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V O L U N T A R Y E F F O R T

IN ENGLISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1846 to 1870.

V O L U M E I I .

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CONTAINS MAPS.

CHAPTER 8.SCHOOL FINANCE

By 20th. century standards the atmosphere in Victorian elementary schools was one of stark penury. But to view them from this angle is misleading - the comparison should rather be with what was thought appropriate for the poor at the beginning of the 19th. century. Perhaps the best proof of success of the Kay-Shuttleworth policy was that it led school managers to set their sights higher than every before, often higher than could be reached with the resources which they could reasonably expect to command. This was true not only of the managers of inspected schools, but of conscientious trustees of endowed schools, like the Ishams of Lamport, and even of people like Hawker of Morwenstow, who were unconvinced by the advocates of progress but who felt that they must do something, if only to avert criticism.¹ Since the days of the Newcastle Commission it has been customary to contrast the well-ordered public elementary school with the wretched private school, run for profit; but it is perhaps more illuminating to compare it with those old-fashioned parochial schools, unaffected by government, whose accounts are sometimes to be found in Record

1. Seaborne and Isham, op.cit.; C.E. Byles, op.cit., p.344, 'I do not in my heart approve of the modern system of National Schools...when the children are instructed in branches of knowledge to which I hardly had access at Oxford, this is unnatural and therefore wrong.'

Offices. Such schools eschewed progress and jogged peacefully along, paying their teachers £10 or £15 a year, teaching reading and a little writing, spending almost nothing on books and equipment and usually having a comfortable annual excess of income over expenditure. Retribution overtook them in the '70s, but in the meantime their financial problems were negligible compared with those of their more ambitious contemporaries.² To these we must now turn.

BUILDING

The number of schoolhouses still surviving from this period is an indication of the amount of building that took place. That it was, indeed, easier to raise money for building than for maintenance is indicated by the refusal of the Education Department to make building grants unless there was a proposed income of at least 10/- per child.³ People who would not subscribe regularly could often be induced to make a donation for a special purpose; and it does not appear that the expense of building was more than the equivalent of 4 or 5 years' income at most in the early years, although it increased later. A few figures taken from

2. Examples - Aldworth (Berks R.O.); Wadebridge (Cornwall R.O.); Lydlirch Grindon (Durham R.O.); Croston (Lancs. R.O.); Saddington (Leics. R.O.); Ford (Salop. R.O.); Holton St. Mary, Wenhaston (E. Suffolk R.O.); Mauld's Meaburn, Roughill (Archives, Kendal).
 3. Minutes, 1848-50, v. I, p. xxx.

school records will give some indication of costs - St. Peter's Chesil, Winchester, £200 in 1840; Hurst and Ruscombe, for 170 children, £783.13.10d. in 1843; Longdon-on-Tern, for 60 children, £203.16s in 1848; Kirtling, £348.9.6d, in 1850; King's Bromley, for 50 infants, £150 in 1850; Dudleston, for 50 children, £290 in 1852. Later examples are Whittlesford, 156 children, £800 in 1859; Etherley, £620 in 1860; Washington, £890.18.9¹/₄d. in 1860; Kirkley, Lowestoft, for 200 children, £900 in 1869. Occasionally the expenditure was more lavish. In 1847 the cost of Painswick school, for 380 children, was £1568.11.4d. (this is the handsome building which graces the main street). The village school at Tattenhall cost £1222.10s. in 1853 and the three schools of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, £3195.19.6d. in 1859; while the Faversham Building Committee with its guaranteed £4500, could in 1851 afford to accept a tender of £4303.⁴

Faversham, of course, had no problems; but where did the money come from in other cases? Documents of the period are full of laments over the failure of landowners and industrialists to accept their responsibilities, confirming the usual assumption that it took the threat of a School Board

4. St. Peter, Chesil, (Hants R.O.); Hurst & Ruscombe; Sutherland Papers; Kirtling; King's Bromley (Staffs.R.O.); Dudleston (Salop.R.O.); G.N.Maynard MSS.v.6, Etherley, Washington (Durham, R.O.); Suffolk Society, Box; Painswick, M.B; Tattenhall, M.B.; St Chad, Shrewsbury; Faversham Building Committee. M.B.,

to make them up. But as has been shown in chapter 2 there were many exceptions; a sizeable number of schools were built at the sole expense of one person or one family. Sometimes they were part of a larger project of moral regeneration like the building of St. Stephen's, Westminster, on which Miss. Burdett-Coutts spent in all £90,000, or the rather similar complex of church, baths, washhouses and schools established by Sir Benjamin Heywood in Miles Platting.⁵ Some of the property owners who accepted the responsibility for providing schools on their estates have already been encountered in the course of this study, and others can be identified in the official tables in the Minutes of the Committee of Council. Of the various branches of the Sutherland family, the Duke built schools at Lilleshall, Sheriffhales and Longdon-on-Tern; Lord Granville at his Shelton Iron Works and at Shifnal and Lord Ellesmere at Worsley and Walkden.⁶ Other examples may be found in studies of particular localities - the Smith family of Woodhall Park in Hertfordshire, Sir Tatton Sykes, Lord Hotham, Lord Wenlock and Lord Londesborough in Yorkshire, Lord Yarborough in Lincolnshire, the Strutt family in Derbyshire.⁷ Nor were all these individually provided

5. B.M., Add. MSS. 46406B, pp. 85-93; Leatherbarrow, op.cit., p. 49.

6. Sutherland Papers; P.R. O. 30/29, Box 23, Part 1, 1-11-51, 30.6.56; Leatherbarrow, op.cit., p. 17.

7. Journal of Educational Administration, Dec. 1968, p. 10; Bamford, op.cit., pp. 10-11, 20-21; J. Lawson, Primary Education in E. Yorkshire, 1959, p. 17; R.C. Russell, op.cit., p. 68; above, pp. 14-15.

schools Anglican. Unitarians like R.N.Philips or Miss. Martineau naturally established British schools; so did the Congregationalist, Titus Salt and the Quaker John Warner, who built the Hoddesdon British schools at his 'sole expense' in 1842; while occasional Methodist millowners like the Town-ends of Cullingworth financed the building of Wesleyan schools. In addition, some of the landed gentry founded British schools out of conviction - Lord Yarborough, for example, Stewart Majoribanks at Folkestone and Bushey, Sir Charles Bunbury at Mildenhall and Lord Zetland three schools on his estates in the North Riding.⁸

However, National or British, such schools were in a minority. More often landowners took the commonsense view of the Tomkinsons of Acton in 1848 and looked for aid. 'Miss Tomkinson will give what is required, but hopes to receive a aid from the National Society.'⁹ The most obvious and reliable source was, of course, the Parliamentary grant, which in the middle '50s could be claimed for half the estimated outlay provided the rest was raised by local subscription, and provided the grant did not exceed 6/- per square foot. These limits became progressively more stringent,

8. Hoddesdon, M.B., 1842; W.E.C., A.R., 1854, p.32; B.F.S., A.R., 1851, pp.66-7; 1856, p.63; 1858, p.51; Bunbury, Zetland in official tables.

9. N.S.Files, Acton, 29.12.48.

until by the time of the Revised Code, in addition to other restrictions, the figure had become 2/6d. per square foot. As has been seen, until the conscience clause controversy, the regulations governing the grant do not appear to have discouraged applications. At Kirtling, for instance, the patrons, who were fanatically determined to keep the 'entire Management' in the hands of the clergyman, lost the grant, not because of this attitude, but because they only applied for it after building had begun.¹⁰ Only a limited number of unofficial grants were available to non-Anglican schools; but provided Anglicans accepted National Society conditions,¹¹ they could rely on aid from this source. Armitstead stated in 1851 that between the Committee of Council and the National Society, promoters of schools could expect to receive £1. per child.¹² Sometimes relatively large grants were made by diocesan boards - Kirtling, for example, managed to get £50. from the Cambridge Board on the strength of its disappointment over the government grant; but increasingly as time went on the boards put most of their limited means into maintenance grants.¹³

10. Minutes, 1853-4, v. 1, p. 9; 1855-6, p. 5; 1858-9, pp. xv-xvi; 1859-60, p. xxv; 1861-2, pp. xviii-xxi; Kirtling, 14.2.49; N.S. Files, Kirtling.

11. There was a lengthy correspondence over safeguarding the site at Kirtling, as the owner was a minor whose guardians were the promoters.

12. Armitstead, Parochial Papers, 2, p. 91.

13. Other examples of diocesan grants - Painswick, £80; Kirkley, Lowestoft, £50; Beaminster, £40; Washington, £25; St Chad, Shrewsbury, £15.

Before any of these grants were made, however, the promoters had to have received promises of subscriptions. Someone, in other words, had to set the thing going. Bridport British infant and industrial schools, for instance, were launched by Mrs. Elizabeth Lee, who issued an ingenuous appeal to the town for support and then handed the affair over to her nephews, with £1000 as the first subscription. The British school at Ipswich owed its rebuilding and virtual refoundation to an enthusiastic meeting of Voluntaryists in 1847, at which the congregations of various chapels promised subscriptions amounting to £886.13s.¹⁴ In Anglican schools, the initiative almost invariably came from the clergyman; and the phraseology of appeals for funds reflects not only the different approaches possible, but also the personalities of the writers. Some were highly Scriptural:-

'With regard to each child in Stanhope, God says to all the inhabitants what the daughter of Pharoah said to the mother of Moses, "Take this child and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages" Ex.2c.9v....In all such works of faith, where pecuniary aid is required the Bible plainly tells us "He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully... "' 11Cor,9a6v.'

14. Bridport Correspondence; Ipswich Br.,16.3.47. I have found no evidence as to Wesleyan building - but frequently existing Sunday schools were used - e.g. Deal,11.6.52.

Sometimes they were almost threatening:-

'Opinions may differ as to whether the demand of the present day for Education be wise or unwise, excessive or not. But there can be no doubt about this, that Education, good or bad, WILL BE HAD...It is therefore only, for us, a question whether we will supply the good, and so preoccupy the ground.'

sometimes practical:-

'You are doubtless aware of the very substantial aid...which has been for years given to schools by the Committee of Privy Council...Thousands of schools are enjoying this great benefit, and we see no reason why our Parish should not avail itself of the same.'

and sometimes they reflected current parochial squabbles:-

'And the subscribers may rest assured that no part of their contributions, intended for the New Schools, will be devoted to the enlargement of the Church Yard, or procuring better approaches to the Church...' 15

They sometimes optimistically included calculations as to how much individuals might be expected to give,¹⁶ and were supplemented by lengthy and at times abject appeals to persons of importance in the neighbourhood.¹⁷ The making of these appeals must have been one of the most unpleasant tasks of all. It invited snubs,¹⁸ and, even when it produced

15. Appeal, Weardale Schools, 1868; Goudhurst, 1861; Haughton-le-Skerne, 1858; St. John, Blackburn, 1853 (N.S.Files).

16. Kirtling, draft appeal; Etherley.

17. King's Bromley; Tanfield, Appeals, Appendix D - these are reproduced as they put forward almost every argument adduced in the period for supporting schools; cp. H.S. Toy, A History of Education at Launceston, 1967, pp. 300-1.

18. E.g. Minutes, 1861-2, p. 30; R. C. Russell, op. cit., p. 69.

results, ungracious comments, some of which have survived. John Lane of Goldsmith's Hall, the squire's brother, gave £30 to King's Bromley infant school, after an appeal from the parson, but remarked "...experience has taught me that where too much is done for Children, parents frequently become careless dissatisfied and independent when spoken to on any misconduct - we find this in London". A Dr. Webb (who 'talks by the hour about Education') wrote to the curate of Kirtling, 'I may give a small donation but I must decline to give an annual subscription. The school when erected ought to support its Master'.

Conscientious landowners and employers recognised a duty to subscribe which transcended religious denominations.¹⁹ Such subscriptions were of two kinds - moderate sums of £5 or £10 from bishops (who had to give to everything), or from local grandees with no special interest in education or the parish,²⁰ and much larger ones from individuals strongly interested in one or the other. There may at times have been ulterior motives behind this generosity. Dr. Hurt has called attention to a possible connection in Hertford

19. A dissenter subscribing to a National school - Rushall Butts (Hatherton Papers); a Catholic (Acton) P.R.O., 30/29, Box 23, Part 1, 21.5.55.

20. E.g. Beaminster, Lord Eldon, £5, Henry Hoare, £10; Whittlesford, Duke of Leeds, £10, Bishop of Ely, £10; Etherley, Duke of Cleveland, £10, Bishop of Durham £5; Polebrook, Duke of Buccleuch £10. (N.S. Files - I owe the Polebrook references to Miss. C. Saunders).

between educational provision and a desire to influence voters who could not, like those of some neighbouring towns, be bribed. The incumbent of Launceston could appeal with some confidence to the Duke of Northumberland, who had already given a site (worth £70) and 50 guineas, to pay off a debt of £57 on the National school, because he was the patron of the parliamentary borough.²¹ But in general the motive was in many cases genuine interest (thus, two members of the Cox family, one a colonel and the other a local solicitor, gave £300 between them towards the girls' school at Beaminster in 1865); or, more simply, living up to what was expected of persons of the upper classes. Mineowners, for example, contributed largely to some Durham schools (£100 to Etherley school from Henry Stobart & Co.; £50 each from the London Lead Co., the London Iron Co. and Beaumont & Co., to Stanhope); the Feildens, cotton magnates, gave two subscriptions of £100 and 100 guineas to St. John's, Blackburn, and the Duke of Sutherland and Lord Hatherton spent considerable sums on furnishing teachers' houses.²²

Occasionally other sources could be tapped. The Admiralty, in spite of its reputation for stinginess, gave £200. towards the infant school at St. John's, Chatham; where

21. Journal of Educational Administration, Dec. 1968, pp. 11-12; Toy, *loc. cit.*

22. References as above; £89.1.2d. on furnishing master's house at Tittensor (Trentham estate accounts, 1857); for Hatherton, see Appendix C.

there were church estates the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would produce something - £10 at Beaninster, for example, £250 and the site at Stanhope; the energetic Gregory got £500 out of the South London Church Extension Fund for his schools in Lambeth in 1865; and the parson of Whittlesford, a few miles from Cambridge, persuaded forty resident members of the University to subscribe to his building fund!²³

The chief omission in most subscription lists is any evidence of an attempt to reach the pockets of the working man. Sometimes as at Haughton-le-Skerne, this was deliberately emphasised, to justify the charging of fees - 'For this purpose not one penny has come from the Parents of the Children, or the Poor'. Doubtless in most areas this would have been the only possible line to take, but there are indications that in a few places more might have been obtained from this source. Workmen in Hull raised £280 towards the new St. Paul's school by working overtime; 104 colliery workmen contributed £16.12s. to Tanfield school in County Durham; and a teacher in Lancashire raised £257.13.9d. from parents and former pupils towards building new schools in 1859. The unique qualities of King's Somborne are illustrated by the fact that in 1856, when extensions were needed, the parish, with only five objectors, agreed to a 6d.

23.N.C., v.3, pp.76-7; St. John, Chatham, M.B., 5.2.62; Beaninster, building papers; Stanhope (Weardale Schools); N.S.Files, St. Mary, Lambeth; the South London Fund was a development of the Southwark Fund (above, p 132); Whittlesford, above note 4. His subscription list makes impressive reading, including Selwyn, Grote, Butler and J.B.Lightfoot.

rate which raised £125 towards the cost.²⁴

Before concluding this account of how subscriptions were raised, we should perhaps look at the techniques of William Rogers, the most accomplished clerical beggar of all. By the time he left his disreputable district, he had extracted from the Education Department £9343.14.8d. in grants for the building and improvement of his schools, over £6000 more than anyone else on the official list. £5909 of this was an exceptional two-thirds grant for the Golden Lane school, but even allowing for that, the figures mean that he must have collected at least £6389 in subscriptions. 'I tried in turn every society, corporation, livery company, charity, and fund in London, and I dunned my private friends till I was ashamed to look them in the face'. He made them attend dinners at which they exhorted each other, in the words of Stafford Northcote, to 'rally round Rogers' and produce subscriptions. He even got £5 out of Lingen! He extracted £100 from the Bank of England and another £100 from the Governors of Charterhouse. We have already seen how skilfully he attracted publicity to his schools; he took trouble to keep the great men's attention, writing periodically to Granville, for example, to report progress; and, long before American salesmen, he realised the value of the 'personalised' approach. By this means he collected

24. Haughton-le-Skerne, 7.6.59; N.C., v.3, p.244; Tanfield (note on back of appeal); Minutes, 1856-7, p.471; 1859-60, pp.96-7.

£30 from boys at Eton, £14.6s. from the Charterhouse boys, £8.6s. from students at King's College, and, amongst his friends, extracted subscriptions from every member of the family, including children - seven Farrers, for instance, seven Pryors, and five Hoares. Even after a century his cheerful, unsanctimonious style is very beguiling. His assumption that everyone's duty would be as obvious to them as it was to him carries entire conviction. Had every parson been a Rogers, there might have been no need for the 1870 Act! ²⁵

For, in the last resort, even the building of schools depended on the clergy. Rogers lived in a state of near insolvency while his were being erected - 'I am desperately hard up', he wrote in 1852, 'the builder is dunning me with a hundred Boulogne power and my banker refuses to advance the money as I expected he would do'.²⁶ More conventional clergy with family responsibilities dared not go so far, but the evidence is overwhelming that they contributed to school building far more than their fair share - this, presumably, is one reason why relatively few British as compared with National schools were built. Exact figures are not easy to come by, since,

25. Figures in official tables; Hadden, *op.cit.*, pp.62-3; N.S. Files, St. Thomas, Charterhouse; P.R.0.30/29, Box 19, Part 1, 17.11.56, 24.2.57; Box 23, Part 2, 4.2.53; see also Rogers' pamphlets, cited chapter 5, note 4.

26. N.S. Files, St. Thomas, Charterhouse, 21.7.52.

to their credit, parsons did not generally advertise their gifts, but a few examples may be given:- Canon Fry, in addition to all his other contributions to education, spent over £600, which would otherwise have been used for his son's education, on building two schools in Leicester; The vicar of Polebrook, Northamptonshire, subscribed £60. to his new schools in 1865 and added a note to the balance sheet sent to the National Society, that he would take responsibility for the deficit; the rector of Tattenhall, with a living valued at £277.p.a., subscribed £214.10s. to the building fund during 1853-4; and the admirable Mr. Hartley of Child's Wickham, a living worth £246.p.a., spent £525 on building the village school.²⁷ Many clergymen, of course, had substantial private incomes, but when it is remembered that the school was only one of the calls upon their pockets, the amount that they contributed is seen to have been disproportionately large.

MAINTENANCE

When the school was opened and the fireworks let off²⁸, managers had to face the permanent problems of maintenance.

The information on this score seems at first sight plentiful,

27. Leicester Board, Appeal, pp. 13-14; N.S. Files, Polebrook; Tattenhall, correspondence, M.B.; Child's Wickham, see above p. 212.

28. Buckland Newton (Dorset R.O.) 14.10.57, for an opening - 'The rockets were not only brilliant, but powerful, and even caused some alarm to persons at a distance, who, never having seen anything of the kind, thought some wonderful event was about to happen'.

since in addition to managers' minutes, a large number of account books survive; but it cannot easily be interpreted, even in inspected schools, until the very end of the period, when the Education Department enforced the use of standard cash books. This was the result of an indictment of the business habits of school managers by the Department's accountant.²⁹ His conclusions, based upon visits to 44 schools selected as typical, were that expenditure was inadequately recorded, since managers frequently paid bills without charging them, or, conversely, charged for things which were not properly classed as school expenses (e.g. lighting and heating for evening functions in the schoolroom); that income was inadequately recorded, since grants, endowments and subscriptions were not properly distinguished and, as the children's pence were often part of the teacher's salary, they were in some cases kept by him and never entered at all; and that accounts were scarcely ever audited and frequently never closed. These conclusions will be fully endorsed by anyone who has tried to make sense of the little cash books and exercise books in which accounts were commonly kept before 1867. However, enough can be gleaned to make it worth attempting some comments based upon individual school records rather than the averages which are normally all that is to be found

29. Minutes, 1866-7, pp. xxxi-lvii.

in official records.

A. EXPENDITURE

In all accounts the largest item of expenditure, inevitably, is teachers' salaries. These are frequently undifferentiated, so that it is impossible to tell what proportion went to the master or mistress and what to underlings. We have already discussed, in chapter 5, the question of increases in salary, and the effects of the Revised Code upon the earnings of teachers and pupil teachers; all that will be done here, therefore, is to look at a few figures. In schools unaffected by progress, as we have seen, salaries were often no more than about £15 a year throughout. In the '40s, £15, £20, or £25. were common generally. Even in Painswick, a very advanced school, the teacher only received £35 and the pence. The Trustees of the Weaver Navigation were exceptional in paying their masters £60. each. There was a marked rise, in many uninspected as well as inspected schools, in the '50s when £50 to £60. became common in larger schools, rising to £80 or £90. in the most prosperous; and £40 to £50 in smaller. Joint masters and mistresses, even of country schools, could earn £60 or more. Mistresses' salaries settled at about £35 to £40 in girls' schools, £25 to £30 in infant schools and for probationers, and remained remarkably constant throughout the country (even in London)

and throughout the period: although a few large town schools paid more; Archbishop Tenison's School, Lambeth, for example, Leicester County and Derby British schools all gave their mistresses about £60. London salaries for men were slightly higher than most provincial ones. In the Bayswater National schools, for example, the masters earned £80 from the '40s onwards; and this sum was still attractive enough in 1867 to produce fourteen good applicants (including the former master of the Highbury Model School) for one post. Christ Church, Streatham gave £100. to a joint master and mistress as early as 1844; The masters at Islington and Lambeth were both offered £100. and a house in the '50s, at which time Rogers was paying £130. to the master at Goswell Street. The highest provincial figures amongst the records studied were in Manchester, £140. at Lower Moseley St., £125 at the Jews' School; £138 at Faversham, £110 at Ipswich Greycoat School in 1856 and at Waterside, Colne, in the late '60s, £105 at

Cannock, and £100 at Basingstoke.³⁰

In most cases, these figures represent a basic wage. In endowed schools it had for long been the practice to pay a salary for instructing the free scholars, leaving the master to make what he could from the others. This idea of giving the teacher a direct financial interest in the prosperity of the school was one which appealed to Victorians, and it was customary to give him or her some part of the pence. The amount is not always identifiable in accounts, for the reason given above, but it seems frequently to have been equivalent to a quarter or a fifth of the salary. A Certificated master had, before 1862, his grants and normally a portion of the capitation grant; later, he usually received a larger share of the general grant.

30. These and subsequent generalisations in this chapter are based on local records as follows:- Suffolk Society, Papers;

Hatherton Papers; Sutherland Papers; Weaver Navigation, Trustees' M.B.; and the following schools - in London; Archbishop Tenison's, Bayswater, Bermondsey, St. Andrew, Holborn, West Hackney, St. Mary, Islington, St. Mary, Lambeth, Christ Church, Streatham; Elsewhere; Aldermaston, Aldworth, Baldock, Basingstoke, Bray, Brome & Oakley, Burhan, St. John, Chatham, St. James, Clitheroe, Cockerham, Waterside, Colne, Deal, Deane, Derby Br., Downe, Dry Drayton, Dudleston, Dudleston Heath, Ellesmere, Ford, Frodsham, Great Ouseburn, Haughton-le-Skerne, Hoddesdon, Holton St. Mary, Hurst & Ruscombe, Ipstones, Ipswich Greycoat, Kenilworth, King's Langley, Kirtling, Leicester Co., Lindale, Manchester, Jews' school, Lower Moseley St., Maidenhead, West Malling, Mawnan, Middlewich, Painswick, Prees, Probus, Riverhead, Rode, Saddington, St. Stephen, Salford, St. Chad, Shrewsbury, Tattenhall, Tettenhall, Tewkesbury, Upton-on-Severn, Washington, Whittlesford, Whitwick, College St., Yalding; for Charterhouse, see Hadden, op.cit., p.60; Faversham, S.I.C.v.11, p.58. There is a dearth of information about Catholic schools; S.N.Stoke H.M.I. explained this as being due to a tradition of secrecy surviving from penal law days - Minutes, 1866-7, pp.293-4.

Before 1862 pupil teachers were, of course, cheaper to employ than monitors, since in theory they cost the managers nothing; but many schools record payments to monitors, who were often children waiting until they were old enough to be apprenticed. After 1862 paid monitors became universal in all but very poor schools, where they had to work for nothing. Sixpence a week was standard payment in the country; but in some places the law of supply and demand operated to push this up to 1/- or even 2/6d. Assistants were a motley collection; some, like the senior assistant at St. Mary's, Lambeth, who was offered £60, earned more than many masters, while others were almost indistinguishable from monitors, especially girls like M. Robinson, who received 8d. a week at Castle St., Kendal. (When she asked for a rise, the ladies replied candidly that they agreed 8d. was insufficient, but it was all that funds would allow).³¹

School accounts make it obvious why country managers preferred a master who was married and whose wife could be made useful, since a sewing mistress added £5. or even £10. a year to maintenance costs. Impecunious or stingy committees tried to make the teacher or the children do the cleaning, and fought a running war with resentful parents, who objected even when it was dignified with the name of 'industrial work'.³²

31. Castle St., Kendal, M.B.20.1.48, 8.6.48. They later agreed to pay 1/-.

32. The most alarming example is Crowle, 29.11.67-'Industrial work. Put some chloride of lime down the Closets'.

Sometimes the children were paid;³³ sometimes a woman was employed (who in Salford charged the exorbitant figure of 10/- a month); but in general, little was paid and little was done, as a casual entry in the log book of St. Thomas's Winchester, suggests:-

16th. July 1868-'The large cobweb over the clock which has been there for many years fell yesterday with a great crash during school hours, owing to its being loaded with dust. A boy narrowly escaped being struck'.

It might have been expected that the next largest item of expenditure would be books and equipment, but in many schools in the first half of the period this was not so. These years saw a transition which, though the motives behind it were mixed, must have been wholly to the advantage of education. In the early part of the century managers had learnt from Bell and Lancaster to bribe children with rewards and tickets, and from the charity schools to bribe them with clothing; and in the late '40s many were still spending a substantial part of their income in this way. St. John's, Chatham, for example, at a period of considerable financial stringency, was giving weekly rewards of 4d. to a number of boys - every quarter several boys got such a sum 7, 8 or even 9 times. A more extreme instance is found at Hurst and Ruscombe school, Berkshire, where, in 1845, £2.2.10d. went on ticket money, £13.9.4½d. on clothes and only £3.15.2½d. on

33. E.g. Prees (Salop. R. O.), 2/- per month.

books, pens and stationery. Ten years later the practice continued-in 1855, £10.2.6d. was spent on clothing as against £1.6.8d. on books; but it was dropped in 1857. Most managers appear to have abandoned the provision of clothing in the '50s., both as an obvious way of saving money, and to encourage membership of the parochial clothing club, which was held to promote thrift and forethought. It was probably a misfortune for London schools that the clothing of children seems to have persisted longer there than anywhere except very remote country parishes - partly because the committees had relatively large funds, partly because they feared competition³⁴ and therefore continued to spend on clothes money which might have been much better spent on educational improvement. Even in London, however, the practice was gradually going out of fashion in enlightened educational circles. The committee of St. Mary's, Islington, dropped it in 1856, when they had to undertake rebuilding, and Gregory used the Revised Code as an excuse to abandon it in Lambeth. When it survived elsewhere in the country, it was usually not as a charge upon school funds, but as an expression of the benevolence of the great house - as at Trentham, where the Duchess of Sutherland gave the schoolgirls scarlet cloaks, trimmed with ribbon braid, every second year and straw hats each summer.³⁵

34. Hackney Par., Ladies Committee, M.B., 2.8.47 - 'Margaret Ketteridge is taken from the school to be placed in the Unitarian School, as they give more clothing'.

35. Trentham estate accounts, Sutherland Papers.

It is difficult to judge the adequacy of expenditure on books in any given school unless we know its size. The lists in Appendix C show how meagre was the provision thought necessary on opening. Where we have statistics, the figures seem to vary between 6d. and 2/6d. per child, annually.

Trentham girls' school, with about 40 on roll, and no financial worries, spent on books and stationery, over 12 years:-

	£	s	d		£	s	d
1857	3	5	4	1863	1	14	2
1858	1	0	10	1864	8	2	2
1859	4	1	11	1865	10	0	6
1860	3	5	2	1866	6	14	2
1861	2	6	6	1867	5	7	6
1862	6	19	9	1868	5	10	6

figures which at least illustrate the annual variations and a tendency, visible in a number of cases, for the amount to increase in later years. Books were normally used as long as they held together. An Anglican parson, who had inadvertently bought a set of Catholic history books because they seemed about the right price on the Education Department's list, told H.M. Inspector that though he disapproved of them, they would only be replaced when they wore out.³⁶ On rare occasions we can trace the impact of new ideas. An organizing master caused Tattenhall school committee to spend £15.8.3d, on books in

36. Other examples - Holy Trinity, Ipswich, average attendance, 160, £12.1.6d. in 1859; Bray, 24/- for 20 free boys in 6 months in 1847; Brome, 63 children, £4.4.4³/₄d; and Debenham, average attendance, 75, £4.16.7¹/₂d in 1866. (Suffolk Society, Papers, Bray (Berks.R.O.), Brome & Oakley, Trentham estate accounts); Minutes, 1859-60, p.71.

1843-4; and as soon as Gregory had investigated the Lambeth Parochial School he persuaded the managers to authorise the purchase of:- 4 dozen new Bibles for the 1st and 2nd classes; 3 dozen miscellaneous reading books for the 2nd class; geography and grammar books to be sold half price to each boy in the 1st and 2nd classes, who would 'be required to learn the lessons in them at home'; 2 dozen reading books for the 4th class; and one copy of a good arithmetic book for each class.³⁷ But in general, when the books are particularised, there is a great sameness about the lists. The Irish Books, the British and Foreign Daily Lesson Books and, after the Revised Code, Chambers' and Laurie's Standard Readers, constantly recur. Cheap books were simply replaced without much consideration of anything but the cost.

Heating is often not listed as a separate item in accounts, since in some cases the teachers were given an allowance from which they had to buy coal for themselves and the school. In a few old-fashioned schools the children still paid a special fee for 'firing' at the beginning of the winter. In the wilds of upper Teesdale, they went on the fells every year to cut ling to make the school fires; at Prees, turf was bought at the cost of a few pence a month; but where the figure for coal is given, it ranged from under 10/- to £9 a

37. Tattenhall Accounts; St. Mary, Lambeth, M.B., 2.1.54.

year - an indication, presumably, of the amount of hardship the children had to endure, since the highest figure comes from a mining area and the lowest does not.³⁸

The only other major item of expenditure in most school accounts is money spent on repairs and this appears irregularly, although, if Mitchell is to be believed, some East End schools must have had heavy annual expenditure on glass - £4 a quarter in one school, at 2d. a pane.³⁹ The managers who had to spend most on repairs were those who were trustees of an endowment consisting of property; repairs to schoolhouses seem to have been undertaken as rarely as possible.

INCOME

It will be clear from what has been said, that expenditure, if sometimes wrongheaded, was never excessive. We must next consider how it was met.

In the case of inspected schools, the source which immediately springs to mind is the government grant. This, it will be recalled, included from 1846 augmentation grants and gratuities to certificated teachers and stipends to pupil teachers (with, from 1852, a grant to the rare assistant),

38. Firing - Bray, Ford, Great Ouseburn (Leeds Museum); also Crowan (Cornwall. R.O.) 2.11.63; Harwood (Durham R.O.) 22.6.63, 12.9.64; West Bolden, 23.9.63; Milwich 17.12.69. The extremes are Holton St. Mary, Suffolk and Cannock.

39. Minutes, 1866-7, p. 127.

none of which passed through the hands of the managers; and from 1853 in rural schools, extended to the whole country in 1856, the capitation grants. The Revised Code substituted for all these, grants of 4/- per scholar on average attendance and 8/- for children qualified by 200 attendances who passed the examination, with 6/6d. on attendance only for infants.

The usual assumption that the new Code invariably and inevitably resulted in a decrease in the amount of public money received by a school needs some qualification. Direct comparisons are difficult, since until 1862 the total in any one year varied according to the stage in their apprenticeship which the pupil teachers happened to have reached; and other chance factors might occur. For instance a decrease from £143 to £94.14.6d. at Christ Church, Streatham, in 1863-4 was largely due to decreased numbers caused by the opening of a new school and not to the Code. Some schools undoubtedly suffered permanent loss after 1862. To take an extreme instance, a boys' school of moderate size, with a good proportion of children attending 80% of the time (thereby earning capitation grant), a master with a high certificate and a full complement of pupil teachers at a late stage of their apprenticeship, would lose heavily in 1863-4, and would never recover; but then it is arguable that under the old system such schools got more than their fair share. Others maintained their position. Thurlaston, for example, a country school with no pupil teachers,

a master with a Class 2, Division 3 certificate and a mistress with an Infant certificate, earned £12.16.0.d. capitation grant in 1862. In 1864, the grant, for 7 months only, was £29.9.10d., which represents gain rather than loss. Large, efficient town schools certainly gained. Cheltenham British school, for instance, received a total of £262.9s. in the last year of the old system; the following year the amount rose to £295.15.2d. and remained constant at about that figure throughout the '60s.⁴⁰

The problems created by the Code resulted much more from the type than the amount of grant. From the point of view of managers, the great virtue of the old system (the feature most disliked in the Department) was its predictability. The grants to teachers and pupil teachers were constant; even the capitation grant could be estimated with some certainty long before the year was out. But although the new Code made much less stringent attendance demands, the amount of the grant depended upon such accidents as the numbers present on inspection day, the inspector's way of conducting the examination and his degree of readiness to recommend deductions. One intention of the framers of the Code was to throw more financial responsibility on managers; and this responsibility many of them were ill equipped to bear. Their problems were

40. Christ Church, Streatham, 7.10.63, 6.7.64; Thurlaston, M.B.; Cheltenham, 7.5.63, 23.6.64, etc.

increased by administrative muddles in the early stages. The L.N.W. Railway schools in Crewe, for instance, found themselves, in December 1864, deprived without warning, of the sum of £167.2s. because there were no voluntary subscriptions; though it was later sent, in two instalments. The frequent changes in the timing of the official year resulted, as the Department's accountant pointed out, in serious difficulties for persons unskilled in making estimates.⁴¹ The government grant remained indispensable in financing inspected schools; but the successful working of it depended upon a financial competence which many managers did not possess.

A study of school accounts on the whole confirms the statement frequently made in official documents that the grant represented approximately a third (or, more accurately, 30% to 40%) of a school's income.⁴² The other two thirds in government schools, the whole in others, came from elsewhere. A minor official source of aid in textile areas was the money collected in fines for infringement of the Factory Acts, which the Factory Inspectors distributed to schools at their discretion. In 1852-3, for instance, they made between them 64 grants, totalling £663. The amount available in any one year depended

41. Christ Church, Crewe, B.7.12.64, 9.12.64, 24.1.65; Minutes, 1866-7, p.xliv.

42. The average for all church schools (.N.S. Statistics of C. of E. Schools, 1866-7, p.28) was less in 1866 ($4/6\frac{1}{2}$ d out of every £.) but this was because many endowed parochial schools were included (endowment averaged $1/9\frac{1}{2}$ d.).

upon the number of successful prosecutions but, as Leonard Horner said of managers, 'so much do they feel the want of support, that they accept the small donations with expressions of thankfulness that could hardly be stronger if they were acknowledging a great gift bestowed on themselves.'⁴³

Although the Congregational Board and the Poor School Committee made some maintenance grants and a fund existed for the assistance of British schools,⁴⁴ Anglican schools had far more unofficial sources on which to draw. We have already seen that the National Society made a variety of grants, that evangelicals could get support from the Church of England Education Society and that many diocesan boards made grants, sometimes for general maintenance, sometimes earmarked for specific purposes. One other source which kept several hundred Anglican schools solvent throughout this period seems hitherto to have received little attention. This was Betton's Charity, with an income of about £5000 a year, administered by the Ironmongers' Company and originally established for the purpose of redeeming Christian slaves from Barbary, a service for which there was little occasion by the 1840s. The Company therefore obtained a new scheme

43. Reports of Factory Inspectors, 1852-3, 1, pp. 17-18, 55; 2, pp. 12-13, 32, 54-5 (Scottish grants excluded); 1854, 1, p. 11.

44. Hoddesdon Br. got a grant of £10. in 1857 (M.B. 8.4.57). New Jerusalem, Manchester got money from a Swedenborgian fund (City News, 1914).

from Chancery, by which the money was to be used to make grants of £5-£20 a year (later, apparently, limited to £10) to Anglican schools, preferably in new districts. The money was distributed proportionately to each diocese and the grants were made in consultation with the bishop. Between 1847 and 1856, for example, the figures for the Oxford diocese were:-

1847-8	£130	1850-1	£170	1853-4	£175
1848-9	£140	1851-2	£170	1854-5	£175
1849-50	£160	1852-3	£175	1855-6	£175

In 1847 the £130 was divided amongst 21 schools out of 49 which applied; 'the applications for such aid, even £5., are overwhelming, and the case made out by the managers of the schools is such as to startle anybody'. Scattered correspondence surviving in Record Offices confirms the statement made to the Select Committee of 1865 by Kennedy (who helped to revise the lists) that Mr. Adams Beck, the Clerk to the Company, investigated each case carefully and gave the grants where they were most needed. If the records of this charity were available, they would certainly throw a flood of light upon the financial problems of the most important sector of mid-19th. century elementary education.⁴⁵

45. S.C., 1853, q. 1296; S.C., 1865, qq. 2617-24; Church Education Directory, 1853, pp. 31-2; D.B.S.A.R., Cambridge, 1841, p. 6; Bath & Wells, 1845-6, p. 11; Oxford, 1847, 1856; Ripon, 1847, Examples of schools receiving grants - Holy Trinity, Ipswich (Suffolk Society, M.B. 20.12.59); St. Andrew, Ancoats; Tockholes (Lancs R.O.); Beaminster; Brackenfield; Baldock (Herts R.O.); also Llanidloes, Haslington (Ches) - Minutes, 1854-5, p. 596; 1862-3 p. 60; Launceston - Toy, op. cit., p. 304. I was not allowed to see the records of the charity when I applied for permission to do so.

Until the 18th century, endowment had been the commonest mode of providing for the education of the poor, but by this time new endowed schools were a rarity,⁴⁶ although it was not unusual for an interested person to make a gift of money to be invested on behalf of an existing school.⁴⁷ It is, however, well known that some endowed grammar schools had virtually become elementary schools and many endowed charity schools had, by a natural transition, come to be almost indistinguishable from neighbouring National schools,⁴⁸ although since the Education Department would not pay augmentation grants to certificated teachers working in such schools there was little to encourage them to enter the government system. In a number of instances, small charities for the education of a few poor children were simply paid over to the local elementary school.⁴⁹ In more

46. When endowments were made, they were usually for some special purpose - e.g., Sellman op.cit., p.24, note; cp. the endowment of the school in Glossop by the Protestant Duke of Norfolk, presumably to make it independent of his Catholic successors (S.I.C., v.16, pp.495-7); Sir Robert Peel endowed a Middle school at Tarworth (Ball.op.cit., p.228); the Faversham endowment was not, technically, the endowment of a school.

47. E.g. Stewart Majoribanks, Bushey Br. (Herts. R.O.); Tockholes - dividends from Blackburn Gas Co. on shares left by Rev. Gilmour Robinson.

48. E.g. Lamport - Seaborne & Isham, op.cit.,

49. E.g. Mr. Ann's Charity, Steventon (Berks R.O.); S.I.C. v.11, pp.20, (Biddenden), 332 (Lymington) v.12 pp.306 (Bicester), 310 (Woodstock), 412 (Sulgrave), 444 (Farcet); v.13, pp.13 (Braintree) 114 (Leyton), 289 (Attleborough), 291 (Aylesham), 335 (Gt. Massingham); v.14, pp.170 (Fiddlethrethide), 219 (Keynsham), 234 (Somerton); v.15, pp.252 (Bromyard) 522 (Betley), 660 (Lye); v.16, p.371 (Barton-on-Humber); v.17, pp.152 (Tarpurley) 548 (Flixton); v.19, p.53 (Sedgfield).

cases than is always realised there had been^a full reorganisation, either by agreement with the trustees, as at Bunbury, Cheshire, where the Haberdashers, at the request of the parish, created a first-rate National school out of a decayed grammar school or, as at Whittlesford, by waiting for the last trustee to die, and then reconstructing the trust.⁵⁰ In some cases the motives behind reorganisation appear to have been mixed, especially when the endowment was a rent charge upon some estate. For example, according to the Assistant Commissioner of the Schools Inquiry Commission, Lord Overstone, a very wealthy banker, insisted on the amalgamation of the Fotheringhay endowed school with the National school so that the £20 rent charge which he was obliged to pay as its endowment could serve as his subscription to the National school.⁵¹ Transfer of the endowment to the National school was effected in some places where the mastership was held by the incumbent, simply by his appointing the National schoolmaster as his deputy. That this was not a safe thing to do, however, was proved by events at Audlem, Cheshire, where the endowment had been thus applied to support a very good elementary school. The vicar made the transfer at the behest of the local magnate, Lord

50. Bunbury - Minutes, 1856-7, pp.405-6; S.I.C., v.5, qq.14378 et seq.; Whittlesford, above, p.32. There are many examples of such reorganisation in the county reports of S.I.C., vv. 11-19.

51. S.I.C., v.12, p.339.

Combermere, who had been persuaded to act by J.P.Norris,H.M.I. Norris's intention was that the Charity Commissioners should be asked for a new scheme, but Lord Combermere, an old man, presumably decided that this would be too laborious. The result was that in 1865, when he and the vicar were both dead, the trustees rebelled, gave the National school notice to quit the building, withdrew the endowment and tried to re-establish the grammar school, leaving the other school in a position of considerable embarrassment.⁵²

That the Audlen National school survived at all was probably owing to the fact that when this occurred, the possession of an endowment had become less attractive than ever before. The minute of 19th.May,1863 (Article 52d of the Code),which reduced the grant to a school by the amount of its annual endowment, was defended in the Department's Report for 1862-3 on the grounds that endowed schools had in the past obtained money which they did not need; but the action sparked off a flood of complaint almost more bitter than that against the original Revised Code.⁵³ A letter from the managers of Staveley School, in Westmorland, written in 1865 professedly to announceⁿ that they had dispensed with

52.E.G.S.I.C.,v.11,pp.324-5;v.15,pp.205,601;v.17,p.18.For Audlen,see also N.C.,v.1,pp.486-7;S.I.C.,v.4,q.541;L.B.(Ches R.O.)

53.Minutes,1862-3,p.xxi.For reactions,see Monthly Paper,1864, pp.4-7,9-11; S.C.1865,qq.1451-3,1988,2525,3278-83,6990; On the Administration of the...Grant,pp.11-13.

the services of the pupil teacher, is typical:-

'...Government have completely broken faith; there is no reliance to be placed upon their word...

'... We have not a penny to pay the salary in arrear. You can, therefore, remove the name of Robert Taylor from our list. Our case should be cited to show how badly the Revised Code works. A population exclusively of the manufacturing class. Not a single wealthy resident. No support to the school but the bare endowment, which is, of itself, insufficient to pay the master a good salary. Money is lavishly wasted in wealthy neighbourhoods, but where poverty is the general misfortune, there this unjust and iniquitous arrangement called the Revised Code increases the pressure...' 54

As a result of Article 52d. a number of schools with endowments withdrew from inspection. In Painswick, where the endowed and National schools had amalgamated in 1854, they were separated. The Article bore particularly heavily, as the vicar of Kirkby Stephen pointed out to the Select Committee of 1866, on a group of North-country schools which had been endowed not as charities but by land set aside at enclosure, as a satisfactory alternative to subscription, by small farmers with little command of ready money (the endowment at Staveley was one of these).⁵⁵ The ineptitude with which the Article was administered caused further resentment. Faversham, with its income from endowment of £500, escaped scot-free by arguing that this was a voluntary contribution from the town trustees; while the impecunious schools receiving

54. 1.8.65; the Staveley endowment was £60 (S.I.C.v.19, p.401) and the grant had been refused under Article 52d.

55. Painswick A.R.1855, 1864; S.C.1866, qq.48-55. S.I.C. named 3 such schools in Yorks., 7 in Cumberland, 5 in Westmorland.

aid from Betton's Charity lost £5 or £10 on the ground that this was endowment.⁵⁶ Within a year concessions were made to rural schools (extended to all schools in 1865); there was to be no reduction when grant and endowment together did not exceed 15/- per child. Even after this, many endowed schools suffered badly. It can only be regarded as a testimonial to inspection that Tebay, for example (a recent enclosure endowment), continued under government when we consider the grants it obtained - in 1865 and 1866, 15/-; 1867, £8.15s.; 1868, £11.14.6d. (in these two years the managers claimed for the expense of compulsory fencing of the land); 1869, £2.16.8d.; 1870, £2.5s.!⁵⁷

Endowment, then, was a mixed blessing. Subscriptions, the source of income most obviously associated with the voluntary school, have already been discussed in connexion with building, and whatever was said then about the difficulties of raising money was even more true of subscriptions for maintenance. Certainly there were a number of instances of schools wholly maintained by one individual or one concern. In its simplest form this is illustrated by the schools in Northwich, Runcorn and Winsford of the Weaver Navigation Trustees. This body built the schools, appointed and paid the

56. Faversham B., L.B., Report, 1865; Betton's Charity, see note 45.

57. See Appendix A; Tebay Reports (Archives, Kendal).

teachers and delegated the management to the local clergyman, from whom they expected regular reports. Much the same system apparently obtained in the colliery schools on the Londonderry estates in County Durham, with, in addition, an annual inspection by a clergyman nominated by Lady Londonderry; and a similar arrangement doubtless operated in many of the works schools of the period. A different system obtained on the Sutherland estates in Staffordshire. Here, in the schools which he supported in Trentham and Tittensor, the Duke took any endowment, paid the salaries, less the school pence, bought the books and equipment, carried out repairs and bought or supplied from the estate the necessary fuel. In one year, 1857, the total cost was £127.15.7d. In theory the Duke might sometimes have been in pocket; but it is likely that the accounts for the first half of 1849, which survive from Sheriffhales, a school in Shropshire also maintained by him, represent what normally happened. Here, expenditure for six months was £35.10.7½d; the children's pence amounted to £10.15.2½d; hence the cost to the Duke was £24.15.4¾d. Similarly in south Staffordshire, the average annual cost to Lord Hatherton of the Penkridge schools, between 1844 and 1854, was £118.11s.; at Cannock in the '60s with bills of about £160, less than £30 from the children's pence, and a £40 grant, he

paid about £90 annually.⁵⁸

In addition to supporting a few favoured schools, some landowners accepted a more general obligation to subscribe to local institutions. In the early '60s, for instance, the Trentham estate accounts show annual subscriptions totalling £79.1s. to local educational bodies. School managers on the estates of a man like Lord Radnor were fortunate. Although his interest must at times have appeared fidgetty, he not only paid his subscriptions regularly but could be relied upon for extra donations in any crisis. For six years, for example, he paid the annual deficit of the school at Swingfield Minnis in Kent, where he had property, amounting to between £20 and £30 annually, in addition to his subscription, until the rector, finding that he could get no local support, gave up and closed the school. Records reveal a number of instances of landowners who paid the adverse balance every year - the Kerrison family at Brone in Suffolk, for example, or in Kent, Lord Anherst at Riverhead, Lord Kingsdown at Teston, or Mrs. Cleaver at Sissinghurst. An entry in the Sissinghurst log book for November, 1865, reads:- 'Mrs. Cleaver entirely left Sissinghurst but has promised to keep up the school till her death.' This comment illustrates one of the risks of relying upon an individual. The troubles of

58. Weaver Navigation, Trustees 'M.B.; Londonderry Papers; Sutherland Papers; Hatherton Papers; grant figure from official tables.

Swingfield Minnis arose from the loss of subscriptions of about £30 a year when the local family, bankers named Papillon, fell on hard times, sold up and left. Kirtling National school ran into difficulties in 1869 when the squire became a Catholic and announced his intention of withdrawing his subscription of £26.16s. in the following year.⁵⁹ But, unless there was some one person to subscribe largely, it was unlikely that there would be much of a subscription list at all. Farmers on the whole would not give much for the education of the poor; and, as John Armitstead pointed out in 1851, most absentee landlords (unlike Lord Radnor) gave nothing or thought a mere token payment sufficient. This point was constantly emphasised in H.M. Inspectors' reports and other official documents, but only, normally, in terms which make identification difficult. A man had to be very unpopular to be mentioned by name, like George Hudson, the Railway King, or Lord Hertford, the dilettante son of a notorious father.⁶⁰ Corporations and public offices were often no better. Although the Admiralty, for example, needed educated boys from the dockyards, it had, as we have seen, a bad reputation as a subscriber; while Gregory complained that

59. Radnor, above, chapter 2; Teston, 7.10.67; Kirtling Papers - Report to Bishop of Ely, 1870. Note the lengthy tale of woe from Tanfield to Lord James Stewart, Appendix D.

60. Armitstead, Parochial Papers, 2, p. 95; Hudson, see Ball, op. cit., p. 114; Hertford, S.I.C., v. 15, p. 719, 'An annual subscription of £5 to the Sunday school... (irregularly paid,) represents his practical interest...'

the Duchy of Cornwall was 'anything but liberal' in Lambeth.⁶¹

A few figures taken from the Suffolk Archidiaconal Society's records will illustrate what might be expected by way of subscription. In 1859, £38.15.4d. was thus raised towards expenses of £162.9.8d. at Holy Trinity schools, Ipswich; £19.11s. towards £49.9.8d. at Rushmere St. Andrew in 1860; £21.19s. towards £102.6.3d. at Debenham in 1865. A very energetic clergyman in Cheshire raised £28.18s. (only £14.11s. of it locally) in 1862 to cover expenditure of £166.6.11d. In the poor districts of large towns the position was worse. A Manchester clergyman had subscriptions and collections of only £22 to meet an expenditure of £250, while the incumbent of St. Simon Zelotes in Bethnal Green, with an annual expenditure of £168, could not raise £10. in the parish.⁶² It is not easy to come by figures for nonconformist schools, but their position was certainly no better. A school with a patron like R.N. Philips, Edward Strutt or Titus Salt was perfectly secure; but it took the committee of Ipswich British School, who began as convinced Voluntaryists, less than seven years to discover the impossibility of maintaining it by subscription only; and according to Fitch the position in Leeds, the home of

61. The Admiralty, above, note 23; N.S. Files, St. Mary, Lambeth; cp. the complaints of Oxfordshire clergy of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church (E.P. Baker, op. cit., pp. 16, 140).

62. Suffolk Society, District Committee, M.B., 20.12.59, 21.3.60; Box, 24.3.65; Minutes, 1862-3, p. 60; 1865-6, p. 124; 1868-9, p. 134.

Voluntaryism, was far worse in nonconformist schools in 1870 than in Anglican - only 11.3% of the income of the former coming from subscription as against 20.7% in the latter.⁶³

Perhaps managers did not try hard enough. At any rate, in a few parishes in which the school had general support, there appears to have been no difficulty in raising a voluntary rate to maintain it. The earliest example was apparently at Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire where a 2½d. rate was collected from 1848 onwards. This was followed by a 2d. rate at Good Easter in Essex; by the middle '50s King's Bomborne had voted a rate for annual maintenance (also 2d.) and Woodford-cum-Membris in Northamptonshire one of 3d. In the '60s, four places in rural Yorkshire are mentioned as having a school rate, Raskelfe, Thornton-le-Moor, Farndale and Wressel.⁶⁴ Possibly had it not been for the bitter contemporary quarrels over Church Rates, this solution might have been more widely tried.

A special form of subscription common to both church and chapel was the collection. This was a symbol, not only of the concept of education as a work of mercy, but also, to use Kay-Shuttleworth's phrase, of the school as the nursery of the congregation. Preceded by a sermon, preferably by a

63. Ipswich Br. M.B.; P.P., 1870, LIV, 265, pp. 80, 85.

64. P.R.O. 30/29, Box 23, Part 2, from Campbell, 4.1.56, from Mitchell, 1.3.56; Minutes, 1850-1, v. 2, p. 254; 1856-7, p. 471; 1864-5, p. 134; 1866-7, pp. 226-7.

special preacher, those collections often realised considerable sums, when compared with subscriptions. In Leeds, for instance, in 1850, St. Andrew's raised £39.13s., to supplement subscriptions of £70.9.2d., All Saints' £21, compared with subscriptions of only £20. Annual sermons in Beaminster in the late '50s brought in between £7 and £9; ten years later six-monthly collections in Kenilworth averaged about £16 a year. Much larger sums are sometimes recorded - Benjamin Armstrong's diary shows that he raised £65 for the East Dereham National schools by collections in 1864.⁶⁵

When all these sources had been tapped, however, there was still much to be found. The other major source of income - and in many schools it was the largest single item - was fees. This was something of a revolution, in view of the fact that both National and British schools were originally free schools for the very poor, and added force to the arguments of the few individuals who, like J.P.Norris, urged that parents should take part in school management.⁶⁶ H.M.Inspectors in Lancashire and Yorkshire often pointed out that in these counties, on an average, over 50% of school income came from fees. This was partly due to the presence of half-timers, who had no alternative but to attend, and pay, regularly.

65. Abstract of returns relative to National Schools (Leeds Archives) 1850; Day Book, Beaminster; Kenilworth, Accounts; Armstrong, op.cit., p.95.

66. J.P.Norris, op.cit., 1869, pp.4-8.

In rural areas, accounts (confirming the average of $5/10\frac{1}{2}$ d in the £1. for inspected church schools in 1866) suggest that the figure was more like 25% to 30%; but even this, when farm labourers' wages are considered, was a large sum.⁶⁷ Financial difficulties had forced many old-established schools to adopt fees in the '30s and the founders of new schools in the '40s, having witnessed this, normally charged fees from the beginning. Of seventeen schools used for this study for which there are records of payments in the late '40s, the lowest fee in four was 1d.; in ten, 2d.; in three 3d. The lowest charges between 1850 and 1862 in fifty schools (with in most cases a reduction when there were several children) ranged from 1d. in eleven, through 2d. in thirty-two to 3d. in six and 4d. in one. As often happens in the field of education, changes resulting from economic pressure were justified by reference to high moral and educational principles. The payment of fees, it was held, removed the stigma of charity, improved attendance, and inspired confidence; parents and children valued education in so far as it cost them an effort. These views were urged on the schools by H.M. Inspectors and given official endorsement when the capitation grant was confined to fee-payers; but were also articles of faith with almost all

67. Watkins, *op.cit.*, p.27 -Lancs., 53%, Yorks., 55%; Statistics of Church Schools, p.28.

managers and teachers.⁶⁸ The result was a steady tendency throughout the '50s for fees to be pushed up. Some figures from Leeds will illustrate this point:-

TABLE 7
FEES AND ATTENDANCE IN LEEDS, 1850,1862.

<u>School</u>	<u>Pence</u>		<u>Average attendance</u>	
	<u>1850</u>	<u>1862</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1862</u>
St. Peter	£70	£340.16.	340	518
St. Peter's Sq.	£39	£52.15.	100	115
St. James	£68	£88.4.8.	210	222
St. Thomas	£42.17.9.	£72.10.2.	144	150
St. Mark	£75	£101.17.7.	250	364
Christ Church	£94.11.	£172.4.11.	220	414
St. Mary, Quarry Hill	£65.	£118.15.1.	186	265
" Newton	£65.19.	£102.11.6.	194	281
St. Paul	£55.14.	£95.10.4.	140	207
St. George	£133.12.4.	£373.16.11.	279	479
St. Philip	£107.1.10.	£106.12.11.	234	219
St. Andrew	£94.5.3.	£153.8.4.	240	337
St. Luke	£40	£117.9.5.	130	210
All Saints	£54.16.	£73.4. 3.	130	215
St. Matthews	£35.6.	£137.2.3.	115	236
Buslingthorpe	£80	£102.2.	205	201

69.

It will be seen that in most cases there was a proportionate as well as an absolute rise in the pence collected. The increase of fees which was all but universal in the years between 1863 and 1870⁷⁰ was certainly partly the result of a search for

68.E.g., Lord Hatherton's circular to parents, Penkrige, 1854, '...the universal testimony borne throughout England to the great advantages resulting from the system of small payments for Education; the Parents of Children having been almost invariably found to value instruction, to the expense of which they have contributed, more highly than that which has been entirely gratuitous'. A teacher writing in 1857, 'Cheap things are considered nasty; so are cheap schools... Let us offer a good article, and charge a good price. Let our teaching cost the parents an effort'. (quoted Minutes, 1857-8, p.345).

69. Abstracts of Returns, 1850, 1862.

70. Almost every school, whose records were used for this study shows a rise, although it is often not clear how much it was.

financial security after the Revised Code, but was also a continuation of a process begun long before 1862.

Fees varied from one denomination to another. The lowest, for obvious reasons, were in Catholic schools, normally 1d. per week. This fee obtained also in some, but not all Anglican schools in poor country districts⁷¹ and in the poorer parts of towns (the fee in Golden Lane school for those able to pay was 1d); but in general, to use Roger's phrase, 'a National school is a twopenny school'.⁷² British schools charged more, averaging 3d. or 4d. even in the '50s. It was natural that Voluntaryists, aiming ultimately at self-supporting schools, should charge between 4d. and 6d.; but the highest fees of all seem to have been in Wesleyan schools. As early as 1846, the average payment in these schools in Sheffield was 4½d. and a reading of the statistics in the Wesleyan Education Committee's report for that year shows fees of 1/8d, 1/- (two schools), 11d., and 10d. (four schools).⁷³

71. E.g. in Cambridgeshire, Kirtling charged 1d., Dry Drayton varied between 1d. and 3d. In Worcestershire in the '60s it was ordinarily 2d. (S.C., 1866, q. 2464); for Catholics see Minutes, 1858-9, p. 198.

72. Rogers. *op. cit.*, 1857, p. 8; S.I.C., v. 5, q. 13693.

73. Minutes, 1856-7, p. 521; Congregational Board, A.R., 1859-60, p. 9; W.E.C., A.R., 1846, pp. 33, 39-42; cp. Arnold's lengthy discussion of the resultant problems, Minutes, 1852-3, v. 2, pp. 670-3.

A practice popularised by Dawes which made further financial demands on parents was that of insisting that they should buy books for their children's use. This seems to have been successfully carried out in some schools,⁷⁴ and, of course, decreased expenditure, but there are many complaints in log books of the difficulties which it involved. Another King's Somborne innovation, however, probably produced unmixed good. In the 1840s many public as well as private elementary schools followed the pernicious practice of varying their fees according to the number of subjects learnt.⁷⁵ The graduated payments based upon parental income or status advocated by Dawes were an obvious improvement. The system appealed to officials as a means of preventing the lower middle class from getting education on the cheap and was adopted in a large number of schools.⁷⁶ It is impossible to say how successfully it operated; but difficulties of administration may explain why many schools stuck to a more conventional form of graduated fees, rising as the child progressed up the school, a system described by the rector of Haughton-le-Skerne, with some exaggeration, as 'this plan of a gradual Scale of Charges...the most generally adopted in

74. E.g. Penkridge, Great Ouseburn.

75. E.g. Lindale (Lancs R.O.) 1838-reading 2d., writing 3d., accounts 8d.

76. P.R.O. Ed, 9/12, pp. 193, 347. Amongst material used - at Bluecoat, Hereford; Painswick; Aughton; Dudleston; Penkridge; Kenilworth; Hurst & Ruscombe; Maidenhead; Hulme Operatives (Manchester Archives); Elsworth; Ipswich Br.; St. John; Chatham; Plaxtol; Strood; Wateringbury; Kinver; Martindale (Archives, Kendal); Hoddesdon; Bishop's Stortford; Watton; Linton (Cambs. R.O.).

Schools, and...approved by the Managers and the Government Inspectors'.⁷⁷

The effect of the steady increase of fees upon the attendance of poor children will be discussed later. Here we will merely note that there are many instances of children's fees being paid by managers or subscribers.⁷⁸ It is, however not surprising that arrears were frequent; perhaps the record was the bill of £1.16s. for 3¼ years' schooling sent out by the master of St. Thomns's, Winchester, on 3rd April, 1867.⁷⁹ But on the whole defaulters seem to have been carried without too much difficulty. Real trouble came when economic crisis struck a whole district, as, for example, long-continued strikes in the Black Country in 1863-5, or the cattle plague in Cheshire in 1866, or, worst of all, the Cotton Famine in

77. Haughton-le-Skerne, 7.6.59; the charges were CL.1.4d., CL.2, 3d., CL.3, 2d. Other examples-Granby Row, Manchester, 2.2.63; Ipstones, 26.7.58; Derby Br. 15.10.49; Cheltenham Statistics; Long Eaton, 22.9.62; Orton (Archives, Kendal) 3.10.66. Mrs. G. Vickers, B.Ed., a former student of Crewe College of Education, who has worked on Bunbury school, tells me that graduated payments according to income worked well there -e.g. (reproduced with her permission) in 1865, 15/-qr.-17 pupils; 10/- qr., 22; 6/- qr. 3; 5/- qr., 1; 4/- qr., 18; 3/-qr., 8; 2d a week (labourers), 51.

78. E.g. Holy Trinity, Runcorn, B. 25-4.65; West Hackney, 31.7.54; Bull-Brook, 14.11.67; Moseley St., Manchester, A.R., 1856, p. 12; Shillingstone (Dorset R.O.) 4.3.67, 15.4.67; Harwood, 30.6.64; St. Margaret, Durham, G. 16.3.63; Dry Drayton, accounts; St. Clement, Ipswich, B., 18.5.63; Deal, 28.2.56; Ditton (Kent Archives) 3.8.66; Hunslet (Leeds Archives) 26.1.69; Burton-in-Kendal I. 16.5.65; Armstrong, op.citp. 41.
79. L.B.; op. Whiteshill, 12.8.66; All Saints, Derby, 29.9.63; Griffydan, 16.11.66; Hugglescote, (Leics. R.O.) 20.11.65; Leicester Co. G., 19.11.66; Long Itchington. B., 21.6.64; Milwich 11.4.66; Christ Church, Streatham, 2.4.56; Draywick, 23.7.67; St. Blazey, 4.6.66; Camborne 2.2.64; Dartford, L.B. 2.7.67; Long Eaton, I., 11.6.63; Hoddesdon. G. 9.3.53.

East Lancashire:-

'...I was never so depressed as now', wrote the incumbent of St. John's, Blackburn, in October, 1862, 'Our funds are exhausted. I have had to borrow from our treasurer. The children flock to us, and we have neither books nor any apparatus sufficient for the working of our schools.

'We take many of our poorest children and many who were formerly Scholars, and teach them for nothing. I wish my children to feel that we shall not desert them because they cannot pay us'⁸⁰.

Yet it was probably fortunate that Lancashire schools relied so heavily on fees, since some, at least, were paid by the Relief Committees. Had they depended on subscriptions their difficulties might have been even greater; as it was, most of them seem to have recovered with remarkable speed as soon as the worst of the crisis was over.

By means of grants, official and unofficial, subscriptions, collections, and fees, an enterprising manager could hope to balance his books. To prove this point J.P. Norris quoted in 1862 the accounts of the schools at Haslington in Cheshire, a village with no resident proprietor, the living of which was worth only £120 a year:-

80 Glynne (Staffs. R.O.), 11.7.64, 10.10.64; Wordsley, 26.6.63, 21.7.63; Cradley, 3.7.63; Lye, 20.3.65, 24.7.65; Minutes, 1867-8, p.262; N.S. Files, Blackburn, 6.10.62; see also Kennedy's reports for 1862, 1863, 1865.

DR	£	s	d	CR	£	s	d	
Subscriptions (local)	14	11	0	Master	83	0	0	
" (Friends at a distance)	14	7	0	Infant mistress	43	0	0	
School pence	45	0	4	Sewing "	10	0	0	
Tea party (farmers' wives)	3	15	0	Fuel, books etc.	30	6	11	
Collections	13	0	0					
Betton's Charity	5	0	0					
C. of E. Education Sec.	10	0	0					
Diocesan Board	10	0	0					
Capitation grant	8	17	0					
Augmentation grants	31	0	0					
Deficit		16	7					
	166				166			
		6	11			6	11	
							81	

On the other hand, if all managers had shown such initiative, some of the funds available for education would be been expended fifty times over; so it was probably as well that many did not try so persistently to find a solution to their financial problems. Some schools closed. In the official tables for 1865-6, for instance, 68 schools (34 of them British or Wesleyan, 30 Anglican) which had once received grants are listed as having been given up. But most continued, some under a perpetual load of debt. It is greatly to the credit of the committee of Tewkesbury British School, for example, which never recovered from the defalcations of its absconding treasurer in the '50s, that they continued the struggle to

81. Minutes, 1862-3, p. 60.

keep it open until they were able to transfer it to the School Board,⁸² a possible solution which came just in time to save a number of schools from closure.

It will have been noticed that the number of Anglican schools listed as having closed by 1865 was proportionately far smaller than that of nonconformist schools. It may indeed, be doubted whether the voluntary system could have survived had the largest group of schools not been able to rely upon men who were under the strongest possible moral pressure to support them. Conscientious clergymen drove themselves, many of the less conscientious were driven by clerical and lay public opinion to spend more than they could well afford on school maintenance, just as they did on school building. As a Birmingham parson wrote to John Walter in 1863:-

'I am the managers - the bills come to me. I have a treasurer, and he, a wise man, will not advance a penny. Our pro-formâ managers are half a dozen little tradesmen and manufacturers who have little or nothing to spare...'

'When the salaries due tomorrow are paid', wrote the incumbent of Debenham in 1865, in an application for a grant, 'there will be owing £25 to me from the School'. Nor was this a post-Revised Code phenomenon. A memorandum of 1855 from Lingen, who cannot be suspected of distortion in favour of clerical

82. Tewkesbury, M.B., Accounts; He misappropriated £50 of the school's money before running off to America in 1856, leaving the rest of the committee to deal with a £150 order he had just given for new flooring.

managers, stated that of 135 applications for aid received between August, 1854, and January, 1855, there were direct statements in 32 that any deficiency was met by the incumbent, in addition to his subscription. The amount given in 18 cases varied from £4 to £74, the average being £26. In 34 of 118 applications received between January and April the same held; 'the Clergyman is usually obliged to engage the Teachers, and to give all other orders, in a way that makes him equally responsible for payment'. In the previous year the incumbent of St. Peter le Bailey, Oxford, had complained to Bishop Wilberforce of:-

'the great discouragement which I, and perhaps others of my brethren labour under in the support of their Schools. For more than seven years my school has never cost me less than £20 per annum from my private resources. This considering the wealth and luxury of Oxford "ought not to be so to be" (sic);

while at about the same time James Fraser complained that the whole expense of the school in his parish of Cholderton was being borne by his mother and himself. Alexander Thurtell, the former H.M.I., spoke for many of his fellow clergy when he said in 1865; 'the people give me what they please, and I pay the rest; that is my usual way'.⁸³

It is clear from the records that the managers of

83. J.Walter, op.cit., p.78; Suffolk Society, Box, 24.3.65; P.R.O. 30/29 Box 19, Part 1, Memo. of 6.6.55; E.P.Baker, op.cit., p.116; T.Hughes, op.cit. p.82; S.C.1865, q.5573.

many schools were subject to financial burdens which, however insignificant they may have been to a grandee like the Duke of Sutherland, were a serious matter to a small tradesman or a clergyman running a parish on a stipend of £150 or £200 a year. This problem existed continuously, as was said at the beginning of the chapter, for schools which made an effort to keep up with educational progress; it was certainly not created by any administrative action, the Revised Code, for instance. Managers' minute books show that in the decade following the Minutes of 1846 a number of committees agreed to accept government aid without enthusiasm, as the only means of keeping the schools open. A most interesting example is the Ipswich British school, re-founded by Voluntaryists in 1847, with a rule that it 'shall be provided and sustained by Voluntary Support and that only', unless otherwise determined by a two-thirds majority of a specially convened subscribers' meeting. By 1852, the committee was already worried about the financial position. At the annual general meeting of January, 1854, a proposal to approach the government for aid was lost; at a special meeting in July, the secretary and treasurer, calling attention to an accumulated debt of £108 and a mortgage of £600, proposed the abrogation of the rule, but failed to get the necessary majority, which was eventually obtained at a thinly attended meeting at the end of March, 1855. The school survived only at the expense

of the principle which established it.⁸⁴

In many cases the increase of income from government aid was swallowed up in the higher salaries and the more ambitious programme resulting from it. Deane school in Lancashire which, with Canon Girdlestone of the Church of England Education Society as Chairman, can scarcely have been inefficiently run, received grants from the '40s onwards, but in 1861 was still trying to pay off a debt owed to a former master since 1839. A list at the beginning of the account book of Probus school, which had its first grant in 1859, must have made dismal reading for the managers:-

Deficiency in school funds.

	£	s	d
1862	27	12	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
1863	6	14	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1864	6	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1865	11	14	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1866	26	1	8
1867	14	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1868	10	2	7
1869	17	13	5
Total	120	12	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

There are signs that by the '60s the burden had in many cases become intolerable. The attempts of some managers, by 'farming' the schools, to throw all financial responsibility on the teacher, of which the Education Department complained

84. Ipswich Br., 11.6.47, 3.2.52, 24.7.54, 30.3.55; other examples - Bishop's Stortford Br., 1847; Royston, N., 1848 (Balance, 8/9d., liabilities, £17.10s.); St. John, Chatham, 1854; Castle St. Br., Kendal, 1855; St. Stephen, Salford, 1856-7 (£15 borrowed from the Clothing Club fund); St. James, Clitheroe, 1853-8; Hoddesdon Br., 1857-8.

after the Revised Code, are perhaps an indication of this.⁸⁵

The general surrender of the Voluntarists in 1868 was in many instances a virtual abdication - 'They desire rather to be superseded than assisted by the Government. Meanwhile they withdraw their opposition to the present scheme. But they have no faith in it. They scarcely even attempt to fulfil the conditions on which it is based'. A few years previously, in 1863, before John Walter introduced his resolutions for the extension of the parliamentary grant to schools without certificated teachers, he circularised the parochial clergy to see what their response would be. Of the 586 replies which he received (one of which was quoted above), 42 were opposed to the resolutions, ^{14 had some misgivings} and 14 expressed no opinion; all the rest (516) were favourable. Some clergy wrote at great length; and it is clear from the tone of those letters which he printed, that many of them were actuated less by rational expectations of getting much of the grant than by resentment at the financial burdens which they had borne for years.⁸⁶

If to some Anglicans, as well as to many nonconformists, the Act of 1870 came as a release, to others the Code of

85 Deans (Lancs., R.O.) 22.5.39, 12.1.42, 6.2.61; Probus (Cornwall R.O.) Accounts; Minutes, 1865-6, p. xvi; 1867-8, pp. cvii, cix; 1868-9, p. xxxvi. For an instance of 'farming' before the Revised Code, certainly caused by financial desperation, see St. James, Clitheroe, 1.12.54, 12.12.54.

86. Minutes, 1869-70, p. 320; Walter, op. cit. The figures are based on his index; letters, pp. 48-166.

1871⁸⁷ must have been as important. By Article 59, certificates were offered, without examination, to experienced teachers reported as efficient by H.M. Inspectors, whose pupils achieved a minimum number of passes in the examination. This conceding of the substance of Walter's demands resulted in none of the disasters prophesied when his resolutions were rejected. Had the concession been given in the previous decade, the financial gains to the schools would probably have been small, but much bitterness would have been avoided. In this field, it is arguable that faithfulness to a principle of the Minutes of 1846 (no certificate without examination) was unfortunate.

The financial arrangements described in this chapter were obviously inadequate to support a national system of education and cast too great a burden upon a limited section of the community. It is easy to criticise Parliament or the Education Department for a narrow-minded insistence on economy, with some justification, so far as the details of the grant system were concerned. But from the wider point of view, it must be remembered that there was no tradition of central government spending on welfare services - indeed, expenditure of this sort was suspect in the eyes of many people, as being

87. The teacher had to be 35 years old and to have taught for 10 years; this was modified in 1876 to 25, and 5 years (Minutes, 1870-1, p. cxii; 1875-6, p. 180).

a means of recruiting an electoral following. Welfare had hitherto been the concern of the local community. In so far as it had been supported by public money, this had come from rates; but to suggest that rates should be used for the upkeep of denominational schools at a time when the Church Rates controversy was still a live issue,⁸⁸ was to stir up a hornets' nest. It is equally easy to condemn denominationalists for being, as Lingen once said, '...blind to everything except the possible consequences, in a denominational sense, of having to depend upon their neighbours in vestry instead of upon a squeezable office in London',⁸⁹ and to suggest that the Gordian knot should have been cut by adopting secularist proposals for the exclusion of religion from the schools. The extent, however, to which 'neighbours in vestry' would have provided efficient education in mid-19th-century conditions is open to question. The history of Poor Law Unions and local Boards of Health scarcely suggests that success would have been universal; the era of lavish civic expenditure, of which the activity of the great urban School Boards was one aspect, belongs to the last thirty years of the century.⁹⁰ But in any case, this solution would

88. The Church Rates issue was at its height in the '30s and '40s, but they were not abolished until 1868.

89. P.R.O.30/29, Box 24, Part 1, 14.2.58.

90. On this see Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 1963.

not have been practical politics. In the eyes of all but a small minority of the persons concerned with the maintenance of schools in this period, to exclude religion from education would be to exclude its *raison d'être*. The implications of this deeply rooted conviction will be considered in chapter 9.

CHAPTER 9.RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS

G.F.A. Best has remarked, in his illuminating article on the religious problem between 1800 and 1870,¹ that the difficulties involved were neither inexplicable, unusual, nor deplorable; that they were bound to happen in a society which 'prized its religion highly, and which was politically freer than any other in Europe'. When state intervention in education began, Lord Hardwicke's dictum that 'Christianity is part of the law of England'² was still largely true, although the relationship of religion with the state was in a transitional stage; and the history of elementary education cannot be fully understood unless it is seen as one aspect of this relationship. Thus, the crises of 1839-40 and 1869-70 each occurred at a time when the privileged position of the established church were under attack and when the relations between church and state was undergoing a major change³. This involvement with general religious questions was inevitable in a period in which the overwhelming majority of persons concerned with providing education found it impossible to think of it

1. The Religious Difficulties of National Education in England, 1800-1870, Cambridge Historical Journal, 1956, pp. 155-173.

2. Quoted in G.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars, p. 72.

3. In the decade before 1839, Catholic Emancipation, the Whig onslaught on abuses within the church, and the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; in the '60s, the activities of the Liberation Society and the Radicals, the abolition of Church Rates, and the prospects of disestablishment, at least in Ireland.

in other than religious terms. As Best has pointed out, this was as true of many advocates of secular schools as of denominationalists. Benjamin Templar, for example, the master of the Manchester Secular school, asserted that 'moral and religious instruction of undoubted excellence, can be given without the introduction of the Bible'; and justified the teaching of social economy on the grounds that it afforded proof of 'the reality, wisdom, and beneficence of God's government of the affairs of men.'⁴ Nevertheless the school's application for a government grant was refused three times between 1856 and 1858 by the Education Department, on the grounds that it provided no opportunity for instruction in revealed religion;⁵ a refusal which illustrates the fact that at least until the '60s, government policy - whichever party was in power - was based upon the assumption that Christianity and education were interdependent, and that Lord Hardwicke's aphorism still held good.

4. Cambridge Historical Journal, 1956, p. 171; B. Templar, 10 year's Experience of the Manchester Free School, 1866, p. 9; On the Importance of Teaching Social Economy, in Transactions of the Social Science Association, 1858, p. 323; cp. Mundell's statement that of 31 books in use in the Nottingham Secular school, 19 were 'decidedly religious' (National Education Union, The Debate in Parliament, 1870, p. 267).

5. PP. 1856, XLVI, 405, pp. 17-18; 1857-8, XLVI, 331, pp. 39, 42.

Lord John Russell had justified the educational measures of 1839 by reference to 'Her Majesty's desire, that the youth of this kingdom should be religiously brought up...'; and the instructions to H.M. Inspectors declared **categorically** that 'no plan of education ought to be encouraged in which intellectual instruction is not subordinate to the regulation of the thoughts and habits of the children by the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion.' Sir James Graham's remark that 'religion, the keystone of education, is, in this country, the bar to its progress', is usually quoted for the sake of the last phrase; but the first five words are just as significant.⁶ This unanimity between the two major political parties, at first sight a source of strength to those engaged in promoting a religious education, in fact produced many problems, since the different denominations were successively outraged when an **Erastian** state made regulations of which they disapproved. It was not necessary for an Anglican to be as extreme as Manning⁷ for him to be roused to alarm by, for

6. Minutes, 1839-40, p.24; C.S. Parker, Life of Sir James Graham, 1907, v.I, p.339.

7. Note his remarks in 1849 while still Archdeacon of Chichester in E.S. Purcell, Cardinal Manning, 1895, v.I, p.422, 'I believe the education of children to be a duty inherent in parents and pastors; to be essentially religious, indivisible in its elements; incapable of a concurrent control by two heterogeneous powers'. Cp. Bishop Blomfield in 1839 - 'You cannot assail a more vital part of the Church than by attacking her through the means of education'. (A. Blomfield, A. Memoir of C. J. Blomfield, 1863, vI, p. 262).

example, the government's claim to decide which should be the 'general' and which the 'special' religious instruction in the proposed state Normal School in 1839, or, at a later stage, to prescribe the conditions under which parents might withdraw their children from religious instruction.

The resentment of nonconformists over the educational clauses of Graham's Factory Bill is well-known. The Minutes of 1846, were equally suspect to many, as 'indiscriminately acknowledging and supporting religious truth and error alike'.⁸ Hence, when the Voluntaryists finally accepted defeat, many of them moved immediately to support of the Birmingham League's demands for a completely secular system, as an alternative preferable to the Erastianism of which they so much disapproved.

Text-books of educational history sometimes appear to imply that the state's acceptance of the denominational system in the early 1840s was a regrettable expedient, which a little more perseverance or enterprise on the state's part, or a little less bigotry on the church's part in 1839-40 might have prevented. It is not, however, easy to see what alternative would have been practicable. Apart from

8. Minutes, 1847-8, v.I, p.1xii. The phrase was used by a deputation of the Free Kirk. Cp.N.C.v.6, q.457 - 'The Committee of Council does not enter at all into the question of the truth or falsehood of different religions'.

the fact that Brougham had been as emphatic in 1834 as Forster was to be in 1870 that it would be financial insanity to destroy denominational schools, and thus deprive education of the income which came from voluntary subscription,⁹ a government committed to a religious education and dependent upon middle- and upper-class opinion was bound to accept the form of religious education which that opinion approved. The undenominational approach of the British and Foreign School Society might seem to modern eyes to provide an acceptable formula; but the figures quoted elsewhere in this study, showing the limited number of British as compared with denominational schools, suggest that Lord Robert Montagu was not exaggerating very much when he said of the Society in 1870 that it 'had no hold on public opinion'.¹⁰ Joshua Fitch, who was certainly not inclined to belittle the body to which he owed his advancement in life, remarked in the late '60s that, in his inspectorial district, British schools were not a large nor an increasing class; that whereas twenty-years before, dissenters had been prepared to cooperate with each other in founding British schools, they now wanted their own sectarian schools.¹¹

9. S.C.1834,q.2821.

10. N.E.U., 1870,p.19. It has been noted already that many schools officially classed as British were closely attached to a chapel.

11. Minutes,1867-8,p.345;1869-70,p.328. These statements are curiously at variance with some of his statements about Leeds in PP. 1870,LIV,265,pp.88-9.

This is not to suggest that the British principle did not command steady and devoted adherents in some sections of the community; but any government which had rejected denominational in favour of undenominational religious teaching between 1839 and 1870 would have lost far more support than it gained.

To most religious Victorians, doctrinal differences mattered because religion mattered. The distinguished physician, H.W.Acland, concluding his report on a cholera epidemic in Oxford with a discussion of the role of education in promoting public health, wrote:

'I can hope nothing from the attempt to introduce into State schools religious teaching pared down to that which is offensive to no denomination. At the point at which it comes to be inoffensive to all, it is necessarily wholly unacceptable to every one who truly desires to have it, and understands its operation upon our hearts.'

Lord Shaftesbury in many ways maintained the old evangelical tradition of cooperation with dissent, yet after the withdrawal of Graham's Bill in 1843, he wrote in his diary:

'"Combined Education" must never again be attempted- it is an impossibility, and worthless if possible...let us have our own schools, our Catechism, our Liturgy, our Articles, our Homilies, our faith, our own teaching of God's word...'

and, though an anti-Catholic, he recognised the justice of others' claims to the same rights:

'...I sympathise with the Roman Catholics in this matter; it is natural and just that they should insist on the full teaching of all the points essential to their faith; they must insist upon a distinctive teaching in religious matters ...'12

'Legitimate denominational objects,' wrote Scott, of Westminster College, in 1860, in a reasoned defence of the Wesleyan position, 'require that education, because religious, shall be denominational'; these objects were defined as the protection of young Wesleyans from the perversion of erroneous teaching and the provision of a religious education in which Wesleyan parents could confide. This was essentially the same point, in more measured language, as that made by Archdeacon Sandford in 1861, in one of his Bampton Lectures entitled, 'National Education as subsidiary to the Church'. This subordination, he said, was a necessity, 'that it may carry out the spirit of its great commission, in reference to its own children - "Feed my lambs"...we can never, as a Church, abandon this without a surrender of our duty and a falsification of our trust'. As long as every religious group believed themselves to be the guardians of eternal truth, it is difficult to see now they could have been expected to take up any other attitude. The answer of Canon Toole, Catholic rector of St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, when he

12.H.W.Acland, *Health, Work and Play*, 1856, p.26; E.Hodder, *The Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, 1887, v.I, pp.459-60, v.2, p.340.

was asked whether he would prefer the children of his congregation to remain in ignorance rather than attend a secular school;

'...it is not my doing to leave them so; I exert myself to the last. I would lay down my life for them; to preserve them in the faith which I believe to be requisite for their eternal salvation; and if others step in, and interpose between me and them, or mulct them with the penalty of ignorance on account of their religious faith, it is not for me to be responsible for that',

may, by modern standards, be wrong-headed; but it is not contemptible.¹³

Kay-Shuttleworth, in his early official days, was no friend of denominational education,¹⁴ and is often depicted as bowing reluctantly to an unfortunate necessity when he accepted the policy of state cooperation with the voluntary bodies. His defence, not only of this policy, but of the denominational principle is for this reason, perhaps, worthy of extended quotation, as an eloquent statement of the position between 1846 and 1870. He made it as a witness to the Newcastle Commission, in circumstances, therefore, in which he had no motive to give anything but his candid opinion;

13. W.E.C., A.R., 1860, p.39; J.Sandford, op.cit., 1862, p.147; S.C. 1853, q.1183.

14. Note his proposal in October, 1839, that the state should take over the regulation of schools and teachers - Ball, op.cit., p.33.

'...The Government have never refused to profit by...experience
 ...I may define that experience to have resulted, first, in
 a deeper appreciation of the exceeding strength of the
 religious principle of this country, which devotes so large
 a portion of charity to the school as part of the religious
 social organisation - as a nursery for the church or the
 congregation. Secondly, I was led to admit what was very
 reluctantly forced on my mind, namely, the weakness of any
 other principle; as, for example, of the patriotic or the
 civil principle - upon which the Government could in any degree
 rely for the support of such an institution. I believe that
 no civil body in this country, apart from the central
 Government, has done anything worth speaking of for public
 education. I believe that all that has been done for
 education in this country hitherto, excepting what has been
 done by the central Government, has been derived from religious
 zeal. I will admit that this zeal may have to some extent
 partaken of the spirit of propagandism. It may even have had
 the harsher features of sectarian strife. But it has included
 in a much larger degree the same depth of religious conviction
 which led the religious communions to self-sacrificing exertions
 for the abolition of the slave-trade, and of slavery in our
 colonies, for the evangelization of the heathen, and for church
 and chapel extension. In like manner, to attribute this zeal
 chiefly or in a great degree to religious rivalry is to betray
 a very limited acquaintance with the religious communions of
 England. With this conviction of the truth and sincerity of
 the religious feeling which had promoted the education of the
 poor; as the religious bodies had clearly defined their
 intention not to accept a common school, it would have been
 unwise to attempt again to found a common school'. 15

Kay-Shuttleworth's opinion, then, was that action through the
 denominations was an essential condition of educational
 progress in this period. From the official point of view,
 as Frederick Temple put it, this meant that, 'Religious zeal
 was... made the driving wheel of the machine'. The government,
 he said, 'purchased the aid of the religious communities, by

incorporating their object with its own', giving in return 'what no money **could have** purchased - organization'.¹⁶ Inevitably, however, this combined operation confronted administrators with some problems, most of which are too well-known to need detailed discussion. An obvious - and expensive - one was the existence of the denominational Inspectorate, whose creation in the '40s had symbolised the concordat between the state and the churches. The disadvantages of having **three** groups of Inspectors - Anglican, undenominational, and Catholic - touring the country independently and simultaneously were obvious. A less tangible, but real, disadvantage was that the two latter groups covered districts so large as to make it difficult for them, even if they wished it, to play the part in local educational activities which many of the Anglican Inspectors, who functioned within limited areas, were able to do; it is perhaps significant that the most active of the non-Anglicans, John Daniel Morell, operated in the North West, the most compact non-Anglican district.¹⁷ It is a measure of the general confidence which H.M. Inspectorate had won during its **first** thirty years that the abolition of the denominational system in this field was not one of the controversial clauses of the 1870 Act and that an Inspectorate whose

16. Oxford Essays, p.235.

17. Morell, an ex-dissenting minister, was very popular in this district, attended educational meetings and conversaciones and was on the committee of the Education Aid Society.

senior members had all been denominational appointments was able to adjust to the new situation in the '70s.

Another result of the imbalance between Anglican and non-Anglican activity was the unsatisfactory position of teacher-training. The National Society, the diocesan boards, and the evangelicals had between them made ample provision for Anglican schools; indeed, the harsh terms of the Revised Code on this subject were largely dictated by an official conviction that there was too much.¹⁸ For the other denominations, the position was different. When only limited provision was possible, there were obvious advantages in placing the college in the London area, as did the Wesleyans at Westminster, the Congregationalists at Homerton, and the Catholics their men's college in Hammersmith.¹⁹ Borough Road was similarly placed, and when the sexes were separated the women's department was still kept in the metropolitan area at Stockwell. But this concentration on London created difficulties for provincials in distant parts of the country, difficulties which did not even begin to be solved until the foundation of Darlington

18. Minutes, 1860-1, p.274; 1861-2, pp.273-5.

19. By concentrating their women's training on Liverpool, they made sure that it was in the area of heaviest Catholic population.

College at the end of the period. Before this the only undenominational institution in the provinces was the Normal College at Bangor, founded in 1856, which not only had no attraction for English students, but was so unpopular with South Welsh pupil teachers that many of them preferred to learn the catechism and go to Anglican colleges rather than be banished to North Wales.²⁰ Nor were the non-Anglican colleges always able to meet the demand for places. The ladies' committee of Kendal British school went to both trouble and expense in 1865 to send one of their pupil teachers, who, though qualified, had been refused admission to Stockwell, to the Free Church Training School in Edinburgh. Some of the smaller denominations had real difficulty in finding trained teachers. We have already seen how long the committee of the Manchester Jews' School had to wait before it could appoint certificated Jewish teachers. The twenty Swedenborgian schools in Lancashire were mostly staffed by ex-pupil teachers from New Jerusalem, Manchester, as Borough Road would not admit them for training.²¹ Such difficulties, of course, were never really resolved until local authority colleges began to appear in the early 20th century.

20. Minutes, 1866-7, pp. 249-52. There was a gentlemen's agreement whereby Borough Road did not admit them. As this statement was made by Bowstead, the strongest opponent of denominational education in the Inspectorate, it cannot be regarded as an ex parte exaggeration.

21. Castle St., Kendal, M.B., 2.3.65, L.B.9.2.65; above, p. 194; Minutes, 1869-70, pp. 314-5.

For the administrator, however, the most unfortunate characteristic of the denominational system was the fact that, although most people except the Voluntaryists were resigned to the indiscriminate support of truth and error from taxation, many of them were wholly unwilling to countenance the use of local rates for the same purpose. Hence, the establishment of comprehensive local authorities, with financial powers, for elementary education not only proved impossible in the 1850s, but was, in fact, delayed until 1902. Before 1870, the absence of any local agency larger than the school committee certainly complicated the work of the civil servants who had to administer the parliamentary grant. Since there was no body competent to levy a rate, an alternative source of revenue went untapped; nor was there anyone upon whom could be laid the task of providing schools where voluntary agencies had failed. In the long run, these weaknesses were to bring about the end of the system, but not in the conditions of the '50s, when none of the various Education Bills²² could command enough support to become law.

22. For a general discussion of these see S.E. Maltby, *Manchester and the Movement for National Education, 1918*, pp. 78-92.

The significance of 'religious zeal' as a motive for the founding of schools has been examined in chapter 2; the effects of 'sectarian strife' have now to be considered. In the early days of the British and National Societies, their rivalries certainly led in many places to the foundation of two schools instead of one;²³ and although there were disadvantages in this, in towns of any size it may be regarded as gain rather than loss. The degree to which, by the 1840s, education had become an important sector in the battleground between church and dissent is clear in, for example, the circular which Dr. Whittaker, of Blackburn, sent to the clergy of his deanery in 1839, enquiring into school provision;

'...the Committee are very anxious to know how far the religious education of the poor is obstructed by the hostility of parties unconnected with the Church, and the means employed by them to instil an aversion from her. Be pleased to specify, so far as your knowledge goes, what bodies of sectarians are most active in this preventive warfare, - and the best methods which have occurred to you for counteracting these efforts'. 24

Denominational militarism of this sort undoubtedly stimulated effort in some areas, as, presumably, the committee of the declining British school in Pontefract recognised, when they handed it over to the Wesleyans, to see if they could do

23. For example, in Derby the public meeting called to establish the National school, was followed within a few days by another to establish the British school.

24. Blackburn, Coucher Book, 17, 20.4.39.

better.²⁵ A petition to Dr. Whittaker (undated, but belonging to the '40s) from thirty inhabitants and the Sunday school teachers of Botton Gate, asking permission to use the Sunday school building as a day school, begged 'the more earnestly that you will grant our request, because the Independents are about to open a day and Sunday school in this neighbourhood...'. The rector of Shelton, in the Potteries, wrote plaintively to the National Society of the woes of the Etruria district, 'ruled over' by 'a family (Unitarian!) of the name of Wedgwood':

'...there is no school, except an apology for a Sunday school, where the children were lately offered utilitarian books gratis by the Unitarians, if the Bible would only be let aside!! It pains my heart to think of this part of my parish...I am building a Church for Etruria; -O that I had a School for it!' 26

The strongest reactions, however, were aroused by the presence of what the Wesleyan Education Committee, under the stress of 'Papal Aggression' in 1850, called a 'dark, degrading, and polluting superstition'. One Anglican parson asserted that his school had a 'peculiar claim' to aid from the Church of England Education Society, on account of 'the

25. They did, achieving an average attendance of 160-W.E.C., A.R., 1854, pp.44-5. Cp. the fictional rector quoted in W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, 1964, pp.27-8 (note) '...the dissenters got a great school up here and carried off everyone from the church, and then the new bishop made a fuss about it; so at last I was forced to give in and allow my curate to get up a parish school'.

26. Blackburn, *Coucher Book*, St. Clements; N.S. Files, Shelton, Stoke-on-Trent, 25.9.43. This was less than fair to the Wedgwoods who were prominent in educational activities in the Potteries.

watchful efforts made by the Romish priests and several Sisters of Mercy to entice children to their schools'. 'Our school', wrote another, 'is the only barrier, under God, to the spread of Romanism in this village and in the neighbourhood'. A rare example of a group of clergymen agreeing to give up their independence and combine to found a district school occurred when the incumbents of five small parishes on the estates of the Catholic Berkeleys, of Spetchley Park, Worcestershire, jointly established Bredicot National school, in opposition to a school 'under the special Patronage of a resident Roman-Catholic "Squire", having a Chaplain, resident in this Parish..' and 'extremely active amongst the children'.²⁷ Such hostility, moreover, was not only directed against other denominations. In the eyes of many low churchmen there was little to choose between professed Catholics and some who claimed to be fellow-Anglicans. Miss Annie Croker, the foundress of Bovey Tracey British school, was not more horrified by the hosts of Midian in the form of Tractarians than were the evangelical parsons who sought aid from the Church of England Education Society²⁸ - especially the one faced by a

27. W.E.C., A.R., 1850, p.35; Church of England Education Society, A.R. 1853-4, p.7; 1856-7, p.28; N.S. Files, Bredicot, 3.9.44, 4.11.44. The school was still functioning in 1865-S.C. 1865, qq.7285-6. The clergy had been careful to appoint a tactful man - they did not want 'talking, prating Protestants'.

28. Church of England Education Society, A.R. 1853-4, p.13; 1854-5, pp.16, 19. For Miss Croker and her obsession with Tractarians see Sellman, op.cit., pp.42, 96-7; cp. also p.24 (note) - a National school endowment provided the master was not 'of the Persuasion of Pusey or Bishop Philpotts' (sic).

Tractarian committee determined to open a new school and; '...to exclude me, the Clergyman of the parish, from all participation in the management.

The hostility of this party to Evangelical truth, even when combined, as it is in this case, with reverence for Church order, is intensely bitter'.

Zeal of this quality was unconcerned with discretion and was open to the criticism of being liable to create two struggling schools where a single one might perhaps have flourished. The Education Department, while professing to maintain strict impartiality between denominations,²⁹ attempted to check this by its refusal to give grants for building or enlargement where it deemed existing school accommodation to be sufficient. Such checks, of course, only operated where schools were built with government aid; and a glance at the annual grant lists shows places with more than one denominational school in which the numbers at one or both schools were so small as to suggest that the situation was uneconomic. A few figures from the statistics for 1865 will illustrate this point. At Tebworth (Beds) the average attendance in the National school was 20, in the Wesleyan 43. Similarly, at Kilburn (Yorks.) the figures were 24 and 46, and at Twyford (Leics.) 60 and 29.

29.P.R.O.Ed.9/4,p.28, 'It is unnecessary to inquire whether flourishing schools ought to exist'.

The British school at Elstead (Surrey) had an average of 34, the National school, 41. Where there were three or more schools, the position was sometimes even stranger. At Ilfracombe, there were two National schools with average attendance figures of 144 and 150, and a British school with 39. The corresponding figures at Ware were 234, 147, and 37. The two National schools at Wainfleet (Lincs.) had averages of 133 and 80; the Wesleyan figure was 35. At Weston-super-Mare, where there were three National schools with averages of, respectively, 222, 111, and 115, the average attendance at the British school was only 16!

The total number of such cases on the list is not, however, large; although there were no doubt many other schools in a similar position which were too poor to aspire to government aid. Nor was the refusal to combine always primarily due to doctrinal differences. When a group of tradesmen in Cricklade established a British school for their sons (the only other provision being the National school 'and to that they would not send them') and appealed to Lord Radnor for a subscription, his agent investigated and reported that the parents of the thirteen pupils in the British school were moved as much by class-consciousness as by religion - they objected to the 'charitable character' of the National school.³⁰ Moreover, when observers complained -

30. Radnor Papers, Cricklade school, 1856.

as did G.^CT. Bartley in his investigation of the Bethnal Green area - that there was an excessive number of competing schools, this was often due, not to denominational strife, but to the parochialism of Anglicans, who, as has been noted, insisted on maintaining separate schools even in parishes with only a small child population. In Oxford city in 1865, for example, there were nine grant-aided parish schools. The largest of them had an average attendance of 264, and three others had figures of between 150 and 200; but three - St. Thomas', St. Aldate's and St. Michael's - had the uneconomic averages of 44, 41, and 22 respectively. In such ancient cities, with their minute parishes, there was a clear case against the maintenance of separate schools; but the position in an area like Bethnal Green was by no means so certain, for here the surplus was not absolute, but only the result of existing social conditions. If the attendance problem, to be discussed in the next two chapters, could have been solved, Bethnal Green, with 13,413 school places (over 3,500 of them unfilled in 1869) and an estimated child population of over 40,000, would have had a shortage, not an excess of schools.³¹

^C
31. G. T. Bartley, One Square Mile in the East End of London, 2nd edition, 1870, pp. 16, 30-31, 40-41. Bartley was Henry Cole's son-in-law. The survey was undertaken for the Society of Arts.

It must be emphasised that in many areas the conditions described above did not obtain, since they never had more than one public elementary school. In districts populous enough to support several, however, there were other results inconvenient to managers. Any unilateral raising of fees was dangerous. The committee of St. Mary's, Islington, for instance, confronted with a financial crisis in 1854, decided against solving it by introducing fees, since the children would thereby be 'more subjected to the allurements of the neighbouring Roman Catholic Schools'.³² The money spent by committees on treats and the provision of clothes, already discussed, was in part an insurance against 'allurements'. Indeed, a form of good works popular amongst some zealous religionists was the inducing of parents to remove their children from schools of the wrong denomination, and send them to schools of the right one. In the case of Anglicans and Catholics, this often took the form of direct demands by the clergy that parents should do their duty to their church - demands with which, as an entry in the log book of Marshall Street British school, Manchester, shows, some parents found it advisable to comply, at least temporarily;

32. St. Mary, Islington, 28.4.54.

23rd. November, 1865 'Mrs. Gallacher called to say she must take her 3 children away for a time, for the priest had given her such a "hearing" they will return after Christmas'.³³

In other cases, clergy were accused of offering the inducements of free education, or clothes.³⁴ Sometimes an employer brought pressure on an employee to send his child to another school;³⁵ or an unemployed parent was offered the fee if the child was sent to the rival establishment;³⁶ and occasionally there were allegations of more sinister activities. Thus, the master of Moreton-in-Marsh National school accused his opponents of bribery and of spreading false rumours of a rise in fees - 'The dissenters are making strenuous efforts to undermine our schools'; while a fall in numbers at Eaton Bishop National school was blamed on the dissenting minister's having misrepresented a case of skin disease and advised parents to keep the children away.³⁷

Such militant sectarianism has been thoroughly reported by educational historians. Its exponents were numerous and vocal; they provide a flattering contrast with our own more enlightened days, and a fund of good stories. It is, however, perfectly possible to build up from the evidence a picture

33. Marshall St. (Manchester Archives), also 3.10.64. Other examples - Hayle Foundry, 24.10.65; Stafford Br. 2.5.67; Basingstoke L.B., 13.3.65; Henley-in-Arden, Br., Admission Register, 1863.

34. Marshall St., Manchester, 6.2.63, 20.2.63, 4.9.63; Hulme Operatives, Manchester, 19.9.65.

35. Melton Mowbray (Leics. R.O.) L.B. 4.6.66; Stafford Br. 30.4.66.

36. Holy Trinity, Winchester (Hants R.O.) 1.6.63; Wordsley, 17.5.67.

37. Moreton-in-Marsh (Glos. R.O.) 21.9.64, 28.9.64; Eaton Bishop, 1.12.64.

of inter-denominational tolerance, or even cooperation, in certain quarters. Richard Dawes regularly appeared on the platform at the annual general meetings of the British and Foreign School Society. The Home and Colonial School Society's policy of training for work in schools of all the Protestant denominations has already been noted. Teachers trained at the National Society's Battersea College not infrequently took posts in British schools, while no less than seven of the thirty-five women who left the Free Church Training School in Edinburgh in 1864 were appointed to English or Welsh National schools. Mr. Smith, the headmaster of Lower Moseley Street British school, Manchester, between 1857 and 1880, had been a pupil there, had served his apprenticeship at Sir Benjamin Heywood's Tractarian school in Miles Platting and had then returned immediately to Lower Moseley Street as an assistant. John Gill, the Master of Method at Cheltenham Training College, arranged for his son to become a pupil teacher in the British school, not in one of the local church schools. As late as 1867, the Mother Superior at Mount Pleasant accepted for training a Manchester girl who had served her apprenticeship, not at one of the numerous Catholic schools in Manchester, but at Marshall Street British School.³⁸ Detailed local

38. B.F.S., A.R.s, passim; Radnor Papers, Dawes-Radnor, 24.1.56; Minutes, 1866-7, p. 535; Evening Chronicle, 13.3.14 (Manchester Local History Library); Cheltenham, 7.11.67, 18.11.67; Marshall St., Manchester, 26.9.67.

study would be necessary to establish whether there were any, or how many dissenters in those villages which rated themselves to support the church school; but if there were any, they clearly accepted the situation. Two interesting instances of toleration, from Catholic sources, were the school at Stamfordham, Northumberland, which served a population 75% Catholic, 25% Protestant, and in which there was no religious teaching on weekdays, and the policy of the school in Burnley:

'Owing to the attendance of many children of other denominations, the religious instruction is strictly confined to morality, and such doctrinal points of Christianity as are held in common both by Catholics and Protestants'. 39

There is occasional evidence amongst managers of direct personal interest in schools of another denomination. The Quaker Ransome family visited Holy Trinity school, Ipswich. In Kendal, the incumbent of St. George's subscribed to the British school, whose master was one of his parishioners, while Rev. Mr. Monserrat, of St. Thomas's, was given permission to spend time observing the routine in the girls' British school, as he wanted to reorganise his own and put it under inspection. A local Presbyterian minister used the Unitarian school in Embden Street, Manchester, for a similar purpose although there were inspected Presbyterian

39. See above, p. 356; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 1st Report, p. 241; Report of Factory Inspectors, 1847-8, 1, p. 7.

schools in the town. The clergy of St. John's, Mansfield, visited Pleasley Hill British school to see how the knotty problem of providing sewing materials was solved there. This school, indeed, was clearly on the most amicable terms with the established church. Not only were the rector's wife and daughter regular visitors, but the master was given leave of absence to escort the confirmation candidates to the ceremony at Bolsover. At St. Thomas, Charterhouse, William Rogers demonstrated his capacity for making friends and influencing people when, after a visit to Golden Lane school, three Catholic priests declared themselves prepared for Catholic children to attend it.⁴⁰ Such cases were doubtless in the minority; but they must be taken into account before generalisations about mid-Victorian education are made.

In a very few instances, attempts at a combined school were made. Faversham, with nonconformist representation on the board of trustees and on the management committee, and a conscience clause in all the schools, was virtually one such. The British and Foreign School Society's annual report for 1860 described the foundation of a school at Cley-next-the-Sea, with the rector as chairman of the managers -!...here

40. Holy Trinity, Ipswich, 18.5.68; MSS Memoirs of T. Hill (Archives, Kendal) p.41; Castle St., Kendal, L.B. 15.10.67; Domestic Mission, Manchester, 4-9-65; Pleasley Hill, 1.7.67, 17.10.67, 17.1.68, 14.2.68, etc.; S.C. 1861, q. 1071.

the British school will be pre-eminently the parish school, having the support of all the parishioners, from the rector and the lord of the manor down to the poorest cottager, of whatever denomination'. Another example was the Anglican school of Holy Trinity, Hoxton, established by Bishop Tait. The school was built on church land, largely by subscription from nonconformist employers in this very poor district (Barclay's, the Quaker brewers, subscribed £1000). The trust deed contained a conscience clause, and the provision that one out of every three vacancies on the committee of management must be filled with dissenters. The two dissenting managers were, said the incumbent, in describing it to the Select Committee of 1866, very active; he would, he added, have no objection to dissenting ministers, if they were elected. A rather similar basis had been provided in 1854 for the National school at Tattenhall, in Cheshire, a village with a large nonconformist population, in which, as G.R. Moncrieff said when resigning the living to become an Inspector of Schools, it was necessary that the rector should be 'a pastor who will preach to them the simple doctrines of the Reformers'. Although the deeds contained the usual clauses of union with the National Society, Moncrieff arranged that half the managers should be dissenters. The schools (i.e. the boys' and girls' departments) were, said the nonconformists

at a later date, 'virtually British Schools...in which all the dissenters have for many years heartily joined churchmen in educational efforts'.⁴¹ The later troubles of Tattenhall, to be described below, illustrate the difficulties to which such experiments were liable.

In Hoxton and Tattenhall the schools were designed to meet the special needs of districts in which, in the one case, 'utter irreligion and godlessness', and in the other, dissent were prevalent. There were many such areas. The fact that similar experiments were so rare was partly the result of intolerance, but also of the fact that there was a sharp division between the public opinion of school promoters and the public opinion of parents. In spite of the frequent assertions of the secularists that parents of one denomination would not in conscience send their children to the schools of another, the evidence is overwhelming that in most instances the doctrinal issues which were so important to promoters mattered little to parents; and consequently the consciences even of many sincerely religious parents remained untroubled by differences between schools which caused agonies to managers.

In part this resulted from the fact that in the middle of the century distinctions between sects, though sharpening,

41. PP..1862, XLIII, I, pp. 20-21; B.F.S., A.R., 1860, p.9; S.C., 1866, qq.1739-1789; Moncrieff-Bishop of Chester, 1.2.55, Chester Chronicle, 23.1.69. (Tattenhall Misc.Papers).

were not so clearly defined as they were to become later. This was especially true of the Methodists, whom even so high a churchman as Bishop Phillpotts could describe as separatists rather than dissenters - '...they differ from us in no doctrine which the Articles of our Church condemn'.⁴²

Mary Simpson,⁴³ who admitted that Methodism was the only religion with a real hold in East Yorkshire, remarked:

'I am glad...that it is the only sort of dissent prevalent about here, for it seems the least objectionable of any'.

There was hardly a trace, she said amongst Methodists, of rancour or ill-will. Some even seemed to 'look back to the Church of their forefathers with something of regret, as to a spiritual home that they have deserted'. In country districts, attendance at both church and chapel was still very frequent. Bishop Wilberforce's visitation returns contain many references to this practice; the Regius Professor of Divinity, for example, reported from Ewelme that 'many of the people resort to the Meeting houses as well as to the Church; in some cases even Communicants'. As late as 1865, a Somersetshire parson remarked, 'I cannot say that none of my people attend any Nonconformist

42. G.C.B. Davies, *op.cit.*, p.148.

43. See above, p. 244.

place of worship, but they all come to church', and in the following year Canon Melville, of Great Witley, Worcestershire, asserted that the local dissenters hardly realised what they were - they went to church in the morning and meeting-house in the evening. The Anglican pupil teacher who left her London National school apprenticeship voluntarily, in order to 'enjoy the privilege of sitting without interruption under the Rev. Mr. Spurgeon', must have come into the same category;⁴⁴ and in such cases there was no reason why parents should object to a church school.

To Wesleyans, and some others, even the catechism presented no problems. As J.P.Norris said, 'it was the work of those fathers of the Reformation whom Dissenters reverence as much as we do'. In towns, divisions were usually more clear-cut; but at times sufficiently narrow for there to be recorded at least two mass migrations of dissenters to the church and school of a parson who had won their respect - at Stoke-on-Trent of Wesleyans, and, more surprisingly, of Primitive Methodists at Low Moor, Bradford.⁴⁵ Some such considerations must be assumed to explain the frequent presence of dissenting ministers' children in church schools, not only in villages, but in areas where

44. Digby Ledgard, op.cit. pp.98,137; E.P.Baker op.cit., p.56 - see also under Banbury, Bicester, Bletchington, Bloxham, Checkendon, Cowley, Crowmarsh, Drayton, Eynsham, Hook Norton, Kirtlington, Merton, Little Milton, South Newington, Newton Revell, Ramsden, Salford, Swinbrook, Wardington; S.C.1865, q.5402; 1866, qq.2260-3; Minutes, 1857-8, p.382.

45. N.C., v.6, q.2036; S.C.1866, q.1860; F.D.How, A Memoir of Bishop Stamer, 1910, p.97; Report of the Commissioner for Mines, 1856-7, pp.57-9.

there were plenty of alternatives available - in Sheffield, for example, where a number served as pupil teachers in Anglican schools, or as late as 1869 in both St. Mary's Haggerstone, and Shoreditch Parochial School, although in the neighbourhood there were a number of dissenting schools, and Abbey Street, one of the best known of the London British schools.⁴⁶

Where parents had the opportunity to choose between schools, religious factors usually had only a minor influence upon them. The ease with which many of them could be persuaded to move their children, and the trivial reasons which induced them to take them away,⁴⁷ sufficiently show that conscientious scruples were not involved. Children were always coming and going from and to Abbey Street, said the master of Bethnal Green National School, but never on account of the religious instruction.⁴⁸ Mrs. Partridge, patroness of Ross and Monmouth National schools, which were attended, she said, by Roman Catholics, Baptists,

46. N.C., v. 5, p. 190; Bartley, op. cit., pp. 62, 72; cp. Minutes, 1869-70, p. 50; cp. J. H. Hinton, Baptist minister in Manchester, (S.C. 1853, q. 1561) 'Within the limit of what are called evangelical communions no sect cares a straw... My child, if he be made to fear God, and love Christ, I care very little in comparison whether he be a Baptist or Paedo-Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, or Churchman'.

47. See pp. 456-8.

48. Bartley, op. cit., p. 63.

Wesleyans, Independents and Ranters, informed the Newcastle Commission that religious scruples were 'not entertained by parents among the lower orders, where they are not stirred up by some fomenters of mischief'; and this view was confirmed unanimously by the Assistant Commissioners. In Devonport and St. George's-in-the-East, where there had been anti-ritualist riots in the '50s, the attendance even at good high church schools was low; but elsewhere, 'The question of religious belief rarely enters their heads in choosing or refusing a school'. When Coode, who reported on the Black Country and the Potteries, asked parents to explain their choice of school, the reasons they gave were practical and pragmatic - it was nearer; the road was better; the mistress made the girls tidy; the writing was better; the lady got good places, etc. When religion entered at all, it was on such doubtful theological grounds as:- the master was teetotal; the vicar 'struts about the town in a shovel hat'; or, 'I hate all dissenters'.⁴⁹ What parents believed to be efficiency undoubtedly counted for most. In a National school with a good reputation, Anglicans might well be in a minority, as at St. Paul's, Bristol, where, of 195

49. N.C., v.2, pp.60-1, 164, 197-9, 277-9, 348; v.3, pp.57, 66, 243-4, 353-4, 528; v.5, pp.331-2.

families, 65 attended church, 90 chapel, and 40 neither.

The high value set on good teaching accounts for the surprising willingness of Protestant parents, noted by Lingen, to send their daughters to schools run by nuns. A low church parson was candid enough to admit that, of the four schools in his parish, his own and the two dissenting schools were inefficient;

'...not so in the convent school. The consequence is, they have obtained many of our children...I have no hesitation in saying this would not have been the case had we a well-qualified mistress'.⁵⁰

Having chosen the school for non-religious reasons, most parents were content to take the religious instruction as they found it, even when concessions were offered. At Holy Trinity, Hoxton, only ten children out of nearly 500 took advantage of the conscience clause and opted out of catechism lessons, When a conscience clause was applied at Long Eaton National school in the '60s, at first a number of children were affected; but when the novelty had worn off, apart from the inevitable stage at which the boys 'tried it on' ('Some stayed out of Catechism whose parents do not object - made them go in'), only about twelve took advantage of it, although there were 108 dissenting families in the village. Dr. Molesworth of Rochdale found few takers when he offered the right of withdrawal; in Sandbach during twelve years, said

⁵⁰N.C., v.3, p.31; v.6, q.530; S.C. 1866, q.3484 - 'Sometimes as many as half of the children are Protestant'; Church of England Education Society, A.R., 1853-4, p.13.

John Armitstead, one boy only, 'as I believe, "mero motu", objected to the catechism, 'possibly to avoid the trouble attendant upon learning it, and, on the following day, asked leave to withdraw his objection'. Horace Powys, the rector of Warrington, publicly invited parents to ask for their children to be withdrawn. No one applied, so, we are told, people then said, 'it was because they were afraid of you'; so he altered his approach and only taught the catechism to those who asked for it; and everyone did. Assistant Commissioner James Fraser, although he exaggerated, was not wholly inaccurate when he told the Newcastle Commission that nobody minded the "catechiz".⁵¹

The remarkable indifference of parents to the religious questions which exercised managers provided supporters of secular education with an argument alternative to, although not altogether consistent with, the one which stated that denominational differences prevented children from attending school. To denominationalists, however, it merely emphasised the need to make the children better Christians than their fathers, and underlined the fallacy of arguing, as some secularists did, that if religion were excluded from schools,

51.S.C.1866,qq.1752,1754,1759,1785,2930;S.C.1852q.576 - 'At first a few separated themselves but gradually they all fell in again...; J.Armitstead,Popular Education, 1856,p.47;Long Eaton,B.,9.3.65, 5. 12.67, 16.1.68;PP.1867,LV,27,p.4;N.C.v.2, pp.60-1.

it would be learnt at the proper place, the parental knee.⁵² Moreover, with an inconsistency which has survived amongst some of their descendants in the 20th. century, even parents with no religious commitment felt religion to be an appropriate part of their children's education. Bartley's evidence, as that of a man not closely involved in current disputes, is particularly interesting. Discounting such eccentrics as the Jewish father who objected to his son's exclusion from Anglican religious instruction on the ground that he was being deprived of something he had paid for, Bartley found that Bethnal Green parents, not a devout set of people, many of whom, indeed, could not distinguish one sect from another, expressed themselves almost unanimously in favour of the teaching of religion in schools. He met only two secularists, one of whom said he wanted secular education based upon the Bible and Dr. Watts's catechism!⁵³ The value of such parental support of religion might be more than doubtful; but if it gave little comfort to church leaders, it did not help secularists either.

It is against this background that the dispute over the conscience clause must be seen, if it is to be fully

52. On this point see G.F.A. Best's remarks, *op.cit.*, 1956, pp.171-2; *op.Lionard Horner (.S.C.1853, q.1454)* 'I have always been of opinion that religious training was an essential part of the education of that class of children, and that if they did not get it in schools, I do not know where else they could get it'.

53. Bartley, *op.cit.*, pp.22-3, 46, 50, 51.

understood. Of all the educational problems of the period it was politically (although not, in the present writer's view, educationally) the most important, and was certainly uppermost in the minds of M.P.s. when they were debating Forster's Bill. As Dr. Cruickshank has pointed out,⁵⁴ part of its significance lay in the fact that it involved for the first time a direct confrontation between church and dissent in the sphere of educational politics - and this at the time when the Liberation Society was at its most active and when the destruction of the obsolete privileges of the establishment seemed to be in sight. In actual fact, the Catholics had as much reason to complain as had dissenters - perhaps more, since 'scriptural instruction' was as offensive to them as Anglicanism, and they particularly objected to ragged schools 'as part of a system of proselytism'. But there were few Catholics in single-school areas, except where a community existed on the estates of a Catholic squire, and in such cases the school was likely to be Catholic anyway; nor had the priesthood any desire to encourage their flock to attend Protestant schools; so their pressure

54. M. Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education*, 1963, p. 10.

- which was powerful - was confined to the protection of Catholic children in workhouses.⁵⁵

Essentially, the conscience clause controversy at this stage concerned the right of parents to withdraw their children, on conscientious grounds, from compulsory church attendance on Sundays and from the teaching of Anglican doctrine, as laid down in one of the National Society's terms of union:

'children received into these schools be, without exception, instructed in the Liturgy and Catechism, and..do constantly attend Divine Service in their Parish Church, or other place of worship under the Establishment, wherever the same is practicable, on the Lord's Day.'⁵⁶

The origins of the dispute go back to the earliest days of the Society, when the group of devout politicians interested in its foundation tried to prevent the adoption of this clause, on the grounds that the right policy for the church was 'comprehension, and not exclusion'.⁵⁷ The terms were not invariably adopted by the Branch Societies without modification. The Suffolk Society, for instance, added, 'unless such Reason for their non-attendance be assigned as shall be satisfactory to the Persons having the Direction of that School'. Admittedly in 1839 the then secretary declared that this applied to accidental causes only, that '...no Child ought to be admitted

55. S.C.1853,q.1064;FP.1870,CLV,265,p.171; McClelland,op.cit., pp.42-47.

56. H.J.Burgess,op.cit.,p.157; the whole dispute is described in pp.157-171.

57. G.F.A.Best,op.cit.,1964,p.266.

to the School whose Parent requires to stipulate the Child is not to conform to any or all the fundamental Rules of the Society';⁵⁸ but even this left loopholes. It is clear that, almost from the beginning, the regulation was a dead letter in many schools, and that this situation did not worry the National Society's central committee until, as Burgess has pointed out, the increasing influence of the Tractarians emphasised the importance of church attendance and knowledge of church formularies.

By the '40s and '50s, however, the position of the committee had become very difficult, caught as it was between its own high church connections and predilections and the facts of the case - that large sections of the clergy disagreed with the terms of union, and that the Society had no means of enforcing them. Probably it was its ordeal at the hands of Archdeacon Denison over the Management Clauses⁵⁹ which caused the committee to maintain an extraordinarily ostrich-like policy in this matter. It would neither alter the terms of union, nor explain them away; but at the same time it firmly turned a blind eye to their breach, even when it must have been exceedingly difficult to do so - as, for example,

58. Suffolk Society, M.B., 25.2.12; 20.12.39.

59. Professor Chadwick has pointed out that one of its problems was that until the revival of Convocation, its A.G.M.s provided provincial clergy with almost their only opportunity to meet and air their general grievances (op cit., pp.343-4).

in giving a grant of £50. to St. James's, Clitheroe, a school which, its managers stated, was:

'...conducted on the most liberal principles, without any religious test being required in the education of the children and where the Catechism of the Church of England is not taught except to those children whose parents desire it.'

and £35. to Washington school, whose committee accepted it:

'Provided the Rector for the time being, be allowed to use his discretion so as not to be compelled to insist upon the children of Dissenters being taught the Catechism and Liturgy of the Church of England.' 60

Occasionally this attitude became impossible to maintain. In 1852, for example, Richard Dawes, by then Dean of Hereford, sent the secretary of the National Society the new rules made by the trustees of the Scudamore Charity School in Hereford, one of which stated that 'no child, whose parents object, shall be required to be present' at the teaching of the catechism, or church formularies; accompanying them with a threat that unless this rule was accepted by the Society, the trustees would withdraw from union with it. This was too much. Lonsdale, the secretary, wrote to refuse and the trustees, under Dawes's chairmanship, duly voted to carry out their threat. But Bishop Hampden intervened in the surprising role of protector of orthodoxy, used his episcopal veto, called Dawes to order and, pointing out that the endowment was intended for the whole of a city which was full of dissent, and that some sort of

60. St. James, Clitheroe, N.B., 23.11.43, 4.1.44; Washington, 10.6.57.

allowance must be made for this, re-framed the rules so that everyone's face was saved. The tone of the correspondence suggests that Dawes, who was an open critic of National Society policy,⁶¹ hoped to make a public issue of the Scudamore case, but was prevented from doing so by Hampden.

The position in church schools, in general was very confused. Of the bishops who in 1853 replied to the Society's request for information as to the teaching of the liturgy and catechism, only two (Bangor and St. Asaph) replied that the whole was taught in all schools to all children. The Bishop of Llandaff refused to make the enquiry at all. Bishop Lonsdale of Lichfield urged his clergy not to insist upon dissenters learning the catechism. The Carlisle Diocesan Society refused aid to any school not operating a conscience clause.⁶² In individual schools there were the widest possible variations of practice. A few managers followed Denison in stressing church membership to the exclusion of unbaptised children.⁶³ These, however, were a small minority and other clergymen were very sensitive on the subject. The incumbent of Christ Church, Dover was reduced to almost incoherent rage when he found that both his schoolmistresses

61. See his Remarks occasioned by the present crusade against... the Committee of Council, 1850; the above account is based on N.S. Files, Scudamore School, Hereford.

62. N.S., A.R., 1853, pp. xxii-xxv; E.B. Denison, Life of John Lonsdale, 1868, p. 79; S.C. 1866, qq. 1313-5.

63. Examples - N.C., v. 3, p. 253; S.C. 1865, qq. 7799, 7835-6.

had recorded in their log books the expulsion of a family because they were unbaptised;

'Alice Barton was not expelled for not being baptized but in Consequence of the insolence of her Mother...and also in consequence of her refusing to listen to my arguments on the subject of Infant baptism...'
'...It is also a wrong statement that the Parents are Baptists they are Latter Day Saints and intend as the Mother herself told me to go to the Salt Lake as soon as ever they can.

'It would be well if Miss. Goldsmith in future were to take the trouble to get at the true state of a case before she enters it in the Log Book.' 64

Many carried out the terms of union literally, and expected dissenters not only to learn the catechism, but also to attend church on Sundays. Observers were generally agreed that to most nonconformists the latter was the thing that mattered, and that a parson who tried to introduce it where it had not previously been the practice was asking for trouble. It is certainly true that most of the very few instances of religious difficulty in the records used for this study concerned the question of Sunday attendance, and that even so high a churchman as Robert Gregory did not enforce it.⁶⁵

64. Christ Church, Dover, G., I., 19.4.64.

65. N.C., v.2, p.60; v.3, p.66; v.5, p.327; S.C.1865, qq.1581, 2109, 3304-7, 4564; 5091-3; 1866, qq.827, 990, 1787; S.I.C.v.5, q.15012; for examples of Wesleyan schools founded because of a dispute over Sunday attendance, W.E.C., A.R., 1852, p.93; 1858, p.49. Individual cases - Radnor Papers, Market Lavington, 5.6.58; Phillack (Cornwall R.O.) 17.5.65, 24.4.66; Moreton-in-Marsh, N., 2.11.63; Clungunford, 16.4.66; 13-7-66.

On the other hand the master of Inkberrow N. (Worcesters R.O.) recorded that on Ash Wednesday, when the school was closed but the Anglican children went to church, 3 R.Cs. and 2 dissenters 'came expressly to accompany the others' (1.3.65). An interesting case occurred at St. Mary Cray (28.4.57) when the lay trustees defeated the clergyman's proposals that dissenters' children should be exempted from church attendance.

It does not appear to have been very common in towns. In the country, where it was in many districts normal, the factors of church attendance discussed above presumably help to explain why resistance was rare.

In a very large number of schools the catechism was taught with, as several of the Bishops put it to the National Society, slight variants for dissenters. This usually meant either relying on the teacher to remember not to put the questions on baptism to Baptists, or verbal modifications like that used for dissenters in Hugh Stowell's school in Salford - 'What engagements were made for you in your baptism?'. Many of these clergy professed themselves willing to exempt children from the whole if the parents asked. In this instance, Rogers was probably typical. He requested parents to have their children baptised before sending them to school, unless they had religious scruples; and he taught the catechism - he would, he said, make other arrangements if the parents objected, but they did not.⁶⁶ Then there were those who made more formal offers of exemption from the catechism, with results already discussed; and, finally, the small minority who made special arrangements for all doctrinal instruction - like Edward Akroyd, who, in the National schools attached to 66.S.C.1853,q.1780;W.Rogers,op.cit.,1854,p.37;S.C.1861,qq.1072-3.

his Halifax mills, confined doctrine to the Sunday school; or the rector of Stoke-on-Trent, who, with the help of his curates, gave all the religious teaching in his five schools and excused dissenters from attending, or the committee of Painswick National school. This school had always had a conscience clause, and, after its amalgamation with the endowed school in 1854, adopted regulations as formal as any of the post-1870 era. The terms of the endowment required that the free boys be taught Anglican doctrine. This was fixed for Tuesdays and Fridays, 11-12.30, so that dissenting parents could remove their children altogether; and even if they stayed, they were not to be taught the catechism.⁶⁷

Clergy who implemented such 'comprehension' generally argued, as did Frederick Temple, that to demand more was to make the school more exclusive than the church, which did not deny her ministrations to those who would only accept them partially. 'If the parent will not allow me to lead his child to school and to church', said Archdeacon Allen, 'I am thankful to do all the good I am able to do to the child by drawing him to what I judge to be the best school'; or, as the curate of Holy Trinity, Hoxton, put it, 'I consider that I am there to teach people as much as they will allow me to teach them'.⁶⁸

67. Hill, *op.cit.*, p.269; How, *op.cit.*, p.97; Painswick, M.B. Rules.
68. Oxford Essays, pp.243-4; R.M. Grier, John Allen, 1889, p.89; S.C. 1866, q.1789.

These views are usually associated with 'bread' and 'low' as distinct from 'high' churchmen; but in fact the extent to which they were held depended at least partly on the social conditions of different districts. Where, as in Lancashire, West Yorkshire and Cornwall, dissent was strong, articulate and self-conscious, churchmen, whether 'high' or 'low', had had to learn to live with it; and some form of concession was nearly universal.⁶⁹ Certainly high churchmen, with their emphasis on formularies, sacraments, and frequent church attendance found it more difficult to accept than did others; but the vociferousness of Denison and the popularity of 'Tractarian' as a general term of abuse in Victorian England, has tended to obscure the fact that even Tractarians were not united in opposition to the conscience clause.

In 1849, for instance, when Denison was launched upon his campaign to capture the National Society, Charles Marriott of Oriel, the friend of Newman and Gladstone, published one of the most reasoned defences of special treatment for dissenters ever written by a churchman. Just because church membership was so significant, he argued,

'...she not only may, but ought to teach her own children in a different manner from that in which she teaches those who have never been admitted within her pale'.

69. S.C.1852, q.1363; S.C.1865, qq.2551, 6010; Report of Factory Inspectors, 1852-3, 1, pp.17-19; Minutes, 1867-8, pp.445; 1869-70, pp.44-51. Phillack was an exception.

The entry of a child into membership of the church needed the parents' consent; the church had no right to encourage children to disobey their parents. No child, therefore, who had not been baptised into the church should be compelled, or even allowed to learn the catechism, as it implied church membership; although children of parents who wished them ultimately to become churchmen might attend a preparatory class. The church had a duty to provide education for all children; but under these conditions only should the children of dissenters attend church schools. Archdeacon Sandford took the same view. Amongst parish clergymen, the Tractarian vicar of East Dereham accepted a conscience clause in the trust deeds of his school in 1859 (and was roundly abused by the Radical 'Norfolk News' for thus sacrificing his principles!). E.P.Arnold, H.M.I., remarked to a parents' meeting held in 1869 in a high church parson's school in Cornwall, that under the rules the children could be turned out tomorrow if they did not attend church; and 'was answered by a Baptist who said "The day for that is past. We are not afraid of that"'.⁷⁰ It is not often remembered that C.B.Adderley, Vice-President of the Department in 1858-9, who certainly favoured the conscience clause, was a prominent high churchman.⁷¹ And if

70.C.Marriott, On the Admission of the Children of Dissenters to Church Schools, 1849; his policy was implemented almost to the letter in the Truro Central schools - M.B.1.4.51; J.Sandford, Social Reforms, 1867, pp.25-6; Armstrong, op.cit., p.66; Minutes 1869-70, p.51.
71. See his evidence to S.C.1865, q.1040.

his friend, Lord Lyttelton, though not objecting to other people trying it, was personally doubtful,⁷² Lyttelton's daughter Lucy, while remaining an ardent high churchwoman, was converted by her Cavendish husband to belief in it:

'The mass of the clergy will stop their ears to the whole thing. If they won't propose or admit any right "conscience" clause like what I have described, they will have some horrid religion-that-will-suit-all-creeds one forced upon them willy-nilly.' 73

This was written in 1866, after Convocation had pronounced against the inclusion of a conscience clause in school trust deeds. From the clerical point of view this marked the climax of the reaction against the Education Department's policy of demanding this provision, before giving building grants to schools in districts containing nonconformists. The fact that a high proportion of the clergy were operating some form of concession did not lessen their hostility to the idea of being compelled by a government department to undertake to do what they were prepared to do voluntarily.

Official opinion had always favoured a conscience clause. Whatever might have been the position at the beginning of the century, non-Anglicans were now citizens, with rights equal to those of churchmen. They paid taxes and they paid school fees; their scruples should be respected. Moreover, one school comprehending all religious groups in a district was likely

72. Principally because he doubted the possibility of genuinely isolating doctrinal from non-doctrinal religious instruction - Thoughts on National Education, 1855, pp. 15-21.

73. J. Bailey, ed. The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish, 1927, v. I, p. 298.

to be less expensive than two competing schools; and the Department had for many years been refusing building grants to non-Anglicans if there was a sufficiently large National school in the area operating a conscience clause.⁷⁴ But as long as the clause was dependent upon the goodwill of an individual clergyman or committee, it was not a right, but a privilege, with which dissenting opinion could not be expected to content itself; and even if every Anglican school in the country voluntarily adopted a conscience clause and no one took advantage of it, the position would be unchanged. Justice and sound economics alike demanded that the rights of conscience should be protected by something more binding than goodwill. Hence, after an abortive attempt in 1852, the policy of demanding the inclusion of a conscience clause in the trust deeds in return for building grants to schools in areas where dissent was strong, was begun in 1860- at first in Wales; but since there were no administrative distinctions between Wales and England, there were no reasons, legal or logical, for confining it to Wales and it was almost immediately applied in some English cases - altogether, according to a return of

74. e.g. Donnington-on-Bain, W, 1850 (P.R.O. Ed. 9/12, pp. 240-2); cp. Adderley's evidence cited, note 63. Horner was in the habit of asking whether there was a conscience clause before making grants from the factory fine fund - Report of Factory Inspectors, 1852-3, 1, p. 17. It was frequently included in revised schemes for endowed schools - e.g., Chipping Norton, Cropredy, and Dorchester, Oxon., reorganised by the County Court between 1857 and 1859 (S.I.C.v. 12, pp. 227, 231, 233); the Commissioners for Woods and Forests included it in the deeds of any school they built (Minutes, 1867-8, p. 234).

1867, to 125 cases out of 954 applications for building grants between 1861 and 1867,⁷⁵ by which time it had come to be applied universally.

The immediate, as distinct from the ultimate results of this policy were almost wholly unfortunate. The committee of the National Society, harried on the one hand by Denison and on the other by moderates who wanted the terms of union modified, did nothing constructive. Apart from inconclusive and angry exchanges with officials, they merely stirred up trouble by encouraging applications for building grants in order to increase the number of cases which could be quoted against the Department.⁷⁶ This attitude, together with the return of Denison to prominence, inevitably aroused anti-clerical feeling in a decade in which Radicalism was gaining ground; provided publicists with excellent illustrations of priestly tyranny; and certainly increased support for the advocates of secular education. When even a body so relatively friendly to the establishment as the Wesleyan Education Committee could write that the conscience clause, made necessary 'only by the priestly arrogance of a section of the Episcopalian Clergy...has become absolutely essential

75.PP .1867,LV,27.

76. See, for example, the correspondence with the rector of Polebrook in 1865 (.N.S.Files). He was urged to apply, having said he did not wish to have anything to do with the government, because if the clergy refrained from applying, the Department would be able to say that the conscience clause had only been demanded in a very few cases.

in the presence of their Romanizing doctrine and practice',⁷⁷ it is not surprising that others felt that it did not go far enough, and that undenominational religious teaching, or no religious teaching at all, were more desirable alternatives.

In the Department itself, the policy does not seem to have had the wholehearted support of all officials - certainly not of all the Inspectors. One of the most senior, Kennedy, who had been an advocate of the conscience clause since at least 1850, when he supported the Manchester and Salford Bill, remarked with evident approval on the general feeling that if it was to be enforced, it should be through parliamentary, not administrative, action. In general, although in their reports the Anglican Inspectors dutifully argued in favour of it, they were much more concerned to point out that the supposed 'religious difficulty' scarcely existed outside controversial literature. There was no practical difficulty, said Watkins, though there were 'many difficulty-mongers'; 'if none meddled with this question but genuine educationists', said Moncrieff, 'there is no difficulty at all'. What some of them may have said in private is open to question. In the Durham Record Office there is a letter of advice from C.W. King, H.M.I., to the rector of Stanhope, who had just been refused a grant for rebuilding his schools on an enlarged

scale. The rector would personally have been prepared to accept a conscience clause but was prevented by the trust deeds, which prescribed compulsory church attendance. When King wrote, he was not sure whether the grant would be offered for reduced numbers, or be refused altogether;

'If the former is the case, the reduction in the grant would not be very important, if the latter, it would be a serious matter. At the same time, if you could get your schools built on the large scale, it wd. probably prevent other Dissenting Government schools from being erected; and the difference in the Annual Grant wd. soon make up for the difference in the original expense.'

In the event, the Department, 'with considerable hesitation' and with a declaration that 'this concession is not to be drawn into a precedent', ultimately allowed the grant for a school of 200 (the full number then crowded into the existing building); but it was probably as well for King that Lingen did not see that letter.⁷⁸

After a study of school records, it is hard not to feel, with the Anglican Inspectors, some sympathy for the clergy. To them, the question not one of justice to dissent, but of injustice to themselves. As has been shown, they carried the biggest share of the financial burdens and anxieties of most of the schools in the country, because they believed it

78. S.C.1865,q.2560;Minutes,1850-1,v.2,p.452; 1866-7,pp.162-3; 1867-8,pp.205,283; 1868-9,pp.81,194-5,257;1869-70,pp.44-51, 94, 187-92,213,231,263-4; Weardale Schools, correspondence,27.2.68, 29.2.68.

to be the duty of the church to provide a religious education for the people. They received limited aid doled out by a niggardly Department with which many of them were quarrelling over the Code and the Supplementary Rules, and which was now proposing to prescribe the conditions under which that religious education was given. That few of them were as yet personally affected did not matter, since the idea of a compulsory conscience clause was being so freely canvassed. When they alleged that dissenting parents simply did not feel the scruples which were supposed to exercise them and were satisfied with the existing situation in most schools, they could point to considerable evidence in support of their claim. Examples of this have already been quoted. Indeed, apart from the four schools in which there was trouble over church attendance, and the Mormon family in Dover, only four cases of 'religious difficulty' appear in the records used for this study - Mr. Hatton, who removed his family from St. Thomas' school, Stourbridge, because he 'could not consent for his children to learn Church of England Doctrine'; Mrs. Foley, who informed Weston Church school, Runcorn, that 'Mary Ann must leave on account of the prayers, which will "do her no good"'; a Catholic boy who was excluded from Kingston school, Dorset, until his parents agreed to his reading the Bible; and the boy who left Brailes school, 'because he had

to learn the Glossary in the Church Catechism'.⁷⁹ It was hardly to be expected that many clergy would recognise the justice in the argument that even one case was one too many.

The result of the Department's policy was to raise amongst Anglicans a degree of alarm about state interference which few of them had felt since 1839 and to decrease the tolerance which some of them had shown towards dissent. As Canon Melville said to the Select Committee of 1866, 'what they would have done in many cases, and never thought about, they now have a scruple about doing, from its having been forced upon their notice'. Two of the other witnesses, who might have been expected to favour the policy, were Norris and Cook, both recently retired from distinguished service in the Inspectorate. They each believed that a conscience clause should be offered by the clergy, but Norris said that he would object to its insertion in the trust deed, and Cook that it should never be applied in any district containing an undenominational school. Dissenters had a right to a good education, he argued, but had no right to disturb church schools if they could get it anywhere else.⁸⁰

79. St. Thomas, Stourbridge, B.20.6.65; Weston, Runcorn (Ches. R.O.) 22.11.64; Kingston (Dorset R.O.) 11.5.69, 20.5.69; Brailes Admission Register, 1853. The Rector of Washington (above, p.409) was accused in 1869 of excluding an unbaptised family. In fact the reason was that they were ineligible for grant under Article 4. They were admitted when the father agreed to pay double fees (Washington M.B.3.3.69, 15.3.69).

80. S.C.1866, qq.1854, 2486, 2942-3.

If ex-H.M.I.s. felt like this, it is not surprising that lesser men showed more intolerance. One of the casualties of this period was the Tattenhall experiment. The rector appointed in 1855 to succeed Moncrieff had continued his policy of comprehension and, indeed, shared with the rest of the committee in the appointment of a Presbyterian master, Mr. McIvor, in 1861. But at the end of 1862 he began to show uneasiness at the extent of the school's departure from National Society rules, and insisted upon occasional conformity from McIvor and his wife, which they appear to have accepted readily enough. McIvor was a difficult man, repeatedly quarrelling with the committee over his salary, and being accused in 1867 of indecent assault on one of the girls; but he was an efficient grant-earner and well liked in the village.⁸¹ After an enquiry into the charge of assault, the committee acquitted him of anything worse than indiscretion; and when the rector tried to take advantage of the incident to get rid of him, the nonconformist managers persuaded the committee to let him stay until Christmas, 1868. Then, in the absence of the leading dissenter, the rector carried a resolution that, as the school was a National school, and;

81. Village tradition described him as 'a great wielder of the rod in the day-time and the pint-pot at night' (information from the present headmaster, Mr. Wood Griffiths, who had it from his predecessor). The story may be traced in M.B. correspondence and press-cuttings, in Ches.R.O.

'...Mr. McIvor being a Free Church Presbyterian had only conformed in order to save his place - that under the circumstances, he was not a suitable person for the post he occupied, which made his retirement at this crisis absolutely indispensable.'

McIvor departed from the school (though not from the master's house, from which he was with difficulty dislodged several months later), taking with him the log book and a large number of the scholars, for whom he immediately opened a rival British school in one of the chapels, which received much publicity from the local Liberal paper, the 'Chester Chronicle'; and there followed several years of cut-throat competition in the village. The story is not one from which either side emerges with much credit.

It illustrates, however, the fact that compromises which had been successful hitherto, were not enough for the conditions developing in the '60s. Denominational education had worked much better than is usually admitted, because it was in accord with middle and upper-class opinion, and because sectarian differences had little significance to most working-class parents. Both of these attitudes were typical of early rather than later Victorian England. The system, moreover, had depended upon concepts of the relationship of church and state which were fast being modified. Because it relied on local initiative and individual zeal it had no machinery for ensuring the universal provision of schools and for compelling attendance,

the two major educational problems still unsolved; and its driving force, religious zeal, had hitherto prevented the creation of such machinery by other means. But by the '60s, as will be seen in chapters 10 and 11, the urgency of these problems was at last beginning to be recognised. If the denominational system was to survive, it would have to be in conjunction with some authority providing the machinery for solving them. In this context, the conscience clause controversy served a useful purpose, since in the long run it forced Anglican school managers into a willingness to accept new compromises for fear of something worse. It may, however, be doubted whether officials foresaw the neatly dialectical process by which the angry resistance of the clergy to what seemed to others a policy of common justice strengthened the position of anti-clericals and secularists. This, in turn, led to the activities of the Education League; whereby Anglicans, forced to look into the abyss of secular education, and horrified by what they felt to be the intolerance of 'these Radical anti-theological people' (a phrase used by Thomas Dyke Acland of Huxley),⁸² were put in a frame of mind to accept the conditions of the Act of 1870.

82. A.H.D.Acland, op.cit., p.279.

CHAPTER 10.PROBLEMS OF ATTENDANCE.

Early Victorian England had already accepted the principle that public authority could compel the attendance of some children at school. These, however, were children outside parental control - either because there were no parents to support them (in the case of orphans or the children of paupers) or because they were wage-earners (in the case of children in the textile industry). To compel the attendance of children dependent upon their parents was regarded as an infringement of the liberty of the subject. In the words of J.S. Mill, while the provision of education 'is unanimously declared to be the father's duty, scarcely anybody, in this country, will bear to hear of obliging him to perform it. Instead of his being required to make any exertion or sacrifice for securing education to the child, it is left to his choice to accept it or not when it is provided gratis!'¹ Men entirely convinced of the need for universal education were doubtful as to whether compulsion was desirable or even practicable. It was opposed 'to the genius and temper of our people, particularly perhaps in the case of the population of our northern counties', said Kennedy in 1857. Watkins, from across the Pennines, confirmed this view - 'I am sure that many a Yorkshire mother would rise up in this behalf against any constituted authority,

1. J.S. Mill. On Liberty, World's Classics, p.129.

and would defy alike master and manager, parson, and even policeman'. As late as 1870 J.J.Graves, in his presidential address to the N.U.E.T., questioned the wisdom of universal compulsion - 'Its application would possibly be resented; force applied where not wanted, frequently arouses resistance, and Englishmen are peculiarly liable to kick against an unnecessary pressure of any kind'.² The task of school managers was therefore to induce, not to enforce attendance. By 1870 experience had convinced many of them that this was impossible; but in the mid-19th.century a strong body of opinion held that in a well-ordered school problems of attendance would not exist, and that, consequently, the fundamental need was to provide efficiently organised facilities for education. This view, the assumption behind the Education Bills of the 1850s, was challenged immediately after the failure of Sir John Pakington's bill by a group representing working educationists, as distinct from educational politicians. At the suggestion of Henry Moseley and with the approval of Granville a three-day conference was held in June, 1857, to consider the following thesis:-

'That the main defect in the present state of popular education in this country is not so much the lack of schools, as the insufficient attendance of the children of the working classes (many never coming at all, and most others being withdrawn before they have had time to derive much benefit), is a truth which has for some years past been impressing itself more and more upon those who are best informed on the subject'.

2. A.Hill, op.cit.,p.234; Minutes,1854-5,p.440: Seaborne & Isham, op.cit.,p.32.

The conference, which brought together all shades of educational opinion except the Catholics and the secularists,³ had as its purpose 'firstly, to ascertain the extent of the evil; and, secondly, to consider the question of remedy'. Inevitably, since it was precluded by its terms of reference from suggesting legislation, it was more successful in its first aim than in its second. It was shortly after the meeting that Moseley wrote to Kay-Shuttleworth, 'The friends of the education of the working classes have a sense of being at last beaten - of having come to an impassable obstacle'.⁴ The proceedings were, however, published, and at least provide a survey of the experiments then in progress to solve the problem of attendance by voluntary effort; experiments which, however inadequate, were pursued with zeal. Their failure was perhaps a necessary stage in the road towards legislative compulsion.

Any general discussion of the problems of attendance is made difficult from the start by the uncertainty surrounding mid-Victorian statistics. The mass of material in the official

3. Prince Albert presided; the 23 committee members included, besides Moseley, Cook and F. Temple, Lord Lansdowne, Kay-Shuttleworth, Archdeacon Sinclair (N.S.), Henry Dunn (B.F.S.), Scott (Wesleyans), Baines and S. Morley (Voluntaryists), Lord Lyttolton, Bishop Wilberforce, Akroyd, Harry Chester and Rogers (Hill, op.cit., pp.v-vii). Moseley's letter asking for Granville's approval is in P.R.O.30/29, Box 19, Part 1, (15.11.56).

4. Hill, op.cit., p.381; Ball, op.cit., p.233 (24.7.57).

Minutes and Reports relates only to schools under inspection; most of the other bodies producing statistics⁵ had axes to grind; even the Educational Census returns were dismissed by Lingen as suspect - 'The Dissenters i.e. the Voluntaries, were generally eager to make out the highest numbers possible. The Church, in many instances, looked at the requisition with jealousy, as something insidious'. At the time the Registrar General had considered the returns 'too partial and too imperfect to be of use', 'Unexplained numbers', concluded Lingen, 'really prove nothing in such a question, Such weapons wd. never be used by people in anything that they are obliged to be more serious about than public controversy'.⁶

Nevertheless, Horace Mann's Report at least attempted to provide a complete picture of educational provision and its deficiencies. He had to work upon returns from 44,836 day schools (out of 70,000 schedules originally distributed); by a series of complicated assumptions he concluded that there were 2,144,378 scholars in all public and private day schools. If Baines's criterion, that 1 in 8 of the population should be in schools, were adopted, there were only 96,573 children not in

5. E.g. N.S. decennial statistics; Manchester and Salford Committee; the Voluntarists; Richson and Adshead (a Voluntarist) used statistics collected simultaneously to prove opposites - C.Richson, Educational Facts and Statistics of Manchester and Salford, 1852; J.Adshead, The State of Education in the Borough of Manchester, 1852 (in Manchester Local History Library).
6. To Granville, 28.9.53 (P.R.O.30/29,Box 23, Part 2).

attendance who should have been; but Mann, after elaborate calculation, argued that the proportion ought to be approximately 1 in 6. On this basis the deficiency was about 850,000. In no part of the country was the figure of 1 in 6 reached - Westmorland and York City came the nearest with 15% in school. Fourteen counties, all rural, had 14% or 13%. The rest of the country, including every industrial area, fell below Baines's figure of 1 in 8.⁷

It would not be safe to assume the absolute accuracy of these figures:⁸ and their interpretation depended on the hotly contested question of whether school age ought to be five to fifteen, three to twelve, five to twelve or the more realistic five to ten years and whether employment was to be regarded as an acceptable alternative to school, at least amongst older children. But they at any rate suggested that there were many children not in school who should have been there, and surviving figures for specific localities confirm those of the Census. In the 13 parishes of Winchester in 1847, 774 children between the ages of six and fourteen were in school, 108 working and 223 neither at school nor work. In 1851, the Manchester Statistical Society, on the basis of the Census returns and estimates by Richson, reported that of children aged between

7. Census, pp. xiii-xiv, xxi-xxvii, xxxviii.

8. Lingen's reasons, above; also the private schools produced the incredibly high attendance percentage of 91% (p. xcv).

three and ten years, 21,774 were at school and 22,096 (excluding those sick or at work) were not; while a house to house visitation of two wards (St. Michael's and St. John's) counted 12,372 children aged between three and fourteen of whom only 4,249 were in school. A sample taken in the middle '50s for the Birmingham Educational Association, of 1373 children from the age of seven to thirteen, showed 13% who were neither employed nor in attendance at any type of school. The investigation of 1870 into education in four major provincial centres gave similar results:-

	Total pop:	Estimated no: who should be in school	Baines (1in8)	Mann (1in6)	Total on school rolls.
Birmingham	360,846	45,106	60,141		36,553
Leeds	253,110	31,639	42,185		27,509
Liverpool	509,052	63,632	84,842		51,707
Manchester	370,892	46,362	61,815		37,222

J.J.Blandford, H.M.I.put the problem in non-statistical terms:-

'if in any of the three towns of Derby, Leicester, or Nottingham... three or four Italian boys with the usual accompaniments of a monkey, white mice, and an organ were sent to perambulate the quarter where the working classes chiefly reside between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock...the time at which children are supposed to be in school or at work, the number of children who in the course of the morning would be found in attendance upon the aforesaid Italians and their monkeys, would furnish a good average attendance for several additional schools'. 9

9. C.J.Hoare, Educational Statistics and Church Union, 1847; Children under 15 in Manchester, 1851 (Manchester Local History Library) tables 6,7; Hill, op.cit., pp.59-60; PP.1870, LIV, 265 - figures based on Tables, pp.2-13; the figures are generally confirmed by the Assistant Commissioners to the Newcastle Commission; Minutes, 1869-70, pp.110-1.

It would be natural to assume that the facts just stated illustrate the general inadequacy of voluntary provision of schools. This was certainly the case in some areas, but the position was more complex than appears at first sight. The five public church schools in Winchester, with 370 vacant places, would by themselves have held not only the 223 boys and girls mentioned above, but half the 291 infants between two and five years old who were not in school. In national terms, inspected schools, with, in 1859, accommodation for 1,111,102 children, had 748,164 in average attendance; in 1869, with accommodation for 2,011,214, an average attendance of only 1,245,027.¹⁰

Although there were cases in which denominational rivalries led to the founding of unnecessary schools, this fact does not adequately explain the discrepancy between attendance and accommodation, as is clear from some figures given to the Select Committee of 1853 by John Kershaw, Roman Catholic Visitor for Schools in the Diocese of Salford.¹¹ For a total of 18,090 Catholic children between four and twelve in Manchester and Salford of whom 960 were estimated to be in private schools, there were only 4,073 places available in Catholic day schools. Even assuming that some parents might prefer to send their

10. Hoare, *op.cit.*, p.41; Minutes 1869-70, p.viii (note); for the interpretation of average attendance see below, p. 438. For similar figures in the '40s, Ball, *op.cit.*, p.96; *cp.* Bethnal Green in 1869, above p. 391.

11. S.C.1853, q.1051.

children to non-Catholic schools and that many would go to work long before they reached the age of twelve, one would expect that these places might have been filled three times over. Yet the figures were as follows:-

TABLE 8

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD, 1853.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Accommodation</u>	<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Surplus accommodation</u>
St. John, Salford	616	435	181
St. Patrick	1082	1105	- 23
St. Augustine	573	450	123
St. Chad	724	610	114
St. Wilfrid	360	265	95
St. Mary	160	155	5
St. Anne	198	120	78
St. Joseph	240	100	140
St. Aloysius	<u>120</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>20</u>
	4073	3340	733

These figures become even more striking if we exclude the large and popular schools of St. Patrick's:-

2991	2235	756
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Attendance at Catholic schools was, of course, especially affected by poverty but these figures may serve to show that the problem of getting children into school and keeping them there could not be solved simply by opening schools which would be run on principles acceptable to the parents.

The obvious way to determine how far managers were successful in solving this problem would be to compare average attendance figures with numbers on roll; but they cannot be used as can similar figures of the 20th century. It is noteworthy that the

Education Department was throughout the period reluctant to use average attendance as a basis for calculating the grant. The capitation minute of 1853 ignored it; so did the original version of the Revised Code. This attitude was one of well-founded suspicion rather than peevish cheeseparing; and any study of Victorian attendance figures must take into account two factors, neither of which obtains at the present day.

In the first place, the need for accurate registration was only just being recognised. H.M. Inspectors had from the beginning tried to improve the recording of attendance and as early as 1851 Lingen had stated that inaccurate registers would ultimately provide grounds for withholding grants. The introduction of the capitation grant in 1853 caused the Department to begin a campaign in earnest. Moseley produced a paper on statistics, recommended forms for admission, class and progress registers were published; and questions on registration were set in the examination of Training Colleges in 1855. The regrettable results of this examination were discussed at length in two circulars - 'every species of mistake which can be committed seems to present itself'. The Colleges were ordered to see that students worked exercises on registration at least once a fortnight and probationers who had answered the questions badly were warned that their first augmentation grant would be withheld unless the state of their registers showed that they had improved their standards.

Meanwhile managers and teachers were wrestling with the problems of how to calculate weekly, quarterly and annual totals and averages and Lingen admitted to a Cheltenham Colonel, who called attention to the ambiguities involved, that all registers ought to include explanatory notes.¹² The Revised Code introduced more minute regulations as to accurate class registration and the opening and closing of registers and offered greater temptations to the faker. Consequently the Department intensified its efforts to force managers to take responsibility for the accuracy of school registers.¹³

It is tempting to dismiss this as pettifogging interference; but no-one, after using mid-19th-century school records, could continue to believe it to have been unnecessary. Sample attendance figures are given in Appendix B, but with no guarantee of their absolute accuracy. Conscientious managers like those of Maidenhead and Middlewich demanded quarterly attendance reports from their teachers; but it is frequently difficult and sometimes impossible to reconcile the figures for one quarter with those of the next. Imagination must have contributed to the result. Few registers survive from this period; but two from uninspected schools used for this study

12. Ball, op.cit., p.101; Minutes, 1852-3, v.1, p.50; 1853-4 v.1, pp.17-22, 45-50; 1855-6, pp.20-25; 1856-7, p.41; 1857-8, pp.37-9. The correspondent was Colonel Hemmell of Charlton King's.

13. Minutes, 1867-8, pp.xcix-cix; P.R.O.Ed.9/4, p.143.

confirm the impression of hideous confusion.¹⁴ In inspected schools there was an undoubted improvement in appearance between the '50s and the '60s; while those of Faversham, exceptional in this as in other ways, were beautiful throughout; but, as Brookfield pointed out in 1859, neatness was a bad criterion - it encouraged 'writing up' afterwards.¹⁵

This was, indeed, a practice which was always a thorn in the flesh of the Department. The teacher who, having had paralysis in 1867, was left with insufficient energy to mark the registers and made them up from imagination every three or four weeks until he was caught in 1869, was not unique, as may be seen from a few illustrations taken at random from school records. In 1850, the Ladies' Committee of the Maidenhead girls' school tightened up procedure by ordering that attendance be recorded on a slate, to be transferred to the register at the Governess's leisure. This practice appears to have been general even after the Revised Code. The Report on Camborne National school in 1863 complained that the registers were only filled in after the boys had gone home; the new master of Long Eaton National school only began to instruct the pupil teacher a week

14. Nympsfield, 1861-3; Belper Br.G. 1858-60 (Strutt Papers). The latter is in striking contrast with the carefully kept Mill Books from the same school.

15. Admission &/or attendance registers of Long Wittenham (Berks.R.O.); Pulford (Ches.R.O.); Sheviok (Cornwall R.O.); Longburton, Stalbridge, Walditch (Dorset R.O.); Winston (Durham R.O.); Dartford; Faversham; Melton Mowbray; Brailes; Henley-in-Arden N., Br.; Minutes, 1859-60, p.93.

after term began in September, 1862, having been engaged in 'working up the registers to the present date'.¹⁶ Even the Mill Books, which were a statutory obligation under the Factory Acts, appear only to have been filled up, with much grumbling, every few months. An enterprising Derbyshire truant escaped discovery for weeks by pretending to be a half-timer.¹⁷ No admission register used for this study was properly completed, but this is not surprising in view of the difficulty of discovering children's ages. This problem may be illustrated by two entries in Manchester log-books - a boy re-admitted in August had apparently grown eighteen months older since his previous admission in February - 'Parents often give their children's age at random'; and, summarily, 'A woman brought 2 McCormacks did not know the age of either'.¹⁸

It was not merely that neglectful managers failed to check the registers and keep the teachers up to the mark. One Inspector complained to the correspondent of a British school of errors

16. Minutes, 1869-70, pp. 364-5; Maidenhead Ladies Committee, M.B., 2.9.50; Camborne, Report 1863; Long Eaton, 16.9.62; op. Holsworthy W. (Sellman, op. cit. p. 29).

17. E.g. Colne N. (Lancs. R.O.) B. 25.9.68, 8.1.69, G. 1.2.67; New Jerusalem, Heywood, B., 26.5.65, 1.3.67; Hunslet I., 7.4.66, 9.1.67; Long Eaton, 25.5.64 - the truant got off with a caution.

18. S. N. Stokes pointed out that the task was impossible in R.C. schools as the Irish did not keep birthdays (Minutes, 1866-7, p. 291); St. John, Baptist G., 15.8.63; St. Thomas Red Bank, I., 27.3.65 - op. 6.3.65; also, Griffydan, 9.3.66; Ipswich Br. I., 4.2.64.

in almost every column of her school's registers; 'she informed me that she was aware the registers were carelessly made up in this respect, but as she had found that the errors were as often against as in favour of the school, she had not thought the matter of any consequence or worth taking notice of'.¹⁹ So lighthearted an attitude may not have been typical; but there is ample evidence that many attendance figures must be regarded as, at most, approximations to the truth.

The second factor to be considered is the meaning of the term 'average attendance'. At the present day such a figure represents the approximate attendance of the overwhelming majority of children, with only a small margin of error. A century ago, as Hodgson pointed out in his report to the Newcastle Commission, it was made up of combinations of steady and occasional attenders and was therefore meaningless in relation to any individual child.²⁰ For example, a surviving register of Winston National school, County Durham, covers 15 of the 18 months between June, 1855, and December, 1856.²¹ During this period (with an average attendance of just over 30), 72 children passed through the school, only 17 of them remaining on the books throughout. Of the 60 children whose names appear on roll during the first nine months, two thirds (41) were already in attendance when the register began

19. Minutes, 1866-7, p.276.

20. N.C., v.3, p.512.

21. The 2nd quarter of 1856 is missing; see Appendix B for further statistics.

or entered during the first quarter. Of the rest, all but 2 entered during the second quarter. Almost all of them, therefore, should have been able to attend for 60% or more of the time.

Yet the figures are as follows:-

Over 90%	80%	70%	60%	50%	40%	30%	20%	10%	Under 10%
4	7	6	3	8	8	4	5	10	5

In other words, a tiny minority of children attended almost as regularly as 20th century pupils; the rest came and went in a way to which we are wholly unaccustomed. That Victorian children could have attended with regularity is shown by the excellent attendance record of many half-timers;²² but they did not do so. An average attendance of over 80% indicates an exceptionally stable school working under favourable conditions. Faversham Boys' school, for example, increased its percentage from 78.7% in 1856-7 to 86.7% in 1866-7. Cheltenham British school, a good school in a town with favourable educational traditions, fluctuated round the 80% mark; a school serving a relatively closed community which valued boys' education, the Jews' school, Manchester, could achieve figures in the region of 88%. But these were abnormally high. Lower Moseley Street, Manchester, was as good a school as Cheltenham, providing for much the same class of boy, but its percentages were appreciably lower.²³ The

22. Appendix B for samples from Quarry Bank Mill, Styal, and Belper Mill. The latter should be contrasted with the record of full-timers in the same school.

23. Faversham B., Attendance Register; Cheltenham, Lower Moseley St., Appendix B; Jews' School, Manchester, A.R., 1856-7 (89%); 1859-60 (88%); 1860-1 (87%) - boys only: the girls' figures are lower.

TABLE 9

LENGTH OF STAY IN SCHOOL

1. Length of stay of pupils leaving Derby British school between January and June, 1848. (average attendance - 150)

Over 6 years	1
5 - 6 "	1
4 - 5 "	2
3 - 4 "	6
2 - 3 "	5
18 months - 2 years	7
12 " - 18 months	15
9 " - 12 "	7
6 " - 9 "	13
3 " - 6 "	21
2 " - 3 "	8
4 weeks - 8 weeks	5
3 " - 4 "	nil
2 " - 3 "	2
1 " - 2 "	1

Total 94 (Minute Book, Derby Borough Library).

2. Examples of length of stay from admission registers.

Children admitted in:	Long Wittenhan	Henley in Arden		Pulford	
	National 1849	British 1861	1848	National 1856	1860
Over 6 years	1	1	-	3	-
5 - 6 years	1	2	-	2	-
4 - 5 years	3	1	-	6	-
3 - 4 "	3	1	2	13	1
2 - 3 "	1	6	2	6	4
18 months - 2 years	1	3	-	3	3
12 " - 18 months	1	10	6	11	5
9 " - 12 "	-	4	1	3	2
6 " - 9 "	1	10	1	2	-
3 " - 6 "	-	6	5	3	1
2 " - 3 "	1	1	-	2	-

contd. over -

Children admitted in:	Long Wittenham	Henley in Arden	Pulford	
	National 1849	British 1861	1848	National 1856 1860
4 weeks - 8 weeks	1	4	-	2 -
3 " - 4 "	-	-	-	- -
2 " - 3 "	-	1	-	- -
1 " - 2 "	-	-	-	- -
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	14	50	17	56 16

Some children were admitted whose leaving date is not recorded:
 Long Wittenham - 10; Pulford - 1848,3; 1856,4; 1860,2; none at Henley.

Registers of Long
 Wittenham (Berks.R.O.);
 Henley-in-Arden Br. (Warwicks.
 R.O.); Pulford (Ches.R.O.).

figures in Appendix B suggest that this level was more typical.

Almost every writer on education between 1846 and 1870 called attention to the short stay of pupils in one school - an average of $8\frac{1}{2}$ months at St. Philip's, Birmingham, for example in 1856, 6 months in Sheffield in 1857, 19 months for boys and 13 for girls in Hull in 1861. Two schools with high prestige presented a similar pattern - the National Society's school in Westminster, with an average attendance of 330 during 1847, admitted 444 boys during the year; in 1858 Borough Road (average attendance 603) admitted 728.²⁴ The tables on pp. 440-41 give samples of the careers of pupils in individual schools, which may serve to underline the magnitude of the problem. Most of the birds of passage did not finish their education when they left. They simply moved elsewhere, to bring down the attendance percentages of another school. For example, of fourteen children admitted to Henley National school in 1868 whose previous school is recorded, ten came from the British school. Often they came back again, to confuse the figures still further. Of the 72 children at Winston school in 1855-6, 8 were re-admitted during the period, one of them twice. Sometimes re-admission equalled or exceeded admission, as at Melton Mowbray in 1851-2:-

24. G.A.Yorke, op.cit., p9; A.Hill, op.cit., p.71; N.C., v.3.p.229; N.S., A.R. 1847, p.12; B.F.S.; A.R., 1858, p.2.

	1851		1852		
	Nov.-Dec.	1st qr.	2nd qr.	3rd qr.	4th qr.
Admissions	14	40	21	13	19
Re-Admissions	19	4	21	15	19
					25

In such circumstances it will be obvious that attendance percentages are almost wholly unreliable, depending on the length of time during which the names of migrants were permitted to remain on roll. The Education Department prescribed a maximum of two months but this was not always observed. It is clear from the log-book, for instance, that no sudden disaster overcame Dartford Wesleyan School in 1863-4, when the percentage dropped from 68% to 44%; it was simply the result of leaving on roll names which would previously have been removed.²⁶ Sometimes apparent differences are entirely fortuitous; the over-all attendance patterns at Winston and at Stalbridge (shown in Appendix B.) are broadly similar, but the weekly percentages of Winston are much higher, simply because the Stalbridge register is a standard form which was only re-written quarterly, while the Winston teacher used an ordinary exercise book, and cleared out the dead wood every four or five weeks when he had to turn over. When frequent clearance was a matter of policy, it could produce startling results. The N.P.S.A. was wont to claim for the Manchester Secular school, in which the average length of stay over a period of years was 15 months, an average attendance of over 90%; an obvious proof, it was argued, of the success of free secular

25. Registers of Henley N.; Winston; Melton Mowbray; op. Bethnal Green, above, p. 401.

26. Minutes, 1856-7, p. 41; Dartford - Appendix B.

education. But this result was produced, as the evidence quoted by D.K.Jones shows, by a draconian policy of instant removal of irregular attenders, even if their absence was due to sickness. Such action, of course, merely raised the figure of one school at the expense of others, and certainly offered no prospect of a general solution of the problem of irregular attendance,

This consideration of the shortcomings of average attendance figures has called attention to one of the major difficulties of mid-Victorian schools. Another problem, resulting partly from frequent migration between schools and partly from the lack of agreement as to the proper age for beginning schooling, was that of assimilating new children of very different ages. The tables on p. 444, based on samples from five admission registers, illustrate this point. The Pulford figures show the advantage possessed by a boys' school which only accepted children above infant age; but this was counterbalanced by the number of older boys who had to be absorbed. The three village National schools at least took in most of their pupils at the infant stage; the British school seems to suffer all along the line. However, it escaped one problem, which was present in Long Wittenham, Sheviok, Walditch and, indeed, in most village and many town schools - that of the excessively early age at which many parents demanded admission for their children. There was

27.D.K. Jones, op.cit., pp.424,448-9. Templar stated the% to be 92% (op cit.,1866,p6).

never any difficulty in filling infant schools. A conscientious working mother wanted her young children out of the house, somewhere safe; even a woman at home preferred to be without children too old to be immobile and too young to be of use. Such children, frequently little more than twelve months old, could be a great trial to an over-worked teacher - 'Two little boys must not be allowed to come much longer they are two (sic) troublesome'; two little girls admitted - 'Both being rather under the usual age of admission were very cross at first'; 'Henry Clarke, a very little boy... will not move from Mary Ann Collins and hinders the orderly working of the school. We have so many babies'.²⁸ During the '60s the Education Department began to press for the exclusion of very young children.²⁹ This must have been a relief to teachers, since managers (who did not have to cope) were inclined to admit them at least during harvest; and were in any case under constant pressure, like that of the Chatham mother who 'wished her boy, aged 2 should be admitted or she should take the other 2 away'.³⁰ The Department also did its best to discourage managers from keeping the schools open continuously, for the convenience of parents. This was not infrequent especially in

28. Braywick, 28.7.64; St. John, I., Truro (Cornwall R.O.) 11.7.64; Hampstead Norris, 12.5.68.

29. E.g. Truro Br. I., report, 1865; Whitburn I. (Durham R.O.) 11.12.63; Holbeck (Leeds Archives) 2.11.66; Brailes, L.B., 27.7.67.

30. Hoddesdon G. 13.12.55; Stoke Abbott, 20.9.64; St. John Chatham, L.B. 4.4.67.

infant schools.³¹ Occasionally there was a more constructive approach. Nurseries, which were maintained for the children of their workpeople by some enlightened industrialists like Samuel Courtauld, were established by a few school managers, both for their direct value and because they eliminated the commonest cause of girls' absence ('nursing') - but with only partial success.³²

The excessively early age of first attendance was balanced by excessively early leaving. This - the topic of the Educational Conference - is too well-known to need emphasis. The official figures for inspected schools, which showed 63% of all pupils to be under ten years old in 1850, rising to 70% at the end of the decade and showing no tendency to fall ten years later - may be confirmed from other sources. In only 29 of 52 schools under diocesan inspection in Derbyshire in 1863-4, was the average age of children in the top class more than ten years. John Flint, the former Organizing Master of the National Society, presenting to the Educational Conference evidence on non-grant schools in the same county, pointed out that the extent

31. Thurlaston Lower School, LB., 17.8.63; St. James, Ross Place (Manchester Archives) 26.6.68; Child's Wickham, 14.8.63; Evesham N.I., 5.6.65; Bishop's Stortford, 15.8.54; Moreton-in-Marsh Br. 14.8.63.

32. Ward Jackson, op.cit., pp.49-51; S.C. 1852, q.2224; Minutes, 1858-9, p.151; 1869-70, pp.267-8; M.Reynolds, Martyr of Ritualism, 1965, pp.99 (St. Albans, Holborn); Stroud, Castle St., 13.9.65; the interesting experiment by the rector of Longton, Staffs., and his mother is described at length in Report of Factory Inspectors, 1865, 1 pp. 104-10.

of early leaving depended on the demand for labour. In the mainly agricultural deaneries of Alfreton, Ashbourne and Eyam, the percentages of pupils over 10 years old were 35% 31%, and 34% respectively. In the lead-mining deanery of Wirksworth it fell to 21%, and in Ockbrook and Derby, centres of the silk, cotton and hosiery trades, the figures were 19% and 13%. G.R. Moncrieff, H.M.I., summarised his experience in the northern counties, which had a better record than most, as follows:- a boy in a good country school would attend 'off and on' till he was 10 years old, probably till twelve, occasionally till fourteen; in a good town school the chances were 50-50 that he would leave by ten, almost certainly by thirteen; in a good seaport or colliery school, he was more likely to leave before ten, but, if he was still there when he was twelve he would probably stay on later.³³

If the attendance record of boys was bad, that of girls was worse, as will be clear from the figures in Appendix B. A smaller proportion of girls than boys attended school at all (10.8% of the female population in 1851, as against 13.2% of males) and when they came, they were more irregular. They were kept at home far more than boys for nursing and cleaning, and, at least until the age of ten, the demands of employers were

33. Annual Tables in Minutes; S.C. 1865, Appendix 4 (excluding infant schools); Hill, op.cit., p.15; Minutes, 1857-8, p.477; Cook pointed out (N.C., v.6, q1019) that the apparent increase of young children in the '50s was factitious, resulting from the increased inspection of infant schools.

not much less for girls than for boys (in 1851, 19,667 girls under ten were in paid employment as compared with 24,952 boys).³⁴

"Education may be a very good thing in its way," says the manufacturer and agriculturalist, "but we must have the children." In agriculture seasonal employment was available to, often demanded of, children from the age of seven. Schools made some attempt to adjust to this. The further north the rural school, the later was the date of the summer (harvest) holiday, except for the hopping districts of Kent, which were the latest of all (mid-September to October). But holidays could not provide for all farming exigencies. The figures in Appendix B illustrate the sudden drops in attendance at the beginning and end of harvest, for haymaking, bird-scaring in spring and, most universal of all, in town and country alike, planting their fathers' gardens in March or April. Nor was this absence confined to labourers' children. At Winston two sons of a farmer, after coming and going from the village school, were successively sent by their parents to a boarding school. 'They could not resist the temptation to keep the boy at home to assist on the farm. And so sent him out of the way.'³⁵

In the south and midlands, a boy could find agricultural

34. Census, pp. xxxvii, cxx (diagram).

35. Hill op.cit., p.20; Winston Admission Register. Perhaps the problem was worst in market gardening areas (Evesham N.Br., Report of Factory Inspectors, 1868-9, 3, pp.94-7) where children were not only used continuously in the gardens, but were employed marketing morning and evening - cp. Rogers's costers.

employment all the year round by the time he was nine or ten years old, and consequently left altogether.

Some industries also provided seasonal or occasional employment - brickmaking, for example, or the loading of slate ships in Cornwall, which periodically emptied Phillack National School.³⁶ But in general they either took the children from school altogether or occupied some part of their time each week. The half-time system in the textile trades was a statutory regularisation of this. It involved many problems to which conscientious writers of textbooks on school management devoted special attention³⁷ - the committee of St. James's, Clitheroe, for instance, raised the teachers' salaries in consequence of the extra trouble caused by an increased number of half-timers. They were rough, and of doubtful respectability (a point which worried several school committees in the Potteries when half-time was introduced there). There were timetable difficulties unless the numbers were large enough to form separate classes, and the afternoon session had often to be lengthened to meet the requirements of the Act. Mill-owners frequently insisted on their employees changing schools to suit the convenience of the mill;

36. Children's Employment Commission, 5th Report, pp.150-1; Phillack, 23.5.64, etc.

37. J. Currie, op.cit., pp.179-80; J. Gill, op.cit. pp.41-2.

and, since parents and children looked upon half-time not 'as a system of education, but as an adjunct to employment', most half-timers left the day they qualified for full-time employment, and absented themselves instantly if the mill stopped, or there was a strike, or they were sacked. It was on these grounds that Redgrave, the Factory Inspector, told the Educational Conference that the system had failed.³⁸ But at least half-timers had to attend regularly; that the system could provide a means of satisfactorily concluding an education already begun, was shown by the number who became pupil-teachers.³⁹ Certainly there were complaints that the prospect of half-time kept children out of school until they were old enough to go into the mill; but it was arguable that, without it, such children might never have gone to school at all.⁴⁰

The provisions of the Print Works Act of 1846, that children

38. St. James, Clithoroe, M.B., 21.6.47; for the Potteries, Minutes, 1867-8, pp.366-8. Report of Factory Inspectors, 1866, 2, pp.20-1; for the working of half-time, Ashton, Par., 3.2.68; Hurst (Lancs. R.O.) 6.1.68, 17.7.68; Waterside, Colne, L.B., 1.9.63, 18.1.64, 10.4.66; New Jerusalem, Heywood, B.25, 2, 67; St. Barnabas, Ancoats, (Manchester Archives) B., 8.2.64, 29.6.65, 10.4.66, 23.4.66, 8.10.67; All Saints, Chorlton, B., 7.12.63; St. Luke, Chorlton, B.21.2.66, 13.8.66; Granby Row, Manchester, 16.3.66, 21.3.67; Long Eaton, 8.2.62, 15.4.63; Pleasley Hill, 2.9.67; in 1864, Waterside had 121 half-timers from 8 different mills (26.1.64); Hill, op.cit., pp.217-225.

39. A minor advantage of the system for a poor family was that it provided a means for an 11 or 12 year-old to earn money while maintaining contact with the school until the age of apprenticeship. In 18 schools (all denominations) circularised by Horner in cotton towns, there were 52 ex-half-timer pupil teachers (Report of Factory Inspectors 1857, 2, pp.18-25).

40. Cp. Forster in 1870 (.N.E.U.p.16); H. Sandford, The Education of Children employed in the Potteries, 1862, pp.7-13.

employed in such works should attend school 30 days in each half-year, were less satisfactory. There was no means of seeing that they attended regularly - they 'consequently got it at odd times, or cram it in all at once, and are absent for a long period'. It was 'a semblance of education without any reality', condemned unanimously by the Factory Inspectors and those Inspectors of Schools who encountered it. It is noteworthy that when H.M. Inspector visited Dinting Vale Works school, the pride of Edmund Potter, the great calico printer, he found the children much less advanced than the orthodox half-timers of the Strutts' school at Milford.⁴¹

It is therefore surprising that the Commissioner for Mines, H.S. Tremenheere, should have persisted in advocating the extension of the Print Works Act to mines. Action was certainly needed. There were no educational provisions in the Mines Act of 1844, and the exclusion of boys under ten was not properly enforced. Consequently there was agitation amongst educationists (and some coal-owners and miners) for the extension of half-time to the mines. This, however, only resulted, perhaps because of Tremenheere's attitude, in the Mines Act of 1860, by which boys under twelve employed

41. Ball, op.cit., pp. 97-8; Factory Inspectors, Joint Report, 1856, p. 114; S.C., 1853, q. 1307; N.C., v. 6, q. 1609; Minutes, 1861-2, p. 167; 1866-7, p. 106; J.G. Hurst, Edmund Potter and Dinting Vale, 1948, pp. 28, 61-2; schools with Print Works children, Oakenshaw W., Compstall (Ches. R.O.). Crossleys of Halifax so much disliked it that they applied orthodox half-time in their Print Works (Report of Factory Inspectors 1857-8, 1, p. 44).

in mines must either produce a certificate of ability to read and write or attend school for two periods of 3 hours a week (which could be in evening schools). In practice this was unenforceable and schooling in colliery districts remained unsatisfactory.⁴²

Outside the textile and mining areas there was no regulation of employment at all until the '60s and a catalogue of complaints from school managers makes melancholy reading. In the Potteries, 75% of children left school before the age of ten; in south Staffordshire the figure was 84%. The gun trade of Birmingham produced little workmen, ten or twelve years old, 'loud in voice and truculent in manner; having no respect towards person or sex...'. In Sheffield most boys left school before they were ten, and 'at once "become men", and imitate the vices and follies of those that are grown up'. The leather, hosiery and gloving trades of the Midlands, which were mostly still carried on at home, involved regular absences when the children carried the materials home and the finished work to the masters, as well as early removal. The rural industries of lace-making and straw-plaiting were exceptional in employing children almost from infancy; some

42. Report of Commissioner for Mines, 1852, pp. 35-7; 1855, pp. 7-10; 1856, pp. 16-17; Educational Guardian, 1860, pp. 273-8; E. Akroyd, op. cit., pp. 21-2; P.R.O. 30/29, Box 19, Part 2, from J.W. Hick, 8.2.56, from J. James, 22.2.56; Minutes, 1863-4, pp. 87-91, 105, 176; H. Sandford, Education in Mining Districts, 1868.

managers, in desperation, sponsored lace and straw-plaiting schools in hopes of ensuring that the children at least received a few hours' teaching a week.⁴³

By the late '50s it was becoming clear, even to those who objected to direct compulsion, that there was a strong case for extending factory legislation. The result was the Children's Employment Commission and the series of Acts extending half-time piecemeal during the '60s.⁴⁴ So far as industrial England was concerned these Acts should, if those who blamed early leaving wholly on the demands of employers were right, have made radical changes in the schools. But this did not happen. In the Potteries, certainly, there seems to have been considerable success.⁴⁵ Records used for this study show that a number of children from a variety of industries came to school who would not otherwise have done so - from a cutlery works in Colne, for example, a printer's in Manchester, a variety of hardware trades in Birmingham and Stourbridge, a bobbin mill at Staveley, a shoe factory in Kendal, leather works at Finedon, near Wellingborough and a rope works in Bridport.⁴⁶ But the numbers

43. Hill op.cit., pp.71-6; Yorke, op.cit., p.11; H.Sandford, op.cit. 1862, p.6; Education and Labour, 1865, p.5; Minutes, 1850-1, v.2, p.62; 1851-2, v.2, p.289; 1867-8, p.92, 1869-70, p.101; Monthly Paper, 1851, pp.4-5 (an Organizing Master's visit to a plaiting school); S.C. 1865, q.6799; Children's Employment Commission, 1st Report, pp.185, 244-55; 2nd Report, pp.177, 201-3; Minutes, 1853-4; v.2, pp.26-7; 1865-6, pp.178-183 (an interesting report on the 'mental degradation' of straw plaiting); Northants.Society, A.R.1855, p.11.
44. See works cited by Akroyd, Hill, Sandford, Yorke; also J.P.Norris. op.cit., 1869, pp.17-46; N.Stephenson, Birmingham, its Educational Condition 1856; for legislation, A.H.Robson, The Education of Children Engaged in Industry, 1931, pp.194-202.
45. H.Sandford. op.cit. 1865, pp.15-16; Minutes, 1869-70, p.355.
46. Waterside, Colne, L.B.28.7.68; St.John, Deansgate (Manchester Archives) 13.1.68; Birmingham, St.Clement, Nechells, 13.1.69; Christ Church B.7.1.68, 13.5.68; 19.5.68; St.Paul (Birmingham Library) 6.9.1.68, G, 7.1.68, 21.1.68; St.Thomas, Stourbridge, B.20.1.68; Staveley, 28.7.67, 6.1.68, 6.3.68; Castle St.Kendal, L.B.8.9.68; Minutes, 1869-70, p.104; Childrens Employment Commission, 5th Report, p.112.

involved were far below what might have been expected. Many employers either ceased to employ children or evaded the law. 'Some of the employers', wrote the master of the boys' school at Wellingborough in 1869 (in which town there were, if school attendance was anything to go by, only 23 boys of half-time age employed), 'have never pretended even to send a boy, and have laughed at the police when visited by them'; only one firm in Bethnal Green complied, 'and they, finding that no one was obliged to attend to it, somewhat naturally discontinued making themselves peculiar by obeying the law'. Lord Lyttelton, indeed, professed to believe that the terms of the Workshops Act of 1868 showed that Parliament had never intended it to be anything but a dead letter.⁴⁷ The experience of these years proved that half-time by itself would never solve the attendance problem.

Meanwhile, other causes of absence existed, perhaps the more exasperating in that they were less rational than the desire to earn money. It is not easy for the 20th. century, conditioned by three generations of compulsory education, to understand the Victorian attitude to attendance. Previously, schooling had been only for a minority; now, for the first time, strong social pressures persuaded a large section of the population that they were under some sort of obligation to send

⁴⁷ Minutes, 1869-70, p. 103; Bartley, op. cit., p. 30; Lyttelton, op. cit., 1868, p. 35.

their children to school. But the conviction did not go deep. A state of affairs existed in which lateness was so habitual that children could not even be punctual on Inspection day and in which managers and teachers accepted as inevitable an exodus from 11a.m.onwards to take the father's dinner and from 3p.m. to take his tea.⁴⁸ Inevitably this casual attitude extended to actual attendance. We have already remarked upon the amount of migration between schools. Admittedly this was sometimes the result of a well-founded dislike of an inefficient school and sometimes of poaching - not invariably inter-denominational.⁴⁹ But often it was simply curiosity about a new school;⁵⁰ pique - 'Punish little Jack or Bill for any fault, and immediately he will be transferred in state by his affronted mother to the opposition school';⁵¹ debts in school pence, or the Prospect of lower (or occasionally higher) fees;⁵²

48. Ball.op.cit.,p.97;Minutes,1869-70,p.248.

49.E.g.Ashton,Paro.,21.10.67,complaint of 'the Town Missionary, who appears to be doing his utmost to induce the parents of our scholars to send them to his own school in Charlestown'; Waterside, Colne,L.B.,12.3.68,child left because the master of Colne N. told the parents, incorrectly, that all children from Railway St.Mill had to attend his school.

50.Weston,Runcorn,12.12.64;Park Lane,Whitefield,10.10.64;Wordsley, 16.10.65 et seq.;this very good school lost 31 pupils in 2 months in 1865 to a new private school,'not of a satisfactory character', most of whom drifted back in 1866, having discovered its deficiencies.

51. H.Chester,op.cit.,1860,pp.6-7;e.g.Hulme Operatives,3.8.65; Penistone,24.7.63;Whitwick,G.L.B.19.2.64(girl removed because she was turned out of the church choir for misbehaviour).

52.W.E.C.,A.R.,1850,p.47;All Saints,Derby,29.9.63; St.Mark,Hulme, 23.11.63;Holy Trinity,Winchester,31.8.63 - parent thought he would get a better education for a larger fee.

unwillingness to have the child at home during the holidays;
or simply desire for a change. The career of Daniel Titheridge
was in no way exceptional:-

28th. November, 1862 - 'Daniel Titheridge left. Had been in the
school 10 mo. - age 12.4. This is the third time he has left
this school. He has been through all the schools in Winchester'.⁵⁴

Log-books afford plenty of evidence as to the reasons for absence
or removal. Sometimes it was justifiable - one can only sympathise
with the Wesleyan parents in Dartford who objected to their
sons being taught in the passage, and to an undiluted diet of
the 3Rs.⁵⁵ But a sample of the evidence makes interesting
reading. Apart from such perennial emptiers of schools as Sunday
school treats, circuses, hiring fairs, races, and the soldiers,
we find children's absence accounted for by such reasons as the
following:- they had been reproved for leaning out of the window;
all her time ought to be spent on needlework; she could not
agree with her cousins (in the same class); another boy, whom
the parents said was a liar, had been admitted; they were not
given clothes from the Dorcas Society; she was set on the form
for talking; she was made to learn her letters; she did not know
'd' from 'b' (this mother, invited to hear her daughter read,

53. Evesham N.I., 29.8.64; Escomb & Witton Park (Durham R.O.)
23.8.64, 29.8.65; note the return of a migrant on 2.11.63 'because
"the weather begins to be nasty now". Cp. Sellman, op.cit. p.30.

54. Penistone, 21.7.63; Castle St. Kendal, L.B., 10.9.67; Leicester
Co. B. 2.11.63; G. 21.8.65; Oakenshaw, 24.2.69; Escomb & Witton Park
31.10.65; Long Eaton, 27.11.63; St. John Baptist, G. Manchester, 9.1.66;
St. Thomas, Winchester, L.B.

55. Dartford. L.B. 19.4.64, 8.1.67.

turned out to be illiterate); the parents had heard the mistress was leaving; there was a heatwave and the children were basking in the sun (the kindly mistress though this might be the proper thing to do in such weather); they were to attend a dancing school (involving 10 weeks' continuous absence); they had gone on a steamer; they had gone on 'the cheap trip to Sheffield to view the spot of the late awful catastrophe'. The attitude of many parents was summarised by a Bexleyheath mother with a nice turn of phrase:- 'On Monday he was kept at home on her business. Yesterday (Wednesday) for her pleasure. She is quite tired of sending him, because the Master makes so much bother when he is absent'.⁵⁶

There were, of course, conscientious parents whose children were the regular attenders, but there was certainly much indifference. The willingness of Lancashire parents to leave their children to arrange their own education, reported by two H.M.I.s and the secretary of the Manchester and Salford Committee, was confirmed by the master of waterside, Colne - 'Believe in some cases the School fees had been given to children either to spend or to attend school as they chose'. A similar complaint

56. St. John, Chatham, L.B. 5.8.64; Bishop Auckland, 7.11.66; St. John Baptist G., Manchester, 27.4.63; St. Barnabas, Ancoats, B., 1.8.9.67; Hulme Operatives, 1.8.65; Rugby, 5.11.63; All Saints, Derby, 1.5.9.64; Melton Mowbray, L.B. 13.2.65; Eaton Bishop, 18.9.65; St. James, Heywood, I. (Lancs. R.O.) 25.5.64; Staveley, 9.3.66; Weston Point (Ches. R.O.) 13.7.66; Dukinfield, B. 16.3.64; This was the bursting of Bradfield reservoir; Bexleyheath, 28.9.65.

came from the heart of the Midland shires - 'The children of Melton Mowbray know they may come to school or stay away, learn or not learn as they please and children do not often learn for the pleasure of doing so'.⁵⁷ Such indifference bred contempt and a number of parents seem to have had little control over their children - 'He would not come'; 'he would not get up'; 'she had told him to come but he wouldn't'; were excuses sometimes found. The master of Escomb and Witton Park Ironworks school, struggling with little support in what appears to have been a 19th. century blackboard jungle, repeatedly complained of the parents' helplessness - 'the usual "Witton Park" experience "He could not manage him"'.⁵⁸

Managers and teachers might, however, have been more successful in dealing with the attendance problem had they realised that there was more to it than mere indifference. The withdrawal of children was one of the few sanctions which parents could use; but many of them, ignorant and inarticulate, used it in a way that was indefensible, so that whether they failed to act from indifference or acted from resentment, they merely did harm to their children's education. Bishop Wilberforce

57 Ball, op.cit., p.113; S.C.1852, q.654; Waterside L.B.2.9.67 - it is a testimonial to both master and children that the school was always full; Melton Mowbray, L.B. 29.4.64.

58. Bartley, op.cit., p.53; Weston, Runcorn, 27.3.65, 18.7.66; Stoke Abbott, 5.12.66; Billingham, 17.10.64, 25.10.64; Evesham N.B. 19.1.65; Escomb & Witton Park, 19.63, 9.9.63, 30.9.63, 1.10.63, 30.11.63.

had been unusually successful in winning the cooperation of the parents. Dawes and Best managed to involve the whole village community in the affairs of their schools; the Faversham schools were regarded as the property of the whole town. The success of Rogers at St. Thomas, Charterhouse and Gregory in Lambeth was more a matter of personality - resulting from the presence of an outstanding parish priest. In other cases the effective influence was that of a teacher, like the mistress of the L.N.W. Railway's girls' school in Crewe, of whom H.M. Inspector wrote:-

'I regard it as a benefit which cannot be over estimated that in a place like Crewe a person of Miss. Smith's character should be at the head of this important School, where her good influence over the girls is so manifest and so enduring...' 60

Ordinary conscientious managers with ordinary conscientious teachers could not reach these heights. They could only try, with limited success, to employ the expedients for improving attendance which will now be discussed.

From 1853 the Education Department had brought pressure on managers to deal with the problem by constructing a grant system dependent upon the presence in school of regular attenders. In consequence it was common to offer special advantages, before 1863 to the children qualifying for the capitation grant, from 1863 either to those qualified pupils who attended the examination or to those who passed it, depending on the liberality of

60. Christ Church, Crewe, G.7.10.68.

the managers and the state of the school's finances. These included special treats, ranging from dining at the rectory (Eaton Bishop) to a trip to Rosherville Gardens (Bearstead);⁶¹ prizes of various kinds (Cheltenham British School and the Quaker committee of Ipswich British School gave printed certificates);⁶² actual money payments from the grant, varying from 4d. to 1/6d.; and in one case (Bridport) permission to use the library.⁶³

Similar expedients, surviving into modern times in Sunday schools, were used in schools as a whole. Treats were often restricted to regular attenders, though it is surprising that more committees did not follow that of St. Thomas, Stourbridge, in fixing the treat for the first day after the harvest holidays, thus ensuring a good attendance at a time when schools were normally thin. Attendance tickets, redeemable with money, of the type which had been handed out in the old monitorial schools were becoming uncommon, but a large number of schools

61. Eaton Bishop, 17.9.63; Bearstead, 21.7.64, 9.8.65; St. Thomas, Mount Vernon, Liverpool, 1.3.67; St. Mary, Newsham, 9.6.69; Rugby, 3.8.65, 29.5.66.

62. Castle St., Kendal, L.B. 22.9.63; Pershore (Woros.R.O.) B. 17.2.64, 21.12.66; G., 26.1.63; New Meeting, Kidderminster, G., 5.3.68; Birmingham, St. Paul, B., 19.12.67, Christ Church I., 2.12.63; Nettlestead, 16.4.66; Truro Central M.B. 7.12.58; St. John, Cheetham, B., 13.5.63; St. Peter, Derby, G. 20.9.64; Ipswich, Br., 7.3.64; B.F.S. A.R., 1856, pp. 45, 56.

63. Pershore, B., 26.1.63; Bishop's Stortford, M.B. 20.5.57; West Bolden, 9.5.65; Morymeet, 22.2.64; Braywick, 31.3.63; Milwich, 20.10.65; Packington, 15.12.62; Hanham, 4.6.65; B.F.S., A.R., 1858, p. 51.

had quarterly or annual attendance prizes. These probably went to children who would have attended regularly anyway, but possibly where they were large, as, for example, the 12 half-sovereigns offered annually by Stewart Majoribanks in Bushey British School, they may have had some effect.⁶⁴

Since it was accepted educational dogma that fees induced regularity and since managers lost money, not only in fees, but in grants, on irregular attenders, some of them were induced to try the effect of financial sanctions, but with indifferent success. An autocrat like Augustus Smith, the Proprietor of Scilly, could introduce compulsory attendance into his domain, charging 1d. for going to school and 2d. for staying away; and Lord Salisbury, the devotee of night schools, could deduct 6d. from the wages of his farm boys for every absence. But ordinary managers found this sort of thing beyond their powers. Most of the rules ordering fees to be paid during absence unless pupils were sick, or charging special fees for re-admission seem to have been dead letters from the start; the Foot's Cray committee, in rescinding their rule, recorded that as the parents would not pay, there was a danger of attendance diminishing still further.⁶⁵

64. St. Thomas, Stourbridge, B., 7.9.63; tickets were introduced at Bullbrook, 11.9.67, and Launceston in 1868 (Toy, op.cit., p.311); Bushey, January 1856.

65 Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society, v.XCIII p.320; Lady G. Cecil, Life of Lord Salisbury, 1921, v.1, p.6; St. James, Clitheroe, M.B., 21.9.40; Ipstones, 14.1.54; Packington, 14.6.67; Weardale Schools, M.B., 30.6.62; Linton (Cams R.O.) Notice, 1867; College St. Yalding, 5.1.59; Bramfield, 30.6.64, 11.7.64, 18.7.64; Hoddesdon, B. 20.12.42; Foots Cray (Kent Archives) p.9.

Some success was claimed for a less ingenuous plan, tried in several areas, that of raising fees all round and returning a proportion to regular attenders, but there is little actual evidence of its effect.⁶⁶

In general, managers trusted to exhortations to parents, verbal or written, and to visiting of absentees.⁶⁷ The official view was that every child absent for a week should be visited. Archdeacon Allen suggested that this might most appropriately be done by lady patrons, but there is little evidence of them regularly undertaking this disagreeable chore, though some ladies' committees showed great zeal in reprimanding absentees brought before them.⁶⁸ In most schools, regular visiting was delegated to the monitors or pupil teachers, although some conscientious teachers went round on Friday or Saturday⁶⁹ and in one or two parishes where a Scripture Reader had been appointed he served almost as an attendance officer, visiting the worst offenders.⁷⁰

66. Minutes, 1866-7, pp. 115, 166.

67. Hill op.cit., p. 55; Monthly Paper 1851, p. 90; J.P. Norris, Education in Staffordshire, 1857, App. pp. 11-13; Downton Br., A.R., 1857 (Radnor Papers); Ipswich Dr. 9.5.48. Hoddesdon, Monthly Notice: Minutes, 1857-8, pp. 313-4; P.P., 1857-8, XLVI, 331, pp. 26-7.

68. Minutes, 1856-7, p. 41; Lectures to Ladies, p. 214; Ladies' Committees M.B.s, Hackney Par., Winchester Central. There is evidence of visiting at St. Chad, Shrewsbury (above, p. 209) and Richson used his lady District Visitors at St. Andrew, Ancoats (E. Brotherton, Popular Education, 1864, p. 19).

69. E.g. the master of Holy Trinity, Winchester.

70. E.g. All Saints, Derby, 26.10.62 etc.

The use of the school as the centre of various welfare activities was not primarily intended to stimulate attendance, but could often serve that purpose, as the schoolmaster author of a prize essay on attendance suggested in 1855. At Abbott's Ann, Best adjusted the premiums payable in his provident society according to the child's attendance record. This refinement was not common, but the penny clubs, shoe and coal clubs and savings banks attached to schools (British as well as National) must have done something to reconcile parents to school attendance.⁷¹ Their success, however, owed as it was to the premiums contributed by patrons, depended on a factor which, though not easily identifiable, was certainly important in affecting attendance in individual schools - the pressure exerted by employer, squire or parson. When Armitstead dismissed the attendance problem as no problem at all if the school was good he was doubtless perfectly sincere; but his success in Sandbach owed something to the fact that he was an Armitstead, one of three generations of parson and principal landowner. In a stable community, dominated by persons interested in the school, regular attendance could pay dividends for the present position of the parent and the future prospects of the child. The desire to 'get a good place' was probably the biggest single factor in keeping village girls in school, since its achievement usually

71 Norris, op.cit., 1857, App.p.5; for clubs in British schools, Downton, A.R., 1854; Park Lane, Whitefield, 2.10.62; Stafford, 18.6.66.

depended on the attitude of the parson's lady or the ladies from the big house.⁷² The influence of the Wenlocks on their East Yorkshire estates, of the Kay-Shuttleworths in Habergham (which gained the biggest capitation grant in the country in 1855), of Lord Radnor and his daughter in Coleshill or the Lytteltons at Hagley must have been powerful. More often the pressure came from the females of the family, for example, Lady Aylesford at Packington, Lady Mary Berkeley at Bullbrook, Mrs. Romilly at Mahollan or, perhaps the best example of all, covering two generations, Mrs. Tomkinson and her daughter Mrs. Tollemache at Acton (the only genuinely rural school amongst the six receiving the largest grants in 1855).⁷³

A similarly paternalistic attitude was expected of industrialists. Lady Londonderry, attempting to scold her pitmen into conformity, is a case in point:-

'Six years ago...I laid down rules for my own collieries... as to boys not being suffered to work in the pits till a certain amount of education had been acquired. I fear, from what I hear, that neither Act of Parliament nor my orders have been paid

72. Armitstead, op.cit.1847,p.35; for the systematic working of what was virtually a girls' employment agency, L.B.Acton G.; op. above,p.402.

73 P.P.,1856,XLVI, 397. The others were Habergham, Barnard Castle, Bollington (Ches.) all industrial villages, Crewe and St. Michael, Highgate; for the Wenlocks, Bamford op.cit., p.21;op. D.McClatchey,op.cit.,p.156-7 (enforcement of attendance by rector of Finmere).

sufficient attention to.

'...I have urged parents in the most solemn manner not to consider their children as slaves or merely as a means of making money. I have endeavoured to show the heavy responsibility of educating children for time and eternity. I have warned you as parents that youth is the seed-time for learning...but all in vain, and I must give still more stringent orders to the viewers not to...permit such children to be employed in the pits to swell the already large gains of parents...'

Employers who neglected their duties were liable to criticism.

H.M. Inspector remarked in 1866 that the owners of Witton Park Iron Works' ought to use their authority to put an end to the bad attendance in the school, which was the master's worst problem. Some industrialists - Messrs. Marshall of Leeds, for example, or J.T.Chance in the Black Country - made great efforts to get children into school. But it is doubtful how far they were successful; movement to another place of work to escape pressure was too easy. The figures in Appendix B show how poor was the attendance of full-time children at the Belper Mill School. Marshall's huge school admittedly gained one of the six largest capitation grants in 1856, but only on 188 children out of an average attendance of 899 (21% as against 44% in the case of the school with the next lowest percentage amongst the six), which does not suggest great regularity. Upper Teesdale, where the London Lead Company could demand certificates of six years' school attendance from boys entering its service, and where an appeal to the Company's agent brought an instant improvement in attendance in the school at Harwood, was different, as was

Saltaire, where the influence of Sir Titus was paramount; but these were communities almost as closed as the most remote country village.⁷⁴

An interesting by-product of the feeling of responsibility amongst some of the wealthy was a series of experiments in voluntary half-time. This was rare in industry, although it is recorded that in Lady Londonderry's prize examination in 1861 a special prize went to William Reid, 'one of the best answerers though he works in the pit each day from 6p.m. to 2a.m. and only attends school in the forenoon'.⁷⁵ Although the best known scheme was that of Charles Paget at Ruddington, Nottinghamshire, most of the attempts were made in the West Midlands, by a limited group of people centred round J.P. Norris (although the idea did not originate with him). It appears to have developed naturally from experience of running industrial schools for boys. The training which such schools provided was intended, as has been seen, to counteract irregular attendance and in some cases the boys had received direct payment for their work. They were, however, expensive to run and disliked by farmers. Henry Moseley had therefore suggested in 1849 (when he was still Inspector for the West Midlands) that

74. Londonderry, *op.cit.* p.298; Escomb & Witton Park, Report 1866; Yorke, *op.cit.* p.3; Rimmer, *op.cit.*; PP.1857, Sess 1, XIII, II; ON.C. v.2, pp.397-402; Harwood, 21.6.65, 28.9.65; Report of Factory Inspectors, 1854-5, 1, pp.62-4.

75. Londonderry Papers, Report of Prize Examination, 1861. A Nottingham manufacturer was said in 1859 to have adopted Paget's scheme - see below, Note.79.

the same result might be obtained at less trouble and expense if schoolmasters were to act as agents in arranging half-time work for boys over ten years old.⁷⁶ This suggestion was amplified by Norris in his report for 1851, in which he pointed out that work in the fields provided a real instead of an artificial industrial training which might well be applied to older boys. By this time such a scheme was already operating successfully at Betley on the Staffordshire Cheshire border - 'an excellent discipline for rather naughty, active, spirited boys'. The major problem was to find enough farmers willing to take on boys under these conditions; many were unsympathetic, and small farmers, who employed younger boys occasionally, paying them mainly with meals in the farmhouse, could scarcely be expected to fit in. Home farms and estate gardens were a different matter; and Norris succeeded in interesting a number of the gentry of his district. The Tomkinsons and the Tollenaches had introduced half-time at Acton and Tarporley by 1853. Lord Hatherton, who had since 1850 employed a labourer at Teddesley in Staffordshire to give his estate boys, whom he took on at the age of eleven, a year's agricultural training, was persuaded (reluctantly according to himself) to send them to

76. Above, pp. 270-6; Ball, op.cit., p.123; Minutes, 1848-50, v.1, p.13.

school between 6a.m. and 8a.m. daily. This continued until they were fifteen and the result, said Lord Hatherton, was that their labour was 'far more valuable'.⁷⁷

One of the local magnates whom Norris interested in voluntary half-time was Lord Granville; it was presumably his interest which caused the Education Department to try to encourage it. In a memorandum of 19th. April, 1854, on the proposed Minute extending the capitation grant to boys over ten attending 88 days only; provided they were working under a half-time scheme approved by H.M. Inspectors, Granville suggested that this would be a means of extending these schemes, which he described as the best possible form of industrial education. Correspondence relating to this use of the Minute was published during the next two years; and in 1856, as a result of a complaint from the proprietor of such a school that there were no other half-time schools in his area and at a recent diocesan meeting, when his schoolmaster mentioned this use of the Minute, no one knew what he was talking about, the Inspectorate was ordered to publicise the idea. They were to explain its value in keeping children in school and to point out that it would cost the school nothing and would bring a reality into industrial training which would always be absent in school-based work.⁷⁸

77. Minutes, 1850-51, v.2, p.259; 1851-2, v2, pp.395-8; 1852-3, v.2, pp.461-3; 1853-4, v.2, pp.509-18; 1854-5, pp.543-4; 1856-7, p.419.

78. P.R.O.30/29, Box 23, Part 1, 19.4.54; Minutes, 1854-5, p.121; 1855-6, pp.47-8; 1856-7, pp.35-6. The proprietor sounds like Lord Lyttelton.

Meanwhile, Charles Paget, M.P., apparently independently, had started a similar scheme on his home farm at Ruddington. In November, 1854, he began to employ eight boys half-time instead of four boys full-time; he found half days inconvenient, as the afternoon boys came to school wet and dirty, and changed to alternate days. 'It is no more trouble and no more expense', he said of the scheme. The most interesting point at Ruddington was that a number of parents joined in, by pairing off two of their children, so that by 1858 there were not only sixteen working on two farms but a number of children sewing stockings (Ruddington was in the hosiery district) or helping with house-work in pairs. The experiment was publicised by Dawes in 1857; and Paget himself read a paper about it (also published) at the Social Science Congress in 1858.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, Lord Lyttelton had introduced half-time into his school at Hagley. Boys over twelve were allowed to attend alternate weeks. This, he told the Newcastle Commission, meant that at any one time there would be in school twelve or thirteen boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen who would otherwise have left. In 1854 also, the second Lord Rayleigh, an ardent evangelical, began to employ a gang of boys aged between ten and twelve on his farm at Terling, Essex, who attended school from

79. Dawes, *Effective Primary Instruction*, pp. 51-2; C. Paget, *Results of an Experiment on the Half-Time System*, 1859; Commission on children in Agriculture, 1st Report, pp. 143-9, 317-9.

9a.m. to 12noon, beginning work at 1p.m. Before 1856 half-time was introduced in the school at Kiddington in Oxfordshire, where in that year thirty children came on alternate days, fourteen of them working on farms; while at Hertingfordbury all the boys under twelve in Lord Cowper's employ had to attend school three days a week. By 1857 voluntary half-time had been sufficiently canvassed for Bromby of Cheltenham to devote about half his general lecture on half-time at the Educational Conference to the subject.⁸⁰

Simultaneously the scheme was spreading in the area in which it began. It appeared at Saltney, Cheshire, under Rev. Richard Temple, a future H.M.I., where it was applied to girls as well as boys; at Ellesmere, Shropshire; and Rostherne, where Lord Egerton of Tatton paid full wages to eight boys between twelve and fourteen (ten by 1861) on condition that they attended school half-time. Before they could be employed they had to produce a certificate from the parson and the schoolmaster 'to show that we are well up in our lessons, and have been good boys'. They had to produce a weekly certificate of school attendance before they were paid.

80. Hagley - N.C., v.5, p.277; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd Report, pp.286-7; Rayleigh - 1st Report, p.192, Sir W.Gavin, *Ninety Years of Family Farming*, 1967, pp.15-22; as the Rayleigh family were noted for a business-like approach to farming, the system must have been economically viable; Kiddington - Oxford Diocesan Conference, 1856, Report, p.33; Hertingfordbury - Minutes, 1856-7 p.437; Hurt, op.cit., pp.46-7; Hill, op.cit., pp.250-63.

'There are five boys on each side; two on each side of which are helping two men to feed up the cattle for sale, and another helping a man to cut hay for them, which is done by steam, and to boil turnips for the horses, and myself and another are doing odd jobs, such as cleaning turnips and mangle(sic), and driving horses with the plough, and fearing birds off the newly sown ground, and many other odd things'.

Other branches of the Egerton clan took up the idea, the Grey Egertons at Oulton and Rev. G. Egerton, vicar of Myddle, Shropshire. Lord Hatherton now employed thirty boys at Teddesley. The Tollemaches' schemes had been extended. At Tarporley two days' absence a week was allowed provided that the boys were working in the garden and the girls washing, cleaning or nursing at home. At Acton, Mrs. Tollemache had involved some of her tenant farmers, so that besides herself employing six boys all the year and eight others from June to September, she sent ten to one farmer between April and Christmas, two to another farm from June to Christmas and one each to two other farmers, one for the summer, one all year.⁸¹

That agricultural half-time never developed further may have been partly due to the Revised Code, which defined the school day more stringently and ended the scheme at Hagley. But the

81 Minutes; 1855-6, pp. 474-80; 1856-7, p. 408; 1857-8, pp. 420-6; 1860-1 pp. 104-6; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 1st Report, p. 147; 2nd Report, pp. 67-8, 78. The quotation is from a half-timer's letter to Norris, Minutes, 1861-2, pp. 89-91. See Report of Factory Inspectors, 1860, 1, pp. 33-4, for domestic half-time at Clayton near Bradford.

Cheshire schemes and that at Ruddington were still operating at the time of the Commission on the Employment of Children in Agriculture; Lord Rayleigh had cut his down to four boys, but only because of a shortage of labour; a scheme for what was in effect half-time - two schools under one teacher, each open three days a week, was about to be started at Holbeach; and in the Leicestershire village of Thurlaston there were four boys working as half-timers at the rectory throughout the '60s. But there had been no general adoption of the plan. In the first place, though it may have given no trouble to schools, it gave some to farmers, who had to plan ahead, if only by remembering to give instructions the day before. As several experimenters found, where farms were large, half days were unsuitable - too much time was occupied getting to and from the place of work. It needed an outstanding teacher, like the farming expert at Acton, to win confidence, or to cope with the problem, mentioned at Ruddington and Oulton, of seeing that the half-timers progressed in their school work. Furthermore, the difficulty found by Lord Rayleigh was all but universal. One parish meeting after another, commenting to the Commission on half-time, argued that there were not enough boys in the village to meet the seasonal demands for full-time labour. 'Observe', wrote a Cheshire parson of farmers, 'they don't oppose, but you can't get them to take the

trouble'; and there is some evidence that Cheshire farmers were exceptionally enlightened; others opposed.⁸²

Some government support was also given to two other plans for encouraging attendance, which originated from officials. The earlier of these, and much the more publicised, was the Prize Scheme movement begun by Tremenheere. He was a subscriber to the view that education produced more submissive and industrious workmen and consequently was anxious to encourage boys to stay on at school beyond the age of ten (the minimum age of entry to the pits). In 1850, therefore, he persuaded 23 firms in South Staffordshire to set up 'The Iron and Coal Masters' Association for the Encouragement of Education...in the Mining Districts', which offered substantial money prizes, on the results of general examinations of children over the age of eleven, who had attended regularly for two years.⁸³ £160. was subscribed for this purpose in the first year and the Education Department was invited to cooperate by allowing its inspectors to carry out the examination. This involved Norris who, along with Arnold, undertook the first examination and who, by writing between 1852 and 1856 a series of special

82. Commission on Children in Agriculture, 1st Report, p.302; Thurlaston Upper school, L.B., 31.7.63, 8.7.67; Minutes, 1857-8, p.424; above p. 36.

83. Scheme described in Report of Commissioner for Mines, 1851. The account in his memoirs (Edmonds, op.cit., pp. 71-3) should be checked against his more guarded assessment at the Educational Conference - Hill, op.cit., pp.161-203.

reports upon this and other schemes became the recognised expert on the subject.

Of all the educational innovations of the mid-19th century this was the most widely supported because, as J.R.D. Johnson has pointed out, it was part of a general application of the competitive principle throughout education. Prize schemes mushroomed during the next few years; by 1857 there were, in mining districts, two in South Staffordshire and one in North Staffordshire (aimed at potters as well as miners); three in South Wales; two in Yorkshire (where, however, the southern one was a failure); one in Shropshire; one in Northumberland and Durham, and one in the Derby, Nottingham and Leicester coal-field. Meanwhile the movement spread beyond the mines. We have already seen how the diocesan boards took over the idea, modifying its aims and organisation in the process and establishing their own methods of examination. Nash Stephenson, vicar of Shirley, one of the leading educational figures of the Birmingham area, persuaded the Birmingham Educational Association to set up a scheme. In Norris's district, the L.N.W. Railway established a scheme in its schools in Crewe, as did the Trustees of the Weaver Navigation for their schools, where canal-boat children were already recognised as creating a special attendance problem. Private individuals sponsored schemes - Kay-Shuttleworth in the East Lancashire Union, the industrialist

Bernhard Samuelson in the Banbury area, for example, and even outside the government system the parson employed by Lady Londonderry to examine her schools proposed in 1858 'a sort of Competitive Examination at which the children selected for prizes in their respective Schools should be brought together and examined together' for a special prize and 'a special mark of your Ladyships approval of his or her Teacher'. Kennedy remarked at the Educational Conference on the furor being excited in favour of prize schemes and the largest claims were made, not only for their moral effects on prizewinners but for their success in raising the age of attendance.⁸⁴

Initially the Education Department had confined its aid to publicity and the use of its inspectors in the more important schemes. In 1855 Tremenheere suggested to Granville, without consulting Norris, that it might give more substantial aid by subsidising them. When Norris found out, he wrote in heated protest. Prize schemes, he said, were so popular that there was no difficulty in raising funds, and the red tape involved in government grants would be a constant irritant to industrialists, 'who would often rather give £5 of their money than 5 minutes of their time'. Furthermore the value of the scheme would go

⁸⁴ Minutes, 1852-3, v.1, pp.345-60; 1853-4, v.1, pp.391-418; 1854-5, pp.578-82, 738-65; 1855-6, pp.1041-1049; 1856-7, pp.822-35; 1858-9, pp.97-8; N. Stephenson op.cit.; J.R.B. Johnson, op.cit., p.395; B.F.S. A.R., 1860, p.43; Weaver Navigation Trustees M.B., 1.7.52; Report on Londonderry Schools 1858 (Londonderry Papers); Hill, op.cit., pp. 133-41, 230.

if parents once thought that part of the money came from Government; the employers would no longer be exhibited in a friendly attitude towards their employees; there would be no more of the annual three cheers for the Masters which rejoiced Norris's heart as much as it surprised the industrialists who happened to be present!⁸⁵

Granville rejected the idea of giving direct aid. Norris's remarks are interesting in that they show that he was already valuing prize schemes for their contribution to social order rather than for their effect upon attendance. The idea of competition was too much part of the Victorian ethos for them not to continue to flourish, but as time went on there was less emphasis on their original purpose. They had, indeed, always had their critics. It was alleged that most of the prizes went, not to the children of miners or ironworkers, but to lower middle-class children who would have stayed at school anyway. They were said to excite jealousy among teachers and to encourage them to concentrate on a few children. The Newcastle Commission concluded that they had no effect on the bulk of the school population. In Parson Bull's words, 'As to the Prize Scheme, what has it to offer to the dead? What to

85. Hill, *op.cit.*, pp. 133-4, 191-3; P.R.O., 30/29, Box 19, Part 1, 19.2.56.

the educationally defunct at between 7 and 13? Secure time for education, and the scheme may succeed'. That intelligent industrialist Edward Akroyd pointed out the fundamental inconsistency of offering parents 'the bribe of good wages to take their children from school' and then of subscribing 'for money prizes as a higher bribe to tempt parents to send their children back again to school'. The weakness of prize schemes, founded to improve attendance, lay in the paradox that if they were to affect the majority of children, attendance must already have been improved.⁸⁶

The second official suggestion came from Watkins in his report for 1853, partly as the result of a proposal to the local Inspector of Factories by some Bradford schoolmasters that official certificates of merit should be issued to children leaving school at thirteen years of age after two years of satisfactory attendance and progress. In a modified version these proposals were accepted by the Department in 1855, on the grounds that such certificates might contribute to prolonging attendance. The age was to be twelve; the child was to have attended the same school for three years, to have reached the standard demanded of stipendiary monitors, to be regular, punctual,

86.N.C.v.1,p.222;v.5,p.185;Educational Guardian,1859,pp.13-14; Journal of Education, 1857,pp.91-2;Papers for the Schoolmaster, 1859-60,pp.56-60;1860-1 pp.515-7; Children's Employment Commission, 3rd Report,p.162; Akroyd,op.cit.p.19.

clean and well-conducted. The certificates, designed by the Science and Art Department, were to be issued by managers and countersigned by H.M. Inspector, who would 'say a few words of advice and encouragement' to the recipients. Their real value, of course, depended upon the cooperation of employers. If, as the rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham, pointed out, they were publicly accepted 'as passports to...employment', 'a sterling value may be given to these bits of paper which will make all the difference in the world'. Unfortunately this was what employers in general would not do. Poor Watkins complained in 1858 of the chairman of a railway company who looked at a certificate and said he 'did not understand at all what it was all about'. Scholar's Certificates contained to be issued throughout the '50s and '60s but, as Blandford remarked in 1861 when recording that he had signed 293 since 1856, most of them went to children who would have stayed without them.⁸⁷ References to the certificates are fairly frequent in school records, but without exception in schools of repute (including a disproportionate number of British Schools) providing for lower middle-class boys prepared to stay until thirteen or fourteen before going on to clerkships. To such a boy a Scholar's Certificate, framed and glazed by his proud

87. Minutes, 1853-4, v.2, pp.162-3; 1855-6, pp.27-30, 349, 472; 1858-9, pp.53-4; Report of Factory Inspectors, 1859, 1, p.79; Yorke op.cit., p.18; reference by H.M.I.s to the issue of certificates, Minutes, 1856-7, p.294; 1857-8, p.298; 1858-9, p.53; 1859-60, p.43; 1860-1, p.185; 1861-2, p.49; 1862-3, p.49. An example from Banbury is reproduced in Appendix F.

parents, was a fitting conclusion to an industrious career, as in the case of John Harrop of Dukinfield:-

'a sharp intelligent and a thinking boy - made the Certificate a subject for a lesson - Character - Formation of being my chief aim. The boy is now engaged in a large iron firm near Manchester'. 88

but there are few instances of a certificate affecting a boy's prospects of employment - certainly not enough to induce a change of heart in parents.

A modification suggested in 1856 by Norris had only temporary and local success in Staffordshire. This was to create a register of children who had been in regular attendance at the same school for two years from the age of nine, with re-registration every six months, which employers would agree to consult when looking for labour. The scheme was supported by the Duke of Sutherland and Lord Granville; Dawes gave it his approval in a pamphlet of 1857; the rector of St. Philip's suggested its extension to Birmingham; and 1500 names were registered by 1857. But it depended on the voluntary labour of Norris and two friends. He had hoped to make it official, and 45 out of the 55 registrars of births, deaths and marriages in Staffordshire had agreed to undertake the work. He found, however, that their

88. Certificates recorded at: Banbury Br.; Jews' school, Manchester; Cheltenham Br.; Stafford Br.; Park Lane, Whitefield, Br.; Colne, waterside N; Christ Church, Crewe; Dukinfield, N; Long Eaton N; Truro Central N; Watlington N; for Harrop, Dukinfield B., 11.11.63; for glazing, Educational Record v.3, pp.176-7.

intervention would ~~kill~~ the scheme, so great was working-class hostility towards them; and little more came of it than Kay-Shuttleworth's resolution at the Educational Conference that registration, certificate and prize schemes were worthy of more extensive trial.⁸⁹

Both these schemes, in fact, foundered because most employers were, at bottom, no more convinced of the value of education than were most parents. As William Birley, H.M.I., pointed out in 1864, school attendance would soon rise if employers would give preference to holders of Scholam's Certificates. But for twenty years educationists had been begging them to prefer better-educated children without any permanent success. Those who, at the persuasion of, for example, J.D. Morell, H.M.I., put a notice on their door, 'No child will be admitted who cannot read or write', merely found, as Kennedy remarked on another occasion, that the children went to work elsewhere; at worst, if local employers were unanimous and kept their agreement, they had only to move out of the area to find other employment. When Richson, as secretary of the Manchester Church Education Society, tried to persuade manufacturers to impose educational conditions, he found that they were on the whole willing to display a notice, as long as no one expected them to act upon it.

89. Norris, *op.cit.*, 1857; *op.cit.* 1869, pp. 57-73; Hill *op.cit.* pp. 204-15, 381-2; Yorke, *op.cit.*; P.R.O. 30/29, Box 23, Part 1, 21.5.55; Part 2, 9.4.56; Dawes, *Effective Primary Instruction*, p. 62.

They pointed out that when labour was scarce there could be no question of implementing it; and (taking a high moral tone) that when education was not free it would be unfair to penalise those who could not afford it.⁹⁰ Most employers interested in education, like Akroyd or Chance, took the more realistic line of providing for their own workpeople. Some, like Akroyd, supported the demand, growing by the middle '50s, for legislation making some sort of educational certificate compulsory for young workers. This had been suggested by Hook as early as 1846 for factory children; and it came up in several forms at the Educational Conference. The proposal received support from teachers, and was embodied in Adderley's Bill of 1860, of which as J.R.B. Johnson has pointed out, Norris, not acting in his capacity of H.M.I. but memorialising the Home Secretary direct, was the real author.⁹¹ Nothing came of it at the time, except for the ineffective use of the certificate in the Mines Act; but ultimately it bore more fruit than most of the expedients described in this chapter,

90. Minutes, 1856-7, pp. 393-4; 1864-5, p. 32; N.C., v. 6, q. 1612; C. Richson, A. Sketch of Some of the Causes.... 1851, pp. 35-37; Coode pointed out to the Newcastle Commission that in the Black Country, where the supply of educated labour could not fill the vacancies, such declarations had no effect - N.C., v. 2, pp. 267-8; cp. Hill, op. cit., pp. 231-3.

91. W.F. Hook, Letter to the Bishop of St. David's, 1846, p. 20; Hill, op. cit., pp. 75, 222, 263, 349; Papers for the Schoolmaster, 1855-6, pp. 229-31 (Memorial of the Northern Association of Certificated Schoolmasters); Seaborne & Isham, op. cit. p. 8; J.R.B. Johnson, op. cit., p. 444; cp. Norris, op. cit. 1869, pp. 39-46.

since it became the required qualification for exemption under the Act of 1876.

The same cannot be said of another idea for dealing with indifference which was occasionally canvassed. What, ran the argument, was more desirable than the vote? Why not, therefore, encourage school attendance by introducing an educational franchise? The proposal had already been put forward as early as 1839 in the form which normally obtained - namely, that the voter should be able to read and write. It was occasionally suggested in H.M. Inspectors' Reports, was advocated by three speakers at the Educational Conference and was seriously proposed in the discussions which preceded the 2nd. Reform Act. No one seems to have anticipated the difficulties of administering such a law, difficulties nicely exemplified when Lord Lyttelton, having tabled an amendment to the Reform Bill that no one should vote who could not write legibly, was asked by the Clerk to read it aloud himself, because it was illegible.⁹² It was fortunate that Victorian England was at least spared this experiment.

A study of the attendance problem reveals voluntary effort at its feeblest. In financing their schools, promoters are often seen battling heroically against odds; in religious matters,

92. J.C. Symons, *Arts and Artizans at Home and Abroad*, 1839, pp. 164-5; *Minutes*, 1850-1, v. 2, p. 449; 1851-2, v. 2, p. 84; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, 131, 364; J. Bailey, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 37. T.D. Acland thought it was ridiculous (A.H.D. Acland, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-10).

they were at least standing by what they believed, rightly or wrongly, to be their duty towards God. But in dealing with attendance, confronted as they were by economic pressures and social attitudes on the part of the working class which they disliked, they confused symptoms with causes, failed to grasp the essentials of the problem and, at best, wasted their energies in the pursuit of plans which offered no prospect of a solution. Even in the '60s, when the extension of half-time was proving a disappointment, few of them saw as clearly as had Dean Close, who in 1856 had declared that forty years' experience had forced him to become an 'absolute convert' to the policy of compulsion.⁹³ All that can be said in their favour is that constituted authority did not do much better in dealing with attendance. The 1870 Act scarcely even began to grasp the nettle and although compulsion had been in theory established by 1880, in practice it was still ineffective. Until, with the passage of time, a new generation grew up, conditioned to compulsory schooling, the problem of enforcing attendance remained unsolved.⁹⁴

93. F. Close, *A Few More Words on the Education Bills, 1856*, p. 22.

94. Cp. Sellman, *op. cit.*, chapter 8 - 'The myth of compulsory attendance'.

CHAPTER 11
EDUCATIONAL DESTITUTION

The principal concern of Forster's Act was not the general attendance problem, but one of two allied questions, both of which were frequently described by Victorians as 'educational destitution' - the inadequacy of provision in certain areas and for certain children.¹ These questions were closely related, since the poor children who were ill-served by the type of provision in existing elementary schools were to be found in their largest numbers in poor areas, in which schools tended to be either bad or non-existent; but they were sufficiently distinct for it to be desirable to discuss them separately, and, since the geographical problem received much fuller recognition than the other in the proposed educational reforms of the period, it would seem logical to begin with that.

A phrase once used by Norris in connection with the religious problem, that 'strictly denominational schools can no more cover the area of a population than sixpenny pieces can cover the area of a table', had, in fact, a more general application. The strong parochial connection between school and church amongst Anglicans and between school and chapel amongst nonconformists involved two assumptions - that rich and poor co-existed within the parish, and that the rich would be willing to aid the poor -

1. E.g. Watkins in 1849 - 'Your Lordships will soon have to decide on the fate of many which may truly be called "destitute places"... whether, in a word, their inhabitants shall be men or beasts, Christians or heathens' (Ball, op.cit. p.147).

neither of which was universally true. In towns, it was by this time rare to find rich and poor in the same district. Even in the country there were many villages containing no one above the rank of small farmer, and others 'where those having influence and power take upon themselves to say, the people shall not be educated, because it does not suit with their humour that they should'. Before 1870, the only hope of a school for such an area lay in the coming of a new squire or a new parson, with an inclination to change things. The sudden appearance of a tolerable school where none had existed before can often be associated with such an accidental factor, as at Barrow, near Chester, of which H.M. Inspector wrote in 1867;

'This school has been open a year and a quarter in a Village where education was in the lowest condition. A good start has been made.'

or Croxton, Cambridgeshire, where the new teacher recorded on the opening day, 22nd February, 1869:

'...Arithmetic totally unknown; with a few exceptions writing also. Reading by a few tolerably well-known in comparison'. 2

The returns under the 1870 Act were to show how many places had been less fortunate; and even where goodwill existed, the financial difficulties in the way of maintaining an efficient school often, as has been shown above, proved insurmountable.

2. Norris, op.cit. 1869, p.3; R. Dawes, Observations on the Government Scheme, 1849, p.11; Barrow, 29.1.67; Croxton (Cambs. R.O), 22.2.69.

The principle of encouraging self-help, by which most state action in the field of the social services was justified, had the result of limiting its effectiveness in proportion to the urgency with which outside help was needed. Education Department policy, as has been seen, was always open to this criticism. As the headmaster of Liverpool Collegiate School said in 1859 (anticipating a much-quoted phrase used by Forster when introducing his Bill), its defect was 'to give help to those who need little help, and to pass by those who need it most'.³ The Department could hardly have failed to be aware of this; observers, including H.M. Inspectors, had been calling attention to it ever since the earliest days of the annual grant system. The Capitation Minute of 1853, it will be recalled, had been an attempt, which largely misfired, to meet the criticism by giving additional aid to rural schools. In 1856, when the extension of the grant to town schools removed this differential, the Hereford Diocesan Board, which probably had as much experience of the problems of a backward and sparsely populated area as any body in the country, sent the Lord President an interesting memorial arguing that the Department was mistaken in treating all schools 'upon one uniform and unvaried plan';

'Experience has proved that...there are in fact four classes of districts needing Schools, in many respects unlike each other, 1st - 1st. Rich town Parishes, inhabited by a mixture of Classes, containing a considerable amount of wealth, as well as a large town population -

3. J.W. Howson, Popular Education in Liverpool, in Transactions of the Social Science Association, 1859, p.423.

2nd. Rich Country Parishes, of a population sufficient to furnish a School of from 50 to 100 children, inhabited by several wealthy residents, or landowners able and willing to assist the schools.

3rd. Poor Town Districts inhabited solely by Artizans and labourers, a shifting population often out of work, often mixed up with a large infusion of a degraded class who care nothing for the Education of their children.

4. Very small or poor Country Parishes. Where the land is either in the ownership of non resident proprietors, who consider their duty as fulfilled by aiding the schools in their own neighbourhood - or in the hands of poor freeholders who make a hard living out of it and the labour of their own families - or where the land is heavily mortgaged, the interests taking up all profit - or in chancery, or otherwise so hampered that it is hopeless to expect any considerable sum to be raised for school purposes.'

The Board therefore proposed the establishment of a commission to decide upon appropriate differential treatment; and, for a start, gave as an instance the possibility of aiding the fourth class by making some sort of grant to successful dame schools in such villages. This suggestion had no immediate result. Later in the year, Dawes wrote to the 'Hereford Times' dissociating himself from the idea, pointing out that the great success of the Bluecoat and Scudamore schools in Hereford was owing to their having been put under trained and certificated teachers. He argued that the proper solution for small rural parishes was for them to combine to found district schools, which would be able to afford qualified teachers. In August, the Department rejected the memorial, quoting Dawes's letter with approval, and suggesting that the Board should use its influence to encourage such combinations; and in the following year, a proposed scheme of

management for district schools was published in the Minutes.⁴

Soon afterwards, however, a modest concession was made, suggesting that the memorial may have made some impression. The vicar of Wargrave, Berks., wrote to 'My Lords' to point out that his large parish contained the village proper, in which there were boys' and girls' schools under certificated teachers, and two hamlets, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away respectively, in which he maintained dame schools for the younger children, for whom the walking distance from the village was too great. He asked, on behalf of himself and others, that capitation grants should be payable on the children in the branch schools. To this, in February, 1858, Lingen agreed, provided that no child over seven years old was admitted to them, and that they were under the same management as the central schools. What effect, if any, this concession had, is difficult to say; but there was obviously something to be said for an arrangement whereby a small and poor community had to provide only for the younger children. There already appear to have been six instances in the Oxford Archdeaconry in 1854; in 1856, Lord Radnor offered a subscription to a new National school at Inglesham only on condition that it was limited to the younger children, the elder going to the school at Buscot which all had hitherto attended; Lord Belper paid the

4. Poole MSS., v. XVI, Draft Memorial; Hereford D.B., A.R., 1856, pp. 17-25; Hereford Times, 26.7.56; Minutes, 1856-7, pp. 280-83; 1857-8, p. 43.

extra fees so that the elder boys from his village school at Kingston could transfer to a good parochial school in the next village; and in 1863, Warburton found four 'simple inspection' schools in his district serving as branch schools in areas where there were good central schools.⁵

The idea of district schools received some public support from a few of the clergy, as well as from official opinion in the late '50s.⁶ Where they existed, the financial advantages were obvious. Bearstead and Thurnham United National school, for example, with an average attendance of 77, was generously staffed with a master, an adult male assistant and a sewing mistress. Hurst and Ruscombe National school was in 1843 already paying the unusually large salary of £70 to the master and mistress. Some were established by landowners - the Brome and Oakley school in Suffolk, maintained by the Kerrison family, for instance. The Bredicot school, mentioned in chapter 9, flourished throughout the period.⁷ But these foundations were limited in number, and some of them failed. There were parochial

5. Minutes, 1857-8, p.40; 1863-4, p.162; E.P.Baker, op.cit., sub. Bradwell, Coggs, Crowell, Elsfeld, Haseley, Taynton; Radnor Papers, Inglesham; P.R.O.30/29, Box 24, Part 2, 19.4.62.

6. e.g. C.G.Davies (vicar of Tewkesbury), Educational Difficulties, 1857, p.30; I.P.Hastings (rector of Arley Kings), RP.1862, XLIII, 1, pp.17-18; Nash Stephenson (vicar of Shirley), N.C.v.5, p.414.

7. Bearstead & Thurnham, L.B; Hurst & Ruscombe, Accounts; Brome & Oakley, Accounts; cp.R.C.Russell, op.cit.p.69; S.C.1866, qq.2473-7, 2991-2.

jealousies - the vicar of Inglesham assured Lord Radnor that his parishioners wanted a separate school because their children were regarded in Buscot as trespassers; few clergy, except under stress, as at Bredicot, were ready to cooperate with each other; and even when they did, they tended to lose their interest in a school in which the children of their own parish were 'lost in a crowd'.⁸

John Walter's motion of 1863, to extend grants to schools with uncertificated teachers, was another attempt to make government aid available to schools outside the system; and, as with the Hereford memorial, its failure was followed by a concession too slight to be effective. In this case, the initiative came from Angela Burdett-Coutts; the plan was adopted by the Department 'in deference to the wishes of that distinguished lady', who in fact took exception to the official scheme as not being sufficiently close to her own.⁹

After reading the statistics of unaided parishes (see Table 4) in the Department's Report for 1863-4, she decided to try a pilot scheme to show how the blessings of government aid might be brought to the children of small parishes, without the evil of removing them from their own villages to a central school.¹⁰

8.S.C.1866,qq.2050,2054;Minutes,1866-7,pp.86-7.

9.S.C.,1865,q.7902;S.C.1866,p.xiv;

10. Monthly Paper,1865,pp.42-3;S.C.1865,evidence of Rev.R.H.Barnes; B.M.,Add.MSS.46406B,pp.5-6;paper of Replies of Mr.Dicker on Circulating Schools (in B.M.-drawn up by the ambulatory teacher). The schools concerned were at Shaldon, Cockington, Barton,Shiphay Collaton, Abbotskerswell, and Coombe-in-Teignhead.

She chose for her experiment a group of six church schools in the hilly district between the Teign estuary and Torquay, and used a friend, Rev. R.H. Barnes, the incumbent of St. Marychurch, to run the scheme. Altogether the schools had an average attendance of 227; they were all between one and three miles from inspected schools, by difficult lanes, or, in the case of Shaldon, the Teign tollbridge; of the teachers, two were "dames", two young women, and two middle-aged men (one a pensioned naval gunner). A certificated teacher, Mr. Dicker, was appointed as 'ambulatory' master, 'to see that the teaching is genuine and good, to assure the managers of the different schools that the work is being well done by the teachers, and also himself to teach to a certain extent'. The master spent a half-day a week in each school, examining the children, providing through his teaching a model for the teachers to imitate, and giving extra help when needed (for example, he worked out timetables for two of the women to follow). Miss Burdett-Coutts made a grant of 6/6d. per child on average attendance, which provided £50 for the master's salary, covered the expenses of the scheme and left 6d. per child for the purchase of equipment. The master, having four half-days and Saturdays free, took private pupils at 1/- an hour; and, as he was also organist at St. Marychurch, earned all told about £100 a year.¹¹

11. S.C. 1865, qq. 7908, 7925, 7937-9, 8006; Replies of Mr. Dicker.

Towards the end of the first year, Miss Burdett-Coutts invited E.P. Arnold, H.M.I., to see the schools and, since he was favourably impressed, followed her usual practice of publicising her scheme in a letter to The Times, and approached the Department and the National Society. Both responded immediately. The National Society offered grants towards expenses to groups of managers wishing to try the plan. By a minute of 8th. February, 1865, the Department offered to extend grants under the Code to groups of from two to six schools under uncertificated teachers, provided that they were controlled by one correspondent and treasurer, and were supervised by a two-year trained, certificated teacher, spending at least two clear hours a week in each. Official caution, however, in this as in other cases, imposed a restriction which made the concession almost unworkable - that there should not be within a radius of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of any school in the group a total population of 500.¹² This ruled out Miss. Burdett-Coutts's scheme in its original form - Coombe-in-Teignhead had to be excluded before it could qualify - and excluded most other possibilities. The Secretary of the Bath and Wells Diocesan Board, for example, thought he saw a promising group in a hilly area; but when he took a pair of compasses to the map, he found that it was not eligible.

12. Letter reprinted in Monthly Paper (see note 10); H.J. Burgess, op.cit.p.140; Minutes, 1864-5, p.lxxvi-lxxviii.

Lingen himself appears to have been confused on this point, since on receiving an enquiry from a Huntingdonshire manager as to whether the distance was to be measured by road, footpath, or as the crow flew, he appealed to the Department's legal adviser for a precedent, and received a tart rejoinder;

'It is of course most natural that Their Lordships should know best what They intended by Their own regulation, and if they have any doubt They can clear it up by issuing another regulation in explicit terms'.

The final decision, that it was to be measured in a straight line, ensured that few groups would qualify.¹³

The clerical witnesses to the Select Committee of 1865 were almost unanimous in opposing the ambulatory scheme, not only because of the geographical difficulty, but because they believed it to be almost impossible for five or six sets of managers to agree on the choice of a master. The master himself, they argued, must be possessed of exceptional tact and ability, and the expense of securing such a man (in all the experiments except St. Marychurch it was found necessary to offer £100. per annum) would be so great that the constituent schools would be little better off financially, and probably worse off educationally, than if they each had a certificated mistress.¹⁴ However, a small minority favoured it, as a means of keeping

13. S.C.1865,q.4645; P.R.O.Ed 9/4,p.162 (22.5.65).

14. S.C.1865,qq.1728-9,2181, 3996-7,4021,4517-8,4648,4955, 5194-6,5364-6,5739-40,6626-9,6837-9,7497-9,7717-20,8069-70.

'school unions' were established in addition to St. Marychurch -
two in Oxfordshire, one in Suffolk, and one in Cumberland.
One of the Oxfordshire unions dissolved after about a year
but the others were working with fair success in the later '60s,
and several new ones were organised in the Carlisle diocese, in
which there were many small endowed schools. The ambulatory
scheme, however, was obviously not one which had any chance
of general application.

If little was achieved in the countryside, there was even
less success in dealing with the Hereford Board's third class
of districts. In so far as educational destitution was
geographical in origin in urban areas, it was the result of the
mushroom growth of London and of towns in the industrial
districts, an unprecedented development with which the early 19th.
century was ill-equipped to cope. Education was only one of a
number of social services to suffer in the first two-thirds of
the century from the belief that action should wait on local
initiative. In the meantime, new centres of population were
created, and even when anything was done to supply their needs,
it was usually too little and too late. One of the few fields in

15.S.C.1865, qq.7299-7300; S.C.1866, qq.1292-3, 1308, 1604-5, 1650-4;
Minutes, 1866-7, pp.xxiii-iv, cxv-cxcv, 22; 1867-8, p.29; 1868-9, pp.
30-31; 1869-70, pp.31-2. They were in the neighbourhoods of
Wallingford, Deccles and Kirkhampton; the one that broke up was
at Westnell; Commission on Children in Agriculture, 2nd Report,
p.541.

which, in the early part of the century, upper-class opinion favoured public action, was that of providing spiritual provender, as is shown by the series of Church Building Acts which began in 1818. But even with this aid, there was general recognition that the supply of new churches was wholly inadequate to meet, if not the demand, the need. As a Birmingham clergyman remarked to Archdeacon Sanford, the ancient city of Worcester, with a population of 32,000, had twelve churches in addition to the cathedral, and twenty parochial clergy. His own parish, with the same population and an annual increase of 2,000, was served by himself and two curates.¹⁶ Since the clergy played such a key role in the provision of schools, this state of affairs was in itself a direct handicap to educational progress. As Hook said:

'From increase of the population...the clergyman...as soon as one school is built, has to commence another; and when all is done, he has the satisfaction of feeling that it is only as a drop in the ocean.'

There is occasional evidence of an attempt to anticipate the needs of a developing district - as, for example, by the L.N.W. Railway in its new town of Crewe; or by the incumbent of Kirkley, near Lowestoft, who in 1869 applied to the Suffolk Society for a grant on the grounds that:

16. J. Sandford, *op.cit.*, 1862, p.77; for a discussion of the position in Sheffield see E.R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City*, 1957.

'plans for building are being laid out extensively in this Parish, and that the increase of population must soon be very considerable; and that to those who have bought the land, on speculation, for building purposes, it is hopeless, generally speaking, to look for assistance. We have but few people to contribute, as there are only a few resident proprietors in the Parish, some of whom have other and greater claims upon them elsewhere.'

This clergyman had £410 promised in subscriptions, and had raised £110 by sermons.¹⁷ But his problem - the prospect of 312 new houses - was manageable in size compared with the sudden emergence of new industrial communities which confronted managers in manufacturing districts. Moreover, in such areas, the wealthy dissenting communions - the Unitarians, the Quakers, the Wesleyan Methodists - tended to be absent. The chapels usually had exclusively working-class congregations, barely able to support their own ministers; so the prospects of school promotion from this quarter were not good.

The figures quoted on page 431 illustrate the deficiency in the four great industrial towns of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester at the end of the period. A few figures from the London area may be given for comparison. In 1846, Richard Burgess, the secretary of the London Diocesan Board, calculated that in seven large parishes, with a combined population of over half a million, there were places in non-Catholic public elementary schools for 22,853 children - i.e., rather less than 1 in 22

17.W.F.Hook,op.cit.,p.15;Suffolk Society,Box,24.3.69.

of the population. Even allowing for the numbers in private schools, he argued that London needed at least 50 additional schools with places for 250 children in each, which would cost £40,000 to build. The deficiency in accommodation was partial, he said, but 'in some parishes and districts it is palpable and alarming'. Twenty years later, H.M. Inspectors were agreed that this was still true. Mitchell instanced two parishes in the East End, unable to support efficient schools - one with a population of 6,000, of whom only two persons paid any income tax, the other, with 10,000 inhabitants and only 20 houses rated at as much as £40, in which the lord of the manor felt his duty done when he had subscribed £1. a year to the school. Of the Thames estuary towns, Rochester and Strood had deficiencies of 27% and 40% respectively, which might be regarded as manageable; but the Dockyard towns and the Arsenal were very bad, having each come into being at the behest of a single employer, a government department, and being liable to be overwhelmed by unemployment when there were cuts in government spending. Moreover, the problems were not confined to poor districts. The rapidly-growing lower middle-class suburbs were in their early days nearly as badly off. Camberwell, for example, had only three church schools, each with accommodation for 150; two of which had turned away in one year more children than the total in attendance, all of whose

parents were prepared to pay fees.¹⁸

The educational needs of such districts could only be adequately met if outside help was available; but we have already noted how few people were prepared to subscribe for general educational purposes, as distinct from the needs of their own locality. Church building was a fairly popular good work; and the south London area may have benefitted from the fact that Bishop Sumner's Southwark Fund was established to provide both schools and churches.¹⁹ But special fund-raising efforts for schools alone always failed. The Manchester Church Education Society began in 1844 with the aim of providing schools for one in ten of the population, but by the end of the decade had been forced to give up. Even the clergy, said the Dean of Manchester, were remiss - 'They will preach for their own schools at their own times, and suit their own convenience'.²⁰ The purpose of Richard Burgess's pamphlet, already quoted, was to launch a 'Metropolis Schools Fund', parallel with Bishop Blomfield's Metropolitan Churches Fund; to raise £20,000 which, with local subscriptions and government and National Society grants, would make up the £40,000 he had declared to be necessary. The appeal

18. R. Burgess, *Metropolis Schools for the Poor*, 1846, pp. 6-8; *Minutes*, 1866-7, p. 137; 1867-8, pp. 248-50; 1869-70, pp. 179-81. The deficiencies of government departments as subscribers have already been noted.

19. See above, p. 132.

20. Manchester Church Education Society, *A.R.*, 1844, p. 8; *S.C.* 1852, qq. 1284-1348, 1392.

was a failure. The £500 subscribed by the bishop represented more than a fifth of the total, which by 1850 had only reached £2495.6.6d. The Diocesan Board wisely spent it on small grants to aid existing schools in difficulties and to provide rents and salaries for temporary schools in rapidly growing districts. Even so, it was exhausted by the middle '50s.²¹

Since the earliest days of the Committee of Council, it had had a discretionary power to make exceptional building grants, not met by equivalent subscription, for 'poor and populous districts'; but this power, which should at least have aided the building of schools in educationally destitute areas, was seldom used. Lingen, when asked by the Newcastle Commission to what sort of districts it would be applied, suggested areas which had been deserted by manufactures, like Bethnal Green, or the Irish quarters of Liverpool and Glasgow, where there was no one except the priest above the rank of hackster.²² A ruling of this sort effectually excluded areas of a 'normal' degree of poverty; the comparatively rare grants were all to schools in wholly exceptional districts; two examples already mentioned in this study were the Catholic school in Charles Street, Drury Lane, and Rogers's school in Golden Lane. Nor was the annual grant system calculated to make schools in 'destitute' districts flourish. Most of them could expect little from grants paid on attendance. Before 1862, highly

21. R.Burgess, op.cit., pp.11-16; London D.B., A.R., 1850, p.9; 1853, p.7; 1854, p.9; 1855, pp.10-11.

22. Order in Council 3.6.39 (Minutes, 1839-40 pp.vii-viii); N.C., v.6, q.57.

qualified teachers and pupil teachers had to be employed to obtain much from other grants, while under the Revised Code, even if a school ultimately developed in its pupils an exceptional capacity for passing examinations, it was liable to suffer badly in its first years. Kennedy complained in 1865 that while inefficient schools might get unreduced grants, the new girls' school at Chadderton, near Oldham, 'one of the best schools that I visited', lost a tenth because no class was presented in Standard IV, although 'I do not think that I have ever seen a school brought up to such a state in such a time'. In a more famous instance, which helped to bring upon the Department the political storm of 1864, the Catholic school of St. Mary's, Coventry, was refused the grant altogether, in spite of high praise from H.M. Inspector, because no one was presented above Standard II.²³

Neither local initiative nor central action, then, succeeded in providing adequately for the needs of poor districts. As the framers of every Education Bill of the '50s recognised, publicly supported local agencies were needed; and the necessity for these was the major justification for the Act of 1870. The other form of 'educational destitution' could not be dealt with so easily.

23. S.C. 1865, qq. 2663, 2666, 2772. Kennedy added pointedly that there had been no deduction at Habergham (Kay-Shuttleworth's school) although there were only 3 standards; S.C. 1864, qq. 154, 543-6, Appendix pp. 71-2. These decisions were based on Supplementary Rules 8 and 9.

It may have occurred to the reader that, except in discussing the question of early leaving, this study has treated education almost as if it existed in a social vacuum - as if the appalling conditions in which many of the Victorian poor lived were of no relevance in the history of the schools. This has been possible, perhaps inevitable, because it represents the attitude of the majority of school managers in the first two-thirds of the 19th. century, who usually mentioned poverty only to suggest that education was the means of rising above it. The early Victorian belief, as strong as that of the men of the Enlightenment, in education as the cure for social evil, has already been considered. The great wave of philanthropic activity in the field of general social welfare,²⁴ which was only beginning to gather momentum in the 1860s, was to absorb in the last thirty years of the century the energies of people who, a generation before, would probably have expended them in the schools; and perhaps it originated partly in disappointment at the ineffectiveness of education as a panacea. This is speculation; but what is certainly true is that most educationists of the period 1846 to 1870 failed to recognise that poor social conditions were not simply evils to be cured by education, but might well prove to be handicaps preventing education from being effective. A few of the persons mentioned

24. Described, for example, in K. Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action* 1962.

in this study showed some realisation of the fact - Angela Burdett-Coutts, for example, who, with the Baroness Rothschild, founded the Destitute Children's Dinner Society in 1864; Canon Girdlestone of the Church of England Education Society, who gave a lecture on housing at the Educational Conference of 1857, having been convinced by his long experience of Deane parish, Lancashire, where wages were high, that the state of the children's homes affected school attendance; Dawes, who towards the end of his life campaigned for the improvement of housing and drainage in the city and county of Hereford and for the abolition of part-payment of wages in cider, 'measured out by gallons a day to each'; and Kennedy, who, in his last report before Forster's Act, declared:

'...give us better homes, better dwellings, better streets, better habits, better social life among the poor, and better food, and then we should have better schools everywhere.' 25

But these were a small minority. Far more typical was the attitude of Edward Brotherton, the Manchester philanthropist who founded the Education Aid Society and who literally gave his life for the poor of the city (he died in 1866 of typhus caught while visiting in the slums). His strictures on living conditions in central Manchester read like a Mancunian version of 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London'. He spoke of 'vast masses of

25. B.M.Add.MSS.46406B, p.94; Hill, op.cit., pp.357-67; R.Dawes, *The Evils of Indiscriminate Charity*, 1856, pp.20-24; *Effective Primary Instruction*, pp.81-5; *Minutes*, 1869-70, p.152.

people rotting and festering in ignorance and corruption... Life is said to be very cheap in China, but it is cheaper in Manchester.' As for the children, he said, infanticide would be merciful compared with the prolonged torture of 'hunger and cold and stench and darkness'; and he noted the effects on the personalities of the survivors. 'I saw nothing of healthy play. They seem to delight solely in torturing each other, and run about, wild and imp-like, in dirt and rags'. Yet the solution he proposed was not a direct attack upon these conditions, but simply a drive to get the children into school.²⁶

This attitude was as characteristic of teachers as of managers. Poverty existed, and was to be relieved (often at personal cost to the teacher),²⁷ but was of little more significance in the life of the school than other disagreeable natural phenomena - the river Clun, for example, which periodically flooded half the school at Clungunford, while master and scholars stoically carried on in the other half.²⁸ The progress of the Cotton Famine through the spinning towns and on to the weaving districts of Lancashire and Cheshire may be traced in log books by entries about mill-owners'

26. Hulme Operatives, 23.3.66; 'E.B'. , Seven letters, on the Present State of Popular Education in Manchester and Salford. 1864.

27. e.g. Ashton Par., 2.7.66, 'New half-timer came this morning ragged and barefoot - sent him home - mother came - the old song "father drinks etc" - I gave her money to get a "pair of clogs" for the lad, who returned to school highly pleased'.

28. Clungunford, 8.2.67, 27.5.67, 9.12.68.

bankruptcies and fee-paying by Relief Committees; but it is most unusual to find any reference to its effect upon the children. Only the master of Waterside school, Colne, whose whole log-book suggests exceptional intelligence and sensitivity, once wrote:

'This scarcity of work begins to tell on the appearance of the children, who look haggard and starved.'

Indeed, the Famine might simply be used as an object lesson, as by R.N.Philips's Smilesian schoolmaster at Park Lane, Whitefield:

'Closed the week's work by addressing the whole School on forethought, and industry...enumerated a few examples of persons who by their habits of carefulness were enabled to hold up against the bad times, without appealing to the benevolent, or applying to the Parish for relief.' 29

In general, the schools managed to remain remarkably insulated from external social conditions. The mistress of a large British school in central Manchester cannot have been wholly unaware of the surrounding evils so graphically described by Brotherton; yet when she encountered them personally, on a routine visit to check on absentees from her own school, her surprise and distress are clearly reflected in her log book:

19th.November,1867. 'Two poor families have been visited this morning who had no fire, no money, in the case of one the children are absent from school for the want of clothes, they are literally naked, all sitting on the bare brick, there being

29. Waterside,L.B.,16.9.64 (Colne, being a weaving town, was worst affected in 1864 and 1865, when the spinning areas further south were beginning to recover); Park Lane, Whitefield, 10.10.62.

no seats. The highest classes have been applied to that these may be relieved and no doubt something will be done for them.'
 20th. November, 1867. 'The two highest classes have provided clothes for the mother of one family and two children and subscribed 7/11d. amongst them to be spent in food for these pitiful cases.'³⁰

These children belonged to the group sent into school by the Education Aid Society. Without that Society, it is unlikely that they would have been on the register. Indeed, the most probable explanation of the fact that schools were able largely to ignore bad social conditions, is that, except in cases of disaster like the Cotton Famine, so small a proportion of the victims ever reached the schools at all. Dr Kitson Clark has remarked that, 'There was...one line which ran right through Victorian society, the line which divided those who were respectable from those who were not', and, as the mistress who wrote:

'Caution Children of evidently very depraved character...should not be admitted to respectable schools'

clearly realised, patrons, managers, teachers, parents and pupils of almost all public elementary schools stood firmly on the right side of the line. Whatever may have been the case in the early days of the voluntary societies (Mary Carpenter showed some nostalgia for the good old days when the first British school in Bristol contained the 'lowest class of children, and the most wretched lanes and alleys were searched for them'), by 1846 their concern was with the respectable, the lower middle class and

30. Marshall St., Manchester, L.B.

the working class in Miss Carpenter's sense of the term.³¹

She, indeed, of all contemporaries, probably recognised most clearly this distinction, which was not necessarily the result of economic status, as she pointed out to the Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles of 1852:

'I have been very much struck with observing the strong line of demarcation which exists between the labouring and the "ragged" class; a line of demarcation not drawn by actual poverty, for I have found very great poverty in the children of the class connected with the higher schools...far greater poverty than in the lower class. I should...consider that the line of demarcation consists in the utter want of control existing among the children of the lower class, and in the entire absence of effort on the part of the parents to provide proper education for their children'.³²

This was not to suggest that poverty was not important. As she admitted elsewhere, it certainly played a large part in preventing school attendance. Fraser, in his report to the Newcastle Commission, distinguished two types of non-attenders - those who were idling, playing or begging, and those who were employed; the parents of the former, he said, were shiftless, of the latter, poor. The British and Foreign School Society's annual report for 1853 spoke of grievous neglect of 'the very destitute poor'. A National Society organizing master remarked a few years later that education affected only the upper and middle working class. Where there was a depressed or declining

31. G.Kitson Clark, op.cit.,p.126;St Mary,Winchester,G.(Hants R.O.),24.10.62; N.C.v.5,p.115; see above,p.8.

32. S.C.1852 (Criminal and Destitute Juveniles)q.799;cp.M. Carpenter,op.cit.pp.v-vi.

industry, like hand-loom weaving in East London, 'the mass', as the rector of St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, said, '...are as badly educated as the poor of the last two generations generally were...while the children of all other classes are now receiving the benefits of improved educational systems...'. Even in more prosperous areas there was always a residue of genuine poverty. In 1851, for example, the Chief Constable of Salford calculated that 1,111 children in the town were out of school as a result of their parents' total inability to pay fees.³³ But the existence of lack of will as well as lack of ability as an explanation for non-attendance, helped to confuse the issue and to hinder attempts at dealing with it. On the one hand, middle-class Victorians could scarcely credit that anyone could be so shiftless as to refuse the manifest benefits of education when they were offered; on the other, many of them were made very uneasy by the notion that in encouraging schools intended for the very poor, they were pandering to people who might have helped themselves and had not done so.

In chapter 8, it was noted that throughout the period there was a steady rise in fees, actively encouraged by the Education

33. N.C.v.2, p.57; B.F.S., A.R., 1853, p.2; Educational Conference, Oxford, 1856, p.15; Children's Employment Commission, 5th Report, p.80; Hill, op.cit., p.233.

Department. One of the virtues of the Revised Code was that it allowed grants to be claimed on children who did not pay; but even after 1862, official policy did not favour the idea of free schools. The Report for 1865, for example, declared that the tendency to raise fees was just, provided that the very poor were not excluded, and suggested that it would be appropriate for the managers of a school of 500 children to charge as much as 6d. a week which, with the government grant, would not only make it self-supporting, but would permit the admission of 50 children free, and 100 at half-fees.³⁴ This, of course, turned free education into a charity, and there can be no doubt that some of the 'respectable' poor were very reluctant to see their children being paid for by somebody else; a Wesleyan witness to the Newcastle Commission remarked that there was a danger, if existing trends continued, that schools would become places 'from which the really poor children are practically excluded'.³⁵

Variations in charges between different types of schools had a marked effect upon deciding the type of person who used them. As Lingen put it, '...the ordinary scale of fees in a school...generally regulates the class of children who attend it...'; and it was true that in general British and Wesleyan schools contained the most prosperous, Anglican the

34. Minutes, 1865-6, pp. xvii-xviii.

35. N.C.v.5, p.98-99.

less, and Catholic the least. But the degree to which the majority even of Catholic schools provided for the very poor must not be exaggerated. The returns of 1858, giving parental occupations in the schools earning the largest capitation grants in the previous year, include a British school, Plymouth Public, and a Catholic school, St. Mary's, Liverpool, of about the same size.³⁶ The most common occupation of fathers at Plymouth was labourer (117); at St. Mary's, docker (182); Plymouth had 82 seamen, St. Mary's, 33. Plymouth had more clerks - 21, as against 3 and 2 book-keepers, but St. Mary's had 30 warehousemen. The latter had 1 customs officer, compared with 7 in Plymouth, which was also much better off for policemen - 15, compared with 1 and a dock constable in the Liverpool school. Plymouth had more skilled tradesmen, though there was a sizeable number at St. Mary's, which had 23 shoemakers as against 45 at Plymouth. They each had the same number of tailors (22). The inferior social position of the Catholics is shown by the greater number of hawkers (28 as against 7) and the presence of pig-drivers and tinkers; but although there are measurable differences in the lists, they are not striking, certainly not sufficiently so to warrant the assumption that this Catholic school was the preserve of the very poor, or

36. N.C.v.6, q10; PP.1857-8, XLIV, 261. The returns for St. Thomas Charterhouse are less informative, because they do not distinguish between Goswell St. and Golden Lane.

that the presence of a Catholic school automatically meant that they were provided for.

'Educational destitution' in the second sense was much more a problem of the towns than of the country. Real poverty was just as common, if not more so, in rural areas, but in general the pressures of landowners and parsons were strong enough, if they were exercised, to ensure that most village children put in an appearance in school, however little they benefitted from it.³⁷ The exceptions, apart from gypsies and canal-boat children, were those involved in rural industries, or, in the eastern counties, the wretched slaves in the agricultural gangs, of whose plight society was scarcely aware until the last years of the period.³⁸ But in towns the problem was obvious, and seen to be urgent; and at the same time as a government-aided elementary system was developing, the Ragged school movement was undertaking the regeneration of those children who remained beyond its pale.

This study is not concerned with the history of Ragged schools.³⁹ They will only be considered in so far as their development impinged on that of the public elementary school. From the best of them elementary teachers could have learnt

37. Most of Mary Simpson's farm lads had been to school at some time, though they remembered nothing - Digby Lodgard, *op.cit.*, p. viii.

38. This problem does not appear to have been generally recognised until the 6th. Report of the Children's Employment Commission of 1867, although it had been raised as early as 1846 by the Norwich Diocesan Society (*A.R.*, 1846, p.15).

39. On this see E.A.G. Clark, *op.cit.*, and Mary Carpenter, *op.cit.*

much about how to deal with deprived children and children from a poor social background; during the first decade of the period, the Education Department showed some recognition of their value and enabled them to obtain grants for industrial work, a policy reversed in the later '50s. It is possible that if the provincial Ragged school committees - especially Mary Carpenter and the Bristol group - could have controlled the movement, it might have been dovetailed into the general elementary system as a means of providing for the educationally destitute.⁴⁰ But the ardent evangelicals of the Ragged School Union out-Denisoned Denison in their mistrust of the Education Department,⁴¹ welcomed their exclusion from government aid, and played into the hands of the strong body of opinion in the Department and amongst school managers which was opposed to the movement altogether.

Apart from Catholic objections on religious grounds,⁴² Ragged schools were criticised on two counts. On the one hand, they were accused of competing with normal elementary schools, drawing away children whose parents could have afforded to pay for their education, but preferred not to do so; in consequence the children received an inferior education and the National or British school was deprived of

40. Some of the Bristol Ragged schools managed to qualify for annual grants in the '60s under the Revised Code.

41. And in another sense-Denison merely refused to teach the children of those whom he regarded as unbelievers. The Ragged School Union welcomed them and hopefully sent them home to convert their parents. On their attitude to government aid, See Clark, op.cit., pp.168-73, 191-3.

42. See above, p. 406.

income.⁴³ This was a situation which could be avoided. William Cadman, the incumbent of St. George's, Southwark (one of the few members of the Ragged School Union willing to accept government aid) maintained large and prosperous National schools and six Ragged schools - places, in all, for 2,000 children. He periodically went through the books of the Ragged schools and transferred to the National schools all who could afford to be there - in the course of 1859, for example, 73.⁴⁴ But there was some justice in the complaint. Few Ragged schools were so closely connected with elementary schools as to make for regular transfer; nor were the teachers always willing to part with their most civilised pupils. The Union itself admitted the need for constant vigilance to prevent the situation arising, and lists of parental occupations from Ragged schools are suspiciously similar to those found in elementary schools.⁴⁵

On the other hand, it was argued that Ragged schools were fundamentally misguided and inefficient, giving an inferior education which stamped its recipients as members of an inferior class, when they could in fact, by properly directed

43. N.C., v.3, pp.50-53; Minutes 1852-3, v.2, pp.472-3; 1855-6, p.322; 1865-6, p.207; H.Sandford op.cit., 1869, p.1; PP. 1862, XLIII, 1, p.40.

44. S.C., 1861, qq.776, 798; Clark op.cit., p.173.

45. Clark op.cit., pp.107-118; for another list, N.C., v.3, p.50.

effort, be offered, and brought to accept, an elementary education as good as any in the country. This was the view of William Rogers, whose success with the Ragged school class of child may well have been significant in turning official opinion against them. Ragged school teachers, he said, were volunteers without experience, instead of qualified professionals; their principle was that children came and went as they liked; and this was not good enough.⁴⁶ This was also Lingen's view. If there were a Rogers in every district, he told the Select Committee of 1861, fee-paying schools could be got up. Golden Lane was a proof - a school 'having certified teachers, excellent rooms, furniture, apparatus, everything in short which would satisfy the most severe tests which we lay down'. Other examples might have been quoted - Charles Street, providing for 'utterly destitute' children, not even knowing their parents, many of them ex-crossing sweepers. The education they received was such that many of the girls, on leaving, were able to go into skilled work, earning as much as 15/- a week. Or, if Rogers and the nuns of Charles Street were regarded as exceptional, there were some modest schools up and down the country which at least met government requirements and ensured a degree of regularity - like St. James', Ross Place,

46. Rogers op.cit., 1854, p.27; S.C. 1861, qq.981-2.

Manchester, in a 'very peculiar' district. 'I believe', wrote Kennedy in 1868, 'all the population is gone save the streets for prostitutes'; or St. Thomas, Mount Vernon, Liverpool, where a school of ragged boys was successfully taught by a group of nuns.⁴⁷ If it was possible to maintain properly staffed schools, qualifying for government aid, in such areas, the case for Ragged schools as the only - or the best-means of providing for the lowest classes was very much weakened.

But if the Ragged school solution were dismissed, the problem of educational destitution remained, and with it the question of how to get children of the lowest social class into the elementary schools. Poverty-stricken but industrious parents, as Fraser had remarked, would send their children to work to supplement the family income as long as they were permitted to do so; and the movement for the extension of half-time, already discussed, owed much to this argument. But many of the children concerned were idling, not working; even universal half-time would not affect them. Since, as we have seen, the solution of compelling them to come in was not considered viable in the '50s and early '60s, there was inevitably much discussion of alternatives.

The secularist argument, that persons without denominational connections, or with the wrong ones, disliked using denominational

47.S.C.1861,qq.3806,3928;N.C.,v.6,qq.1330,1339;St.James,Ross Place, Manchester, L.B.passim; St.Thomas,Mount Vernon,Liverpool.L.B.

schools,⁴⁸ has been shown to have had no general application.⁴⁹ Reformed curricula had no more influence; so, in spite of the prevailing conviction that people only valued what they paid for, the provision of free schools, places, as Kennedy once said, 'to which the poor felt a right to send their children',⁵⁰ came to be generally accepted as necessary, at least outside the Department.

Some were founded in the '50s. Golden Lane, it will be remembered, was originally intended to be one such; but the majority of the parents said that they wanted to pay 1d., and Rogers, undoubtedly with an eye to the capitation grant, let them. The fact that free schools were ineligible for grant meant that H.M. Inspectors saw little of them, and consequently, apart from the Manchester Secular School, which was twice the subject of a parliamentary paper, and has been studied by D.K. Jones,⁵¹ they are not well known. A few of the other secular schools came into this category, although more, like the Birkbeck schools, charged relatively high fees and were intended for the upper levels of the working class. The Rev. Robert Birley of St. Philip's, Hulme, and his brother Herbert,

48. Used for example in the 1st Report of the Manchester Secular School, FP.1856, XLVI, 405, pp.8-9.

49. Nor did it apply to the very poor. The Manchester poor, offered free choice of schools by the Education Aid Society, showed no preference for undenominational schools. In 3 months, of orders for the payment of fees, 2278 were for Anglican schools, 388 for Catholic, 247 other denominations and only 144 undenominational - Accounts for quarter ending 29.9.64, in Scrapbook relating to the Manchester Education Aid Society (Manchester Archives).

50. Minutes, 1865-6, p.130.

51. PF.1856, XLVI, 405; 1857-8, XLVI, 331; D.K. Jones, op.cit.

maintained free schools for many years in this very poor district of Manchester; four schoolrooms, with four certificated teachers and two assistants and elaborate industrial departments for both boys and girls. The girls cooked for the sick and also prepared free dinners for the poorest scholars.⁵² The Archdeacon of Berkshire established a free school in his parish of Binfield, having discarded the practice of himself paying the fees of the poorest children on the grounds that 'cannot' was a mask for 'will not' and that it was unfair to the steady labourer who had to pay; and his influence was sufficient to secure good attendance.⁵³ But while there were doubtless other instances, it was not until the '60s that there was a marked development of interest in free education.

This interest was seen most strikingly in Manchester. Ever since the failure of the Manchester and Salford Bill, the idea that children might be given free entry to the school of their parents' choice had been current, and E.R.Lemare, a friend of Hugh Stowell, had been raising funds for this purpose and implementing it through the City Missionaries. As early as 1855, Kennedy had begun to advocate the setting up of public machinery to extend the scheme, and he repeated the proposal in his

52. Described by Kennedy, who was a friend of the Birleys, in Minutes, 1859-60, pp. 93-100; 1861-2, pp. 76-8. See also Herbert Birley's evidence in N.C.v.5.

53. N.C.v.5, pp. 336-7.

lecture at the Educational Conference of 1857.⁵⁴ It was not, however, until the publication in the Manchester Guardian in January, 1864, of Edward Brotherton's letters on the state of education in Manchester that the idea was developed on a large scale. Brotherton took advantage of the interest aroused by his letters to establish the Education Aid Society, in which the survivors of the Manchester and Salford Committee and the Lancashire Public School Association were combined. Their aim was to pay the whole, or part, of the school fees of poor children, at schools of the parents' choice, provided the schools were efficient, and either were connected with a religious body or had the Bible read daily; and to establish free or cheap undenominational schools in districts in which the need was greatest. Two such schools were founded. In 1866, the year of maximum activity, 9460 grants of fees were made. The city was divided into 144 units for the canvassing of parents; the society's agents visited the schools regularly to check on attendance; teachers collected the fees from the society's offices once a quarter; and the surviving log books of Manchester schools bear witness to the efficiency with which the work was carried on.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Minutes, 1855-6, pp. 459-60, 463-8; Hill op.cit., pp. 237-9; Education Aid Society, A.R. 1865, p. 5.

⁵⁵ E. Brotherton, The State of Popular Education, p. 18; Scrapbook-Draft Constitution of the Education Aid Society; A.R., 1867, pp. 6-8. The arrangements may be seen in L.B. (in Manchester Archives) of St. Andrew, Ancoats, St. Barnabas, St. John, Cheetham, St. Luke, Chorlton, St. Mark, Hulme, Domestic Mission, Granby Row, Marshall St., St. James, Ross Place, St. John Baptist, St. Matthew, St. Michael, St. Thomas, Red Bank, and one of Brotherton's foundations, Hulme Operatives. In the latter it appears that many children were admitted free, but that parents were charged 1d, 2d, or even 3d if they could afford it.

The interest aroused by the Education Aid Society is attested by the fact that when George Dixon founded the Birmingham Education Society in 1867, its most immediate aim was to apply the same policy, and it adopted the Manchester forms and documents en bloc. In its first year, 3097 children were given grants.⁵⁶ But the effectiveness of both societies was short-lived. The death of Brotherton in 1866 removed the driving force of the Education Aid Society. Subscriptions, as always, fell off when the first excitement was over, and by 1869 the numbers aided had been cut to little more than 2000. The Birmingham Society had incurred a debt of nearly £200 by the end of its second year of existence, in spite of appeals and fund-raising campaigns. It is possible that the regret of Dixon and his friends was less wholehearted than that of the Manchester men, since the failure provided them with proof of the inadequacy of voluntary effort - £800, they concluded, was the maximum which could be raised annually in a town like Birmingham; further evidence, if any was needed,⁵⁷ of the need for educational legislation.

The discovery that people were unwilling to subscribe for general educational work was, of course, nothing new. More interesting was the evidence from both Manchester and Birmingham that many parents would not bother to send their children to

56. Birmingham Education Society, Circular (6.4.67); A.R., 1867-8, pp. 8, 10.

57 Education Aid Society, A.R., 1869-70, pp. 5-6; Birmingham Education Society, A.R., 1869-70, p. 9.

school even if every obstacle were apparently removed. In the first year of the Education Aid Society, a quarter of the grants made were not taken up. In 1869, the Birmingham committee found that of a total of 5,226 orders made since the Society's foundation, 1640, over 30%, had not been used.⁵⁸ The 19th. century was less familiar than the 20th. with the apathy which fails to take advantage of welfare benefits offered unconditionally, and, as has been said, philanthropists were astonished and bewildered, as the committee of the Education Aid Society indicated:

'in⁵⁰ many instances it is impossible to persuade the parent to accept the gift [of education]. The Committee candidly admit that when they commenced operations they were wholly unprepared for such a result...'.⁵⁹

Bartley, in his investigations of Bethnal Green, where there were several free schools by the end of the '60s, showed similar feelings when he found that they were not full, and when he met with reactions like that of the mother who assured him that if schools were free she would send her children, and who had not bothered to apply to a free school within a hundred yards of her home.⁶⁰

Bartley also complained that the free schools in Bethnal Green were used as were Ragged schools, by parents who could

58. Education Aid Society, A.R., 1865, p.7; Birmingham Education Society, A.R., 1869-70, p.11.

59. Education Aid Society, A.R., 1867, p.18.

60. Bartley, op.cit., pp.19,23.

well afford to pay. This would not have been fair criticism of the Manchester Secular school, or St. Philip's Hulme, or Brotherton's schools, in all of which great pains were taken to see that the children of such parents were excluded.⁶¹ The committee of the Secular school, indeed, declared that its scholars were the children of 'destitute and very poor persons' who, without the free school, would have no means of education; but there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that many of these parents were not typical members of the lowest class, but rather people who had come down in the world - widows, unemployed craftsmen, the sick and the elderly, some, at least, of whom had struggled to pay school fees until the free school relieved them of a heavy burden. A composition written by one scholar does not suggest an inhabitant of the slums, but a well-turned-out Lancashire boy, with a mother to take pride in his appearance:

'I have on a velveteen jacket which is made of cotton, a cloth waistcoat, which is made of sheeps wool, and a pair of corded trowsers which are made of cotton, a calico shirt which is made of cotton, a blue and white striped neckerchief which is made of cotton, and a pair of woollen stockings, which are made of sheeps wool, and a pair of clogs, which are made of wood and leather.'

Almost all the boys whose work was reproduced in the school's second annual report had a record of previous school attendance above the general average for the country:

61. The Birleys maintained paying schools as well as free schools at St. Philip's, Hulme, and transferred children between them at need (Minutes, 1861-2, p.72).

NAME	LENGTH OF PREVIOUS SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
Joseph Butler	6 months
W.Nightingale	2 years
E.Thompson	6 years
S.Kenworthy	5 years
F.Murray	2 years
Thomas Fagan	3 years
C.Ingle	3 years
E.Swithenbank	Dame School only.
E.Crookell	6 years

The strictness with which the committee of the Secular school excluded irregular attenders must have had a further selective influence on its intake; and that these characteristics were found elsewhere is suggested by a note in the log book of Brotherton's school, Hulme Operatives, three months after its opening, that the nearby Wesleyan school in Queen Street had been closed, 'as we have drawn so many from it.'⁶² The aiding of such worthy people must have been very pleasing to Victorian charity, the more so as, however poor they may have been, they were undoubtedly on the respectable side of Mary Carpenter's line of demarcation. In educating them, free schools were serving a useful purpose; but if it is true that this type of family produced most of their recruits, they cannot be said to have found the solution for the real problem of educational destitution - how to educate children of the class in which social evils appeared to be most deep-rooted.

62. See PP. 1856, XLVI, 405 pp. 1, 15; 1857-8, XLVI, 331, pp. 30-32; see above, p. 445; Hulme Operatives, 7-8-65.

The schools which were most successful in dealing with such children seem to have been those which, without compromising their standards, modified their approach from that of the ordinary elementary school. Herbert Birley of St. Philip's, Hulme, for instance, told the Newcastle Commission that in a free school it was necessary that classes should be very small - not more than 20 to 25 children. Everybody was agreed about the success of Golden Lane. With 860 children in attendance, few of Rogers's own parishioners can have been left for the Ragged schools in the neighbourhood. But he achieved this by, it will be recalled, fixing special school hours to suit the parents. The discipline, moreover, was less demanding than that of his other schools in Goswell Street; more like that of a country National school. Lateness was tolerated as often inevitable, and so was irregular attendance. The school lent pinafores, to make the children decent.⁶³ Managers like Rogers and the Birleys recognised, as a note by one of the Education Aid Society's committee put it, that '...these children require not less, but rather more attention to keep them at school',⁶⁴ but they were the exceptions.

In general, it may be said that if, as has been shown, parents

63. N.C., v.5, p.107; Rogers op.cit., 1857, pp.5,8. It will be recalled that he calculated that there were 700 children in the parish needing education; S.C.1861, qq.972, 1007, 1117.

64. M.S. note (?by Brotherton) in Scrapbook.

in the upper and middle levels of the working class took the duty of educating their children less seriously than managers would have liked, the lowest level did not recognise it at all; and, since educationists found this hard to understand, they cast about for explanations. Some - amongst them the committee of the Education Aid Society - blamed it on the teachers, who, they said, did not want poor children in their schools.

'I could turn to evidence', said Patrick Cumin in 1861, 'in which the master of a British school states, that he considers one great advantage of the ragged school is that it relieves him of the dirty boys, which dirty boys he ought in my opinion to teach.' 65

There was some truth in the accusation. The author of 'A Schoolmaster's Difficulties' included as one of the worst, disreputable children, of whom he wrote an alarmingly comprehensive indictment:

'Ragged, dirty, coarse, brutish, untutored in every way of good, cunning, deceitful, loutish, cruel, false, obstreperous, disobedient, passionate even to fury - where shall the black catalogue stop?'

Where indeed? A child thus regarded could hardly feel himself to be welcome in school. There is no doubt that this attitude was fairly general. J.J.Graves, who can have known little about such children except by hearsay, referred to the way in which

65. Education Aid Society, A.R., 1865, p.8; Scrapbook, note; Minutes, 1867-8, pp.307-8; S.C. 1861, q.3406.

they would 'spread their evil influence and contaminate a whole school' and said that they ought to be educated separately. Thomas Crampton, the master of Brentford British school, also suggested that they should be kept apart, at least until they had been made tidy and orderly.⁶⁶ There were good practical reasons for this, since an influx of dirty, uncivilised children usually produced an exodus of the clean and civilised. As D.R. Fearon remarked in the 1870 report on Manchester and Liverpool:

'...the skilled and "respectable" working man is, naturally, very unwilling to allow his children to associate with the lowest children of the town, whose habits and language are sometimes filthy, and whose bodies are almost always dirty and often diseased.'

The views of a Bristol police inspector are interesting, as representing these of the highest stratum of elementary school parents. He told Patrick Cumin that there was not 'classification' enough in National schools:

'...children of respectable but poor parents are thrown in with children of disreputable people. This is felt by parents, and they do not like to send their children to such schools, where they get contaminated.'

He instanced a very good school which had admitted the children of a convicted receiver, and those of a man who owned a brothel, which was managed for him by his twelve-year-old daughter - 'This has damaged the character of that school, and I would not send my children to it.' There can be no doubt which set

66. A Schoolmaster's Difficulties, p.45; Seaborne & Isham, op.cit. pp.32-3; PP.:862, XLIII, 1, p.26.

of children a teacher would prefer.⁶⁷

If in modern eyes the idea of the more fortunate driving out the less fortunate is shocking, it must be remembered that the Victorian conscience was just as shocked by the thought of the disreputable driving out the respectable. An Inspector of Schools who explained the failure of the Education Aid policy by the hostility of teachers, seemed on the whole to think that they were justified;

'...if they could not assimilate the ragamuffins and the genteel, they were creating a school within a school, a bad one inside a good, when the latter would have to give way, and therefore they wisely excluded the ragamuffins, or took very little trouble about them! 68

It was, indeed, asking much of human nature, especially under the Revised Code, to expect teachers to welcome irregular attenders and unpromising examination material; but it must in fairness be said that there is no evidence in Manchester school records of conscious discrimination against 'education aids'. If schools appeared alien to the very poor, the reasons were more fundamental than the attitudes of individual teachers.

Those observers were nearer the truth who put it down to the standards demanded by the schools:

67. RP. 1870, LIV265, p.174; N.C.v.3, p.212. Cp. St. John, Deansgate, Manchester, 23.1.65, 'Two have left because some of the boys are not sufficiently respectable, parents consider they were forming low associations'.

68. Brodie - Minutes, 1867-78, p.307.

'...the less tidy and less thrifty portion [of the working class] avoid the public schools on account of the rigour with which neatness, cleanliness, and regularity are insisted on...'

'To a poor and ignorant woman living in an irregular hand-to-mouth way...the discipline of a good public school, and the persistent inquiries after absentees are very irritating..'

These were the people who, if they were financially solvent, kept private schools going; if they were not, they did not send their children at all.⁶⁹ A study of school records more than confirms these statements. One of the aims of this study has been to show that mid-Victorian elementary schools were very different places from the early voluntary schools. Providing as much for the lower middle class as for the working class, many of them, especially in towns, saw their task of civilising in terms of imposing middle-class virtues - piety, chastity and sobriety, certainly, because these were appropriate in any class; but also forethought, thrift and persistence. It may not be too speculative to suggest that these presented greater problems to the child from the slums than the social subordination with which more old-fashioned schools were concerned. External submissiveness is easily assumed; but it is more difficult to appear, like Sir Titus Salt's lions, vigilant and determined.⁷⁰

Many schools seem to have cultivated an atmosphere in which

69.N.C.v.3,p.254; EP.1870,LIV.265,p.54;Minutes,1855-6,p.322; 1869-70,p.230.

70. See above,p. 37 ; cp.John Harrop of Dukinfield (above, p. 481).

it was assumed that money would be available; not only in the matter of following Dawes's plan of the pupils buying their own books; or of bringing $\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 1d. to pay for visiting lectures or shows, and more for school excursions.⁷¹ In a number of schools, charity collections were regularly made - as much at 16/0, for example, in one collection for the C.M.S. at Holy Trinity, Runcorn; whilst the most popular of all, the Lancashire Relief Fund, received a 'spontaneous contribution' of a whole guinea from the boys of St. John's, Chatham.⁷²

Presentations to teachers were sometimes on a lavish scale - a 'handsome time-piece', value 3 guineas, to the master of St. Mark's, Dukinfield, for instance; a 'very beautiful Tea and Coffee Service' to the mistress of Whitburn Infants. When R.N.Philips's eldest daughter married George Otto Trevelyan, the children at Park Lane school raised £9.11.11d. to buy her a writing cabinet.⁷³ Such schools were not places in which the destitute were likely to feel at home.

71. e.g. Basingstoke, notices of excursions; St. Mary, Winchester, 2.7.63; Oakenshaw, 20.12.66; Waterside, Colne, L.B.,

28.1.67, 7.10.69; St. Andrew, Ancoats, 15.3.66, 14.2.67, 7.2.68; St. Luke, Chorlton, I., 1.2.67; St. John, Cheetham, 30.3.65; St. Stephen, Manchester, 4.3.69; Marshall St. Manchester, 30.3.65; St. Margaret, Durham B., 9.7.63; Black Boy, (Durham R.O.) 5.8.63; St. Clement, Ipswich B. 3.2.65, 24.3.65, 5.11.66; Cradley, passim.

72. Holy Trinity, Runcorn, B., 14.3.65; St. John, Chatham, M.B., 8.12.62; monthly missionary collections at Long Itchington. Also Staveley, 3.11.62; Christ Church B., Birmingham, 25.2.67; Teston, 23.11.63; St. Clement, Ipswich, I. 11.12.62, 8.1.63, 19.2.63; St. Breage, 19.12.62; St. Andrew, Holborn, M.B. 14.10.62; Wordsley 19.7.66.

73. Dukinfield B., 20.12.65; Whitburn I. 14.12.64; Park Lane, Whitfield, 20.8.69; cp. Eaton Bishop, 14.4.64, 26.10.65 - a piece of plate to the curate, a silver brooch to the mistress.

In no respect were the schools more determined to enforce middle-class standards than in the matter of cleanliness, not only for its own sake, but because respectable parents would not send their children to a school in which it was absent. Dawes emphasised it most strongly at King's Somborne and, after the school had been open for five years, wrote that the children were:

'...beginning to feel that cleanliness and well-mended clothes are necessary to their comfort; their parents find it attended with no greater expense than rags and dirt, only requiring better regulated habits. Habits of this kind in the girls...will have the greatest influence on the next generation.'

But what Dawes might achieve by understanding and tact, became for ordinary managers and teachers the objective of a hard-fought campaign against parents, with the children as the war victims. Managers made rules and inspected, teachers carried out the day-to-day routine, regularly excluded bare-foot children, and enforced cleanliness and respectability of dress by every means in their power. Fearon found the following entry in a log book; 'I picked out the boys without collars; and contrasted their appearance with that of the others'. 'If that be done to the boys without collars', he commented, 'what would happen to the boys without shoes?'.⁷⁴

Pressure of this sort was not at all uncommon. A few managers tried what encouragement would do, offering 'little picture

74. Hints on an Improved System, p.35; EP.1870, LIV,265, p.128.

books' or, more appropriately, shoe brushes for the boys and brushes and combs for the girls as prizes for cleanliness; occasionally they made provision for washing, like the West Hackney committee, who bought two pewter basins, half a dozen roller towels and two combs, 'for cleaning dirty children'.⁷⁵ But the general policy was draconian, even at a school like the Hulme Operatives'.

Children were made to wear jackets and shoes or clogs, bring handkerchiefs, wash their faces, clean their shoes and, if they were girls, wear clean pinafores, on pain of punishment and of being sent home until they were presentable.⁷⁶ Some of the punishments must have been worse than caning, as, for example, that inflicted on A. Eccleshall, of St. Stephen's, Manchester, who was made to sit apart all day, 'on account of having such a very dirty pinafore', or that suggested in another log book:

'Remedy for dirty faces etc, scrub their hands and faces with a hard brush.' ⁷⁷

Both children and parents resented this sort of treatment. Six children left Ipswich British Infant school at one time because they were told that they were dirty. A Birmingham mother complained that it was 'quite enough to pay 4d. without having to send him so clean'. Another threatened the mistress of

75. Stroud, Castle St., 4.10.64; Penryn, 30.3.64; West Hackney, M.B., 4.12.48.

76. Iye, 11.5.63, 12.5.63; St. Andrew, Holborn, G.L.B., 6.5.63; Griffydun, 17.6.63; Thurlaston Lower School, L.B. 29.4.68, 30.4.68; Ashton Par., 4.5.66; Hulme Operatives, 24.1.66; St. Barnabas, Ancoats, B. 6.8.66; Ditton 6.7.65; Middleton St. John's I. 16.6.64, 13.7.64; Reach, 9.7.68; Heveningham, 11.5.63; Pleasley Hill, 31.7.67.

77. St. Stephen, Manchester, 13.8.68; Great Harwood, 30.1.63.

Melton Mowbray National school that she would send all her children to the British school,

'... if their dirty pinafores and skin were found fault with. Told her they could not be allowed at any decent school and that cleanliness promoted health.' 78

It is fair to say that these drives usually produced a marked, if temporary, improvement amongst children whose parents were casual, rather than basically feckless and who could be influenced by social pressures. But to children of the very lowest class they must simply have emphasised the alien characteristics of public elementary schools, and it is not surprising that neither they nor their parents were attracted to them. The Act of 1870 provided no means of bridging the gulf between the standards of schools and those of such families; the Board schools were no less unfriendly places than the voluntary schools. The introduction of compulsion and, in the long run, of a degree of pressure which made parents feel that it was less trouble to send the children than to keep them away, eventually brought the 'educationally destitute' into the schools. Once the habit of attendance was established, improved social conditions, as Kennedy had prophesied in 1869, made the prospect of civilising them through a 'sound education' more hopeful. But a modern educationist, looking at certain

78. Ipswich Br. I., 19.6.65; St. Paul, Birmingham, B.8.5.68; Melton Mowbray, L.B.25.9.67, 26.9.67.

schools in certain areas, might well conclude that the problem of reconciling the social attitudes of schools and pupils remains, and that, in a sense, 'educational destitution' is still present in 1970.

CHAPTER 12.CONCLUSION.

The purpose of this study has been to examine early and mid-Victorian elementary schools from the point of view of the people who ran them, and thereby to discover whether their characteristics are adequately represented by generalisations based upon politicians' speeches ¹ or even upon official documents. It is hoped that the preceding chapters will have shown that their development is a more complex subject than has always been admitted and that the material available for study is worthy of more attention than it has yet received.

The present study is based upon only a fraction of the surviving records² and, in consequence, almost certainly suffers from lack of balance. It may, however, be justifiable to draw from it certain tentative conclusions; the first of which underlines the difficulties facing students. Because of the absence of local organisations larger than the school, and because experiment, when undertaken, was highly personal and individual, the period is not one which lends itself to studies in a limited field. There are no obvious administrative units to investigate, like the School Board districts; and if a natural geographical area were chosen, there would be other

1. E.g., Lowe's over-quoted remark that 'the working classes ought to be educated to discharge the duties cast upon them'.
2. More than half the county Record Offices remain unvisited; the collections in the libraries and archives of only a few towns have been used; the vast number of records still in the schools has not been touched; and the files of the National Society have only been used to a limited degree.

problems involved. A study of Cheshire in isolation would lead to an over-estimate of the number and importance of industrial schools; a study of schools in the Canterbury diocese, to an exaggerated view of the efficiency of diocesan inspection. Experiments were frequently carried out simultaneously by individuals in widely separated parts of the country. Voluntary half-time, for example, could only be properly investigated by work in at least nine counties.

Study of a single group of school promoters would be liable to other forms of distortion. Many Anglicans were prone to discuss educational problems as if the existence of non-Anglican schools were wholly irrelevant. Minority groups, working in self-imposed isolation, often over-estimated their own originality. Some of the secularists, for instance, believed themselves to be the pioneers of reform, not only in the field of religious instruction but in the curriculum generally, and in provision for the educationally destitute.³ Yet the only difference in curriculum, for example, between the secular schools and the more advanced of the denominational schools was that the former, by their concentration upon theoretical instruction in social economy and physiology, tended towards an aridity which some of the others managed to

3. See, for example, the Annual Reports of the Manchester Secular school printed in P.P., 1856, XLVI, 405; 1857-8, XLVI, 331.

escape. Modern educationists would probably feel that the 'Botanical little girl' who pursued Henslow with shouts of 'A new wild flower for Hitcham!'; the Windsor boys, having their 'brains turned inside out' by Hawtrey's teaching of mathematics; or even the Sandbach girls preparing Christmas dinners for the aged were involved in educational experiences of more value than was the ten-year-old at the Manchester Secular school, who, in the course of a single morning, moved from a lesson on cotton manufactures to a lesson on professions and trades, and then to another on strikes!⁴ Without a knowledge of general developments greater than is at present readily available in published literature, the true significance of such experiments cannot be assessed.

Recent historians have emphasised the need 'to put back religion...into the picture of nineteenth century England'.⁵ To do this involves recognition of the fact that, to most contemporaries, the key educational problem seemed to be that of finding a satisfactory basis for the Christian education of the mass of the people. Already, by the 1830s, there had been a realisation that this could not be achieved without the aid of public money; and the result had been the uneasy partnership between a paternalistic

4. R.Dawes, *Common Things*, p.10; P.P., 1857-8, XLVI, 331, p.30.

5. G.Kitson Clark, *op.cit.*, p.25; cp.W.L.Burn.*op.cit.*

Department and the managers of individual schools, which has been described. That no alternative was found before 1870 was the result of factors over which educationists had little control. Had the need been generally recognised early in the century, it is likely that Parliament would have voted money for Anglican schools, just as in 1818 and 1824 it voted money for Anglican churches, because the established church was regarded as the state in its religious aspect, and hence entitled to support from public money. But after Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Act, and the beginnings of the move towards what Professor Chadwick has called 'true competition in religion or irreligion'⁶, such a solution was impossible; and, since education was seen as one aspect of religious life, every move in this field was scrutinised for its effect upon the struggle for 'true competition'. The controversialists of the '40s and '50s were concerned with issues which appeared to them wider and more important than the mere provision of schools. Archdeacon Denison's primary interest, for example, was the defence of the Church of England against an infidel state. For the Liberation Society, the establishment of British day schools was an element in its Anti-State Church campaign.⁷ The Lancashire Public School Association came into

6. O.Chadwick, op.cit., p.569.

7. 'The features by which we are distinguished as Nonconformists should be by all means more distinctly taught and more generally understood' - quoted in J.Sandford, op.cit., 1862, p.301.

being when the leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League, having achieved their objective, looked about for fresh bastions of privilege to assail.

In these circumstances it was inevitable that a satisfactory solution of the problem of educational provision should be delayed until the wider struggle had been fought out. For this reason the structure described in this study, whatever its weaknesses, should not be regarded as a mere makeshift which might at any moment have been reconstructed had Victorians understood their real interests. It should rather be seen as the machinery which an age in transition was prepared to accept in order to satisfy a newly-recognised need. Its achievements should be judged in relation to the resources which the age was prepared to make available; and by these standards they were not negligible.

The men responsible for these achievements have not caught the attention of posterity; indeed, many of them were unknown to contemporaries outside the narrow circle of educational enthusiasts. One reason for this was the involvement of education in the religious struggle, which meant that public discussion of educational questions was rarely conducted by working educationists, or even by persons with extensive knowledge of what was actually happening in the schools. 'The real difficulty of the question', said Dawes in 1847, 'is not with the people, or the classes to be educated,

but in getting it out of the hands of the talking men, and into those of the practical and working ones'.⁸ Except in Manchester, where they combined in the Manchester and Salford Committee, this dichotomy between 'talking' and 'working' persisted until the end of the period; and if it meant that the practical men received less recognition than they deserved, and consequently exercised less influence over the formulation of public policy than would have been desirable, it nevertheless has certain advantages for the student. At least until the '60s, educational progress, in its basic sense of the development of the means of teaching children, can be studied almost without reference to educational politics; the practical men, being largely unconcerned with general policies, were free to devote all their energies to trying out their ideas in the school which was their immediate concern. It is this characteristic which, at least to the present writer, makes the study of mid-Victorian school managers so rewarding.

The close supervision of schools by their committees was a characteristic feature of the period. As has been seen, at least from the '50s, the Education Department regarded managerial supervision as a necessary condition of educational

8. R.Dawes, Hints...,p.42.

progress; and its extension to an existing school was usually a sign, to the general public as well as to officials, that reform had begun. G.N.Maynard, for instance, the Whittlesford tradesman who preserved the records of the parochial school, was very conscious of the contrast between the school as it was by 1870, and as it had been in his youth, under 'Old Macer', a one-armed sailor. He dated the change to the death of the old parson, who 'was agreeable to the queer and ancient method of training under the care and guardianship of Old Macer with his occasional superintendence in hearing the catechism repeated'; and the coming of an energetic new one, who, much to the annoyance of the surviving trustee, devoted most of his energies to the school.⁹

The way in which managerial superintendence might contribute to improve a school and maintain higher standards has been fully discussed. It could probably never have been more than a temporary phenomenon and certainly, when it persisted too long, placed obstacles in the way of the teacher's achievement of an independent status. But it was of considerable importance for the generation in which teachers first began to acquire professional training and qualifications; and in which schools were liable to be put in

9. See above, p.31; G.N.Maynard MSS., v.6.

the sole charge of a young and inexperienced teacher. Only when they acquired a full complement of adult staff, with a head to exercise over his sub ordinates the control which managers had hitherto maintained over a solitary teacher, did the role of supervising manager become superfluous.

Managers, therefore, may be held responsible, not only for the formulation of policy in their schools, but also, to a considerable degree, for the success with which it was carried out. Their schools were founded for the education of the poor; yet few of the really destitute ever entered them. There were, of course, notable exceptions; but for every manager concerned with the very poor, there were far more who were anxious to attract pupils from the lower levels of the middle class - the children of those farmers, bailiffs, accountants, customs and excisemen, police superintendents and inspectors, and nearly a hundred clerks who appear in the list of parental occupations in the White Paper of 1858 on the capitation grant.¹⁰ Managers are obviously open to criticism on this count; but nevertheless, it is arguable that, from a long term point of view, the development was fortunate. If the elementary school was ever to provide the basis for a genuinely national education, it had to shake

10. P.P.1857-8, XLVI,261,pp.4-5 - this excludes the solitary curate and lawyer at St.Thomas, Charterhouse.

off its charity associations and appear as a place in which self-respect and independence could be acquired. The presence of middle-class children in the schools was an obvious guarantee of this; and the process, though to some extent slowed down by the Revised Code, was never reversed. Elementary schools in the later years of the century had therefore achieved a social status very different from that which they held at the beginning.

A factor which attracted the petty bourgeois parent was the great development of the curriculum which took place in the '40s and the '50s. The more ambitious schools became places in which a useful education could be acquired more cheaply and more efficiently than in a private school. In this connection, two points are worth emphasis. The first is the extent to which changes were the work of managers rather than teachers. This was perhaps inevitable. No one could study school records without being impressed with the energy and good sense shown by the majority of teachers; but their education was not such as to encourage original ideas,¹¹ nor, for that matter, was the subordination in which so many managers held them. The second point is the scale and range of the experiments which were undertaken. They were not

11. If we may judge from the correspondence in their magazines, many of them found their greatest intellectual pleasure in arguing about the minutiae of grammar.

confined to the introduction of new subjects - mathematics, languages, physical science, social and domestic economy and handicrafts - the development of which is usually associated with the great board schools of the end of the century.

Certain reformers, in their emphasis on the use of the environment, the value of approaching science through the children's experience, and the need to establish, for older pupils, a clear relation between school and work, were feeling their way towards ideas which have only won general acceptance in the last twenty-five years.

This may partly be accounted for by the total absence of restrictions upon the activities of any manager who either had money in his pocket or could persuade subscribers to put it there. Samuel Best could make his schools the centrepiece of 'a system of provident exertion'; William Rogers could establish schools providing primary, secondary and further education, adjusted to the needs of the neighbourhood, and could invite an opponent of church schools, William Ellis, to teach in them, without fear of contradiction; Dawes, Hawtrej, Henslow, and a host of lesser men could teach what they liked, how they liked, without interference. If, as a result, children were frequently put at the mercy of eccentric or opinionated managers, in a minority of cases they were

brought into contact with teachers of an intellectual ability and a degree of cultivation not often found in the classroom. It may be said without offence that modern children in Sherborne or King's Somborne or Hitcham are unlikely ever to enjoy teaching of the quality which their great-great-grandparents received from Macready, or Dawes, or Henslow. H.W. Bellairs, H.M.I., describing the Sunday school in which his daughters worked as amateur teachers, under the clergyman, an Oxford first-class-man, and the schoolmaster, remarked on:

'...the wonderful way in which the clergyman arrests the attention of the little children around him; he sits there with his German raised map, and the children are perfectly absorbed. Then comes the certificated master, who, in spite of his professional skill and technical knowledge, can by no means arrest their attention to the same extent; and so on in proportion. This seems to be the effect of intellectual power when combined with a certain aptitude for teaching'.¹²

When persons of this intellectual calibre were loose in the elementary schools, almost as unrestricted as the heads of early 20th. century progressive schools, it is not surprising that a few of them should have come up with ideas about education too advanced for professionals and administrators to grasp.

In general, although almost all the schools with which this study is concerned were connected with one or other of the voluntary societies, the degree of outside help upon which

12. S.C.1866,q.623.

managers could rely was limited. The National Society had sufficient financial resources to make its influence felt. Its officials made intelligent use of grants to bring about improvements, and its organizing masters contributed largely to the raising of standards in a number of areas in the '40s and '50s; but its incursions into educational politics usually did more harm than good; and it must have been as much of an embarrassment as an asset to Anglican managers who did not share its high church proclivities. Amongst its opponents, on the other hand, it seems improbable that anyone could have been either annoyed or inspired by the activities of the British and Foreign School Society between 1850 and 1870. After battling successfully with the government over inspection in the early '40s, it was nearly destroyed when the Voluntaryists came out against the Minutes of 1846. Perhaps this experience caused it to continue along the beaten track for the next twenty years, useful, inoffensive and unenterprising, much patronised by aristocratic Whigs, but making few innovations and producing no new ideas. It was perhaps unfortunate in that it threw up no strong personalities like Scott and Rigg among the Wesleyans, or Unwin amongst the Congregationalists, who inspired confidence in, and gave distinction to, their respective groups. The Poor School Committee also, after an active

start, became bogged in the affairs of Hammersmith College, and reached the doldrums in the '50s. It would be pointless to speculate as to what might have happened in the field of Catholic education had Manning, with his drive, his interest and his organising ability, become Archbishop of Westminster in the '50s instead of the '60s. As it was, his influence had barely begun to be felt by 1870.

Only the Anglicans could look for help to local agencies. The effects of episcopal influence when exercised by men like Wilberforce or Lord Auckland have been discussed, as has the influence of active diocesan boards like those of London and Canterbury, Bath and Wells and Hereford. Perhaps the real advantage of diocesan organisation, however, was less tangible, in that it provided means of bringing managers together, giving them opportunities to exchange ideas, and helping to counteract the isolation in which many of them worked. This may help to account for the more rapid spread of experiments in Anglican schools than in others.

Immeasurably the most important external influence was the Education Department. As has been said, the period was one of partnership between managers and the Department, a partnership whose effects were felt far beyond the limits of the grant system. The educational progress resulting from it

has already been mapped; an attempt must now be made to summarise the reasons why its aims were only partially achieved.

One condition of success which was not present was that the propertied classes as a whole should accept the obligation which some of them felt to expend time and money upon the education of the poor. Instead, some did nothing, others established a worthless school which served as an obstacle to the foundation of a better one,¹³ and still more subscribed on a scale which bore no relation to their resources. But even allowing for this factor, there can be no doubt that success would have been greater if the Education Department had conceived its function differently.

Throughout the period, it was loyal to two principles - that of encouraging self-help, which meant that aid was only forthcoming to managers who had demonstrated their possession of the means of acting; and the Kay-Shuttleworth principle that the grant must be used as much to improve as to extend education. Official opinion never admitted that there was, as a former Principal of York Training College pointed out in 1865, a fallacy in the principle of assisting effort,

13. Cp. Archdeacon Allen - 'I found instances of persons speaking as if they chose the establishment of a school as the least of two evils... "We cannot help having a school, but we think it advisable that as little as possible be taught therein..."' (Ball, op.cit., p.81).

when it was applied in this context:

'...when you come to look a little closer into it, it really is assistance given to A. by B., provided A. can also induce C. to help him. The person who requires assistance is not the person who has to make the effort, but somebody else on his behalf.' 14

Hence, as Forster was to emphasise in 1870, there was throughout the period, as much under Kay-Shuttleworth as under Lingen, a rewarding of the 'haves' at the expense of the 'have-nots'. The second principle led to an official insistence upon pre-determined standards fixed without reference to the conditions in which they were to operate. The Revised Code was a classic instance of this point; so was the Department's refusal to consider awarding the teachers' certificate on any grounds other than examination. It took the Act of 1870 to convince officials that enough certificated teachers could not be provided for all the population without some such concession; and, as has been stated, when it was finally made, no disastrous consequences followed.

The building grant regulations were intended to ensure that public money was spent responsibly. The Department had an obvious duty to see that grant-aided schools were not crippled from the beginning with a load of debt; the insistence that the entire cost of building should be covered before any

14. S.C.1865,q.5963; in other words B, the Department, would refuse aid to A, the promoter, whatever his exertions, if C, the subscriber, was absent or unwilling to help - cp. Mr. Kinder, of Lumb (above, pp.99-100).

grant was paid over was therefore justified, although it undoubtedly made the task of school provision more difficult before 1870 than it was to be afterwards. School Boards, being public bodies with the power to levy rates, could safely be permitted to leave the future to pay the bill.¹⁵ Another aspect of building grant policy was, however, more questionable. This was the Department's failure to make any concession to meet the difficulties faced by school promoters in large towns, who often, as H.M. Inspectors repeatedly pointed out,¹⁶ found it absolutely impossible to obtain sites on any terms acceptable to the authorities. The fact that the draft Bill of 1870 specifically excluded compulsory purchase - its inclusion amongst the powers of School Boards resulted from a comment by Lord Sandon - suggests that officials had failed to grasp the significance of this very real problem.¹⁷

Admittedly, it could scarcely have been solved before 1870 by administrative action alone. Legislation would probably have been necessary. Nor can Department officials be held primarily to blame for the worst failure in mid-

15. Clause 57, permitting them to raise 50 year loans (30 years in the original Bill).

16. E.g., F.C. Cook (Minutes, 1858-9, pp. 17-18) - 'I have several cases before me in which the friends of education have collected large funds and waited for years in the vain hope of effecting a purchase... unless [this difficulty] is met and overcome, I feel perfectly convinced that it will be practically impossible to extend the benefits of good education to the great mass of the population in this district'.

17. Clause 19 of the Bill; clause 20 of the Act; N.E.U., p. 25.

Victorian educational policy, although they are open to the criticism of scarcely having attempted to make politicians face facts. Throughout the period, managers, teachers, representatives of the voluntary societies, H.M. Inspectors - everyone, in fact, who actually knew the schools, reiterated the complaint that, as the Educational Conference of 1857 pointed out, the real problem was 'not so much the lack of schools, as the insufficient attendance of the children of the working classes'. The number of school places in 1870 was inadequate for the child population; but over the country as a whole, it was in excess (so far as grant-aided schools were concerned, by three quarters of a million)¹⁸ of the numbers actually present. The Department throughout acted as if, by the judicious use of financial carrots, managers could somehow be forced to make the children attend. But this, except in those rare cases in which the school's patron was the autocrat of a closed community, was beyond their powers, although they tried endless expedients to bring it about. It has not often been recognised how powerfully the attendance problem must have acted as a deterrent to the extension of education. How could people be persuaded to contribute towards the building of a new school when existing ones were not full? Why should they support a large school with a full

18. See above, p.432.

complement of teachers when the children were not present to be taught? It is, perhaps, less surprising that voluntary effort failed to provide schools sufficient for the population than that so many school promoters made such long-continued attempts to persuade parents to 'accept the gift' of education when they were given no backing by public authority.

It is, of course, true that compulsion was regarded as being so alien to English traditions that politicians might well feel it to be a very dangerous subject to handle. But the issue was evaded for too long, and its implications were never given proper consideration. A major criticism of the framers of Forster's Act is that they not only tried to shuffle the unpopular decision to make attendance compulsory off Parliament and on to the School Boards, but, by putting powers of compulsion into the hands of bodies never designed to cover the whole country, they created an obstacle to efficient enforcement when the decision was finally made. But by that time it had been generally recognised that the provision of schools was not enough; nothing short of universally-applied legal sanctions would solve the attendance problem.

The flurry of school building under threat in 1870 was proof that more could have been achieved by the denomin-

ational system if more of the propertied classes could have been induced to support it; but in view of the difficulties just enumerated, the provision of two million places in inspected schools, and upwards of a million in non-aided schools,¹⁹ some of them satisfactory, others all but worthless, cannot be dismissed as a discreditable performance.

It was achieved by a comparatively small number of people. The Newcastle Commission spoke of 'a charitable and enlightened minority'; the official report for 1869 of 'the benevolent energy of the small body of volunteers'.²⁰ The only identifiable group which was extensively involved was the clergy - the majority of the Anglican and Catholic priesthood, and a considerable number of nonconformist ministers; and their motives have been fully discussed. Otherwise, only a limited number of property-owners were prepared to give more than conventional support to schools, and the factors which governed their decision to do so are by no means clear. A few older grandees, like Lansdowne and Radnor, were influenced by liberal ideas which they had acquired as Foxite Whigs; some industrialists like John

19. It is not easy to get accurate figures for non-aided schools; the above estimate is assumed from the facts that of the 1,500,000 actually in attendance in church schools (excluding dame schools) in 1866, there were just over 600,000 in non-aided schools (N.S. statistics); and in the middle '60s, when there were just over 600 Wesleyan schools (W.E.C., A.R., 1866, App. p. 18), 334 were aided. It is probably too low rather than too high.

20. N.C., v. I, p. 302; Minutes, 1869-70, p. vii.

Marshall of Leeds, or Titus Salt, by that desire to encourage self-help which is associated with the works of Samuel Smiles. In most other cases the explanation is less obvious. J.S. Hurt, after a study of the Hertfordshire gentry, has discerned a definite relation in that county between size and type of estate and the owner's willingness to contribute largely to education.²¹ It seems likely that a Namier-type investigation of the persons concerned would reveal ties of blood, friendship, and common interests outside the field of education which would help to account for individual involvement. The Leveson-Gower family, already discussed, is a case in point.

A random exercise on some of the individuals mentioned in this study shows the following connections. The high church group which reformed the National Society in the years before 1839, was based upon friendships formed at Oxford. Of its members, T.D.Acland, a founder of the Exeter and Bath and Wells Diocesan Boards, and the originator of middle-class examinations, married the niece of Mrs.Hippisley Tuckfield, who was writing on education in the 1830s. He was a cousin of Henry Hoare, the Tractarian banker who gave William Rogers financial backing at St.Thomas,

21. Moderately wealthy new families, in areas where estates were not fragmented, contributed most - op.cit., pp.42-3,400.

Charterhouse, and his colleague on the Exeter Board, Stafford Northcote, was another close friend of Rogers. Another member of the group, Manning, provided a link with his brothers-in-law, the Wilberforces. A third, Gladstone, married Catherine Glynne, whose sister, Mary, married Lord Lyttelton; their aunt was the wife of the Yorkshire schools promoter, Lord Wenlock. Lyttelton's life-long friend and collaborator in encouraging both planned emigration to New Zealand and education in the diocese of Worcester, was C.B. Adderley, who had an old family friendship with the Aclands. Adderley, the Lytteltons and the Gladstones all actively supported charitable work in the East End mission of St. George's-in-the-East, in which Archdeacon Sandford was also involved. Sandford's son, Henry, the H.M.I., served as curate to Archdeacon Allen, the first Inspector of Schools. Lord Hatherton, the Staffordshire patron, a friend and distant connection of Lord Lyttelton, married Mrs. Caroline Davenport, who had maintained one of the Cheshire industrial schools on her son's estate at Capesthorne, and who was the first cousin and close friend of Kay-Shuttleworth's wife. Another cousin of Janet Shuttleworth, after whom her youngest son was named, was that Stewart

Majoribanks who was the patron of British schools in Folkstone and Bushey. These ramifications suggest that systematic study might reveal a whole network of connections binding together the comparatively small group of active patrons, which may help to explain why their philanthropic interests were directed towards education, rather than other, equally laudable, pursuits.

The task in which all these people were involved was that of civilising the working classes, which, as has been said, they thought indistinguishable from the process of Christianisation. The great unevenness of their performance resulted from the fact that there were no generally accepted standards of what constituted civilisation for the poor. Each group decided upon its own criteria, which varied from the grudging admission of the JRs. by the committee of High Wycombe British school, or the clergy of St. George's, Hanover Square, to the ambitious programmes of the Salisbury Wesleyans, or Best's school at Abbott's Ann. The influence of the Department's standards, though great, could not be decisive while everyone was free to accept or reject them. Hence, the attitudes of individuals were all-important:

'...the only thing in which I have faith in this matter of

education...', said James Fraser in 1867, 'is the power of personal energy and influence. I see every now and then... parishes and schools in which everything is as efficient, and of which the results are in every way as satisfactory, as if we were living under a Prussian system of compulsory education; and when I trace these results to their source, I invariably find them to flow from the individual wills, energies, sacrifices, of some one or two men; generally the parson, sometimes the squire; occasionally the two combined.' 22

Fraser was speaking as an Anglican; otherwise he might have referred to individual Quakers, whose influence on British schools was out of all proportion to their numbers; or to industrialists like Salt, or Akroyd, or Chance; or to pious Baptist ministers, or to Wesleyan tradesmen, or to nuns working in the slums of London or Liverpool. As a basis for establishing a national system, personal energy was impossibly shifting and uncertain; as a means of establishing a good school it could be decisive.

How may its achievements be summarised? It can safely be said that mid-Victorian elementary schools provided a modicum of instruction for a large proportion of the working classes; a useful education for a smaller number; and, for a tiny minority, a means of rising in society.²³

22. T.Hughes, *op.cit.*, p.154.

23. E.g., an ex-pupil of Millwall British school sent by the Inland Revenue to take a science degree at University College, London (B.F.S., A.R., 1859, p.69); the National schoolboy who went to Cambridge on an organ scholarship (Minutes, 1866-7, p.29); or Queen Victoria's favourite example, Archbishop Thomson of York (H.Chester, *op.cit.*, 1863, p.10).

But to most managers these results would have seemed only incidental to the general aim of spiritual, moral, and (perhaps) mental betterment; and attempts to assess the total impact of education upon any society are always fraught with danger. England in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century was a more civilised and less disorderly place than it had been in the 1840s; but whether this was due to education is an open question. Modern students would probably treat with some scepticism the contemporary claim that the behaviour of operatives during the Cotton Famine was a proof of the value of the education which they had received in childhood. Perhaps the verdict of one contemporary on the greatest of early Victorian school promoters is more worthy of credence - that of a Stockbridge gig-driver who remarked to a visitor:

'Somborne...was a wicked little place before Mr. Dawes came there. It be quite another sort of place now...everybody round about knows the good he has done. Mr. Dawes have let in the light of the world.' 24

This, at any rate, is the sort of verdict he and his fellows would have hoped to hear.

Dawes lies in effigy in Hereford cathedral, his pillow improbably supported by the Bible, the Prayer-Book, and a volume entitled 'Education of the People'. Some of the

24. Barham Zincke, op.cit., 1850,p.46.

persons with whom this study has been concerned would have removed the Prayer-Book altogether; others would have substituted for it the Breviary or the Methodist Hymn-Book; but the juxtaposition may be regarded as symbolising the principles of those 'practical and working' men who sustained pre-1870 elementary schools. They are not principles acceptable to most modern educationists, and it is therefore perhaps natural that the twentieth century should find their exponents less congenial and less interesting than, for example, members of the working classes who tried to develop their own pattern of education, or secularists who fought to exclude religious dogma from the schools. But the men who believed in those principles represent the mainstream of elementary education; and no picture of Victorian schools will be accurate which does not find room for their activities.

APPENDIX A.SUMMARY OF MAINTENANCE GRANT REGULATIONS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS,
1846-1870.1. Minutes of 1846.

A. To Pupil Teachers - after satisfactory completion of each year's apprenticeship, Year 1, £10, rising by £2.10s.p.a. to Year 5, £20.

- after satisfactory completion of apprenticeship, on examination, Queen's Scholarships of £20 (2nd class) or £25 (1st class) at inspected Normal School ($\frac{2}{3}$ ds. for women).

B. To Stipendiary Monitors - for 4 years - after satisfactory completion of each year - Year 1, £5, rising by £2.10s.p.a. to Year 4, £12.10s.

C. Gratuities to Teachers for the instruction of the above - for Pupil Teachers, £5 for one; £9 for two; £12 for three; £3 additional for every other.

for Stipendiary Monitors, £2.10s. for one; £4.10s. for two; £6 for three; £1.10s. additional for every other.

D. To Certificated Masters - augmentation grant of from £15 to £30 (depending on certificate) provided managers pay salary of double the grant and provide a house rent free, or the equivalent ($\frac{2}{3}$ ds for mistresses).

2. Book Grant 1847. - for purchase of books on Committee of Council Schedule - 2/- per head in inspected schools, 2/6d in schools with pupil teachers, provided $\frac{2}{3}$ ds. of the cost is contributed locally.
Grants renewable every 3 years if $\frac{4}{5}$ ths. of cost contributed locally.

3. 1850 Circular on Day Industrial Schools.
Grants of 50% for rent; 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % for tools, 25% of gratuity for pupil teachers for superintendence.

4. 1852 Grants to Assistants. - Grants of £25 (male), £20 (female) to ex-pupil teachers serving as assistants in inspected schools under certificated teachers.

5. 1853 Capital Grant. - for schools in agricultural districts

and unincorporated towns (under 5,000 pop.). Annual grant to schools admissible under Minutes of 1846 for each scholar attending 192 days (reduced to 176; 88 in the case of half-timers) of:

<u>No. of scholars in school</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Under 50	6/-	5/-
50-100	5/-	4/-
Over 100	4/-	3/-

Provided

- i. Income of 14/- per boy, 12/- per girl
- ii. Fees of between 1d. and 4d. charged
- iii. Mixed schools under mistresses excluded (modified, 1854).

6. 1853 Grants to Registered teachers.

All teachers, to qualify for pupil teachers or capitation grant henceforward to hold certificates or, if over 35, to pass Registration examination, showing 'sound, if humble attainment'.

7. 1854 Grants to Infant Teachers - on one year's training course and examination - augmentation grant, Class 1 - as for Class 3 Certificate; Class 2 - £8.

8. 1855 Grants to Night School Teachers - £5 to £10.p.a. for night school teachers not otherwise receiving public money provided fees equal grant and school connected with day school.

9. 1856 Capitation grants extended to qualified schools in urban areas.

10. 1858 Cancellation of (4). Stipends of £25 (male), £20 (female) to probationers for two years after passing certificate examination provided either: teacher of small rural school; or assistant to certificated teacher of large school.

11. 1859 Number of pupil teachers limited to 4 pupil teachers to 1 master or mistress.

ALL ABOVE REGULATIONS CANCELLED BY REVISED CODE.

12. 1862 Grants under Revised Code.-to schools under certificated teachers.

A. On Average Attendance - 4/- per scholar, day school; 2/6d, night school.

B. On examination of 3rs - (i) of scholars over 6 years old attending day school 200 sessions, 8/- (2/8d. per pass in each subject)

(ii) of scholars attending night school 24 sessions, 5/- (1/8d. per subject).

C. On attendance - every scholar under 6 years old, being present at inspection, attending 200 sessions, subject to H.M.I.'s report of suitability of instruction, 6/6d. provided parents are of labouring classes (Article 4). subject to reduction (Article 52)

- (i) on recommendation of H.M.I.
- (ii) if staff insufficient
- (iii) by excess over fees and subscriptions
- (iv) by excess over 15/- per scholar on average attendance.

13. 1863 Grant reduced by amount of any annual endowment (Article 52d)

14. 1864 (13) cancelled in rural schools provided grant and endowment not in excess of 15/- per scholar.

15. 1865 (14) extended to all schools.

16. 1867 Additional Grants.

A. of 1/4d per pass (not exceeding £8 per school)

- provided
- (i) Staffing meets requirements of Code
 - (ii) Number of passes in 3Rs exceeds 200% of average attendance of children over 6 years.
 - (i ii) one or more of 'higher subjects' on time table, in which 1/5th. of number in average attendance above 6 years pass satisfactory examination.

B. of 8/- on examination (for 1 year) of children already passed in Standard VI provided pass examination under A(iii).

C. of £10 for every male pupil teacher entering Training College with Class 1 pass; £5 for Class 2. of £8 for every male ex-pupil teacher who at end of first year's training passes in 1st division; £5 for 2nd division.

APPENDIX B ATTENDANCE1. Weekly Attendance FiguresWinston National School, Co. Durham 1855-6.

<u>1855</u>	<u>On roll</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>On roll</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>June</u>	34	31	91		49	39	80
<u>July</u>	36	32	89		50	37	74
	36	29	81	<u>March</u>	50	35	70
	37	32	86		50	28	56
	38	24	63		44	21	48
<u>August</u>	39	31	79		GAP IN REGISTER		
	39	31	79	<u>June</u>	33	25	76
	39	29	74	<u>July</u>	33	24	73
	41	34	83		37	26	70
	41	29	71		38	23	61
<u>September</u>	41	23	56		34	23	68
FIVE WEEKS HOLIDAY					34	21	62
<u>October</u>	44	29	66	<u>August</u>	35	29	83
	47	34	72		35	31	89
	47	35	74		34	26	76
<u>November</u>	47	31	66		34	26	76
	50	38	76	<u>September</u>	34	17	50
	53	41	77		FOUR WEEKS HOLIDAY		
	56	47	84	<u>October</u>	34	20	59
	57	43	75		34	29	85
<u>December</u>	57	42	74		34	30	88
	57	40	70		36	31	86
	57	44	77		37	32	86
THREE WEEKS HOLIDAY				<u>November</u>	37	33.5	91
<u>1856</u>					37	35	95
<u>January</u>	30	27	90		37	33	89
	31	28	90		40	36	90
	41	36	88	<u>December</u>	42	37	88
	46	43	93				
<u>February</u>	48	41	85				
	49	43	88				

Total number on roll - 72
On roll during first 9 months - 60
Average attendance during first 9 months - 34
% attendance during first nine months - 56.7%
On roll during last 6 months - 53
Average attendance during last 9 months - 28
% attendance during last 6 months - 52.8%

(Attendance Register, Durham R.O.).

Stalbridge Boys' National School, Dorset, 1866-7.

<u>1866</u>	<u>On roll</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>On roll</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>November</u>	36	31	86	<u>May</u>	47	29	62
	37	28	76		48	32	67
	37	31	84		47	36	77
	37	30	81		47	35	74
<u>December</u>	38	33	87		46	32	70
	38	27	71	<u>June</u>	46	33	72
	38	25	66		ONE WEEK HOLIDAY		
	TWO WEEKS HOLIDAY				46	30	65
<u>1867</u>					46	30	65
<u>January</u>	39	24	62	<u>July</u>	46	29	63
	40	22	55		46	26	57
	40	26	65		46	34	74
	37	24	65		46	31	67
<u>February</u>	39	25	64		46	27	59
	40	25	62.5		FOUR WEEKS HOLIDAY		
	40	24	60	<u>September</u>	51	24	47
	43	26	60		51	31	61
<u>March</u>	45	25	56		52	30	58
	45	23	51		49	29	59
	45	17	38	<u>October</u>	47	27	57
	45	24	53		47	29	62
<u>April</u>	43	25	58		47	29	62
	41	26	63		47	33	70
	40	22	55				
	40	16	40				

On Roll during year - 53
Average Attendance - 27.4
% Attendance - 51.7%

(Attendance Register, Dorset R.O.).

2. QUARTERLY ATTENDANCE FIGURES

LONGBURTON NATIONAL SCHOOL DORSET, 1853-1858.

	No. on roll during quarter	Average attendance	%
1853 4	78	51	65.4
1854 1	67	43.5	64.9
2	-	-	-
3	108	65	60.2
4	109	-	-

1855	1		106	56	52.8
	2		98	65	66.3
	3		92	55	59.8
	4		87	57	65.5
1856	1		92	57	62.0
	2		98	70	71.4
	3		92	60	65.2
	4		89	61	68.5
1857	1		92	52	56.5
	2		84	57	67.9
	3		84	53	63.1
	4		80	53	66.25
1858	1		84	48	57.1
	2		75	51	68.0
	3		76	48	63.2

(Attendance & Pence Register,
Dorset R.O.).

MIDDLEWICH NATIONAL SCHOOLS, 1857-1870.

		No on roll during qr.			Average attendance			% attendance		
		B	G	I	B	G	I	B	G	I
1857	1	84	81	-	51	44	-	60.7	54.3	-
	2	94	110	-	53	59	-	56.4	53.6	-
	3	92	120	-	55	62	-	59.8	51.7	-
	4	97	120	-	52	64	-	53.6	53.3	-
1858	1	105	122	-	62	69	-	59.0	56.7	-
	2	-	120	137	-	66	64	-	55.0	46.7
	3	113	117	149	66	64	80	58.4	54.7	53.7
	4	114	95	141	63	57	70	55.3	60.0	49.6
1859	1	105	102	125	59	57	58	56.2	55.9	46.4
	2	102	87	130	58	56	69	56.9	64.4	53.1
	3	95	91	130	57	58	76	60.0	63.7	58.5
	4	88	88	141	55	57	70	62.5	64.8	49.6
1860	1	86	85	111	55	55	58	64.0	64.7	52.3
	2	76	95	119	46	59	66	60.5	62.1	55.5
	3	-	94	131	-	63	76	-	67.0	58.0
	4	92	98	127	53	54	73	57.6	55.1	57.5
1861	1	104	95	128	66	64	62	63.5	67.4	48.4
	2	100	98	134	70	65	71	70.0	66.3	53.0
	3	109	104	144	74	65	77	67.9	62.5	53.5
	4	120	99	139	81	65	74	67.5	65.7	53.2
1862	1	122	89	129	82	65	84	67.2	73.0	65.1
	2	117	94	139	80	63	83	68.5	67.0	59.7
	3	107	101	143	76	66	93	71.8	65.3	65.0
	4	106	90	141	71	57	83	67.0	63.3	59.0

		B	G	I	B	G	I	B	G	I
1863	1	100	93	132	69	65	69	69.0	69.9	52.3
	2	120	94	139	78	65	83	65.0	69.1	59.7
	3	127	109	140	83	59	89	65.4	54.1	63.6
	4	144	130	138	88	61	89	61.1	46.9	64.5
1864	1	139	116	139	90	63	50	64.7	54.3	36.0
	2	127	124	123	89	72	68	70.1	58.1	55.3
	3	150	131	153	98	82	89	65.3	62.6	58.2
	4	176	141	156	112	75	84	63.6	53.2	53.8
1865	1	206	129	129	130	60	61	63.1	46.5	47.3
	2	-	117	137	-	64	64	-	54.7	46.7
	3	181	125	157	120	65	71	66.3	52.0	45.2
	4	209	142	131	118	67	77	56.5	47.2	58.8
1866	1	201	126	128	131	71	69	65.2	56.3	53.9
	2	177	129	105	134	63	59	75.7	48.8	56.2
	3	150	122	164	116	71	79	77.3	58.2	48.2
	4	193	105	194	132	60	70	68.4	57.1	36.1
1867	1	203	105	103	146	61	67	71.9	58.1	65.0
	2	200	116	144	122	60	89	61.0	51.7	61.8
	3	167	113	142	124	66	90	74.3	58.4	63.4
	4	188	112	142	129	62	87	68.6	55.4	61.3
1868	1	187	129	142	126	68	94	67.4	52.7	66.2
	2	176	123	165	127	70	107	72.2	56.9	64.8
	3	183	127	166	136	75	93	74.3	59.1	56.0
	4	215	128	148	135	70	95	62.8	54.7	64.2
1869	1	230	113	145	115	63	71	50.0	55.8	49.0
	2	239	117	156	115	67	99	48.1	57.3	63.5
	3	178	111	162	122	82	92	68.5	73.9	56.8
	4	191	114	138	120	93	105	62.8	81.6	76.1
1870	1	212	125	145	124	94	102	58.5	75.2	70.3
	2	166	125	140	131	101	111	78.9	80.8	79.3
	3	186	155	185	136	117	110	73.1	75.5	59.5

(Minutes and Registry,
Cheshire R.O.).

3. ANNUAL ATTENDANCE FIGURES

DARTFORD WESLEYAN BOYS' SCHOOL, 1859-66.

	No on roll	Average Attendance	%
1859-60	111	80.3	72
1860-61	116	84.3	73
1861-62	118	83.8	71
1862-63	114	77.5	68
1863-64	193	85.1	44
1864-65	165	82.7	50
1865-66	155	78	50

(Attendance Register, Kent Archives).

CHELTEMHAM BOYS' BRITISH SCHOOL, 1862-70.

1862-3	412	341	83
1863-4	414	342	83
1864-5	404	325	80
1865-6	402	316	79
1866-7	396	311	79
1867-8	373	302	81
1868-9	383	299	78
1869-70	394	301	76

(Log Book, Cheltenham Public
Library).

MAIDENHEAD NATIONAL SCHOOLS, 1853-1869.

(Based on monthly figures; after 1863, on Annual Reports)

	Average Number on roll		Average attendance		% Attendance	
	B	G	B	G	B	G
1853	85	98	57	66	67	67
1854	79	97	55	63	70	65
1855	116	96	69	64	59	67
1856	134	111	81	74	60	67
1857	144	123	84	78	58	63
1858	105	87	80	50	76	57
1859	102	82	81	50	79	61
1860	103	67	74	44	72	66
1861	114	82	82	52	72	63
1862	111	83	81	47	73	57
1863	90	75	65	40	72	53
1864	95	65	73	37	77	57
1865	98	61	70	36	71	59
1866	95	75	66	42	68	56
1867	104	96	79	41	76	43
1868	125	115	93	82	74	71
1869	126	139	95	94	75	68

(Minute Books and Annual Reports,
Berkshire R.O.).

LOWER MOSELEY STREET BRITISH SCHOOLS, MANCHESTER, 1840-1864.

1840	280	180	160	120	57	67
1841	275	204	224	150	81	74
1842	283	250	207	173	73	69
1843	304	270	207	157	68	58
1844	306	266	217	190	71	71
1845	325	274	214	186	66	68
1846	349	256	210	166	60	65
1847	356	260	256	170	72	65
1848	362	282	259	192	72	68

1849	336	328	243	215	72	66
1850	289	306	204	184	71	60
1851	306	283	189	163	62	58
1852	304	282	186	144	61	51
1853	299	280	186	148	62	53
1854	298	281	170	143	57	51
1855	240	276	157	155	65	56
1856	273	259	161	123	59	47
1857	268	229	196	113	73	49
1858	325	202	196	102	60	50
1859	273	208	192	95	70	46
1860	328	205	179	84	55	41
1861	306	200	184	101	60	51
1862	361	294	221	133	61	45
1863	361	278	224	166	62	60
1864	300	289	210	147	70	51

(Annual Reports - Manchester Local
History Library).

4.

SAMPLES OF ATTENDANCE - HALF TIMERS.

A. QUARRY BANK MILL, STYAL, CHESHIRE (Manchester Archives)
(registers survive from 1847-8, 1849-53, 1854-5. absence records
incomplete in some cases).

Children in attendance 15 - 12 - 49.

	<u>Continuous attendance</u>		<u>Recorded absence</u>
Sarah Brown	20-11-47	to 23.3.50	nil
Charlotte Yates	20-11-47	to 15-12-49	1 session
Hannah Brown	22-7-47	to 28-5-53	3 "
Anne Bailey	before 15-12-49	to 3-4-52	8 "
Hannah Moore	" "	to 17-5-51	14 "
Thomas Burgess	4-12-47	to 31-5-51	10 "
Thomas Yates	4-3-48	to 12-4-51	nil
John Minns	18-3-48	to 18-10-51	19 sessions
	(off books 26-2-51	to 22-3-51)	
Joshua Daniel	before 15-12-49	to 21-9-50	32 "
Jacob Bradbury	" "	to 24-7-52	54 "
George Healey	" "	to 31-5-51	6 "
Mary Brown	15-1-48	to 23-3-50	21 "
Mary Hault	" 15-12-49	to 14-12-50	nil
Mary Moore	" "	to 5-7-51	1 session
Elizabeth Coppock	" "	to 1-3-51	12 "
	(off books 16 weeks	- sickness)	
	then 19-7-51	to 4-10-51	2 "
	then 1-11-51	to 20-12-51	nil
Mary Jackson	20-11-47	to 10-8-50	25 sessions
Priscilla Bradshaw	before 15-12-49	to 16-11-50	8 "

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B. BELPER MILL SCHOOL, DERBYSHIRE (Manchester Archives).

First 20 children on roll in January 1850

	<u>Continuous attendance</u>	<u>Recorded absence</u>
James Atkins	16-11-49 to 22-6-52	5 sessions
Samuel Beresford	9-8-49 to 9-3-50	2 "
William Beresford	13-8-49 to 10-2-52	17 "
Edwin Booth	12-11-49 to 3-10-51	1 "
(+1 absence made up by whole day's attendance next day)		
Henry Cam	20-6-49 to 8-10-51	3 sessions
Joseph Belfield	8-11-48 to 23-7-50	47 "
Herbert Bown	14-11-48 to 18-11-50	6 "
Henry Berkin	26-1-49 to 5-3-50	4 "
William Brindley	21-12-48 to 8-1-50	27 "
William Buchan	26-1-49 to 5-3-50	5 "
Anne Annaple	12-10-47 to 20-8-50	92 "
(includes 23 days and 54 days continuous sickness)		
Ellen Allen	12-2-49 to 9-10-51	18 sessions
Elizabeth Allen	2-3-49 to 18-3-51	20 "
Eliza Ashton	18-10-49 to 2-2-52	30 "
Eliza Burton	18-10-49 to 16-12-52	8 "
Ann Ashton	9-10-48 to 8-1-50	20 "
(+ 41 days' continuous 'leave')		
Mary Allsop	13-6-49 to 11-2-50	11 "
Ann Booth	12-11-49 to 19-4-50	11 "
Sarah Bird	29-8-48 to 16-7-50	18 "
(+ 1 session's 'leave')		
Sarah Cooper	20-7-47 to 27-1-51	19 "

5. Sample of attendance of Full-timers, Belper Mill School.
(Girls' Class Register, 1858-1860).

Number of attendances recorded for the first name in each class from 1-1-59 to 6-6-59 (date of Whitsun holiday).

	<u>Sessions</u>
Monitors' class: Salome Blunt	148
11th class: Mary Booth	42
10th class: Marian Allsop	174
9th class: Mary Bacon	47
8th class: Isabella Ashover	28
(April - Gone to Mill)	
7th class: Elizabeth Brentnall	118
(April - Gone to Mill)	
6th class: Sarah Burgin	117
5th class: S. Ann Brown	154

Sessions

4th class: (1st. name - none)	
Eliza Bradley	180
3rd class: Harriet Barks	155
2nd class: Emma Blunt	8
	(February - Gone to Mill)
1st class: Mary Boardman	33
1st class in desks:	
Eliza Annable	142

APPENDIX C SCHOOL EQUIPMENTEQUIPMENT AT THE OPENING OF SCHOOLS.

A. BURHAM NATIONAL SCHOOL, 1854 (Account Book, Kent Archives).

Bought for School Materials

June 23rd.	£	s	d
1 gross steel pens		1	2
1 " Pen Holders			9
12 desk Stands no. 6.	1	4	0
12 form " no.10.	1	0	0
Daily Register		2	0
Weekly Payment Books			8
Lessons in Sheets		1	6
2 doz. Elementary Lesson Books		2	3
Black board		5	0
Easel		5	0
Iron frame for lessons		1	6
2 doz. new Reading Books		4	0
3 doz. Irish Book no.2,3 & 4, Slates	2	17	0
Alphabet Box		3	6
Prints		2	3
Broken Catechisms			11½
Map of England		2	8
2 doz. Small Thimbles			7
100 needles			8
¼lb of Pins.			10
1 doz. Sup. Cotton		1	6
" Marking Cotton			10
August 9th			
Hullah's Songs		1	1½
1 doz. Unframed Slates		1	3½
Admission		3	0
Creed, Lord's Prayer & Commandment		1	7
Scripture Texts.			4
Class Register		1	7½
3 cards			11

B. RUSCOMBE BRITISH SCHOOL, 1869 (Log Book, Gloucestershire Record Office).

Equipment at the commencement of the school.

1 table	2 doz. St. II reading Book
6 Chairs	2 " " III " "
1 Desk	1 " " IV " "
2 Cupboards	6 Natural History Plates, coloured
1 Board & easel	1 gross Pens
4 Scripture Selections	1 " Penholders
1 Clock Face	6 doz. Slates
1 set select Scripture sheets	400 doz. * Slate pencils *sic.
1 " Arithmetic Sheets	1 doz. earthen inkwells
2 doz. St. I reading Book	1 lesson case
1 grammar book	1 geography book

(Average attendance 85-95).

EQUIPMENT OF TEACHER'S HOUSE, PENKRIDGE (Staffordshire Record Office, Hatherton Papers).

Inventory of furniture in the Master's House belonging to Lord Hatherton, 1870.

Parlour

Dining table
 Small Square table
 6 Cane seated chairs
 Easy Chair } in Canes
 Couch }
 Coal box
 Fender
 Fire irons
 Ashpan

Kitchen

Deal table
 Round Oak table
 6 Windsor Chairs + 1 small do. 1
 Fender

Fire irons
 Fireguard

Pantry

Deal table
 Plate rack

Scullery

Deal table
 2 linen Horses
 Large boiler and Grate
 not in use.

Bedrooms

Full sized iron bedstead with 2
 mattresses (sic),
 Bolster and 2 pillows
 Child's iron crib
 Pillow
 Washstand
 Dressing Table
 2 Towel Horse (sic)
 Fender
 Wardrobe
 6 Cane Seated Chairs
 1 Single Iron Bedstead (sacking torn
 and leg broken)
 1 " " " (leg broken)
 1 " " "
 6 Mattresses (of these 2 to be destroyed)
 3 Pillows
 3 Chests of Drawers
 6 Cane Seated Chairs
 2 Washing Stands
 1 Towel Horse (Rail broken)
 1 Pembroke Table
 2 Dressing Glasses (1 is broken and use-
 less)
 Book Shelves
 Small Stove and pipes

APPENDIX D

APPEALS FOR SUBSCRIPTION TO TANFIELD NATIONAL SCHOOL (Durham
Record Office).

Drafts of appeals by Rev. John Mathwin, Perpetual Curate of
Tanfield, 1858-9.

(justificatory arguments given in full; the rest summarised)

A. To John Bowes Esq. and Partners

I beg most respectfully and earnestly to solicit through you a subscription.

In support of this application I take the liberty to submit for your kind consideration the following particulars.

1. That the school was established fourteen years ago for the benefit of the poor of the Parish, and more especially for the children of Pitmen.
2. That the School is open to all children without distinction, and that the children are left free to attend whatever place of worship they please.
3. That with a view of rendering the instruction more efficient a certificated Master was appointed in 1855, and the School placed under annual Government Inspection.
4. That a marked and steadily increasing improvement is perceptible, and that this improvement is acknowledged in the Reports of H.M. Inspector.
5. That two of the schoolchildren, both of whose parents are pitmen, have succeeded in gaining prizes - one of them two years in succession - from the Northumberland and Durham School Prize Association.
6. That the improvement of the last few years has not been effected without entailing additional expense upon the Managers.
7. That the Coal Owners of the district have a direct interest in the maintenance of the School.
8. That about 150 houses in the Parish are occupied by workmen of John Bowes, Esq. and Partners.
9. That sometimes as many as twenty children from the Burnopfield New Houses alone are in regular attendance at the School.
10. That in addition to these there are children of the workmen of your Company in constant attendance from Crook Gate - Burnopfield - Clow Dean - Tantobie - Causey Row - and three or four come from Marley Hill.
11. That during the last two years a Night School, in connection with the Day School, has been open during the winter for the benefit of boys and young men at work; and that there is a fair prospect of the advantages of Night Schools being appreciated more and more, year by year, by the Pit Boys of the district.

12. That new School apparatus is urgently needed, and that these and other improvements required the Managers are prevented from carrying out for want of funds.'

(therefore suggests that the Company should become annual subscribers. A school under a well qualified mistress would be of service at the Hobson - should the Company contemplate erecting one - would consider it a 'pleasing duty' to render aid in obtaining Government assistance or in collecting subscriptions.)

Copy forwarded to each of the Partners.

B. To Lord James Stewart

Submits:-

'...the following appeal which as a matter of duty I feel compelled to make on behalf of the Tanfield National School.

I much regret to have to trouble your Lordship with so lengthy a communication but am unwilling that my application should fail of its purpose through any omission on my part.

1. The school was built fifteen years ago for the benefit of the Poor of the Parish.
2. The late Marquis of Bute contributed handsomely towards the erection of the school and also assisted in defraying the expenses of management by a subscription of Seven Pounds annually.
3. This amount was regularly paid up to and for the year 1848.
4. In the following year the Subscription was reduced to three Pounds and this reduced amount was regularly paid to 1854.
5. In the summer of that year without any formal notice of withdrawal Mr. Charles Armstrong intimated verbally to our Treasurer, his fears that no further subscn. from the estates of the Marquis would be allowed.
6. At first as Curate and latterly as Incumbent of the Parish, I respectfully urged on Mr. Armstrong a full consideration of our claim.
7. Pleading in a thoroughly good cause for the Poor who were unable to plead for themselves I have never ..(illegible)..allowed myself, to suppose that our claim wd. be disallowed.
8. The whole of our Managing Committee were equally confident with myself that the subscription must be continued.
9. In this confidence and with a view..(as A.3)..
- 10... (as A.4)
- 11..(as A.5, without clause re pitmen parents)..
- 12,..(as A 6)..
13. To meet the additional outlay the Committee confident of ..(illegible).. and would ..(illegible)..rely on the support of the Landowners of the Parish.
14. There are children of the Tenants of the Marquis of Bute in regular attendance at the School.
15. Within the last few months the School has been fit up with new Desks, Maps etc. the expense of which has been defrayed (with Government aid) by resident Parishioners.

16. Increased school accommodation is much needed in the parish and there is a general disposition among the Proprietors of the Land - the Coal Owners - and the Farmers, Tradesmen and workmen to contribute towards the erection of a new School.'

(still informed that Mr. Armstrong has no funds; but hopes after this statement he will be authorised to pay the £15 'we consider due' and that it will be continued.- expenditure since 1854 has been on the assumption that the subscription will be allowed; amount is small, but of importance to the managers, especially when efforts are being made to build a new school.)

'I now respectfully and with some confidence leave the subject for the consideration of your Lordship, and apologising for the intrusion, etc.'...

APPENDIX E

Summary of a Report on a Harvest Meeting at Ludlow, 1853, conducted for the Hereford Diocesan Board by Mr. Lomax, National Society's Organizing Master.

51 teachers were present.

Programme - Work, 9a.m. - 5pm.; evenings - visits to places of interest, lectures, land-surveying.

NUMBER		SUBJECT
21 men	14 women	Grammar
17 "	8 "	Geography
8 "	18 "	Arithmetic
12 "	-	Euclid
13 "	10 "	Vocal Music

Points considered -

1. In Practising School - The mode of opening and closing the business of the day; of registering attendance and absence; cleanliness and lateness; instruction in Bible, Liturgy, Catechism, Reading, Writing, Dictation, Composition and Singing; use of National Society's books and equipment.

2. Discussion - How to secure the attention of a number of children; The rules to be observed in questioning; How to cure extempore bad grammar in schools; The want of point observable in much of the instruction given at school, and the value of making children prepare lessons in the evening at home; The necessity for a defined and consecutive course of Bible instruction for both the elder and younger scholars; The analysis of the 4th Book of the Dublin series, for the purpose of laying down some definite method of using it as a text and class book in our schools, and for developing a method of teaching best suited to the matter contained in each section; The value of fables and poetry as a means of teaching; The construction of time tables and the necessity of making provision for household instruction as well as needlework for the girls and for instructing the boys in practical matters, such as mensuration and the subjects contained in the Agricultural Class Book; the importance of setting apart half an hour weekly for imparting information upon current events of a national, local or otherwise interesting character...such as a new discovery, an improved invention, a remarkable occurrence, an act of greatness, an offence, a voyage, a journey, in short, anything

calculated to awaken intelligence, truthfulness, courage, reverence, morality, and impart a bias for good to the mind...; The management of children; the importance of games and amusements as well as rewards and punishments -

'Under this head was considered the great importance of marking the difference between incapacity and idleness, children's offences and parents' faults, offences against order and those against morality, the objects of punishments and the impression to be made by their infliction;' The value of games in inducing punctual attendance; The need to introduce games of skill - trap-ball, cricket, skipping rope, battledore.

(Report of Hereford Diocesan Board, 1853, pp. 13-16.)

WELL BEGUN IS HALF DONE

Banbury British School.

Scholar's Certificate.

The undersigned certify that Thomas Dew aged 14 years 2 months at the date hereof, has attended the above-named School for 6 years months, and that he can now read fairly, write a good hand, work sums as far as Simple Proportion and that his knowledge of

Geography is good Grammar is fair English History fair Scriptural good Drawing moderate Spelling good Elements of Science fair Book keeping moderate

During the whole time that he has been in the above-named School, his conduct has been satisfactory

Signed this 16th day of December 1857

J. V. Meale Certified or Registered Teacher.

Name James Cadbury

Address Banbury

Name Wm. Munton

Address Banbury

Name Edw. Munton

Address Banbury

Managers of the School.

H. M. Inspector of Schools.

APPENDIX G (See Maps 1, 2 3)

Census Districts, 1851 (Registration Counties).

1-25 London N.of Thames	77 Battle	120 Newbury
26-36 " S " "	78 Eastbourne	121 Hungerford
<u>Surrey</u> (part of)	79 Hailsham	122 Faringdon
37 Epsom	80 Ticehurst	123 Abingdon
38 Chertsey	81 Uckfield	124 Wantage
39 Guildford	82 East Grinstead	125 Wallingford
40 Farnham	83 Cuckfield	126 Bradfield
41 Farnborough	84 Lewes	127 Reading
42 Hambledon	85 Brighton	128 Wokingham
43 Dorking	86 Steyning	129 Cookham
44 Reigate	87 Horsham	130 Eastthampstead
45 Godstone	88 Petworth	131 Windsor
46 Croydon	89 Thakeham	<u>Middlesex</u> (part of)
47 Kingston	90 Worthing	132 Staines
48 Richmond	91 Westthampratt	133 Uxbridge
<u>Kent</u> (part of)	92 Chichester	134 Brentford
49 Bromley	93 Midhurst	135 Hendon
50 Dartford	94 Westbourne	136 Barnet
51 Gravesend	<u>Hampshire</u>	137 Edmonton
52 North Aylesford	95 Havant	<u>Hertfordshire</u>
53 Ho	96 Portsea Island	138 Ware
54 Medway	97 Alverstoke	139 Bishop Stortford
55 Malling	98 Fareham	140 Royston
56 Sevenoaks	99 Isle of Wight	141 Hitchin
57 Tunbridge	100 Lymington	142 Hertford
58 Maidstone	101 Christchurch	143 Hatfield
59 Hollingbourn	102 Ringwood	144 St. Albans
60 Cranbrook	103 Fordingbridge	145 Watford
61 Tenterden	104 New Forest	146 Hemel Hempstead
62 West Ashford	105 Southampton	147 Berkhamstead
63 East "	106 South Stoneham	<u>Buckinghamshire</u>
64 Bridge	107 Romsey	148 Amersham
65 Canterbury	108 Stockbridge	149 Eton
66 Blean	109 Winchester	150 Wycombe
67 Faversham	110 Droxford	151 Aylesbury
68 Milton	111 Catherington	152 Winslow
69 Sheppey	112 Petersfield	153 Newport Pagnell
70 Thanet	113 Alrosford	154 Buckingham
71 Eastry	114 Alton	<u>Oxfordshire</u>
72 Dover	115 Hartley Wintney	155 Henley
73 Elham	116 Basingstoke	156 Thame
74 Romney Marsh	117 Whitchurch	157 Headington
<u>Sussex</u>	118 Andover	158 Oxford
75 Rye	119 Kingsclere	159 Bicester
76 Hastings	<u>Berkshire</u>	160 Woodstock

- 161 Witney
 162 Chipping Norton
 163 Banbury
Northamptonshire
 164 Brackley
 165 Towcester
 166 Potterspury
 167 Hardingstone
 168 Northampton
 169 Daventry
 170 Brixworth
 171 Wellingborough
 172 Kettering
 173 Thrapston
 174 Oundle
 175 Peterborough
Huntingdonshire
 176 Huntingdon
 177 St. Ives
 178 St. Neots
Bedfordshire
 179 Bedford
 180 Biggleswade
 181 Ampthill
 182 Woburn
 183 Leighton Buzzard
 184 Luton
Cambridgeshire
 185 Caxton
 186 Chesterton
 187 Cambridge
 188 Linton
 189 Newmarket
 190 Ely
 191 North Witchford
 192 Whittlesey
 193 Wisbeach.
Essex
 194 West Ham
 195 Epping
 196 Ongar
 197 Romford
 198 Orsett
 199 Billericay
 200 Chelmsford
 201 Rochford
 202 Maldon
 203 Tendring
 204 Colchester
- 205 Lexden
 206 Witham
 207 Halstead
 208 Braintree
 209 Dunnow
 210 Saffron Walden
Suffolk
 211 Risbridge
 212 Sudbury
 213 Cosford
 214 Thingoe
 215 Bury St Edmunds
 216 Mildenhall
 217 Stow
 218 Hartismere
 219 Hoxne
 220 Bosmere
 221 Sanford
 222 Ipswich
 223 Woodbridge
 224 Plomesgate
 225 Blything
 226 Wangford
 227 Mutford
Norfolk
 228 Yarmouth
 229 Flegg
 230 Tunstead
 231 Erpingham
 232 Aylsham
 233 St. Faith's
 234 Norwich
 235 Forchae
 236 Henstead
 237 Blofield
 238 Loddon
 239 Depwade
 240 GUILTCROSS
 241 Wayland
 242 Mitford
 243 Walsingham
 244 Dooking
 245 Freebridge Lynn
 246 King's Lynn
 247 Downham
 248 Swaffham
 249 Thetford
Wiltshire
 250 Highworth
- 251 Cricklade
 252 Malmesbury
 253 Chippenham
 254 Calne
 255 Marlborough
 256 Devizes
 257 Melksham
 258 Bradford
 259 Westbury
 260 Warminster
 261 Pewsey
 262 Amesbury
 263 Alderbury
 264 Salisbury
 265 Wilton
 266 Tisbury
 267 Mere
Dorsetshire
 268 Shaftesbury
 269 Sturminster
 270 Blandford
 271 Wimborne
 272 Poole
 273 Wareham
 274 Weymouth
 275 Dorchester
 276 Sherborne
 277 Beaminster
 278 Bridport
Devonshire
 279 Axminster
 280 Honiton
 281 St. Thomas
 282 Exeter
 283 Newton Abbot
 284 Totnes
 285 Kingsbridge
 286 Plympton St. Mary
 287 Plymouth
 288 East Stonehouse
 289 Stoke Damerel
 290 Tavistock
 291 Okehampton
 292 Crediton
 293 Tiverton
 294 South Molton
 295 Barnstaple
 296 Torrington
 297 Bideford

298 Holsworthy	345 Tewkesbury	391 Droitwich
<u>Cornwall</u>	<u>Herefordshire</u>	392 Bromsgrove
299 Stratton	346 Ledbury	393 King's Norton
300 Camelford	347 Ross	<u>Warwickshire</u>
301 Launceston	348 Hereford	394 Birmingham
302 St.Germans	349 Weobley	395 Aston
303 Liskeard	350 Bronyard	396 Meriden
304 Bodmin	351 Leoninster	397 Atherstone
305 St.Columb	<u>Shropshire</u>	398 Nuneaton
306 St.Austell	352 Ludlow	399 Foleshill
307 Truro	353 Clun	400 Coventry
308 Falmouth	354 Church Stretton	401 Rugby
309 Helston	355 Cleobury Mortimer	402 Solihull
310 Redruth	356 Bridgenorth	403 Warwick
311 Penzance	357 Shifnal	404 Stratford on Avon
312 Scilly Islands	358 Madeley	405 Alcester
<u>Somerset</u>	359 Atchan	406 Shipston-on-Stour
313 Williton	360 Shrewsbury	407 Southan
314 Wellington	361 Oswestry	<u>Leicestershire</u>
315 Taunton	362 Ellesmere	408 Lutterworth
316 Bridgwater	363 Wen	409 Market Harborough
317 Langport	364 Market Drayton	410 Billesdon
318 Chard	365 Wellington	411 Blaby
319 Yeovil	366 Newport	412 Hinckley
320 Wincanton	<u>Staffordshire</u>	413 Market Bosworth
321 Frome	367 Stafford	414 Ashby de la Zouch
322 Shepton Mallet	368 Stone	415 Loughborough
323 Wells	369 Newcastle-u-Lyne	416 Barrow on Soar
324 Axbridge	370 Wolstanton	417 Leicester
325 Clutton	371 Stoke-on-Trent	418 Melton Mowbray
326 Bath	372 Leek	<u>Rutlandshire</u>
327 Keynsham	373 Cheadle	419 Oakham
328 Bedminster	374 Uttoxeter	420 Uppingham
<u>Gloucestershire</u>	375 Burton-on-Trent	<u>Lincolnshire</u>
329 Bristol	376 Tamworth	421 Stamford
330 Clifton	377 Lichfield	422 Bourn
331 Chipping Sodbury	378 Penkridge	423 Spalding
332 Thornbury	379 Wolverhampton	424 Holbeach
333 Dursley	380 Walsall	425 Boston
334 Westbury on Severn	381 West Bromwich	426 Sleaford
335 Newent	382 Dudley	427 Grantham
336 Gloucester	<u>Worcestershire</u>	428 Lincoln
337 Wheatenhurst	383 Stourbridge	429 Horncastle
338 Stroud	384 Kidderminster	430 Spilsby
339 Tetbury	385 Tenbury	431 Louth
340 Cirencester	386 Martley	432 Caistor
341 Northleach	387 Worcester	433 Gleanford Brigg
342 Stow on the Wold	388 Upton-on-Severn	434 Gainsborough
343 Winchcomb	389 Evesham	<u>Nottinghamshire</u>
344 Cheltenham	390 Pershore	435 East Retford

- 436 Worksop
 437 Mansfield
 438 Basford
 439 Radford
 440 Nottingham
 441 Southwell
 442 Newark
 443 Bingham
Derbyshire
 444 Shardlow
 445 Derby
 446 Belper
 447 Ashbourne
 448 Chesterfield
 449 Bakewell
 450 Chapel en le Frith
 451 Hayfield
Cheshire
 452 Stockport
 453 Macclesfield
 454 Altrincham
 455 Runcorn
 456 Northwich
 457 Congleton
 458 Nantwich
 459 Great Boughton
 460 Wirral
Lancashire
 461 Liverpool
 462 West Derby
 463 Prescot
 464 Ormskirk
 465 Wigan
 466 Warrington
 467 Leigh
 468 Bolton
 469 Bury
 470 Barton on Irwell
 471 Chorlton
 472 Salford
 473 Manchester
 474 Ashton-u-Lyne
 475 Oldham
 476 Rochdale
 477 Haslingden
 478 Burnley
 479 Clitheroe
 480 Blackburn
 481 Chorley
 482 Preston
 483 Fylde
 484 Garstang
 485 Lancaster
 486 Ulverston
West Riding
 487 Sedburgh
 488 Settle
 489 Skipton
 490 Pateley Bridge
 491 Ripon
 492 Knaresborough
 493 Otley
 494 Keighley
 495 Todmorden
 496 Saddleworth
 497 Huddersfield
 498 Halifax
 499 Bradford
 500 Hunslet
 501 Leeds
 502 Dewsbury
 503 Wakefield
 504 Pontefract &
 Hemsworth
 505 Barnsley
 506 Wortley
 507 Eccleshall Bierlow
 508 Sheffield
 509 Rotherham
 510 Doncaster
 511 Thorne
 512 Goole
 513 Selby
 514 Tadcaster
East Riding
 515 York
 516 Pocklington
 517 Howden
 518 Beverley
 519 Sculcoates
 520 Hull
 521 Patrington
 522 Skirlaugh
 523 Driffield
 524 Bridlington
North Riding
 525 Scarborough
 526 Malton
 527 Easingwold
 528 Thirsk
 529 Helmsley
 530 Pickering
 531 Whitby
 532 Guisborough
 533 Stokesley
 534 Northallerton
 535 Bedale
 536 Leyburn
 537 Askrigg
 538 Reeth
 539 Richmond
Durham
 540 Darlington
 541 Stockton
 542 Auckland
 543 Teesdale
 544 Weardale
 545 Durham
 546 Easington
 547 Houghton le Spring
 548 Chester le Street
 549 Sunderland
 550 South Shields
 551 Gateshead
Northumberland
 552 Newcastle
 553 Tynemouth
 554 Castle Ward
 555 Hexham
 556 Haltwhistle
 557 Bellingham
 558 Morpeth
 559 Alnwick
 560 Belford
 561 Berwick
 562 Glendale
 563 Rothbury
Cumberland
 564 Alston
 565 Penrith
 566 Brampton
 567 Longtown
 568 Carlisle
 569 Wigton
 570 Cockernouth
 571 Whitehaven
 572 Bootle
Westmorland
 573 East Ward
 574 West Ward

575 Kendal
Monmouthshire
 576 Chepstow
 577 Monmouth
 578 Abergavenny
 579 Pontypool
 580 Newport
Glanorgan
 581 Cardiff
 582 Merthyr Tydfil
 583 Bridgend
 584 Neath
 585 Swansea
Carmarthenshire
 586 Llanelly
 587 Llandoverly
 588 Llandilofawr
 589 Carmarthen
Penbrokeshire
 590 Narberth
 591 Pembroke
 592 Haverfordwest
Cardiganshire
 593 Cardigan
 594 Newcastle-in-Emlyn
 595 Lampeter
 596 Aberayron
 597 Aberystwyth
 598 Tregaron
Brecknockshire
 599 Builth
 600 Brecknock
 601 Crickhowell
 602 Hay
Radnorshire
 603 Presteigne
 604 Knighton
 605 Rhayader
Montgomeryshire
 606 Machynlleth
 607 Newtown
 608 Montgomery
 609 Llanfyllin
Flintshire
 610 Holywell
Denbighshire
 611 Wrexham
 612 Ruthin

613 St. Asaph
 614 Llanrwst
Merionethshire
 615 Corwen
 616 Bala
 617 Dolgelly
 618 Festiniog
Carnarvonshire
 619 Pwllheli
 620 Carnarvon
 621 Bangor
 622 Conway
Anglesey
 623 Anglesey

The shading on the maps indicates the number of schools in each district as follows:-

Yellow:	1-4
Orange:	5-9
Blue:	10-14
Brown:	15-19
Green:	20-29
Red:	30-49
Black:	Over 50.

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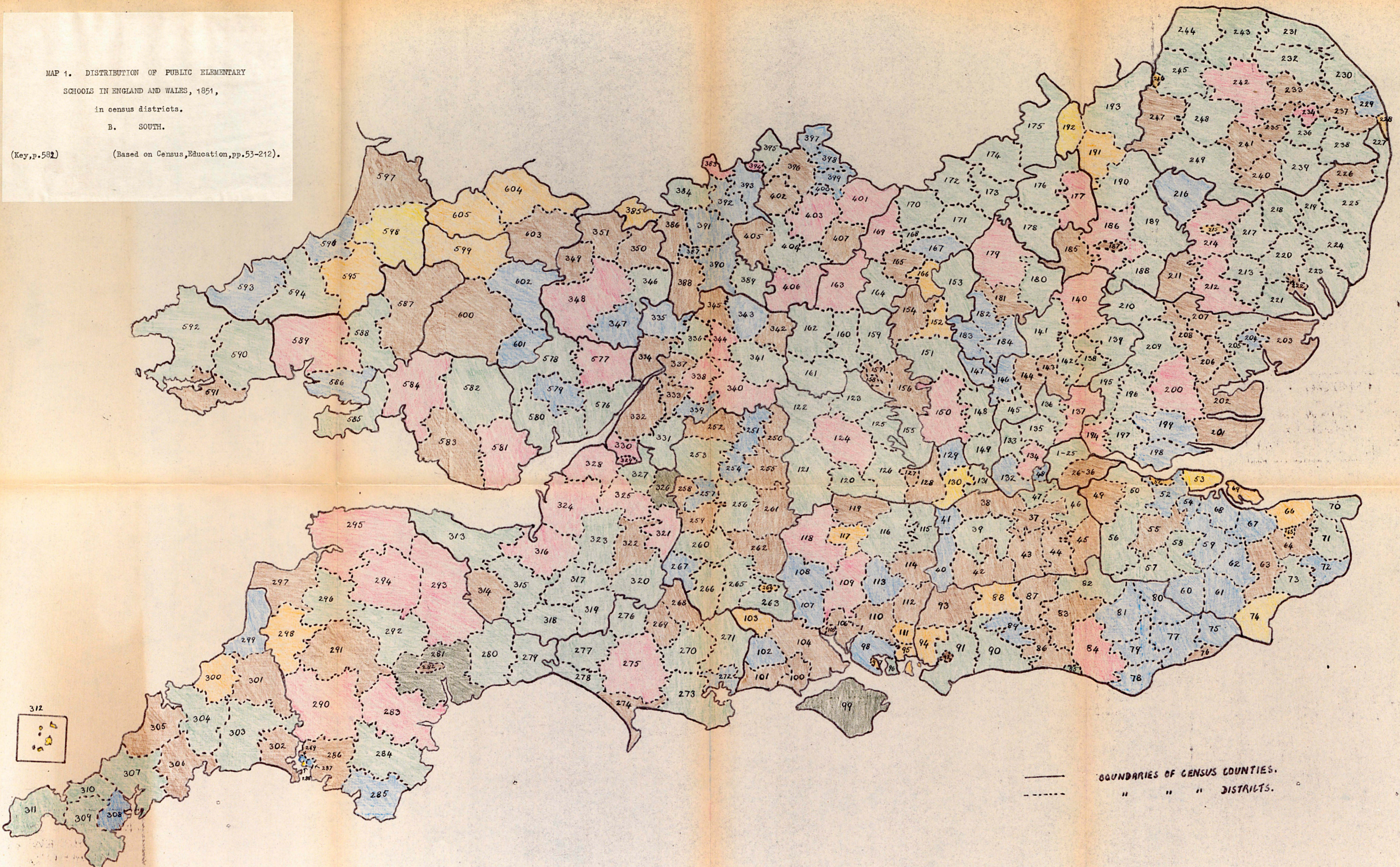
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MAP 1. DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY
SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1951,
in census districts.

B. SOUTH.

(Key, p. 582)

(Based on Census, Education, pp. 53-212).



— BOUNDARIES OF CENSUS COUNTIES.
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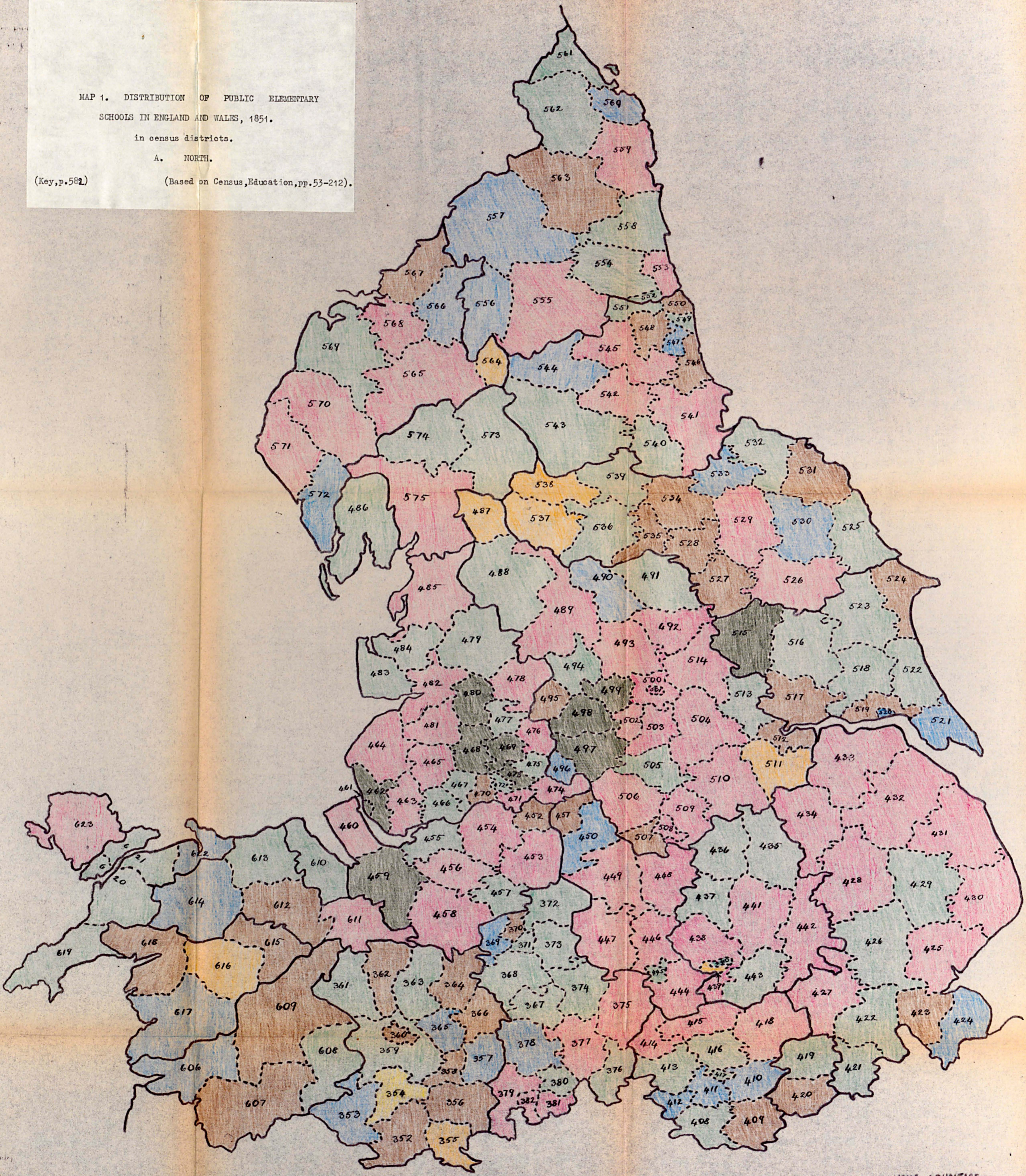
MAP 1. DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851.

in census districts.

A. NORTH.

(Key, p. 582)

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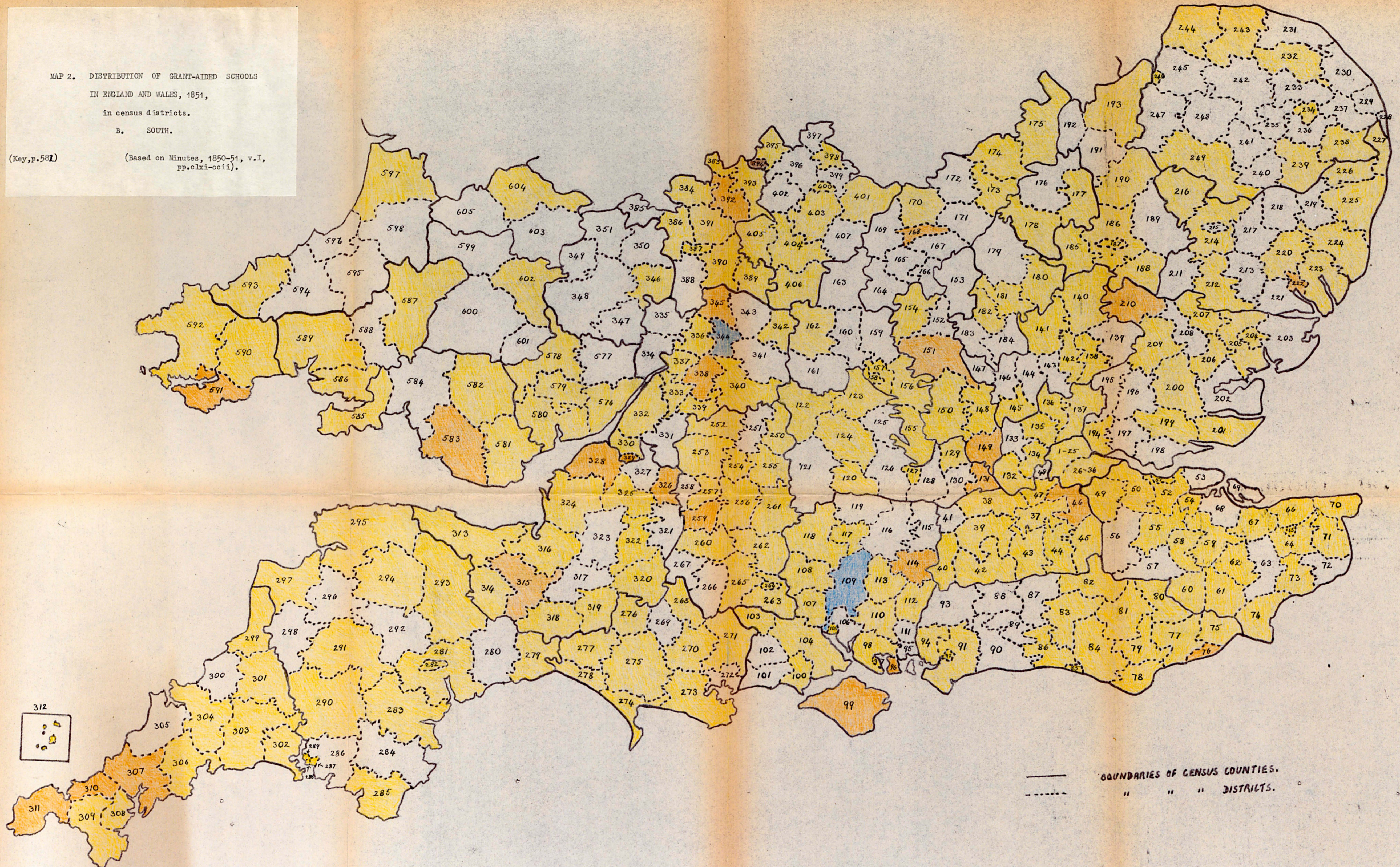
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MAP 2. DISTRIBUTION OF GRANT-AIDED SCHOOLS
IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851,
in census districts.

B. SOUTH.

(Key, p. 582)

(Based on Minutes, 1850-51, v. I,
pp. clxi-cclii).

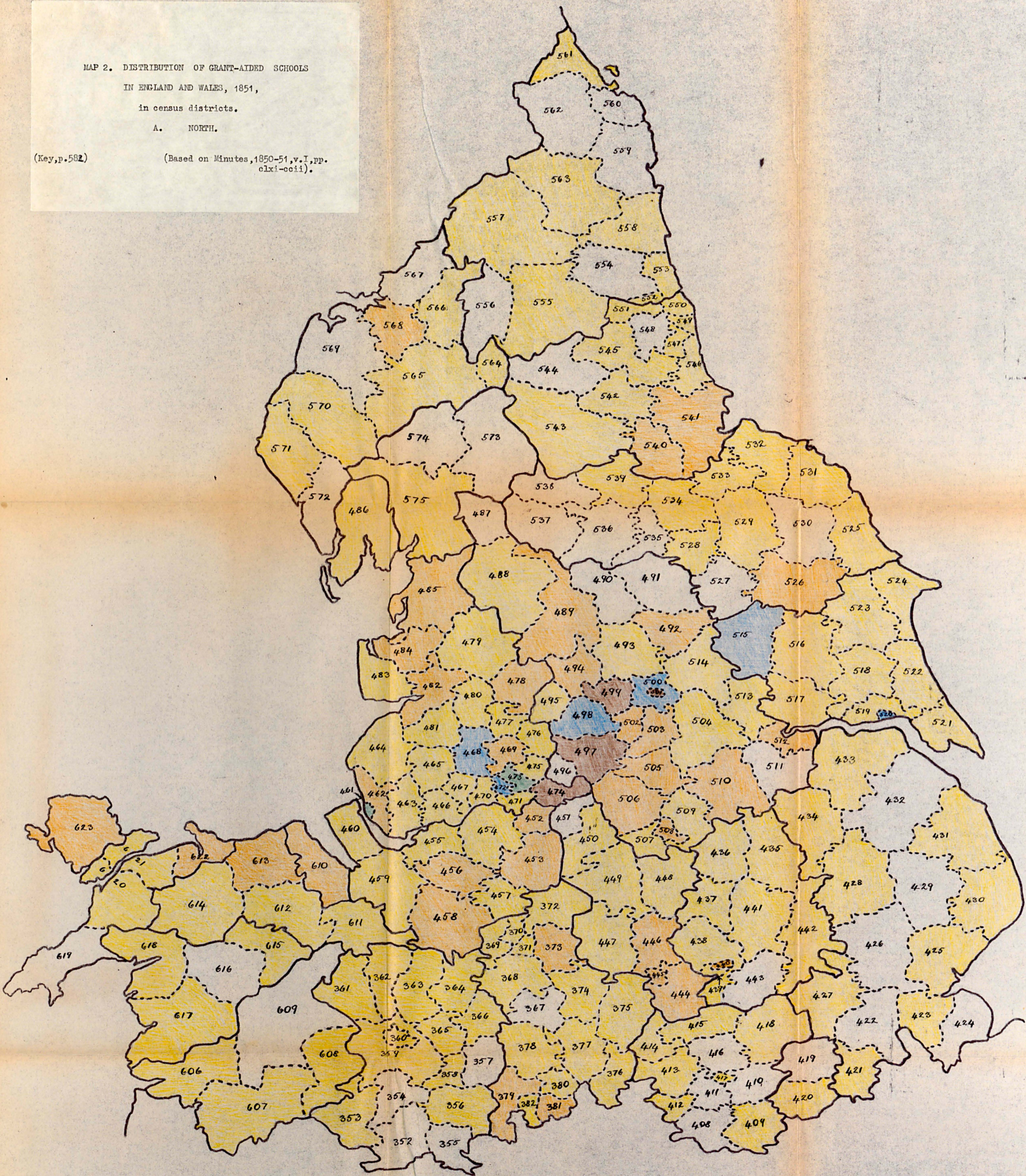


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in census districts.

A. NORTH.

(Key, p. 582)

(Based on Minutes, 1850-51, v. I, pp. clxi-ccii).

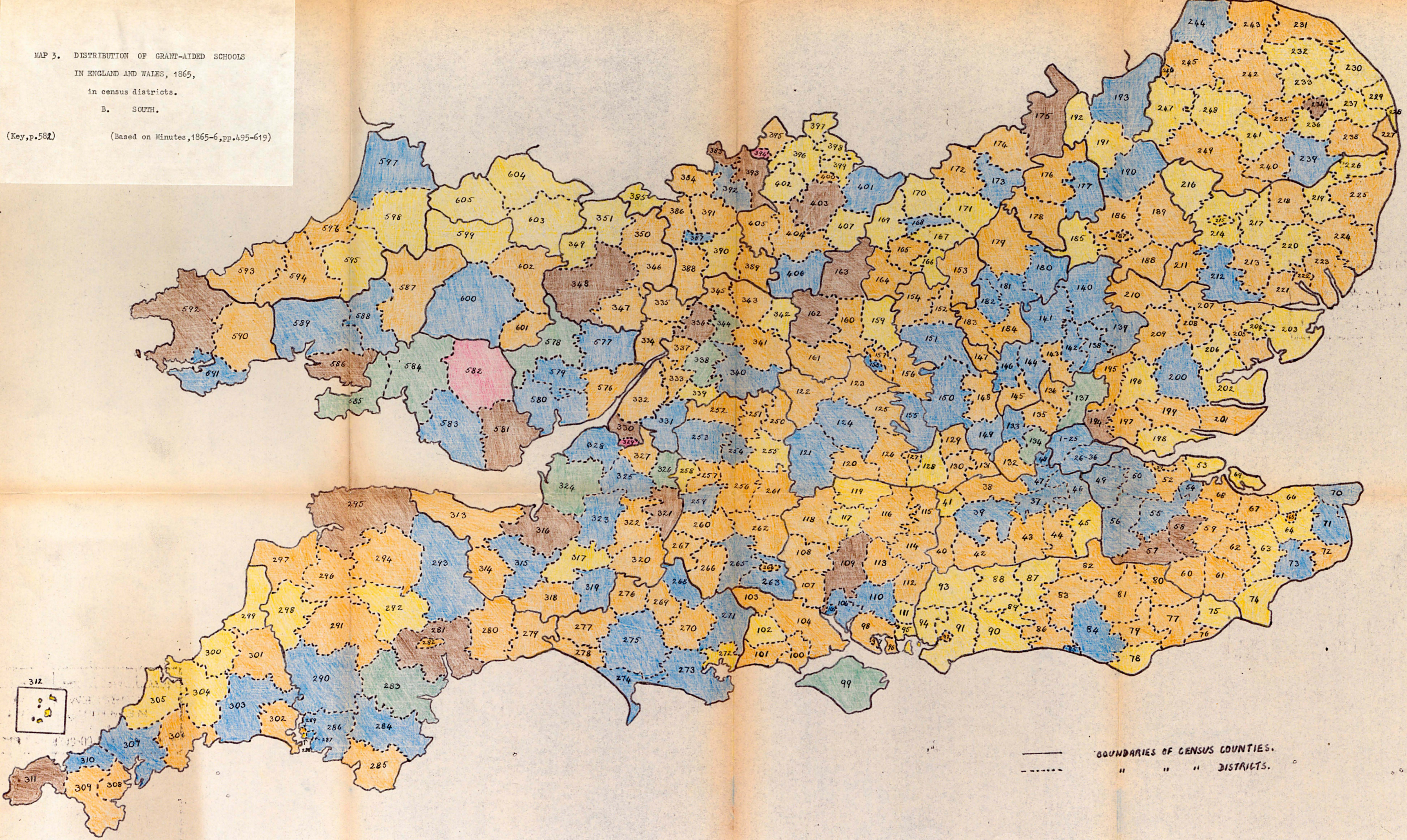


— BOUNDARIES OF CENSUS COUNTIES.
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MAP 3. DISTRIBUTION OF GRANT-AIDED SCHOOLS
 IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1865,
 in census districts.
 B. SOUTH.

(Key, p. 582)

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

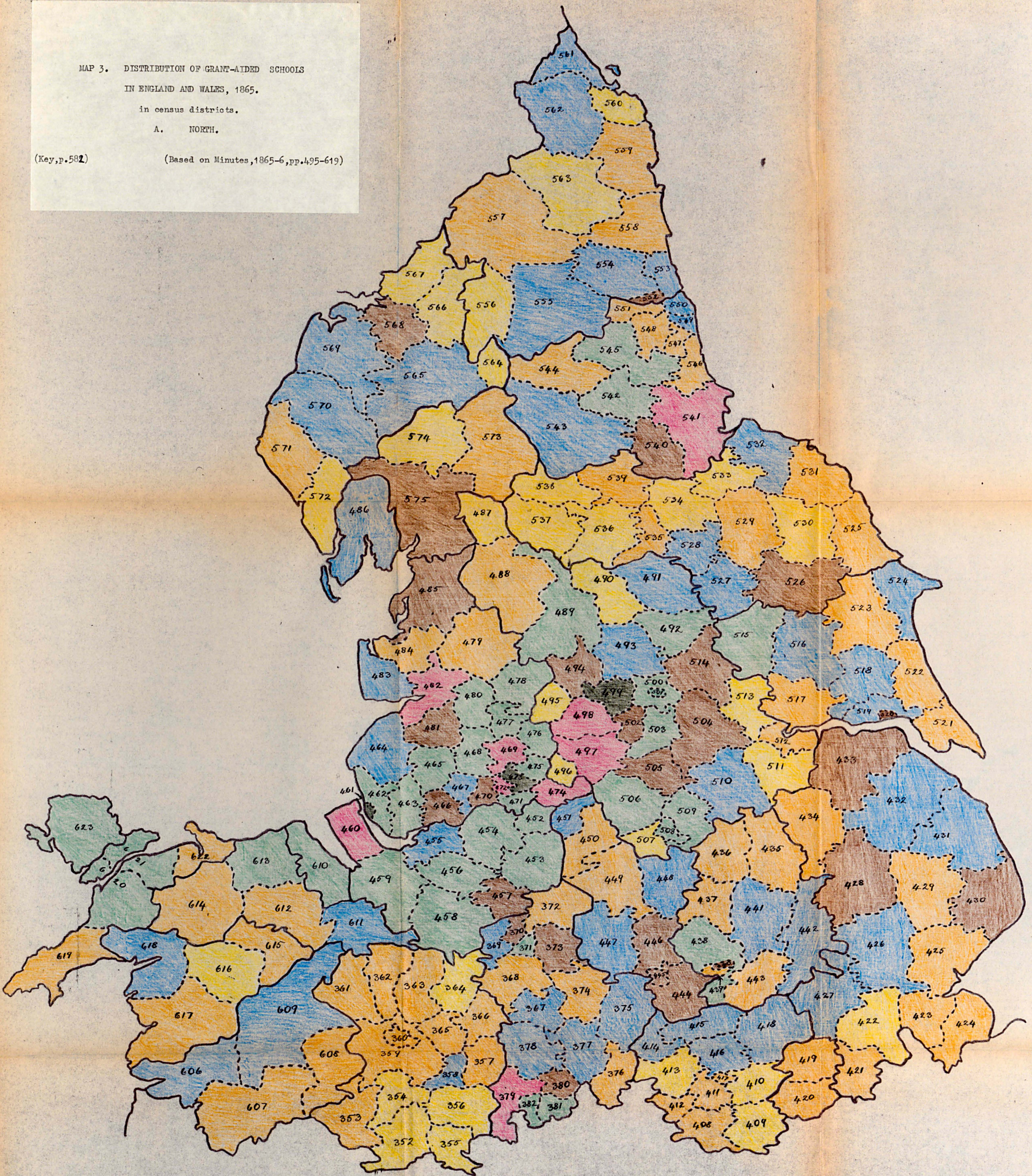


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MAP 3. DISTRIBUTION OF GRANT-AIDED SCHOOLS
IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1865.
in census districts.
A. NORTH.

(Key, p. 582)

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



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