, E.	Primitive Methodist minister	Progressive
PENNY, Alfred	Anglican minister	Progressive
PLAETSIER, Edward	R.C. priest	Moderate
ROSE, Cyril	Secretary to the Midland Coal, Coke & Iron Co.	Roman Catholic
SANDFORD, William	Anglican minister	Moderate
SAUERLAENDER, Victor	Anglican minister	Moderate
SCARRATT, John	Grocer	Moderate
SCOTT, Noah	House furnisher	Progressive
SHORTER, Arthur	Earthenware manufacturer	Progressive
SMITH, John	Grocer	Progressive
STANIER, Francis	Ironmaster	Moderate
STANYER, Saul	Working man	Progressive
STATHAM, William	Colliery manager	Progressive
STREET, John	Colliery proprietor	Moderate
STREET, John Palmer	Blacksmith	Moderate
SUTHERLAND, William	R.C. priest	Roman Catholic
UNWIN, Ralph	Potter	Progressive
WADE, Frederick	Anglican minister	Moderate
WALKER, John	Timber merchant	Progressive
WHITEHURST, Paul	Insurance agent	Progressive
WILKS, George	Wholesale grocer	Moderate

YEAR COMMENCING
JULY

1880 1883 1886 1889 1892 1895 1898 1901 1903
SEPT

H. HAND
G. OLIVER
J. KIRKHAM
J. WOODDISSE
J. BRUNT
T. TORR
J. CHARLESWORTH
G. PILKINGTON
W. BRUNT
R. LOWNDS
C. LOWNDS
R. SHIRLEY
J. TORR
F. TURNER
E. BRUNT
E. KIRKHAM
T. PEATE
W. SHIRLEY

CLERKS

M. CHARLESWORTH
H. HAND
J. WOODDISSE

HEATHYLEE SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS, 1880 - 1903

== CHAIRMAN

==== VICE-CHAIRMAN

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HEATHYLEE SCHOOL BOARDS. 1880-1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
BRUNT, Eli	Farmer	OLIVER, George	Farmer
BRUNT, Joseph	Victualler	PEATE, Thomas	Anglican Minister
BRUNT, Walter	Cowkeeper	PILKINGTON, George	Innkeeper
CHARLESWORTH, James	Farmer	SHIRLEY, Robert	Farmer
HAND, Harold	Farmer	SHIRLEY, William	Farmer
KIRKHAM, Ernest	Farmer	TORR, Joseph	Farmer
KIRKHAM, Joseph	Farmer	TORR, Thomas	Farmer
LOWNDS, Colin	Farmer	TURNER, Frederick	Farmer
LOWNDS, Robert	Farmer	WOODDISSE, John	Farmer

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE MUCKLESTONE SCHOOL BOARDS. 1875-1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
BEESTON, Frederick	Farmer	JACKSON, John	Farmer/Brick & Tile Manufacturer
BOURNE, John	Farmer	MARTIN, Caleb	Farmer
DUNN, Samuel	Farmer	MEADOWS, Joseph	Estate agent
FURNIVAL, Edwin	Farmer	READ, Richard	Farmer
FURNIVAL, Stephen	Farmer	SIMPSON, James	Farmer
HARGREAVES, John	Gentleman	THORNHILL, Thomas	Farmer
HINCHLIFFE, Edmund	Anglican Minister	TOMPKIN, William	Gentleman
HOPE, Samuel	Builder	WOOD, William	Farmer

YEAR COMMENCING
JUNE

SEPT
1903

1875 1878 1881 1884 1887 1890 1893 1896 1899 1902

J. MEADOWS (JUN)											
S. FURNIVAL											
J. BOURNE											
J. JACKSON											
J. SIMPSON											
E. HINCHLIFFE											
R. READ											
W. TOMKIN											
J. HARGREAVES											
S. HOPE											
W. WOOD											
E. FURNIVAL											
F. BEESTON											
S. DUNN											
C. MARTIN											
T. THORNHILL											
CLERKS											
W. HILL											
V. HILL											

MUCKLESTONE SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1875 - 1903.

== CHAIRMAN

--- VICE-CHAIRMAN

YEAR COMMENCING
APRIL

1873

1876

1879

1882

1885

1888

1891

1894

1897

1900

SEPT
1903

E. PERRY												
O. BENNION												
F. CHAMBERS												
T. JAMES												
S. STUBBS												
H. WARD												
W. FINNEMORE												
W. TAVERNOR												
W. BYRD												
J. WALLIS												
S. FROST												
W. SILVESTER												
J. COLLIER												
CLERKS												
W. MORGAN												
F. WOOLLEY												
C. KNIGHT												

SEIGHFORD SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS & CLERKS. 1873 - 1903.

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CHAIRMAN

VICE-CHAIRMAN

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SEIGHFORD SCHOOL BOARDS, 1873-1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
BENNION, Owen	Farmer
BYRD, William	Farmer
CHAMBERS, Francis	Farmer
COLLIER, James	Farmer
FINNEMORE, William	Farmer
FROST, Samuel	Farmer
JAMES, Thomas	Farmer
PERRY, Edwin	Anglican minister
SILVESTER, William	Farmer
STUBBS, Samuel	Farmer
TAVERNOR, William	Miller
WALLIS, John	Farmer
WARD, Henry	Farmer

CAVERSWALL SCHOOL BOARDS. 1875 - 1902.

	Jan.	1875	1878	1881	1884	1887	1890	1893	1896	1899	1902
ARNOLD, Rev. B.		X	X								
CLAY, H.		X		X	X	X	X	X	X		
MARSON, H.		X	X	X							
SMITH, W.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
STIRRUP, J.		X									
HAWLEY, G.			X								
WALTERS, H.			X								
GODDARD, Rev. F.				X	X	X					
PARKER-JERVIS, J.				X	X						
PEDLEY, R.				X	X						
HART, M.					X	X					
MARSON, W.					X						
FORRESTER, W.							X				
HOLLINSON, W.							X				
JONES, R.							X	X	X		
OAKLEY, J.							X	X	X	X	X
ROPER, I.							X				
ADDENBROOKE, Rev. J.								X		X	X
FOSTER, H.								X			
WEAVER, T.								X			
CAREY, Rev. J.									X		
SHERWIN, G.									X		
SLINN, J.									X	X	X
DERBYSHIRE, W.										X	X
GREAVES, G.										X	X
HEATH, T.										X	X
SMITH, E.										X	X
KNIGHT, J.											X

Membership increased to 7. Complete list not available

Complete list not available

NORTON IN THE MOORS SCHOOL BOARDS, 1876-1900.

FEB.	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900
DEANE, J.H.	X	X	X	X	X	X			
HEATH (Jun). R.	X	X	X	X					
LEWIS, B.	X	X	X	X					
OULSNAM, T.	X	X	X						
PASS(?), J.	X								
WALKER, R.	X								
WILKINSON, T.	X								
IRVING, R.		X							
MOUNTFORD, S. +		X						X	X
WILLETT, T.		X							
FEARON, Rev. T.			X			X	X		
MOLYNEUX, Rev. G.			X						
WALKER, P.			X						
KIRKLAND, A.				X	X	X	X		
ROBINSON, T.				X	X				
UNDERHILL, Rev. P.				X	X				
WILLATT, F.				X	X	X	X	X	X
MURPHY, T.					X				
MOSS, J.						X			
WAIN, E.						X	X	X	X
CAWLEY, S.							X		
EMBERTON, T.							X		
FARBROTHER, Rev. F.							X	X	X
DEANE, J.W.								X	X
MITCHELL, G.								X	X
WALKER, E.								X	X

+ It is possible that this is father and son.

ONECOTE SCHOOL BOARDS, 1878 - 1902.

MAY	1878	1881	1884	1887	1890	1893	1896	1899	1902
CALDER, Rev. W.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
COOK, T.	X								
HARRISON, T.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
MOSS, W.	X	X							
NAYLOR, R.	X	X							
COOK, W.		X	X						
DEAVILLE, T.			X	X	X	X	X	X	
POYSER, H.			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BURNETT, J.				X	X	X	X	X	
MORRIS, Rev. J.									X
BARBER, T.									X
FINNEY, W.									X
PRINCE, W.									X
TIMMIS, Rev. W.									X

WARSLOW AND ELKSTONES SCHOOL BOARDS, 1875 -1899.

NOV.	1875	1878	1881	1884	1887	1890	1893	1896	1899	1902
DEAVILLE, J.	X	X	X	X		X				
GOUGH, Rev. E.	X									
CRITCHLOW, J.		X	X	X		X	X	X		
MORLEY, Rev. S.		X	X	X		X		X	X	
SALT, J.		X	X	X				X	X	
SALT, J.			X	X						
EDGE, W.						X				
LEECH, T.										
GRINDON, R.								X	X	
NAYLOR, R.									X	
FOWLER, B.									X	
GRINDON, W.									X	
Complete list not available					No list available		Complete list not available			No list available

APPENDIX 8.

THE MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES
OF CHEADLE, LEEK, NEWCASTLE AND STONE UNIONS,
1876 - 1903

CHEADLE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES. 1877 - 1903.

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
BILL, C.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
BLAGG, C.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BULLER, M.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
CARRINGTON, W.	X	X	X	X	X																						
COLVILLE, A.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X														
HAWLEY, G.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X														
MARSON, H.	X																										
PHILIPS, J.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
PRINCE, H.	X	X																									
SCARRATT, T.	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SHENTON, T.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
WAINE, J.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X																				
AVERILL, H.		X	X	X																							
SMITH, J.			X																								
SMITH, R.				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
COXON, W.				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
FOSTER, E.				X	X	X	X	X																			
OULSNAM, C.				X	X	X																					
ROUND, S.							X	X	X	X	X	X															
MORRIS, W.							X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BOLTON, A.														X	X	X	X	X									
HALLIDAY, T.															X	X											
HAMPSON, T.															X												
BOUCHER, A.															X	X	X	X	X	X							
PHILIPS, W.																				X	X						

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
YENDLEY, W.																	X	X									
AINSWORTH, W.																			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
HALL, T.																			X	X					X	X	
SMITH, J.E.																			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
TYRWHITT, C.																			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
VERNON, W.																			X	X	X	X	X				
BURTON, W.																						X	X				
PARKER, B.																						X	X				
ALMOND, E.																								X	X	X	X
BARBER, J.																			ONLY TEN LISTED	ONLY TEN LISTED	ONLY TEN LISTED	ONLY TEN LISTED	ONLY TEN LISTED		X	X	X
WHEAT, C.																								X	X	X	X
MAYNE, W.																									X	X	X
																								ONLY ELEVEN LISTED	ONLY ELEVEN LISTED	ONLY ELEVEN LISTED	ONLY ELEVEN LISTED

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CHEADLE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

COMMITTEE, 1877-1903.

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
AINSWORTH, W.	Farmer	MAYNE, W.	Anglican minister
ALMOND, E.	Colliery proprietor	MORRIS, W.	R.C. priest
AVERILL, H.	Farmer	OULSNAM, C.	Farmer
BARBER, J.	?	PARKER, B.	?
BILL, C.	Landowner	PHILIPS, J.	Tape manufacturer
BLAGG, C.	Solicitor	PHILIPS, W.	ditto
BOLTON, A.	Copper & brass manufacturer	PRINCE, H.	Farmer
BOUCHER, A.	Anglican minister	ROUND, S.	ditto
BULLER, Sir M.	Landowner	SCARRATT, T.	ditto
BURTON, W.	Gentleman	SHENTON, T.	Coal merchant
CARRINGTON, W.	Farmer	SMITH, E.	Farmer
COLVILLE, A.	Landowner	SMITH, J. (?)	ditto
COXON, W.	Farmer	SMITH, R.	Gentleman
FOSTER, E.	ditto	TYRWHITT, C.	Anglican minister
HALL, T.	ditto	VERNON, W.	Farmer
HALLIDAY, T.	Gentleman	WAINE, J.	ditto
HAMPSON, T.	ditto	WHEAT, C.	Shopkeeper
HAWLEY, G.	Sometime Town Clerk of Longton	YENDLEY, W.	Farmer
MARSON, H.	Farmer		

LEEK UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES, 1877 - 1903.

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
BROUGH, Joh.	X	X	X	X	X	X																					
BROUGH, Jos.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X																	
BURNETT, J.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X																				
CARTLEDGE, H.	X	X	X	X																							
FISHER, C.	X	X																									
HULME, T.	X	X																									
JOHNSON, H.	X																										
ROBINSON, J.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SHIRLEY, W.	X	X	X																								
SHUFFLEBOTHAM, J.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X														
SLEIGH, H.	X	X																									
WARDLE, H.	X																										
GOULD, R.		X	X	X																							
WATKIN, J.		X	X	X																							
BROCKLEHURST, P.			X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
BROSTER, W.			X																								
WARREN, G.			X					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
BROUGH, W.				X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X										
GRINDEY, J.				X	X	X	X	X	X	X																	
MILNER, R.				X																							
JONES, C.					X	X																					
OLIVER, J.					X	X																					
SHELDON, J.					X																						

LEEK UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES, 1877-1903 (continued 1)

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
SIMISTER, J.					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
BESWICK, J.						X	X																				
HEATON, R.							X																				
NICHOLSON, A.						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
TRAVIS, S.						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
WAIN, W.						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X														
HAMBLETON A.P.						X	X	X	X	X																	
KENT, P.						X	X	X	X	X																	
WORTHINGTON, E.										X																	
BAGSHAW, T.											X	X	X	X	X	X											
CLEMINSON, R.												X	X	X													
VERNON, J.												X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
PIMLOTT, W.												X	X	X				X	X	X							
HAMBLETON, A.J.												X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
WALLEY, S.												X	X	X													
COOPER, L.															X												
BATEMAN, E.																	X										
GRINDEY, T.																	X										
HEATH, R.																	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
BERMINGHAM, G.																	X						X				
CHADDOCK, F.																	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CLODD, Mary																	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				

[illegible]

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LEEK UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

COMMITTEES. 1877 - 1903.

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
BAGSHAW, T.	Farmer	KENT, P.	Gentleman
BAILEY, T.	ditto	KIRKHAM, I.	Farmer
BATEMAN, E.	ditto	MILLWARD, J.	ditto
BATKIN, W.	Greengrocer	MILNER, R.	Sewing silk manufacturer
BERMINGHAM, G.	Silk manufacturer	NICHOLSON, A.	ditto
BESWICK, J.	?	OLIVER, J.	Farmer
BROCKLEHURST, P.	Major landowner	OUISNAM, J.	ditto
BROSTER, W.	Silk manufacturer	PEATE, T.	Anglican minister
BROUGH, Joh	Sewing silk manufacturer	PHILLIPS, T.	Senior Army Officer
BROUGH, Jos.	Ditto	PIMLOTT, W.	Farmer
BROUGH, W.	ditto	ROBINSON, J.	Landowner
BROWN, J.	Farmer	SANDERSON, P.	? (sometime secretary of Bradley Green P.M. school)
BURNETT, J.	Landowner	SHELDON, J. +	Landowner
CARTLEDGE, H.	?	SHIRLEY, J.	Farmer
CHADDOCK, F.	?	SHIRLEY, W.	ditto
CLEMINSON, R.	Land agent & surveyor	SHUFFLEBOTHAM, I.	Farmer and Rate collector
CLODD, Miss M.	Spinster	SHUFFLEBOTHAM, J.	Farmer
COOPER, L.	Farmer	SHUKER, Mrs. ?	Housewife
FINNEY, C.	Landowner	SIMISTER, J.	Farmer
FISHER, C.	Farmer	SIMPSON, J.	ditto
GOULD, R.	ditto	SLEIGH, H.	Sewing silk manufacturer
GRINDEY, J.	ditto	TORR, S.	Farmer
GRINDEY, T.	ditto	TRAVIS, S.	Watchmaker
HAMBLETON, A.J.	ditto	TURNOCK, S.	Farmer
HAMBLETON, A.P.	ditto	VERNON, J.	?
HEATH, L.	ditto	WAIN, W.	Farmer
HEATH, R.	ditto	WALLEY, S.	ditto
HEATH, T.	ditto	WARDLE, J.	ditto
HEATON, R.	Gentleman	WARREN, G.	ditto
HULME, T.	Landowner	WATKIN, J.	?
JOHNSON, H.	Gentleman	WORTHINGTON, E.	Sewing silk manufacturer
JONES, C.	?	WORTHINGTON, P.	ditto

+ Sheldon J. was also sometime Professor of Agriculture at the Royal College of Agriculture, Cirencester.

NEWCASTLE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES, 1877 - 1903.

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
CAMPBELL, A.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X																			
GLOVER, G.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X												
GROCOT, J.	X	X	X								X																
HAMMOND, R.	X																										
MARTIN, E.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X													
SUTCLIFFE, H.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X													
WILSON, R.	X	X	X	X	X	X																					
WRIGHT, J.	X																										
GATER, J.		X	X	X													X	X	X								
HEATHCOTE, J.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X													
HOLLINS, M.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								
LAWRENCE, J.		X		X	X	X	X						X	X	X												
SNEYD, W.		X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X															
TWEMLOW, T.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
BOOTH, G.		X						X		X	X						X	X	X	X							
WILKINSON, R.				X	X	X	X	X		X							X	X	X	X	X	X					
PAULI, J.					X																						
SMITH, J.						X	X	X	X	X	X																
YONGE, V.						X	X	X																			
WRENCH, J.						X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
HUNT, G.								X																			
BEECH, C.									X																		
EDGE, T.									X																		

/continued...

NEWCASTLE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES, 1877 - 1903. (continued)

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
MELLARD, W.									X																		
RAWES, T.									X												X						
TOMKINSON, R.									X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
FAIRHURST, R.									X	X	X	X															
MAINWARING, P.									X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
WHITTAKER, R.												X										X	X	X	X	X	X
SNEYD, R.												X	X	X	X	X	X										
TURNER, W.												X	X														
BROWN, M.														X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
DALTRY, T.														X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
EDGE, S.														X	X	X	X										
COLCLOUGH, J.															X				X								
WOOD, R.																			X								
CORBETT, Sarah																				X							
WASHINGTON, Sarah																				X							
BILLINGTON, J.																					X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BILLINGTON, W.																					X						
SETTLE, J.																					X						
CRITCHLOW, J.																						X	X	X	X	X	X
HULSE, T.																						X	X	X	X	X	X
BOOTHBY, H.																							X	X	X	X	X

/continued..... (2)

CADMAN, J.

STONIER, G.

78

79

1880

91

82

83

78

85

86

87

88

89

1890

91

92

93

94

95

96

97

99

10

01



03

Only eight listed

Only ten listed

Only nine listed

Only eight listed

Only ten listed

Only ten listed

Only ten listed

Only ten listed

Only eleven listed

Only eleven listed

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE NEWCASTLE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

COMMITTEES. 1877 - 1903

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
BEECH, C.	Auctioneer	LAWRENCE, J.	Farmer
BILLINGTON, J.	Farmer	MAINWARING, P.	Anglican minister
BILLINGTON, W.	ditto	MARTIN, E.	Land agent
BOOTH, G.	ditto	MELLARD, W.	Ironmonger
BOOTHBY, H.	Land agent	PAULI, J.	Anglican minister
BROWN, M.	Farmer	RAWES, T.	Farmer
CADMAN, J.	Coal & Iron Co. General Manager	SETTLE, J.	Managing Director Madeley Coal & Iron Co.
CAMPBELL, A.	Land agent	SMITH, J.	Farmer
COLCLOUGH, J.	Farmer	SNEYD, R.	Landowner
CORBETT, Mrs. S.	Married woman	SNEYD, W.	ditto
CRITCHLOW, J.	Farmer	STONIER, G.	Shopkeeper
DALTRY, T.	Anglican minister	SUTCLIFFE, H.	Anglican minister
EDGE, S.	Gentleman	TOMKINSON, R.	Farmer
EDGE, T.	Haberdasher	TURNER, W.	?
FAIRHURST, R.	Farmer	TWEMLOW, T.	Landowner
GATER, J.	Gentleman	WASHINGTON, Mrs.S.	Married woman
GLOVER, G.	Farmer	WHITTAKER, R.	Farmer
GOODALL, W.	Grocer	WILKINSON, R.	ditto
GROCOTT, J.	Gentleman	WILSON, R.	ditto
HAMMOND, R.	Farmer	WOOD, R.	Colliery owner
HEATHCOTE, J.	Ironmaster	WRENCH, J.	Farmer
HOLINS, M.	Tile manufacturer	WRIGHT, J.G.	Farmer
HULSE, G.	Farmer	YONGE, V.	Anglican minister
HUNT, G.	ditto		

STONE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES. 1877 - 1903.

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
EDWARDS, E.	X	X	X				X																				
FITZHERBERT, B.	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									X
HADDERTON, H.	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X															
HAMBLETON, A.P.	X																										
JOULE, J.	X	X																									
LOCKER, W.	X	X	X				X	X	X																		
MELLOR, G.	X	X	X																								
SALT, E.	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SWIFT, G.	X	X	X				X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
WILEMAN, J.	X	X									X	X															
YATES, S.	X																										
YONGE, V.	X																										
BLEST, J.		X																									
COOPER, H.		X																									
LYON, E.			X																								
MEAKIN, J.			X				X	X																			
SHEMILT, J.			X																								
SMITH, T.			X																								
WESTRAY, T.			X															X	X	X	X	X					
BEECH, A.										X																	
BOURNE, J.									X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
KENDERDINE, R.									X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					

ONLY ELEVEN LISTED

STONE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEES, 1877 - 1903 (continued 1)

	1877	78	79	1880	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	1890	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03
KENDRICK, J.							X	X	X							X	X	X									
ROBINSON, T.							X	X	X	X																	
CLEGG, J.							X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X											
EVANS, A.							X	X	X	X																	
PLANT, H.							X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X													
SALT, S.							X			X	X																
THOMPSON, W.							X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
CHEW, (Sen). J.												X	X	X	X				X								
MINTON-SENHOUSE, H.												X															
WRIGHT, J.												X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BASNET, J.												X	X	X	X	X	X										
COPELAND, R.												X	X	X													
JOHNSTONE, R.																X											
VYLE, H.																X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SALMON, J.																	X	X									
KITCHENER, F.																		X									
BAILEY, J.																			X								
BOOTH, W.																			X	X							
DARLINGTON, E.																			X	X	X	X	X				
JOHNSON, F.																			X	X	X						
KELSALL, J.																			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

/continued...(2)

[illegible]

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE STONE UNION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

COMMITTEES, 1877 - 1903

(No details are included for the years 1880, 1881 and 1882 as the records for these years are missing).

<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
BAILEY, S.	Farmer	LINE, J.	Anglican minister
BASNET, J.	ditto	LOCKER, W.	Landowner
BEECH, A.	Draper	LYON, E.	Landowner
BENNISON, W.	Farmer	MEAKIN, J.	China manufacturer
BLAKEMAN, W.	Butcher	MELLOR, G.	Farmer
BLEST, J.	Farmer	MINTON-SENHOUSE,	
BOOTH, W.	ditto	H.	China manufacturer
BOURNE, J.	Landowner	MYATT, R.	?
BREWARD, C.	Farmer	PEAKE, W.	Farmer
CHEW, J.	Gentleman	PIGGOTT, H.	Baker & confection- er
CLEGG, J.	Anglican minister	PLANT, H.	Farmer
COOPER, H.	Farmer	PRICE, J.	R.C. priest
COPELAND, R.	Landowner	ROBINSON, J.	Solicitor
DARLINGTON, E.	Farmer	SALMON, J.	Gentleman
EDWARDS, E.	Anglican minister	SALT, E.	Anglican minister
EVANS, A.	Ironmonger	SALT, S.	ditto
FITZHERBERT, B.	Landowner	SHEMILT, D.	Farmer
FRITH, W.	Anglican minister	SHEMILT, J.	ditto
HADDERTON, H.	Farmer	SMITH, T.	Gentleman
HAMBLETON, A.P.	ditto	SWIFT, G.	Farmer
HOCKNELL, A.	ditto		
JOHNSON, F.	Congregational Minister	THOMPSON, W.	Master brewer
JOHNSTONE, R.	Anglican minister	TOON, H.	Farmer
JOULE, J.	Beer manufacturer	VYLE, H.	Draper
KEISALL, J.	Gentleman	WESTRAY, T.	Farmer
KENDERDINE, R.	ditto	WILEMAN, J.	Earthenware manufacturer
KENDRICK, J.	ditto	WRIGHT, J.	Farmer
KITCHENER, F.	Retired headmaster Newcastle High school	YATES, S.	Wine & Spirit merchant
LEEDAM, A.	Farmer	YONGE, V.	Anglican minister

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(2) Newspapers:-

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(3) Contemporary Journals:-

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(4) Manuscripts:-

General

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Ed.2. Parish Files

Ed.16. L.E.A. Supply Files.

These files contain reports and recommendations of the Inspector of Returns made by local authorities as part of the Educational Census provided for by Section 67 of the 1870 Education Act. These reports give details of population in North Staffordshire and of school accommodation available and needed. The files also contain copies of School Accommodation Notices issued by the Education Department; Supply Agenda Forms and other Supply Forms; general correspondence and papers concerning accommodation, provision of new schools,

enlargement and closure of existing schools, election of school boards and transfer of schools to such boards.

- Ed.6. These files contain papers relating to the formation and business of the Union School Attendance Committees.
- Ed.7. These files contain the 'Preliminary Statement' which was completed when the promoters of a school were applying to have it placed on the Annual Grant List. The form includes details of the tenure of the school, dates of erection of school building and the establishment of the school.
- Ed.18. These Attendance Files include by-laws authorised under the Elementary Education Act 1870, exemption certificates, 'half-time' requirements, and the operation of the Factory Acts in relation to school attendance.
- Ed.20. Includes applications under the terms of the 1900 Minute which recognised Higher Elementary schools.
- Ed.21. Contains records relating to individual public elementary schools. The file includes information about enlargements, amalgamations, closures, transfers to school boards, and papers relating to the Adequacy of accommodation and measures taken to effect improvements.
- Ed.53. L.E.A. files: Secondary. These files are concerned with post-elementary education and include papers referring to higher-grade elementary schools.
- Ed.57. Pupil Teacher Centre Files. They contain proposals for establishment of such centres, applications for loans to cover cost of building and enlargement of premises and sites.
- Ed.103. Building Grant Application file - includes applications for grants from Council for the building and enlargement of schools.

Local

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